

Germanic Standardizations

Past to Present

EDITED BY

Ana Deumert

Wim Vandebussche

Germanic Standardizations

Impact: Studies in language and society

IMPACT publishes monographs, collective volumes, and text books on topics in sociolinguistics. The scope of the series is broad, with special emphasis on areas such as language planning and language policies; language conflict and language death; language standards and language change; dialectology; diglossia; discourse studies; language and social identity (gender, ethnicity, class, ideology); and history and methods of sociolinguistics.

General Editor

Annick De Houwer
University of Antwerp

Associate Editor

Elizabeth Lanza
University of Oslo

Advisory Board

Ulrich Ammon
Gerhard Mercator University

Jan Blommaert
Ghent University

Paul Drew
University of York

Anna Escobar
University of Illinois at Urbana

Guus Extra
Tilburg University

Margarita Hidalgo
San Diego State University

Richard A. Hudson
University College London

William Labov
University of Pennsylvania

Joseph Lo Bianco
The Australian National University

Peter Nelde
Catholic University Brussels

Dennis Preston
Michigan State University

Jeanine Treffers-Daller
University of the West of England

Vic Webb
University of Pretoria

Volume 18

Germanic Standardizations: Past to Present

Edited by Ana Deumert and Wim Vandenbussche

Germanic Standardizations

Past to Present

Edited by

Ana Deumert

Monash University

Wim Vandenbussche

Vrije Universiteit Brussel/FWO-Vlaanderen

John Benjamins Publishing Company
Amsterdam/Philadelphia



TM The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Germanic standardizations : past to present / edited by Ana Deumert, Wim Vandenbussche.

p. cm. (Impact: Studies in language and society, ISSN 1385-7908 ; v. 18)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

I. Germanic languages--Standardization. I. Deumert, Ana. II. Vandenbussche, Wim. III. Impact, studies in language and society ; 18.

PD74.7.G47 2003

430-dc22

2003060721

ISBN 90 272 1856 0 (Eur.) / 1 58811 437 6 (US) (Hb; alk. paper)

© 2003 – John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands
John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

Contents

Standard languages: Taxonomies and histories <i>Ana Deumert and Wim Vandenbussche</i>	1
Afrikaans <i>Paul T. Roberge</i>	15
Caribbean Creoles <i>Hubert Devonish</i>	41
Danish <i>Tore Kristiansen</i>	69
Dutch <i>Roland Willemyns</i>	93
English <i>Terttu Nevalainen</i>	127
Faroese <i>Zakaris Svabo Hansen, Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen and Eivind Weyhe</i>	157
Frisian <i>Eric Hoekstra</i>	193
German <i>Klaus J. Mattheier</i>	211
Icelandic <i>Kristján Árnason</i>	245
Low German <i>Nils Langer</i>	281
Luxembourgish <i>Peter Gilles and Claudine Moulin</i>	303
Norwegian <i>Ernst Håkon Jahr</i>	331
Pacific Pidgins and Creoles <i>Peter Mühlhäusler</i>	355

Scots	383
<i>Marina Dossena</i>	
Swedish	405
<i>Ulf Teleman</i>	
Yiddish	431
<i>Rakhmiel Peltz</i>	
Research directions in the study of language standardization	455
<i>Ana Deumert and Wim Vandenbussche</i>	
Index	471

Standard languages

Taxonomies and histories

Ana Deumert and Wim Vandenbussche

Monash University, Australia

Vrije Universiteit Brussel/ FWO-Vlaanderen, Belgium

The greatest and most important phenomenon of the evolution of language in historic times has been the springing up of the great national common languages — Greek, French, English, German, etc. — the “standard” languages which have driven out, or are on the way to drive out, the local dialects. (Otto Jespersen, *Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View*, 1925, p. 45)

The idea that standardization constitutes a specific type of sociolinguistic change which is best investigated on the basis of systematic, historical comparisons is not a new one. However, it has rarely been explored systematically on the basis of comparative analysis. The aim of this book is therefore to provide a comprehensive and comparative introduction to the standardization processes of the Germanic languages. The field, which Joseph (1987: 13) has called “comparative standardology”, was outlined by Jespersen (1925: 46) who suggested that it would be worthwhile for language historians to try and identify

the most important factors which — though in rather different ways and especially with different degrees of strength in different countries — have operated everywhere where a standard language has arisen.

The availability of comprehensive collections of case studies is a necessary basis for the realization of such an approach. Kloss’ *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen* (1978), Scaglione’s *The Emergence of National Languages* (1984), Haas’ *Standard Languages: Spoken and Written* (1982) and Fodor and Hagège’s *Language Reform: History and Future* (1983–1984) all stand in this broad comparative tradition and provide, in the form of case studies, extensive material for standardization research. However, the volumes edited by Scaglione, Haas as well as Fodor and Hagège are not strictly comparative since contributors approached

the question of language standardization from a variety of perspectives. This makes it difficult to trace differences and similarities systematically across language histories. Kloss' *Germanische Kultursprachen*, on the other hand, is explicitly comparative in its approach; however, it is limited to the period after 1800 and is also, by now, outdated with regard to the information it provides.

Like Kloss' monograph, this volume includes not only the language histories of the so-called "mature" Germanic standard languages (Afrikaans, Danish, Dutch, English, German, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish), but also the standardization-in-progress of Germanic pidgin and creole languages, the partial and on-going standardizations of Frisian, Scots, Luxemburgish, Yiddish and Faroese, as well as a chapter on the absence of standardization in the case of the Middle Low German lingua franca. The volume's focus on Germanic languages is, of course, not meant to imply that there exists a Germanic type of standardization which would mirror the linguistic relationship of these languages. Also, the comparative approach is not meant to minimize the importance of the socio-historically specific conditions under which each of the different standard languages emerged. To restrict the comparative approach to the Germanic language family is partially motivated by traditional discipline boundaries which still shape the communication and dissemination of knowledge. Both editors (as well as many of the contributors) work within an area which is commonly known as "Germanic philology", and thus share a strong sociolinguistic interest in the historical developments of the languages belonging to this group. That there is a perceived need among Germanic philologists to acquire a better knowledge of the histories of other Germanic languages was noted by Linn and McLelland (2002: vii) who remarked on:

the lack of diffusion of standardization studies across subject boundaries, defined largely by the boundaries of nation-states. Working within our own areas — Norwegian and German — we had at best a nodding acquaintance with developments in one or two of the remaining dozen or so Germanic languages, despite the close historical ties and the strong structural similarities among them.

Although one can rightfully argue that standardization is first and foremost a socio-political phenomenon and should therefore not be approached from a perspective of language families and shared philological histories, on closer investigation the restriction to the Germanic group appears to be theoretically promising. The individual chapters collected in this volume illustrate both socio-historical differences as well as persistent similarities across a variety of language histories. The Germanic languages provide a wide range of highly diverse standardization scenarios, including

- medieval chancery and literary standards (e.g. Swedish and Icelandic) and nineteenth century national standards (e.g. Afrikaans, Bokmål and Nynorsk)

- and examples of standardization-in-progress (e.g. the Pacific and Caribbean pidgin and creole languages as well as e.g. Luxembourgish and Scots);
- “big” (e.g. English, German), “intermediate” (e.g. Dutch, Afrikaans) and “small” (e.g. Frisian, Faroese) speech communities (see *The Ethnologue* 2002 for current speaker numbers; www.ethnologue.com);¹
 - almost purely matrilectal speech communities (e.g. Icelandic, Faroese) and speech communities characterized by significant numbers of L2 speakers (e.g. English but also Luxembourgish and the Pacific and Caribbean pidgin and creole languages);
 - “mature” (e.g. English, German), “partial” (e.g. Luxembourgish, Frisian) and “incipient” (e.g. Pitcairn Norfolk, Jamaican Creole) standard languages;
 - colonial (e.g. Afrikaans) and post-colonial (e.g. Tok Pisin) standardization processes.

Moreover, following Haugen’s (1972 [1968]) outline of a comparative study of the Scandinavian languages, it can be argued that just as the Scandinavian languages show “elaboration (what Kloss calls *Ausbau*) in the context of minimal language distance (*Abstand*)” (1972 [1968]: 265), the Germanic languages in general show elaboration or *Ausbau* in a context of varying language distance, ranging from maximal through intermediate to minimal distance. Moreover, standardization took place in diverse, yet comparable and interdependent contexts of linguistic competition (e.g. the role of Latin in the case of seventeenth century standardization efforts across European societies; the role of English today which has a significant influence on on-going lexical elaboration), and was shaped by parallel socio-cultural developments such as economic and political unification, urbanization, and religious movements (e.g. the Reformation, Counter-Reformation and also missionary work).

Finally, since language standardization is always also a linguistic process of variation reduction it is worthwhile to consider the “offspring” of a common linguistic root together in order to investigate how the different linguistic selections and other standardization-linked processes interfered at different historical times with the linguistic material available, and thus shaped the process of linguistic change within this group of languages (cf., for example, Stein 1997 on the de-selection of *do* as an aspect marker in a number of Germanic languages; see also Van Marle 1997 on pronominal case systems and the lack of “drift” in standard languages, and Scaglione 1984 and Kohlen 2001 on the influence of the Latin norm on vernacular standardization in Europe). In this context, it is necessary to take note of Haugen’s (1972: 246) comment that “it is a significant and probably crucial requirement for a standard language that it be written” — it is precisely the written form which allows not only to establish fixed, prescriptive models “across time and

space”, but writing also facilitates the planning and composition of texts and thus fundamentally shapes the very process of language production (with possible structural repercussions, e.g., decrease of lexical and grammatical polysemy and the development of complex hypotaxis on the syntactic level; cf. Garvin 1991). Spoken standard norms may then be established on the basis of the written model (cf. Scaglione 1984: 13–14).

The comparative approach to language standardization describes not only (synchronic) similarities in the form and function of standard languages, but also (as already indicated by Jespersen) relates these to language history and development. Descriptive frameworks, which outline the salient structural aspects of the process, provide taxonomies for the description of language standardization across societies and countries; they identify axes along which standard languages develop, and thus allow researchers to focus on those fundamental aspects of standardization which are believed to exist across individual language histories. Descriptive frameworks have been suggested, for example, by Haugen (1966a/b), Kloss (1969), Joseph (1987), Cooper (1989), Haarmann (1990) and, more recently, Ager (2001). The contributors to this volume were asked to structure their chapters based on Haugen’s four-step model of language standardization. Haugen’s model has the advantage that it is broad as well as detailed enough to function as a frame of reference for the description of highly varied standardization histories. At the same time, it is an appropriate frame of reference for the strong comparative orientation of this volume. Haugen’s well-known model defines four central dimensions along which standard languages develop:

1. norm selection,
2. norm codification,
3. norm implementation, and
4. norm elaboration.

The model was first introduced in Haugen 1966a and 1966b. In later publications, most notably those of 1972 and 1987, Haugen provided further comments and slight revisions of the standardization model.

Language standardization always begins with the possibility of choosing or selecting between a number of linguistic alternatives. Two main types of selection can be distinguished: monocentric selection and polycentric selection.² Monocentric selection refers to the selection of an existing (or also archaic) regional or social dialect as the basis of the emerging standard language. Although some standard languages show a relatively clear regional or social provenance (cf., for example, the “Copenhagennesness” of Standard Danish as discussed by Kristiansen, this volume; or the upper-class identity of nineteenth century Dano-Norwegian as described by Jahr, *ibid.*), polycentric selection seems to be rather more common in language history.

Most standard languages are composite varieties which have developed over time, and which include features from several dialects. The histories of, for example, Standard German (Mattheier, this volume), Standard English (Nevalainen, *ibid.*) and Standard Dutch (Willemyns, *ibid.*) were shaped by on-going and multi-directional selection processes which occurred gradually over time. The result was a complex recombination of features from various dialects and a standard norm which is structurally different from its dialectal substrate. A special sub-category of poly-centric selection refers to what Haugen calls the “comparative” approach, i.e., the deliberate reconstruction of a hypothetical mother tongue on the basis of current dialects, such as is the case for Nynorsk (as discussed by Jahr, this volume; cf. also Hoekstra, *ibid.*, for a discussion of a similar attempt in the history of Frisian).

Although the role played by medieval chanceries is commonly acknowledged in the discussion of the selection stage and the early development of many European standard norms, the lasting impact of these “chancery standards” across language histories remains an intriguing issue. The cases of Low Middle German (Langer, this volume) and Frisian (Hoekstra, *ibid.*) are particularly interesting in this respect. Both Old Frisian and Low Middle German constituted relatively well-defined, supra-regional written varieties — in the case of Low German we can indeed speak about a written (and possibly spoken) *lingua franca* of the Baltic region. However, neither of the two written standards developed into a standard language *sensu stricto* as their norms were never codified in grammars and dictionaries. In both cases the incipient written standard was lost. In northern Germany the Low German standard was replaced by the High German standard language after 1500. The situation was different in Frisia where a new standard norm developed from the eighteenth century based on Middle Frisian literary texts. However, there was no continuity with the linguistic tradition of Old Frisian. An interesting and rather different situation exists in Iceland (Árnason, this volume) where the official language policy explicitly maintains a linguistic “tradition that goes back to the beginning of writing” in the eleventh century.

The selection process is often accompanied by conflicts and debates over what is the “best usage” and thus the “best” basis for the new standard variety. In the context of the history of Italian this has been discussed under the label *questione della lingua* — a debate which reflects a complex combination of issues about language and power, about code identification and differentiation, about local and national norms (Goldblatt 1984). The non-linguistic aims of the “standardizers” (e.g. national unity, scientific or economic advancement, decolonization) are most visible in this stadium of the process. Not all standard language histories, however, involve debates about competing standard language norms. As the contributions to this volume show, Standard English (Nevalainen), Standard Icelandic (Árnason) and Standard Swedish (Teleman) appear to have emerged amidst relative calm,

while the histories of, for example, German (Mattheier), Norwegian (Jahr) and Yiddish (Peltz) were characterized by extensive debates about competing norms: “Luther-German” vs. “common German”, Dano-Norwegian vs. Nynorsk (and later also Samnorsk), and on-going debates about the dialectal basis for a Yiddish standard pronunciation.

Codification typically follows the selection process and firmly establishes an explicit and normative linguistic codex through the creation of a range of reference works: grammars, dictionaries, spelling manuals and style guides. In Europe, the grammatical description of the vernacular languages gained momentum from the last quarter of the sixteenth century (the first German grammar was published in 1573, the first Dutch grammar in 1584 and the first English grammar in 1586). Codification activities continued throughout the seventeenth century when the written norms of the European standard languages were consolidated and numerous descriptions appeared for the native as well as non-native market (cf. Langer 2002 on German foreign language grammars of the seventeenth century). Codification activities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were supported by the idea of romantic nationalism, affecting both already established standard languages (cf. Mattheier, this volume, on the German *Reichsgründung* and spelling unification), as well as emerging standard languages such as Nynorsk and Bokmål, Luxembourgish, Yiddish, and so forth. The post-1800 standardization movements have been described admirably in Kloss’ *Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen* (1978).

In those cases where there exist two or more closely related norms, codification typically involves *Ausbau*, that is, the identification (or even creation) of significant differences between the competing norms. This process is clearly visible in the on-going standardization of Germanic pidgin and creole languages in the Pacific and the Caribbean (see the chapters in this volume by Devonish and Mühlhäusler). The English-oriented pidgin and creole languages spoken in these regions exist in contact and competition with local forms of standard English. This is illustrated by Devonish’s discussion of the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* which attempts to provide norms for a local High variety based on what Devonish calls “Internationally Acceptable English”, and by Mühlhäusler’s comments on the on-going attempts to replace the local pidgin and creole languages in the Pacific region with Standard English. Competition with an existing standard language under conditions of intermediate distance also characterized the history of Afrikaans (Roberge, this volume). Early advocacy for an Afrikaans standard language was contested by those who supported the maintenance of the colonial Dutch standard. A situation of norm competition in the context of intermediate *Abstand* or distance exists in Luxembourg (Gilles and Moulin, this volume) and Frisia (Hoekstra, *ibid.*), and questions of divergence and convergence are relevant in the case of Scots where standardization has interacted with processes of “anglicization” (Dossena, *ibid.*).

The sociopolitical realization of the decisions made at the stages of selection and codification is referred to as implementation, that is, the gradual diffusion and acceptance of the newly created norm across speakers as well as across functions. The implementation stage is the “Achilles heel” of the standardization process: acceptance by the speech community ultimately decides on the success or failure of a given set of linguistic decisions made at the stages of selection and codification. Implementation or acceptance has been explained as the result of rational decision making (e.g. adoption of the language favoured by the authorities in order to achieve rewards such as power or position) as well as of social influence exercised in social networks (cf. Deumert 2002). In addition, the novel forms of elementary national education which emerged from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in most European countries, and which provided prescriptive language education to large numbers of speakers, were a central force in the diffusion of standard languages and the formation of a standard/dialect diglossia. That the development of such a standard/dialect diglossia is a complex and gradual process is emphasized by Mattheier’s (this volume) comments on what he calls a “proto-standard”, i.e. a written variety “based on rudimentary knowledge of the written norm to precisely that extent to which it is taught in the primary school classroom”. In this written variety “one frequently finds formalized reminiscences of middle-class writing culture” and “a clear spoken-language imprint”. In other words, the realities of elementary education supported the development of early transitional varieties which included standard as well as dialect features (see also the conclusion to this volume).

Finally, norm elaboration (or modernization) refers to those activities which are aimed at extending the functional reach of the standard variety as well as changes within the existing standard to adapt it to new functions. This involves the on-going terminological, orthographic, grammatical and stylistic development of the codified standard to meet the demands of modern life and technology. Elaboration processes are triggered by the development of new text genres as a result of social change (e.g. the expansion of the administrative domain which was characteristic of societal modernization, cf. Mattheier, this volume) as well as by the gradual replacement of an existing (written) norm with the new standard language (e.g. the replacement of Latin in the case in post-Renaissance Europe; Dutch in the case of Afrikaans).

The lexicon has typically been the focus of language elaboration activities. Four main elaboration strategies were outlined by Kloss and McConnell (1978: 63):

The modernizers may choose to:

- a) draw on the native *word stock* of their own language, by means of compounding, adding prefixes, suffixes, infixes, or by lending additional meanings to existing words;

- b) tap the international Greek-Latin-English word pool;
- c) borrow from some other language not closely related to their mother tongue so that loanwords as a rule are easily recognizable and not as easily integrated;
- d) borrow from either a closely related language, for example, from Danish into Icelandic, from Bengali into Nepali, from Tamil into Malayalam, or from some older stage of the language, for example, from classical Arabic, Bengali, Tamil, into the respective modern varieties of these languages, or from Latin and Sanskrit into French and Bengali.

While the Greek-Latin word pool has been generally influential, the recent increase of loans from English has largely been evaluated negatively throughout the non-English speaking world and has given rise to new purist movements. Examples of this are numerous and include the formation of populist language societies in Germany, official responses by the Swedish Language Council or, outside of the Germanic world, the on-going purification efforts of the *Académie française* in France and the *Office québécois de la langue française* in Canada.

Among the donor languages within the Germanic family one should also note the special role of German in Scandinavia. As several chapters in this volume show, German played an important role, for example, in the histories of Danish (Kristiansen) and Swedish (Teleman) in the guise of first Low Middle German and later High German. Anti-German language purism is attested for both language histories. Influence from Standard German also plays a role in past and on-going norm debates about Yiddish standard norms (cf. Peltz on the notion of *daytshmerish* and the position of High German as a “hidden standard” in the elaboration of Yiddish), as well as in Luxembourg where there exists a complex historical and linguistic relationship between Standard German, the Frankish dialects of Germany and Luxembourgish (Gilles and Moulin). Low German also played a role in the linguistic histories of Frisia, Iceland and the Faroe Islands.

Within the Scandinavian language area the role of Danish is also worth mentioning. Haugen (1972 [1968]: 267) suggested that “The Rejection of Danish” might well be a fitting title for a history of the Scandinavian languages:

Danish is the ugly duckling of Scandinavia, with humble beginnings under the shadow of Latin and Low German, with tremendous potentialities for becoming the standard language of all Scandinavia ... it has suffered a continual restriction of area and rejection by its neighbors (*ibid.*)

In Norway, the leitmotif of the “rejection of Danish” led to the development of two standard norms whose relationship remains problematic (cf. Jahr, this volume, on the failure of the Samnorsk, ‘common Norwegian’, language policy). The avoidance and rejection of “Danicisms” was a hallmark of language elaboration in

Iceland (Árnason, this volume), and an ambivalent relationship to the co-official standard of Danish still characterizes the situation on the Faroe Islands (Hansen, Jacobsen and Weyhe, *ibid.*).

The contact languages included in this volume also provide interesting information on elaboration strategies. The competition with Standard English which defines the sociolinguistic context in the Caribbean (Devonish) and the Pacific (Mühlhäusler) has led to the formulation of official language policies which support elaboration and lexical innovation based on native word stock, while, at the same time, borrowing from English is common and widespread in spoken and written registers. In the case of Afrikaans (Roberge), on the other hand, adlexification from Dutch was a central and generally accepted strategy of norm elaboration, while the socio-political confrontation with English as the dominant and politically powerful language gave rise to what has been referred to as *anglismejagtery* (“anglicism hunt”). The Afrikaans case provides an instructive counter-point to the situation in the Caribbean and the Pacific as it illustrates that it is not the linguistic relatedness to the lexifier language (and thus the need to maintain *Abstand*) which leads to a rejection of borrowing as a means of elaboration, but that issues of power and dominance are central to these decisions.

The general clarity of Haugen’s model has contributed much to its popularity. However, the model is not exhaustive, and there remain a number of aspects of the standardization process which are not sufficiently covered. Haugen (1987: 63) himself acknowledged that the main flaw of his model was that it was ill-suited for the description of the motivations and non-linguistic goals of the “standardizers” (e.g. individuals such as Ivar Aasen in Norway, language societies such as the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in Germany, academic research institutes which played a central role in, for example, the history of Yiddish, or governmental institutions such as the various Scandinavian language councils). The question of motivation has been dealt with extensively by Ager (2001). The individual language histories collected in this volume show that standardization efforts are motivated by various interests and beliefs, and that these motivations shape the direction of the standardization process. Motivations for standardization can be found in the power structure of society (e.g. the *questione della lingua* is typically a socio-cultural reflection of a political elite vs. counter-elite conflict); motivations also involve aspects such as social mobility and social advancement as well as religious (e.g. Reformation and missionary work) and political ideologies (e.g. nationalism). Moreover, any discussion of motivations must be careful to allow for changes in motivations across time. In other words, what “standardizers” had in mind in the seventeenth century differs from their goals during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Broadly speaking, the focus of attention shifted from grammar and orthography to orthoepy and lexicon, from codification to diffusion, from

developing a supra-regional written norm for administrative ease and literary expression to constructing and popularizing a symbol of national and political unity. In recent years there has been something of a “cultural turn” in language planning and standardization research, and attention has been drawn to the observation that standardization is a central aspect in the formation and negotiation of “cultural identity” (cf. Haarman 1997). Schiffman’s (1996) concept of “linguistic cultures” — which is echoed in the Milroys’ (e.g., L. Milroy 1999) discussion of “standard language cultures” — suggests that the description of standardization processes needs to pay due attention to the beliefs and attitudes, shared practices and discourses which shape and support the historical development.

Another important dimension of standardization which remains outside of the Haugen model concerns processes of destandardization which from the 1950s have begun to affect several of the languages discussed in this collection. The “standardization cycle”, as outlined, e.g., by Greenberg (1986) and Ferguson (1988), describes a circular historical development characterized by “a succession of periods of focus with standardization and periods of diffusion with dialect differentiation” (Ferguson 1988: 121). In other words, a relatively uniform language develops into several dialects which then form, at a later stage, the basis for a common, uniform standard language or koiné. In the course of time this standard language will again split into regional and social varieties, and the cycle will start again (cf. in this context also Bakhtin’s views on language change as an on-going interaction of diversifying and unifying forces; for an outline of Bakhtin’s views see Crowley 2001). The idea that standardization is a circular movement, an on-going spiral of centripetal and centrifugal forces, is difficult to reconcile with Haugen’s rather teleological model which is also implicit in his discussion of Scandinavian language history (1972 [1968]: 265ff.). Haugen outlines a progression from unification (“Common Norse”; third to tenth centuries) through dialectalization (“Old Norse”, eleventh to fifteenth centuries) to standardization (six Scandinavian standard languages; sixteenth to twentieth centuries).

The investigation of the emergence of new regional or local norms (through standard/dialect as well as dialect/dialect convergence, cf. Mattheier and Radtke 1997) and of sub-cultural non-standard norms (cf. Androutsopoulos 2000), is a promising direction for future sociolinguistic work and central to our understanding of the nature of language standardization. Explicit discussion of such destandardization developments is found in the chapters on Danish (where Kristiansen comments on the existence of two spoken standard norms, a High and a Low variety), English (where Nevalainen discusses the hypothesis of the “dialectalization” of English), German (where Mattheier approaches destandardization from the perspective of a general theory of language change), Dutch (where Willemyns relates destandardization to dialect loss) and Swedish (where Teleman notes the gradual

disappearance of the “narrow standard”). Only in the case of Dutch are these varieties identified by names: *Poldernederlands*, *Verkavelingsvlaams* and *Schoon Vlaams*. The German notion of *Regionalstandard* (‘regional standard’), on the other hand, remains elusive and open to multiple interpretations (cf. Auer 1997). The chapter on the dual standardization of Norwegian (Jahr) raises the more specific question whether the norm variability in modern Norway (e.g. the fact that Bokmål is described as a “standard with three varieties”, i.e. conservative, moderate and radical) can be interpreted as reflecting a general process of destandardization, or whether we are dealing with a sociolinguistic phenomenon that is peculiar to Norwegian history and society.

Although Haugen’s four stage model has certain shortcomings, it remains an important point of reference for comparative standardization studies as it systematically draws attention to several central aspects of the process, not all of which have so far received equal attention from language historians. Thus, for many languages only limited information is available on the diffusion process across speakers and language functions, the relationship between spoken and written language, the relative importance of literary, scientific/technological and administrative usage for the standardization process, the emergence of a spoken standard norm (orthoepy), the discourses and counter-discourses of standardization and the effects of standardization on the linguistic system. The chapters collected in this volume not only provide an introduction to the individual language histories, they also provide many new perspectives on standardization and illustrate reoccurring themes (or *leitmotifs*) which are not covered by the Haugen model. The “cultural turn” of standardization research is noticeable in all contributions. As one compares the case histories provided by the authors in this volume, standardization emerges as a complex process whose many facets (linguistic, social, cultural, educational, political) we still do not fully understand, and which warrant further research from comparative, case-study and interdisciplinary perspectives.

The publication of this volume would not have been possible without the help of many people. The concept of this book emerged during intensive and lively discussions between the two editors at the *Standard Germanic* conference which took place in Sheffield on January 4–7, 2001. Many thanks to the organizers of the conference, Andrew R. Linn, University of Sheffield, and Nicola McLelland, Trinity College, Dublin, for creating an environment which was truly conducive to academic debate and discussion. We would like to thank our contributors for their willingness to work with us on this project, and for their patience with our many questions and comments. Thank you also to Maria Novrup for her translation of the Faroese chapter. We are grateful for financial assistance from the Fund for Scientific Research (Flanders). We would also like to thank Kees Vaes from Benjamins and the editor of IMPACT, Annick De Houwer, for their support and

also their patience when the volume was submitted later than originally intended. Carel van Gend deserves a big thank you for his invaluable support in the proof reading phase. Family as well as colleagues in Australia, Belgium, Germany and South Africa had to put with our distractedness during the time in which this project took shape. Many thanks to them as well.

Notes

1. The relevance of the size of the speech community for the on-going elaboration of the standard was recently reaffirmed in the debate between Microsoft and the Norwegian government. Microsoft had initially refused to translate its Office software into Nynorsk (a translation into Bokmål which is the majority variant of the Norwegian standard language is available). Only when Norwegian high schools threatened with a boycott did Microsoft agree to the translation (cf. BBC, 30.12.2002; available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/technology/2615363.stm>, accessed April 26, 2003).
2. Haugen (1972[1968]) discussed these two approaches under the headings of “the unitary thesis of selection” and the “compositional thesis of selection”.

References

- Ager, D. 2001. *Motivation in Language Planning and Policy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Androustopoulos, J. K. 2000. “Non-standard spellings in media texts: The case of German fanzines”. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4(4): 514–533.
- Auer, P. 1997. “Führt Dialektabbau zur Stärkung oder Schwächung der Standardvarietät? Zwei phonologische Fallstudien”. In *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen*, K. J. Mattheier and E. Radtke (eds), 129–169. Frankfurt et al.: P. Lang.
- Cooper, R. L. 1989. *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crowley, T. 2001. “Bakhtin and the history of language”. In *Bakhtin and Cultural Theory*, K. Hirschkop and D. Sheperd (eds), 177–200. Second edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Deumert, A. 2002. “Standardization and social networks: The emergence and diffusion of standard Afrikaans”. In *Standardization. Studies from the Germanic languages*, A. R. Linn and N. McLelland (eds), 1–26. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ferguson, C. A. 1988. “Standardization as a form of language spread”. In *Language Spread and Language Policy: Issues, implications, and case studies. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1987*, Lowenberg (ed.), 119–132. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press.

- Fodor, I. and Hagège, C. (eds). 1983–1984. *Language Reform: History and future*. Five volumes. Hamburg: Buske Verlag.
- Garvin, P. 1991. “A conceptual framework for the study of language standardization”. *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 17 (1):1–20.
- Goldblatt, H. 1984. “The language question and the emergence of Slavic national languages”. In *The Emergence of National Languages*, A. Scaglione (ed.), 119–173. Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- Greenberg, J. H. 1986. “Were there Egyptian koines?”. In *The Fergusonian Impact*, J. A. Fishman et al. (eds), volume one, 271–290. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haarmann, H. 1990. “Language planning in the light of a general theory of language: A methodological framework”. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 86:103–126.
- Haarmann, H. 1997. “Sprachstandardisierung—Eine kulturanthropologische Konstante”. In *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen*, K. J. Mattheier and E. Radtke (eds), 259–290. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Haas, W. (ed.). 1982. *Standard Languages: Spoken and written*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Haugen, E. 1966a. *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The case of modern Norwegian*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Haugen, E. 1966b. “Dialect, language nation”. *American Anthropologist* 68 (6): 922–935.
- Haugen, E. 1972. [1968]. “The Scandinavian languages as cultural artefacts. In *The Ecology of Language*, selected and introduced by A. S. Dil, 265–286. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Haugen, E. 1972. *The Ecology of Language*. Selected and introduced by A. S. Dil. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Haugen, E. 1987. *Blessings of Babel*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jespersen, O. 1925. *Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.
- Joseph, J. E. 1987. *Eloquence and Power. The rise of language standards and standard languages*. Oxford/New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Kloss, H. 1969. *Research Possibilities on Group Bilingualism: A report*. Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism.
- Kloss, H. 1978. *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800*. Second, expanded edition (first edition 1952). Düsseldorf: Swann.
- Kloss, H. and McConnell, G. D. (eds). 1978. *The Written Languages of the World: A survey of the degree and modes of use. Volume 1 (The Americas)*. Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism.
- Kohnen, T. 2001. The influence of “Latinated” constructions in Early Modern English: Orality and literacy as complementary forces. In *Language Contact in the History of English*, D. Kastovsky and A. Mettinger (eds), 171–194. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Langer, N. 2002. “On the importance of foreign language grammars for a history of standard German”. In *Standardization. Studies from the Germanic languages*, A. R. Linn and N. McLelland (eds), 67–82. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Linn, A. R. and McLelland, N. (eds). 2002. *Standardization. Studies from the Germanic languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mattheier, K. J. and Radtke, E. (eds). 1997. *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Milroy, L. 1999. "Standard English and Language Ideology in Britain and the United States"
In *Standard English. The widening debate*, T. Bex and R. J. Watts (eds), 173–206.
London: Routledge.
- Scaglione, A. (ed.). 1984. *The Emergence of National Languages*. Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- Scaglione, A. 1984. "The Rise of national languages: East and west". In *The Emergence of National Languages*, A. Scaglione (ed.), 9–49. Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- Schiffman, H. F. 1996. *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*. London: Routledge.
- Stein, D. 1997. "Syntax and varieties". In *Taming the Vernacular: From dialect to written standard language*, J. Cheshire and D. Stein (eds), 35–50. London: Longman.
- Van Marle, J. 1997. "Dialect versus standard language: Nature versus culture". In *Taming the Vernacular: From dialect to written standard language*, J. Cheshire and D. Stein (eds), 13–34. London: Longman.

Afrikaans

Paul T. Roberge

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, United States of America

1. Introduction

Afrikaans is the home language of some 5.8 million people in South Africa, out of a total population of c. 40.6 million (Mesthrie 2002: 13). Roughly half are descended from the original Dutch, German, and French settlers at the old Cape and have called themselves *Afrikaners* (formerly also *Boere* ‘farmers’). The other half are people who trace their ancestry to the indigenous Khoikhoi, enslaved peoples of African and Asian origin, free blacks, and Europeans. They have been known collectively as *Coloureds*. Afrikaans is spoken as a second or third language by an indeterminate but very large number of Africans (who speak Bantu languages), Asians, and English-speaking whites. In terms of its elaboration and codification, Afrikaans is a relatively “young” language, when compared to Dutch or English, and its use as a major medium of communication is regional in scope. Still, Afrikaans is today a mature standard language. It has had official recognition in South Africa since 1925, and its use in public domains has extended across government administration, education, law, commerce, the media, religion, and the arts, as well as science and technology at the research level. Afrikaans is the first language of ca. 152,000 speakers in Namibia, where people of colour still form the major Afrikaans-speaking group. Afrikaans did not retain official status with independence (1990), but it remains the dominant lingua franca of Namibia’s total population of about 1.6 million.¹

2. Historical background

Afrikaans is a language that formed under socio-historical conditions that are characteristic of the history of creole languages generally. It developed during the early modern period out of contact between non-standard varieties of a European

language and African and Asian languages in a colony that was settled by Europeans who made use of imported slave labour.

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company established a victualing station at the Cape of Good Hope for the servicing of its ships and refreshment of crews. The European presence expanded gradually through natural increase, emigration from the metropole, and Company employees electing to take their discharges at the Cape. The Cape colony also included significant numbers of Europeans to whom Dutch was not native, namely, speakers of Low German dialects (which constitute a segment of the dialect continuum that stretches from The Netherlands through northern Germany), High German dialects, and French, with the arrival of Huguenot refugees at the Cape from 1688. From the first quarter of the eighteenth century, a growing number of Europeans moved inland and established themselves as migrant farmers. Company rule came to an end in 1795, when Great Britain occupied the Cape. European expansion into the interior intensified when Afrikaner emigrants began leaving the Cape colony to avoid British rule, culminating in the Great Trek (1835–1848).

During the Dutch East India Company era (1652–1795), the language of European rank and file in southern Africa reflected not the emerging standard Dutch of the metropole (i.e. the ‘core’ areas of the Low Countries as opposed to the colonial ‘peripheries’ of New Netherland and the Cape Colony), but rather popular and regional vernaculars. Early Modern Netherlandic varieties represented at the Cape came to be in a wholly new relationship in an extraterritorial setting, becoming subject to levelling (koinéization) and mixing with African and Asian languages, principally Khoikhoi, Malay, and Creole Portuguese.² Dutch was, of course, the official language of the Cape colony until the British military occupation of 1795. The Dutch States’ Bible (*Statenbijbel*) was completed in 1637 and in the metropole had introduced a supra-regional variety developed by the translators (see Willemyns, this volume). But the processes of standardization that were taking place in the Low Countries in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not reach the Cape of Good Hope. Posterity has not agreed with Hesselting (e.g., 1897: 151–52) on the normative influence of the Dutch Bible and the Dutch Reformed Church at the old Cape (cf. Ponelis 1993: 123). While the settler population sought to maintain its religious traditions, there were congregations in only six towns: Cape Town (1666), Stellenbosch (1685), Drakenstein (modern Paarl and Franschoek; 1691), Rodezand (Tulbagh; 1743), Zwartland (Malmesbury; 1745), and Graaff-Reinet (1792; cf. Katzen 1969: 230). The Dutch colonial education system was weak. By 1795, there were a number of small, mainly church-administered primary schools in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, and Drakenstein. The only other formal instruction available locally was provided by private tutors. In the more remote outlying districts and along the frontier, itinerant schoolmasters of

various qualifications (often former employees of the Dutch East India Company) offered the only supplement to whatever home schooling parents were able and willing to provide their children (Davenport 1969: 276). There was so little demand for secondary education that a Latin school started in Cape Town in 1714 closed in 1742 for lack of pupils (Katzen 1969: 230). Tertiary education was nonexistent. O. F. Mentzel, who spent some eight years at the Cape as a tutor (ca. 1733–1741), commented that “such institutions [i.e., of higher education] are not required, for what use could anyone make of the learning acquired there in a land where life is still primitive and Company rule is law?” (1785 [1925: 109]). Culturally and intellectually, the Cape was a backwater. Illiteracy and semi-literacy were common among whites (and the norm among enslaved and indigenous persons). To the end of the eighteenth century — after nearly a century and a half of European occupation — there were no serial publications of any kind, no literature, nor anything approaching intellectual activity. According to Biewenga (1996), books were a luxury that only the affluent and educated class could afford, and ownership even of Bibles and other religious texts was far from universal.

The indigenous Khoikhoi (whom Europeans would long call “Hottentots”) comprised the primary substrate community during the initial period of European contact and occupation. Jargonized forms of Dutch emerged among the Khoikhoi and collectively served as their medium of communication with the Europeans. Language contact in early Cape society was furthered by the importation of approximately 63,000 enslaved persons between 1652 and 1808 (Shell 1994: 40). The first significant numbers arrived in 1658 from Angola and Dahomey. Subsequently, the Cape turned east for most of its slaves — to the Indonesian archipelago, the Indian subcontinent, Sri Lanka, Madagascar, the Mascarenes, and Mozambique (Shell 1994: 41–42). Enslaved peoples did not necessarily aspire to acquire the language of the Europeans as such. Their real aim was to communicate, particularly with fellow workers. Slaves were drawn from a multitude of starkly different geographical and cultural origins, constituting easily the most diverse population of any recorded slave society (Shell 1994: 40). Furthermore, the labour system at the Cape often entailed the separation of new arrivals from their linguistic and cultural groups. There was always a need for communication between the various segments of a polyglot society: between Europeans and indigenes; between slaves of varying ethnic backgrounds; and between slaves of whatever background, Europeans, the Khoikhoi, and free blacks. Africans and Asians sharing no common language used jargonized versions of superstrate Dutch with one another. This practice led to the creation of a stable Cape Dutch Pidgin within the Afro-Asian substratum between 1658 and 1711 (the year in which the slave population surpassed the slave-owning European population). Stability is of course an inherently relative term. When we speak of the Cape Dutch Pidgin, we are referring not to a discrete, sharply delin-

eated code but rather to a cluster of fairly predictable conventions that facilitated intergroup communication (cf. Roberge 2002 and forthcoming).

Den Besten (1989: 226) posits the creation of a hypothetical Dutch Creole, on the implicit presumption that at least some speakers acquired the Cape Dutch Pidgin as a first language from the second decade of the eighteenth century. However, a distinction between the Cape Dutch Pidgin and a Cape Dutch Creole on the basis of whether or the not the former was acquired as a first language serves no useful purpose. The communicative enterprise on the part of Khoikhoi and enslaved peoples was one of ongoing language construction in which the initial object was to effect a medium for interethnic communication (MIC) in the sense of Baker (2000). This enterprise of language construction continued long after the stabilization of the Pidgin. The Pidgin was itself part of a larger developing system, namely, the Cape Dutch Vernacular, which was a complex multidimensional space comprising a wide range of competing linguistic variants.

By 1713, when a smallpox epidemic devastated the indigenous population, the traditional Khoikhoi economy, social structure, and political order had almost entirely collapsed in the south-western Cape. The gradual advance of European settlement absorbed some independent Khoikhoi groups and displaced others. The decline of Khoikhoi identity as it had existed prior to 1652 was exacerbated by attendant language shift to the emerging Cape Dutch Vernacular. The Khoikhoi continued to speak their matrilectal dialects among themselves until the mid eighteenth century, at which time their dialects began to disappear from the western Cape. By 1800, there were few Khoikhoi in the colony who were not in the service of the Europeans as farm labourers and domestic servants. Along the northern frontier, the class of Cape Dutch Vernacular-speaking Khoikhoi who had been in service came to be known as *Oorlams*; one such group pushed into present-day Namibia at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The *Bastaards* were of mixed European, Khoikhoi, and slave parentage. From this class there emerged in the early nineteenth century a series of Dutch-speaking communities along and to the north of the Orange River known collectively as *Griqua*. In the mid nineteenth century a group of *Bastaards* settled in Rehoboth in Namibia.

From the 1760s, the percentage of the Cape slave population that was locally born was at or near 50% (Shell 1994: 46–48). Indeed, natality was low within the slave population. At the same time, the period 1784–1808 saw the largest influx of slaves from abroad, which can only have prolonged the need for the Cape Dutch Pidgin and thus the status of the Cape Dutch Vernacular as a developing system. The regular importation of slave labour to southern Africa came to an end in 1808, the year in which the legal international slave trade was abolished. Yet, the need for a MIC was prolonged further still. Between 1808 and 1856, at least 5,000 “prize Negroes” (illegal slaves) were captured by the British navy and landed at Cape

Town, where they were housed in the Company Lodge along with other slaves and apprenticed to established slave owners for a period of fourteen years (Shell 1994: 148).³

Our source material from the Cape of Good Hope during the Dutch East India Company era consists of the following:

- (i) a large corpus of material written in the “formal” Dutch of the metropole, viz. colonial government documents, journals and reports prepared for official purposes, private correspondence and memoirs written by the educated upper class;
- (ii) a diary fragment from 1797 written by Johanna Duminy (*née* Nöthling), a prosperous Cape Town resident, the language of which is somewhat removed from metropolitan norms in morphology (e.g., loss of gender and personal agreement in verb inflection) and in the use of many local lexical items. With regard to other features, however, the Duminy diary remains reasonably close to Dutch.
- (iii) a corpus of reports composed by unlearned (sometimes only marginally literate) field cornets between 1712–1831 (collected in Van Oordt, ed., 1949–52), who in many cases appear to have struggled simply to compose their reports to their magistrates. Individually, these letters can differ significantly in terms of their *Abstand* or structural distance from metropolitan Dutch. Collectively, they represent a uniform text type. This corpus has been supplemented by a second collection of contemporaneous archival materials (Van Oordt, ed., 1959–62) that has never been published.
- (iv) Dutch documents written by French-speaking Huguenots (Pheiffer 1980).
- (v) During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the authorship of our Cape Dutch corpora is exclusively European. Documentation of the Dutch Pidgin and basilectal forms of the Cape Dutch Vernacular is exceedingly sparse and fragmentary, obtaining, as it does, from brief utterances recorded *in situ* by clerks of court and dilettante observers. See Franken (1953) and the references in note 3.

The first British occupation of the Cape colony ended in 1803. Political control was restored not to the defunct Dutch East India Company but to the new Batavian Republic, which had been established in the Netherlands at the time of the exile of the House of Orange in 1795. After the resumption of the Napoleonic War, Britain reoccupied the Cape in 1806, and its permanent authority was recognized in 1814. The British authorities took steps to reform the public education system and aggressively promoted the use of English in all public domains. An unintended consequence of these policies was to stimulate for a time the cultivation of Dutch in southern Africa with the establishment of private Dutch-medium schools, of which

the most noteworthy are *Tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (lit. 'to the common good'), founded in Cape Town in 1804, and for advanced studies the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum* (1829) and the Dutch Reformed theological seminary in Stellenbosch (1859). There emerged a Dutch-language press, starting with *De Verzamelaar* ('The Gleaner'), renamed *De Kaapsche Courant, Afrikaansche Berigter (of De Verzamelaar)* 'The Cape Gazette, African Advertiser (or The Gleaner)' in its first year of publication (1826), and *De Zuid-Afrikaan* ('The South African', 1830) in Cape Town, which were followed by *Het Kaapsche Grensblad* ('The Cape Frontier Paper') in Grahamstown (1844), *Het Volksblad* ('The People's Paper') in Cape Town (1849, restarted in 1856), among others.

3. Norm selection

The standard view

The received opinion in Afrikaans linguistics is that by 1750 and certainly no later than 1775, a vernacular separate from Dutch had crystallized and had become the spoken language of the colony (Scholtz 1963: 218, 1972: 33–34, 1980: 3, 109–10, 113; Raidt 1983: 6–8, 15, 27–28, 1991: 171–74). This vernacular was more or less identical to what we know today as Afrikaans, albeit different in the mouths of the European settlers vis-à-vis the Khoikhoi, the slaves, and their descendants. Given that some features (such as the brace negation *nie . . . nie* 'not . . . not') were linguistically variable for quite some time thereafter, one could justifiably impute a *terminus post quem* to the mid nineteenth century (cf. Combrink 1978: 71, Den Besten 1989: 213–14). However, the standard view does not claim that *all* defining features were fully diffuse by ca. 1750–1775 but rather that this period saw the greatest convergence of variants into a discrete linguistic code. More importantly, the standard view also posits that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the various types of Cape Dutch functioned collectively as the low variety (L) in a diglossic relationship with metropolitan Dutch (H) (cf. Scholtz 1965: 169–70, 183; Raidt 1976: 162, 1984: 265–66; Shaffer 1978: 56–59; Steyn 1980: 135–36; Coetzee 1982: 275; Conradie 1986: 101; Ponelis 1993: 50). On this view, Afrikaans is a straightforward case of vernacular elevation. Norms for the eventual standard language were drawn from a longstanding L variety spoken by colonists of European ancestry, with the expected reduction of variability and adoption of Dutch lexis in certain domains.

The received view, however, relies on a critical assumption regarding the mixture of metropolitan and Cape Dutch features in the archival materials collected by Van Oordt (*supra*), the Duminy diary, and the diary of the Voortrekker

leader Louis Trigardt (1836–38, published in Le Roux, ed., 1977); namely, the language of these documents is largely an orthographic fiction. Accordingly, these writers sought to produce “correct” Dutch as best they could. But their knowledge of metropolitan norms was not always sufficient for the task. The result is a kind of “pseudo-Dutch” representing unstable, intermediate, and idiosyncratic forms of the language that crop up due to vernacular “interference” and insufficient mastery of “High Dutch.” This longstanding assumption was initially problematized by Roberge (1994). There is no compelling reason to believe *a priori* that our diarists and the field cornets were attempting to write metropolitan Dutch. Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that norms favoured by the elite in the Cape colony would be favoured by the rank and file. Methodologically, there lurks the danger of tautology. Non-standard features in the texts supposedly find their motivation in the vernacular. Metropolitan features are supposedly due to the conservative influence of Dutch orthography and norms. There are also good empirical reasons to reject the standard view. In addition to the diary, Louis Trigardt has left to posterity a letter from 1823 to the *Heemraad* in Grahamstown, which, though hardly flawless when judged by the metropolitan norms, is written in a passable Dutch. The letter, not the personal document kept for private purposes, represents Trigardt’s attempt to write “correct” Dutch (cf. Roberge 1994).

More recently, Deumert (1999, forthcoming) has collected and analyzed a corpus of private documents (letters, diary excerpts) written by 136 Cape Dutch speakers between 1880 and 1922. Deumert’s corpus reveals a pattern of variation that defines a linguistic continuum, which existed until well into the early twentieth century. If the structured heterogeneity adduced by Deumert provides a window into the linguistic repertoire of Cape Dutch speakers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, then the observed patterns can in principle be imputed back to eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, for which the philological record does not contain a similarly robust body of private documents. A major implication of Deumert’s study is that the idea of structural polarity between two codes in functional complementarity from ca. 1775 cannot be upheld.

This is not to deny the existence of multiple norms that defined metropolitan and extraterritorial varieties of Dutch, of which people were consciously aware. Rather, there was no popular recognition of the Cape Dutch Vernacular as “separate” from Dutch before the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Dutch scholar A. N. E. Changuion (1803–1881) was appointed professor of classics and modern languages at the Zuid-Afrikaansche Athenaeum in 1831. Disillusioned with the ascendance of English at the Athenaeum (which would be renamed the South African College and ultimately become the University of Cape Town), he resigned in 1842 to become head of his own Dutch-medium institute. In 1844 he published the first edition of his *Nederduitsche taal in Zuid-Afrika hersteld* (“The

Dutch language restored in South Africa'; second edition 1848), with contrastive analyses interspersed in the grammatical description, to which he appended a Cape Dutch glossary (cf. Raidt 1985 for an evaluation of the former). The title exactly expresses the goal of its author: to address the discontinuities between the local vernacular and the language of educated disquisition in the Netherlands. At one level, Changuion's agenda was reactionary, insofar as it involved the eradication of Cape Dutch forms and their replacement with metropolitan ones, although the author was far from sanguine about the prospects of success for such an enterprise (1848: iii–iv). At another level, his agenda proceeded from the premise that there would be benefits in a mastery of a metropolitan variety alongside a peripheral one. A decision to recognize and describe Cape Dutch features (albeit disparagingly at times) while promoting Standard Dutch was pedagogically sound.⁴

The rise of vernacular writing

The first texts that are deliberately intended to represent the vernacular of the rural settler population are some doggerel verse from 1795 and a short, annotated dialogue transcribed in 1825 by a Dutch traveller (Teenstra 1830 [1943: 239–42]). From the mid 1820s, the periodical press frequently published “vernacular” editorial pieces. These are typically pseudonymous or anonymous epistolary commentaries and dialogues dealing with local affairs and written in a jocular or satirical vein, with a view toward creating a particular effect. The important “vernacular” writers are Joseph Suasso de Lima (1791–1855), who founded and edited *De Verzamelaar*, Charles Etienne Boniface (1787–1853), the first editor of *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, Louis Henri Meurant (1812–1893), who brought out *Het Kaapsche Grensblad* from 1844 to 1851, and Samuel Zwaartman, the *nom de plume* of Henry William Alexander Cooper (1842–1893). In the sketches published in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* and in his popular comedy *De nieuwe ridderorde, of De temperantisten* (“The New Order of Knighthood, or The Temperantists”, 1832), Boniface places the Cape Dutch Vernacular in the mouths of “Hottentot” characters. Similarly, Andrew Geddes Bain's (1797–1864) *Kaatje Kekkelbek, or, Life among the Hottentots* (1838) is a vaudeville skit recited by a “Hottentot” woman in a mixture of English and Cape Dutch Vernacular. By contrast, the seven letters published in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* (1864–65) under the name “Jantje Eenvoudig” (lit. ‘Jack Simple’) involve an ideological rift within the Dutch Reformed Church. Their author is plausibly identified as Thomas François Burgers (1834–1881), a principal in this dispute who espoused modernist theological views (and who would become president of the South African Republic, 1872–77). The perspective represented by “Jantje Eenvoudig” is ostensibly that of an ordinary but knowledgeable person. Choice of the

vernacular over the more prestigious Dutch heightens the effect. The Moravian mission at Genadendal was another venue for vernacular writing. It published a Dutch-medium monthly serial entitled *De Bode van Genadendal* ('The Messenger of Genadendal', founded 1859), which ran vernacular texts from time to time, and a novella about the conversion of a "Coloured" woman to Christianity entitled *Benigna van Groenekloof, of Mamre* (1873), written in Dutch but with dialogue in the Cape Dutch Vernacular.⁵

It goes without saying that the rise of a vernacular literature does not imply inchoate standardization. The vernacular texts just surveyed were written by members of the local intelligentsia, who were to varying degrees external to the speech community that they sought to portray.⁶ Clearly, these writers did not create linguistic forms out of whole cloth, even though their manipulation of the latter may distort actual usage due to stereotyping and overgeneralization. Yet, their linguistic representations had only to be plausible to their audiences if they were to bring about the intended literary effect or produce an authentic-sounding textual voice. In sum, the purport of the Cape Dutch Vernacular literature of the nineteenth century was anything but normative. By the same token, this "tradition" (if one may use such a term) did give license to the use of the Vernacular as a written medium, as evidenced by the popularity of Meurant's Klaas Waarzegger and Jan Twyfelaar dialogues (regarding the merits of political partition of the western and eastern Cape province) in *The Cradock News* (December, 1860) and in its Dutch-medium companion *Het Cradocksche Nieuwsblad* ('The Cradock Newspaper', 1861). The series was quickly republished as a separatum (Meurant 1861), which some authorities consider the first "Afrikaans" book (e.g., Ponelis 1993: 51). After 1860, vernacular contributions to the periodical press soared; see Deumert (forthcoming, chapter 2) for a tabulation based on Nienaber's (1966–67) exhaustive index to Cape Dutch Vernacular writings up to 1900.⁷

Resources for norm selection: a medium for community solidarity

Baker (2000: 48–54) observes that all pidgins and creoles are, or were formerly, MICs. Many subsequently go on to become what he calls a "medium for community solidarity" (MCS), a variety that is closely related to the basic MIC but "sufficiently different from the latter to serve as a badge of identity for locally-born slaves" in a creole speech community (Baker 2000: 54). This did not happen in southern Africa for either the slave population *as a whole* or indentured Khoikhoi. The slave population never greatly exceeded the settler population, and the majority of slaves at the Cape were owned in small distributions (Shell 1994: 151). The largest individual slave holding was the urban slave labour force of the Dutch East India Company itself, which was housed in the Lodge in Cape Town. Slave holdings on

the larger rural estates in the western Cape were considerably smaller than the Dutch East India Company's force. Only in the urban milieu of Cape Town can we assume that the Cape Dutch Vernacular served as a MCS before ca. 1875, for there had been sufficient opportunity for the emergence of a slave "community," abetted especially by the growth of Islam (see Worden 1985: 86). By the mid nineteenth century, the Muslim community at the Cape had developed its own tradition of writing religious texts in its variety of the Cape Dutch Vernacular and using Arabic orthography (see Davids 1991). For some authorities (Van Selms, ed., 1955; Valkhoff 1972: 6), the first "Afrikaans" book is Sheikh Ahmed the Ishmunite's *Betroubare woord* ('Trustworthy Word') of 1856. In addition to this, there are the Arabic Cape Dutch catechisms *Vraag en antwoord* ('Question and Answer'; ca. 1868, Van Selms, ed., 1951) and the *Bayânudîn* ('An Explanation of the Religion') of Abu Bakr Effendi (ca. 1869, printed ca. 1877; Van Selms, ed., 1979).

From the latter decades of the seventeenth century, Dutch had been used as an exoteric lect in southern Africa by virtue of the fact that the Dutch-speaking community had intimate and extensive ties to other language groups. Its emblematic language had provided much in the way of raw material for the construction of a MIC that shaped the Cape Dutch Vernacular.⁸ The Cape peninsula and immediate environs were home to a Dutch-speaking bourgeoisie that had retained its character for several decades after the arrival of the British.⁹ In the countryside and especially in the isolated conditions of the interior, links with the capital were weak. Metropolitan linguistic norms were unsupported by any sort of cultural activity or institution (save for the church). Exoterogeny in these circumstances meant not only the kind of linguistic simplification that Ross's (1997) model predicts but a receptiveness on the part of the rural white population to innovations "from below," that is, from those groups that had constructed and elaborated the original MIC. In social network terms, there had evolved a marked increase in the density of the links between the rural settler population and the proletariat, that is, people of colour. By the late 1860s, however, the Cape Dutch Vernacular, which had been unclaimed as a MCS beyond the sectarian Cape Muslim community, was ripe for political exploitation.

The impetus for language politicization — and ultimately standardization — was a reaction to the British imperial factor on the part of white Cape Dutch population. Events that brought this about were the British annexation of Basutoland and pressure on the Orange Free State (1868), the annexation of Griqualand West (1871) and of the South African Republic (1877), and the war for independence in the Transvaal in 1880–1881. These events aroused sympathy among white Dutch-speaking South Africans in the Cape for their brethren in the north. Awareness of a common language, homeland, history, and origin fostered not only group solidarity against British hegemony but an inchoate sense of ethnic

identity, whereby the term *Afrikaner* came to acquire a political meaning. Meanwhile, Dutch language and cultural traditions in and around Cape Town were becoming increasingly diluted. Dutch was finally permitted in the Cape parliament from 1882, but by then English was established as the language of socio-economic advancement and opportunity. In the rural areas the problem was different. Davenport (1966: 4) points out that anglicization of the educational system had gone furthest in jurisdictions in which it was impractical for local people to build an alternative structure to compete with it. Yet in spite of this, English influences were not so pervasive as in the capital, for schooling was not yet compulsory. The more immediate grievance was the language barrier that existed between English-speaking government officials and Cape Dutch-speaking residents. Yet, Davenport (1966: 8) concludes, the fact remained that few professional opportunities existed for people without a knowledge of English. Dutch was, of course, the official language of the two Boer republics, viz. the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal), but even in the north, it faced strong competition from English in commercial and educational domains.

The first individuals who explicitly worked toward cultivation of the Cape Dutch Vernacular as a written medium were both Dutch-born educators. Arnoldus Pannevis (1838–1884), a teacher of classics at the Gymnasium in Paarl, called for a Bible translation for the spiritual well-being of the “Coloured” population of the colony, for whom the *Statenbijbel* was wholly inaccessible (letter to *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, September 2, 1872). He later wrote some short pieces in the Vernacular and prepared a very respectable Cape Dutch lexicon (although it was not published during his lifetime; see Van der Merwe, ed., 1971: 59–127). Casparus Petrus Hoogenhout (1843–1922), principal of the Groenberg School in Wellington, argued that a Vernacular Bible translation was an urgent desideratum for the colony’s white population, for whom the language of the Dutch Bible also posed a significant barrier. Hoogenhout is credited with the first attempt to translate a portion of the Bible into the Vernacular (*Mattheus 28* ‘Matthew 28’; 1873). His early Vernacular writings also include a retelling of the biblical story of Joseph (*Die geskiedenis van Josef* ‘The History of Joseph’; 1873) “for children and their parents.”

In August of 1875, a group of eight men in Paarl under the leadership of a conservative Dutch Reformed minister, Stephanus Jacobus du Toit (1847–1911) and his brother Daniël François du Toit (1846–1923) founded the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (‘Society of True Afrikaners’), with Hoogenhout as provisional chairman. The GRA dedicated its energies to standing for “ons Taal, ons Nasie en ons Land” (‘our language, our nation and our country’). This First Language Movement, as it later became known, set itself the task of (i) promoting the use Afrikaans (a term that advocates preferred over existing autonyms, viz. *Afrikaansch-Hollands*, lit. ‘African Dutch’, *Kaapsch-Hollands* ‘Cape Dutch’) as a written medium

and its utilization in public domains hitherto reserved for English or Dutch, and (ii) advancing Afrikaner political interests. In 1876 the GRA established a monthly newspaper, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* ('The Afrikaans Patriot'), which became a weekly publication the following year; by 1880 the *Patriot* commanded a significant readership in the Boer republics. In 1877 the GRA acquired its own printing press and brought out numerous Afrikaans publications under the imprint of D. F. du Toit & Co. GRA publications ranged from the propagandistic *Geskiedenis van ons land in die taal van ons volk* ('The History of our Country in the Language of our People'; 1877) and *Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse taalbeweging ver vrind en vyand* ('History of the Afrikaans Language Movement for Friend and Foe'; 1880) to translations of various biblical texts, literary works, a vehement apology for Afrikaans (Du Toit 1891), and a family-oriented magazine called *Ons klyntji* (lit. 'Our little one', i.e., child; 1896). The GRA marketed Afrikaans as a God-given emblem of the Afrikaner people that could be stipulated *a priori* (as opposed to a segment along a continuum of lects). With respect to norm selection, their principle was both simple and disingenuous: "Skryf soos jy praat" ('Write as you speak').

Since Van Rensburg (1983), it has been customary to distinguish three basic varieties of Afrikaans: Cape Afrikaans (*Kaapse Afrikaans*) extends from Cape Town and the Boland (which includes Paarl, Stellenbosch, and Franschhoek) along the Atlantic coast to approximately the Olifants River in the north and eastward along the south coast to the Overberg district (east of the Hottentots Holland Mountains) and the Little Karoo. It is represented in its most extreme form by the Afrikaans of the Cape "Coloureds" and the Cape Muslim, which is based on the varieties of the early slave and Khoikhoi communities in the western Cape. Orange River Afrikaans (*Oranjerivier-Afrikaans*) is spoken by people of colour in the north-western Cape (Namaqualand), in Namibia, and in the southern Free State (with an offshoot near Kokstad in south-eastern KwaZulu-Natal). The differences between Cape and Orange River Afrikaans are attributable to the fact that historically, the greater the distance from Cape Town, the larger the proportion of Khoikhoi among the speakers of Cape Dutch. Eastern Cape Afrikaans (*Oosgrens-Afrikaans* lit. 'Eastern Border Afrikaans') is supposed to reflect the Cape Dutch Vernacular of the settlers who established themselves along the eastern frontier from the late eighteenth century and subsequently established the Boer Republics. In general terms, the overt language norms that the GRA advocates promoted were (predictably) drawn from their own usage, which reflected the Cape Dutch Vernacular of the Boland region, itself a sub-variety of Cape Afrikaans. The idea was to promulgate a set of linguistic norms that were neither too strongly associated with people of colour nor emblematic of the urban elite.

4. Norm codification

The GRA's principal normative works are: *Eerste beginsels van die Afrikaanse taal* ('First Principles of the Afrikaans Language', 1876; second edition 1882), *Fergelykende taalkunde fan Afrikaans en Engels / Comparative Grammar of English and Cape Dutch* (Du Toit 1897; second edition 1902), and the *Patriot-Woordeboek / Patriot Dictionary* (1902). According to GRA precepts, orthography should reflect the way people actually pronounce words rather than Dutch norms, for example: "Ons skryf nie *sch*, mar *sk*. Een Afrikaander seg nie *school*, mar *skool*; nie *schapen*, mar *skape* ("We write not *sch* but *sk*. An Afrikaner says not *school* but *skool*; not *schapen* but *skape*"; *sch*- = /sx-/ in Standard Dutch–PTR; *Eerste beginsels*, 1876: 10).

The decisionistic principle identified in the previous section becomes apparent in the handling of variable linguistic forms.¹⁰ The nominative form of the first-person pronoun in GRA Afrikaans (as in today's Standard Afrikaans) is *ek* 'I' and not *ik*, as in Standard Dutch. The existence of these two forms as competitive alternates in southern Africa harks back to the Dutch East India Company era.¹¹ The demonstrative pronoun *hierdie* 'this' (alongside *daardie* 'that') is adopted at the expense of *deze* 'this' (Du Toit 1897: 19), which was still current during the nineteenth century and survived until well into the twentieth century. The GRA sought not only to standardize but to ennoble the use of the brace negation (*nie* . . . *nie* 'not . . . not', *geen* . . . *nie* 'no . . . not', etc.), even though its own literature gives evidence of continued variability (note the single negation in the quotation regarding *sch*-/sk-, *supra*): "Nes in Frans het ons een dubbele ontkenning in ons twemaal *nie*" ("As in French, we have a double negation in our repeated *nie*"; *Eerste beginsels*, 1876: 28).¹² In Dutch the perfect tense is a periphrastic structure formed with the present tense of an auxiliary verb — *hebben* 'have' or *zijn* 'be' — plus a past participle. The GRA norm excluded 'be' as a tense auxiliary for mutative intransitive verbs (Du Toit 1897: 23), and this holds true for Standard Afrikaans today. Yet, the 'have'/'be' distinction is still alive, albeit variably, in the Cape Dutch Vernacular during the 1870s (e.g., in Zwaartman's letters in *Het Volksblad*, 1870–71) and for some time thereafter. In fact one could encounter vestigial usage of 'be' with mutative intransitives in non-standard Afrikaans as late as the early 1980s (example cited from Van Rensburg, ed., volume two, 1984: 37):

(1) Orange River Afrikaans

Die meerderheid van die mense is mos nou kleerleng
 the majority of the people be indeed now Coloureds
gaword.

become-PAST PART

'The majority of the people have now become "Coloureds," as you know.'

- (2) Standard Afrikaans:

Die meerderheid van die mense het mos nou kleurlinge
 the majority of the people have indeed now Coloureds
geword.

BECOME-PAST PART

‘The majority of the people have now become Coloureds as you know.’

The GRA allowed colloquial usages that are not included in Standard Afrikaans today. In the issue of August 15, 1876, the *Patriot* extolled *natuurlikheid* (‘naturalness’) as a trait of the Afrikaans language and of the Afrikaner *volk* (‘people’), manifest in reduplication (3–4) and verb topicalization (5):

- (3)
- gou-gou*

quick-quick
 ‘very quickly’

- (4)
- troppe-troppe*

flocks-flocks
 ‘flocks of birds (in a serial or scattered distribution)’

- (5)
- Kom zal hy kom.*

come will he come
 ‘He’ll definitely come.’

At the same time, the GRA was conservative in its retention of the reflexive pronoun *sig* (Standard Dutch *zich*) ‘oneself’ (cf. Du Toit 1891: 60, *Patriot-Woordeboek* 1902: 136). In today’s Afrikaans reflexive pronouns are identical to the oblique forms of the corresponding personal pronouns), which reflects a pattern in non-standard metropolitan dialects that was exported to the Cape along with *zich*.

- (6) Dutch:

Hij wast zich.
 he wash-3SG 3SG REFL PRO
 ‘He washes himself.’

- (7) Afrikaans:

Hy was hom.
 he wash 3 SG PRO OBL
 ‘He washes himself.’

Moreover, the language norms advocated by the GRA were in many cases fluid, and it is instructive to compare the first (1876) and second (1882) editions of *Eerste beginsels van die Afrikaanse taal*. For example, the first edition acknowledges the variation between the third-person plural pronouns *hulle* and *sulle* ‘they’ and suggests the latter so as to avoid homophony with the corresponding possessive

pronoun (*hulle* ‘their’), although the question was left open until a consensus could emerge. In the revised edition, *sulle* is abandoned.¹³

The GRA’s cause did not meet with universal acceptance, in part due to the parochial, if not extreme Christian nationalism that S. J. du Toit and his colleagues embraced, and in part for the fact that the language norms championed by the GRA were decidedly “non-U” in the estimation of the establishment. There emerged a rival campaign for the restoration of Dutch in public life with the formation of the *Afrikaner Bond* (‘Afrikaner League’) in 1879 under the leadership of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1845–1909), which played a role in securing the recognition of Dutch in the Cape parliament in 1882, and among the clergy and professorate in Cape Town and Stellenbosch; in 1890 proponents of Dutch formed the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Taalbond* (‘South African Language League’). There also arose a movement to simplify Dutch orthography and inflection with a view toward effecting an alternative to metropolitan Standard Dutch that might win acceptance in South Africa. It is not necessary for our purposes to detail these activities, despite their intrinsic interest, as they are tangential to the standardization of Afrikaans and ultimately foundered on the impracticality of a Dutch revival of any sort beyond the domains where the language currently held sway.¹⁴

It was about this time, too, when scholarly interest in Afrikaans was first stirred. One may date the beginning of Afrikaans lexicography with N. Mansvelt’s (Victoria College, later the University of Stellenbosch) dialect dictionary (1884), in Dutch, which describes the lexical usage of ordinary Cape Dutch Vernacular speakers and provides the occasional etymology. This work, which received an appreciative review by Hugo Schuchardt (1885), was descriptive, not normative. But it does represent an early milestone in the codification of Afrikaans.

5. Norm elaboration

A period of renewed promotion coincided with the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and the institution of a reactionary anglicization policy in its aftermath by Lord Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner for South Africa (1897–1905). This period saw the emergence of Afrikaans as a powerful symbol of pan-Afrikaner unity and inspired a fledgling literature of genuine merit. Authors such as Eugene Marais (1871–1936), Jan Celliers (1865–1940), Jakob Daniël du Toit (“Totius,” 1877–1953), and Louis Leipoldt (1880–1947) memorialized Afrikaner hardships, heroism, and defeat during this period. As a result of increasing rural poverty and the displacement caused by the war, Afrikaners began to move into the cities in significant numbers, with the greatest urban influx taking place between 1890 and 1904 (Moodie 1975: 46). The Afrikaner leadership feared that urbanization would

lead to widespread anglicization of Afrikaans-speaking whites. The Second Language Movement (from roughly 1903–1919) proceeded from essentially the same fundamental postulate as its forerunner at the Cape. Afrikaners could no longer consider themselves Dutch and even less as English; the choice between two foreign languages was unacceptable. However, the second movement was national in scope. In 1905 Gustav S. Preller (1875–1943) formed an *Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap* ('Afrikaans Language Society') in Pretoria. The following year, J. H. H. de Waal (1871–1937) and colleagues established the *Afrikaanse Taalvereniging* ('Afrikaans Language Association') in Cape Town, which in turn opened branches all over South Africa and soon eclipsed Preller's *Taalgenootskap* in importance. Both organizations agitated for the recognition of Afrikaans in education, administration, and the church. In his famous address *Dit is ons ernst* ('We Are in Earnest'), delivered in Stellenbosch on August 13, 1908, D. F. Malan (1874–1959) — then chairman of the *Taalvereniging* — argued that a living language is born of a people's heart (*volkshart*) and resides in that people's mouth (*volksmond*); it cannot be introduced from the outside. Malan exhorted his countrymen to elevate Afrikaans to a written language. Elaboration of the vernacular would allow its speakers to win a whole future for themselves as a nation and ensure the Afrikaner *volk* a place among the civilized cultures of the world.¹⁵

Once again, conservative factions in the Afrikaner establishment supported Dutch. In 1909 the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst* ('South African Academy for Language, Letters, and Art') was founded and created, as Ponelis (1993: 53) puts it, "a united front between the pro-Dutch and pro-Afrikaans camps." The Academy's initial charge was to maintain and advance "Hollands" in scholarship and the arts. As such, it has had a cultural and political mission, as well as a purely scientific one. The founders explicitly construed *Hollands* to mean either Dutch or Afrikaans, thereby finessing a contentious language issue until the time was right to choose between them. The Academy was later renamed the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* ('South African Academy for Science and the Arts'), and it has since focused on looking after the interests of Afrikaans. With the unification of South Africa in 1910, Dutch was designated an official language alongside English; but Afrikaans was clearly ascendant. In 1914 the Cape Provincial Council adopted a proposal by C. J. Langenhoven (1873–1932) that provided for the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in elementary education. That same year, the National Party was formed, and under the leadership of J. B. M. Hertzog (1866–1942), it made official recognition a fundamental political objective. In 1918, Victoria College became the University of Stellenbosch and staked out its future as an Afrikaans-language tertiary institution. The year 1919 saw the authorization of an official Afrikaans Bible translation and the formation of the elite and secret *Afrikaner Broederbond* ('Afrikaner Brothers' League') to further

nationalist aims. By then, the major Afrikaner teachers' organizations in the Cape, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal had declared their support for Afrikaans as an instructional medium at all levels. In 1925 Afrikaans was legally recognized as an official language of the Union of South Africa and effectively superseded Dutch.¹⁶ In 1929 the Broederbond established the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* ('Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organizations') to coordinate a whole range of activities. The "language struggle" reached a second apotheosis with the publication of the Bible translation in 1933 (on the history of which see Nienaber 1949).

The Standard Afrikaans that we know today developed between roughly 1900 and 1930. Van Rensburg (e.g., 1983, 1990: 66–67) has claimed that its linguistic features are drawn mainly from Eastern Cape Afrikaans, although Grebe (2002) has questioned the existence of such a variety as a historically unique entity. An empirical investigation of several phonological variables suggests that Standard Afrikaans might actually be based on a variety spoken in the Overberg and areas immediately to the north and west of the Boland. The case for Eastern Cape Afrikaans is complicated further by the fact that the *Patriot* was widely read in the former Boer Republics. As economic power shifted to the north in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War and following the Union of South Africa in 1910, many Cape people moved there and became active in the Second Language Movement. While it is certainly true that orthographic norms were developed in the north, I fear that it may not mean much to speak of a regional "base" for Standard Afrikaans. The dimensions of variation in the Afrikaans speech community are preponderantly social, not geographic.

In 1917 the Academy brought out the first edition of the *Afrikaanse woordelys en spelreëls* ('Afrikaans Wordlist and Spelling Rules'), which served to standardize the orthography. Responsibility for revising and updating the AWS rests with the *Taalkommissie* ('Language Commission'), a standing committee of the Academy that is charged with determining lexical and orthographic norms. The ninth edition of the AWS appeared in 2002, and the work remains a widely accepted authority on orthography — and thus an important instrument of standardization.¹⁷

Like all emerging standard languages, Afrikaans has had to deal with problems of specialized terminology. During the period 1900–1930, the natural solution was adlexification from Dutch, leading to a kind of *Vernederlandsing* ('Netherlandicization') in certain domains. As is common in communities that perceive their languages under threat, language purism has run deep in the history of Afrikaans. Standardization involved a determined effort to purge the language of anglicisms (see Donaldson 1990 for details). Various bodies have existed to handle technical terminology, notably the *Vaktaalburo* ('Terminology Bureau'), created in 1950 by the Academy and taken over by the state in 1977. Other government agencies have assisted with creation and translation of technical terminology.

Since World War II, Afrikaans lexicography has reached an international level (see Gouws and Ponelis 1992 for a historical survey). Its most notable achievement is the monumental *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal* ('Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language', Schoonees et al. 1970–), which was initiated by J. J. Smith in 1926 and has continued at the University of Stellenbosch; eleven volumes have appeared as of this writing. As one would expect of a mature standard language, we have a great number of less far-reaching but still comprehensive explanatory, bilingual, etymological, and synonym dictionaries. In 1965 the first edition of the *HAT: Verklarende handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal* ('Explanatory Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language') appeared. Now in its fourth edition (Odendal and Gouws, eds., 2000), this lexical handbook is regarded as particularly authoritative.

Various practical usage guides have been published over the years, the most important of which are: *Die korrekte woord: Afrikaanse taalkwessies* ('The Correct Word: Afrikaans Language Questions') by H. J. J. M. van der Merwe (1982; first edition 1951 under the title *Afrikaanse taalkwessies* 'Afrikaans Language Questions'), *Die juiste word: Praktiese taalgids by die skryf van Afrikaans* ('The Right Word: Practical Linguistic Guide for the Writing of Afrikaans') by L. W. Hiemstra (1980), *Afrikaanse grammatika vir volwasseenes* ('Afrikaans Grammar for Adults') by M. de Villiers (1983), *SARA: Sakboek van regte Afrikaans* ('Pocket Book of Correct Afrikaans') by J. G. H. Combrink and J. Spies (1994; first edition 1986), and *Afrikaans op sy beste: Hulp met moderne taalkwessies* by A. F. Prinsloo and F. F. Odendal (1995). W. A. M. Carstens's *Norme vir Afrikaans* ('Norms for Afrikaans', 1991; first edition 1989) is a practical reference work that seeks to elaborate a range of linguistic norms that are characteristic of Afrikaans usage while at the same time avoiding prescriptivism. The definitive grammar of Standard Afrikaans is *Die grammatika van Standaard-Afrikaans* ('The Grammar of Standard Afrikaans') by J. L. van Schoor (1983), although other descriptive handbooks (e.g., Ponelis 1979, Donaldson 1993) have concentrated on forms of Afrikaans that would generally be considered "standard".

6. Norm acceptance

During the Second Language Movement, a generation of enthusiastic young teachers, clergy, professors, politicians, and other professionals were zealous for the cause of the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner political empowerment, and they worked tirelessly to organize on behalf of the new language nationalism. Subsequently, Afrikaans was built up, promoted, and celebrated by National Party governments and Afrikaner cultural organizations. Overall, acceptance of standardized language norms has not been an issue among white Afrikaans-speaking

South Africans. At the same time, the existence of a market for the practical guides cited in the previous section and in note 17 may reflect a measure of insecurity on the part of writers about what some of these norms might be (cf. Branford and Claughton 2002: 208).

It is not astonishing that Afrikaans acquired a symbolic association with racist nationalism. A watershed was reached on June 16, 1976, when thousands of black schoolchildren in Soweto demonstrated against the government's mandate that certain primary subjects be taught in Afrikaans — as they saw it, the language of apartheid. The protest raged nationwide over the following year, and as many as 700 people were killed (Davenport 1987: 434). In view of this legacy and the fact that the white Afrikaans-speaking elite had long sought to entrench its cultural symbols as the national symbols, resistance to Standard Afrikaans arose among some intellectuals during the 1980s, who called for the cultivation of an “alternative Afrikaans” (see, for example, Smith et al., eds., 1985; Van den Heever, ed., 1988). The sweeping changes in the political landscape in South Africa from February 1990 implied a turning point for Standard Afrikaans; see Webb (ed.) 1992.

7. Recent developments

South Africa's constitution recognizes language as a fundamental human right. Afrikaans is today one of eleven official languages at the national level and enjoys constitutional protection along with the country's other languages. Official languages at the provincial and local levels are determined according to regional demographics. At present, Afrikaans has official status in Gauteng, the Free State, and the Western Cape (Webb 2002: 92). Since the early 1990s, a debate over language policy in post-apartheid South Africa has been in progress (see Reagan 2002, Murray 2002, Heugh 2002, and Webb 2002).

With the end of white rule in South Africa in 1994, Afrikaans has experienced a significant decline in public domains. This decline is indicated by a “vastly diminished use [of Afrikaans] in government and semi-government institutions and in companies which operate at a national level” (Webb 2002: 245). The country's five Afrikaans-medium universities have seen a gradual drift in the direction of dual-and/or parallel-medium instruction. A number of university degree programs in Afrikaans have been consolidated with other subjects or eliminated altogether; those that remain have seen dwindling enrollments. Afrikaans remains more or less co-equal with English as a major language of the law, but it is losing ground to English in commerce, finance, science, and technology (Webb 2002: 95).

The international standing of English virtually assures it a prominent role in official and other public spheres. Elaboration of African languages to a level where

they could become mediums of commerce and power would pose further competition. The new “language struggle”, as seen by advocates of Afrikaans — spearheaded by the *Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans* (‘Foundation for Empowerment through Afrikaans’, formerly the *Stigting vir Afrikaans* ‘Foundation for Afrikaans’) — is now one of empowering Afrikaans speakers “to stand on equal footing with other language groups” (<http://www.afrikaans.com>). The extent to which Standard Afrikaans will maintain its public roles over the long haul remains to be seen.

Notes

1. When we study the external history of Afrikaans, we do so against a backdrop of Afrikaner nationalism and a long-term political struggle. There is an enormous literature on the “language struggle” and a not inconsiderable amount of mythmaking (see Roberge 1992; Webb and Kriel 2000). Of the scholarly treatments of Afrikaans external history that to varying degrees deal with vernacular elevation and language standardization are Shaffer (1978); Kloss (1978: 151–64); Steyn (1980); Coetzee (1982); Raidt (1985, 1986); Du Plessis (1986; on the language movements); Ponelis (1998). Practical and theoretical issues in the establishment of linguistic norms in Afrikaans are taken up in an important anthology, *Norme vir taalgebruik* (‘Norms for language usage’, Botha and Sinclair, eds., 1985).
2. German and French speakers were assimilated into the Dutch stream during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their imprint on the developing Cape Dutch Vernacular is negligible and confined to lexis and onomastics. Contact with English and Bantu languages is secondary, and they were not a factor in the formation of Afrikaans beyond the expected lexical borrowing.
3. On the linguistic structure of the Cape Dutch Pidgin see Den Besten (1987, 1989, forthcoming), Roberge (forthcoming). On the sociohistorical background see most recently Groenewald (2002). The question of whether Afrikaans is a creole or semicreole language in terms of its linguistic typology is a non-issue that will not distract us here.
4. The first edition of Changuion’s grammar provoked a scurrilous attack by De Lima (1844), who charged that the professor had wrongly attributed to the burgher class features that are characteristic of the least educated whites and people of colour.
5. Further to the literary activity in Genadendal in Belcher (1987: 26–30).
6. De Lima and Boniface were immigrants (from the Netherlands and France, respectively); Meurant was born in Cape Town to a Swiss father and an English mother.
7. Most of the important Cape Dutch Vernacular texts of the nineteenth century (with the notable exception of the Jantje Eenvoudig letters) are anthologized in G. S. Nienaber (ed.) 1940 (Meurant’s *Klaas Waarzegger*/*Jan Twyfelaar* series), 1942 (Zwaartman), 1971 (varia), and P. J. Nienaber (ed.) 1982 (material from the Free State).
8. On the concepts *exotogeny* and *emblematic* features see Ross (1997).
9. The Dutch traveller M. D. Teenstra (1830 [1943: 85]) commented explicitly on the

retention of Dutch customs and language in spite of the powerful position of English.

10. The myth of a more or less static, fixed vernacular ready for standardization at this time is exploded by Deumert's (1999, forthcoming) corpus-based, quantitative investigation of variability at the Cape between 1880 and 1922.

11. Cf. the Duminy diary of 1797: "ik gong sitte schrijven aan mijn suster deletter, rasmus kwam en vrougt of ek niets wist voor zijn vrouw dat goet was voor de houst" ('I sat down to write to my sister De Lettre. Rasmus came in and asked whether I knew of anything for his wife that would be good for the cough'; Franken, ed., 1938: 105).

12. A subtext of ennoblement is also discernible in a comment regarding deflection: "In modern languages, especially in the Germanic, the declensions become gradually more obsolete" (Du Toit 1897: 12).

13. In an introduction to the facsimile reprint of *Eerste beginsels*, Loubser (1980) provides a systematic comparison of the two editions.

14. For a brief but lucid discussion of these trends (with references), see Deumert (1999: 95–99).

15. Malan's speech is reprinted in Nienaber and Heyl (eds., n.d., pp. 93–103). The citations occur on pp. 93–94, 99. Malan would go on to become the first Nationalist prime minister of South Africa (1948–1954).

16. Webb (2002: 61, 74–75) points out the little-known fact that Dutch retained its official status *de iure* until 1983, when the ruling National Party revised the constitution in order to create a tricameral national parliament. By then, Dutch had completely disappeared as a spoken language, save for among immigrants from the Low Countries (see Raidt 1997).

17. For a detailed history of the role of the Academy in the standardization of Afrikaans spelling, see Eksteen (1985). The authority of the AWS is underscored by the fact that Combrink (1991) brought out a little guide to the eighth edition (1991).

References

- Baker, P. 2000. "Theories of creolization and the degree and nature of restructuring". In *Degrees of Restructuring in Creole Languages*, I. Neumann-Holzschuh and E. W. Schneider (eds), 41–63. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Baker, P., den Besten, H. and Parkvall, M. (eds). Forthcoming. *Pidgins: Their nature and significance*. London: Battlebridge.
- Belcher, R. 1987. "Afrikaans en kommunikasie oor die kleurgrens". In *Afrikaans en taalpolitiek*, H. du Plessis and T. du Plessis (eds), 16–34. Pretoria: H. A. U. M.
- Biewenga, A. 1996. "Alfabetisering aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop omstreeks 1700". *Tydskrif vir Nederlands en Afrikaans* 3: 109–21.
- Botha, R. P. and Sinclair, M. (eds). 1985. *Norme vir taalgebruik* (SPIL Plus 10). Stellenbosch: Department of General Linguistics, University of Stellenbosch.
- Branford, W., and Claughton, J. S. 2002. "Mutual lexical borrowings among some languages of southern Africa: Xhosa, Afrikaans, and English". In *Language in South Africa*,

- R. Mesthrie (ed.), 199–215. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carstens, W. A. M. 1991. *Norme vir Afrikaans: Enkele riglyne by die gebruik van Afrikaans*. Second edition. Pretoria: Academica.
- Changuion, A. N. E. 1844. *De nederduitsche taal in Zuid-Afrika hersteld*. Supplement: *Proeve van Kaapsch taaleigen*. Rotterdam: J. van der Vliet. (Second edition 1848.)
- Coetzee, A. E. 1982. “ ‘n Heroriëntering van die begrip standaardtaal en ‘n voorstudie van die ontwikkeling van standaard-Afrikaans gedurende die 20e eeu”. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 22: 271–89.
- Combrink, J. G. H. 1978. “Afrikaans: Its origin and development”. In *Language and Communication Studies in South Africa*, L. W. Lanham and K. P. Prinsloo (eds), 69–95. Oxford and Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Combrink, J. G. H. 1991. *Gids by die “Afrikaanse woordelys en spelreëls”*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Combrink, J. G. H., and Spies, J. 1994. *SARA: Sakboek van regte Afrikaans*. Second edition. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Conradie, C. J. 1986. *Taalgeskiedenis*. Pretoria and Cape Town: Academica.
- Davenport, T. R. H. 1966. *The Afrikaner Bond: The history of a South African political party, 1880–1911*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Davenport, T. R. H. 1969. “The consolidation of a new society: The Cape colony”. In *The Oxford History of South Africa*, M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds), Volume 1, 272–333. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davenport, T. R. H. 1987. *South Africa: A modern history*. Third edition. Johannesburg: Macmillan South Africa.
- Davids, A. 1991. *The Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims from 1815 to 1915*. M. A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- de Lima, J. Suasso. 1844. *De taal der Kapenaren, tegen de schandelijke aanranding derzelve van Professor Changuion verdedigd*. Cape Town.
- den Besten, H. 1987. “Die niederländischen Pidgins der alten Kapkolonie”. In *Beiträge zum 3. Essener Kolloquium über Sprachwandel und seine bestimmenden Faktoren*, N. Boretzky, W. Enninger, and T. Stolz (eds), 9–40. Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.
- den Besten, H. 1989. “From Khoekhoe foreigner talk via Hottentot Dutch to Afrikaans: The creation of a novel grammar”. In *Wheels within Wheels: Papers of the Duisburg Symposium on Pidgin and Creole Languages*, M. Pütz and R. Dirven (eds), 207–49. Frankfurt: Lang.
- den Besten, H. Forthcoming. “Cape Dutch Pidgin”. In: *Pidgins: Their nature and significance*. P. Baker, H. den Besten and M. Parkvall (eds). London: Battlebridge.
- Deumert, A. 2001. “Language variation and standardization at the Cape (1880–1922): A contribution to Afrikaans sociohistorical linguistics”. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 13: 301–52.
- Deumert, A. Forthcoming. *Language Standardization and Language Change: The Dynamics of Cape Dutch*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- de Villiers, M. 1983. *Afrikaanse grammatika vir volwassenes*. Cape Town: Nasou.
- Donaldson, B. C. 1990. *The Influence of English on Afrikaans*. Second edition. Pretoria: Academica.

- Donaldson, B. C. 1993. *A Grammar of Afrikaans*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- du Plessis, L. T. 1986. *Afrikaans in beweging*. Bloemfontein: Patmos.
- du Toit, S. J. 1891. *Afrikaans ons volkstaal: 71 theses, of stellinge, neergeleg en verklaar*. Paarl: D. F. du Toit & Co.
- du Toit, S. J. 1897. *Fergelykende taalkunde fan Afrikaans en Engels / Comparative grammar of English and Cape Dutch*. Paarl: D. F. du Toit & Co. (Facsimile edition in Loubser, ed., 1980; second edition 1902.)
- Eerste beginsels van die Afrikaanse taal*. 1876. Cape Colony: Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners. (Facsimile edition in Loubser, ed., 1980; second edition 1882.)
- Eksteen, L. C. 1985. "Die rol van die Akademie in die standaardisering van die Afrikaanse spelling". In *Norme vir taalgebruik* (SPIL Plus 10), R. P. Botha and M. Sinclair (eds), 169–200. Stellenbosch: Department of General Linguistics, University of Stellenbosch.
- Franken, J. L. M. (ed.). 1938. *Duminy-dagboeke/Duminy Diaries*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Franken, J. L. M. 1953. *Taalhistoriese bydraes*. Amsterdam and Cape Town: Balkema.
- Gouws, R. H., and Ponelis, F. A. 1992. "The development of Afrikaans and the lexicographical tradition". In *History, Languages, and Lexicographers*, L. Zgusta (ed.), 77–104. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Grebe, H. P. 2002. "Standaardafrikaans: Daar's 'n vlieg in die salf". *South African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 20: 37–46.
- Groenewald, G. J. 2002. Slawe, Khoekhoen en Nederlandse pidgins aan die Kaap, ca. 1590–1720: 'n Kritiese ondersoek na die sosiohistoriese grondslae van die konvergensieteorie oor die ontstaan van Afrikaans. M. A. thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Hesseling, D. C. 1897. "Het Hollandsch in Zuid-Afrika". *De Gids* 61, 138–62.
- Heugh, K. 2002. "Recovering multilingualism: Recent language-policy developments". In *Language in South Africa*, R. Mesthrie (ed.), 449–75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hiemstra, L. W. 1980. *Die juiste woord: Praktiese taalgids by die skryf van Afrikaans*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Katzen, M. F. 1969. "White settlers and the origin of a new society, 1652–1778". In *The Oxford History of South Africa*, M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds), Volume 1, 183–232. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kloss, H. 1978. *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800*. Second edition. Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann.
- le Roux, T. H. (ed.). 1977. *Die dagboek van Louis Trigardt*. Third edition. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.
- Loubser, J. E. (ed.). 1980. "*Eerste beginsels van die Afrikaanse taal*" en "*Fergelykende taalkunde fan Afrikaans en Engels*". Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Mansvelt, N. 1884. *Proeve van een Kaapsch-Hollandsch idioticon*. Utrecht: A. J. van Huffel; Cape Town: C. J. Martin. (Reprint in Van der Merwe, ed., 1971: 131–221.)
- Mentzel, O. F. [1785–87] 1921–44. *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. H. J. Mandelbrote (ed.). Three volumes. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Mesthrie, R. 2002. "South Africa: A sociolinguistic overview". In *Language in South Africa*,

- R. Mesthrie (ed.), 11–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mesthrie, R. (ed.). 2002. *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meurant, L. H. 1861. *Zamenspraak tusschen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twyfelaar, over het onderwerp van afscheiding tusschen de oostelyke en westelyke provincie*. Cradock. (Facsimile reprint 1973. Cape Town: South African Library.)
- Moodie, T. D. 1975. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, apartheid, and the Afrikaner civil religion*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Murray, S. 2002. “Language issues in South African education: An overview”. In *Language in South Africa*, R. Mesthrie (ed.), 434–48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nienaber, G. S. (ed.). 1940. *Klaas Waarzegger se Zamenspraak en briewe uit 1861*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.
- Nienaber, G. S. (ed.). 1942. *Die Afrikaanse geskrifte van Samuel Zwaartman*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.
- Nienaber, G. S. 1966–67. *Register van Afrikaans voor 1900*. Two volumes. Pretoria: Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.
- Nienaber, G. S. (ed.). 1971. *Afrikaans in die vroeër jare*. Johannesburg: Voortrekker Pers.
- Nienaber, P. J. 1949. *Die geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Bybelvertaling*. Johannesburg: Privately published.
- Nienaber, P. J. (ed.). 1982. *Vroeë Afrikaans in die Vrystaat tot 1875*. Johannesburg and Cape Town: Perskor.
- Nienaber, P. J., and Heyl, J. A. (eds). n.d. *Pleidooie in belang van Afrikaans*. Two volumes. Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel.
- Odendal, F. F., and Gouws, R. H. (eds). 2000. *HAT: Verklarende handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal*. Fourth edition. Johannesburg and Cape Town: Perskor.
- Patriot-Woordeboek / Patriot Dictionary, Afrikaans-Engels / Cape Dutch-English*. 1902. Paarl: D. F. du Toit & Co. (Reprint 1968. H. J. J. M. van der Merwe (ed.), Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.)
- Pheiffer, R. H. 1980. *Die gebroke Nederlands van Franssprekendes aan die Kaap in die eerste helfte van die agtiende eeu*. Cape Town, Pretoria, and Johannesburg: Academica.
- Ponelis, F. A. 1979. *Afrikaanse sintaksis*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.
- Ponelis, F. A. 1993. *The Development of Afrikaans*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Ponelis, F. A. 1998. *Standaardafrikaans en die Afrikaanse taalfamilie*. (Universiteit van Stellenbosch annale, 1998/1). Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.
- Prinsloo, A. F., and Odendal, F. F. 1995. *Afrikaans op sy beste: Hulp met moderne taalkwessies*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.
- Raidt, E. H. 1976. “Linguistische und soziologische Faktoren des Sprachwandels im Afrikaans des 18. Jahrhunderts”. In *Akten des V. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses (= Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik, A/2)*, L. W. Forster and H-G. Roloff (eds), 2.2, 155–64. Bern: Herbert Lang.
- Raidt, E. H. 1983. *Einführung in Geschichte und Struktur des Afrikaans*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Raidt, E. H. 1984. “Vrouetaal en taalverandering”. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 24: 256–86. (Reprint in Raidt 1994: 175–216.)
- Raidt, E. H. 1985. “Historiese perspektief op die normering van Afrikaans”. In *Norme vir*

- taalgebruik (SPIL Plus 10), R. P. Botha and M. Sinclair (eds), 147–68. (Reprint in Raidt 1994: 311–29.) Stellenbosch: Department of General Linguistics, University of Stellenbosch.
- Raidt, E. H. 1986. “Standardiseringsprobleme im Afrikaans: Sprachnormierung und Sprachpolitik”. In *Akten des VII. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses*, P. von Polenz, J. Erben, and J. Goossens (eds), volume four, 120–28. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Raidt, E. H. 1991. *Afrikaans en sy Europese verlede*. Third edition. Cape Town: Nasou.
- Raidt, E. H. 1994. *Historiese taalkunde: Studies oor die geskiedenis van Afrikaans*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Raidt, E. H. 1997. “Interference, shift, and loss of Dutch in South Africa”. In *Dutch Overseas: Studies in maintenance and loss of Dutch as an immigrant language*, J. Klatter-Folmer and S. Kroon (eds), 215–36. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.
- Reagan, T. G. 2002. “Language planning and language policy: Past, present, future”. In *Language in South Africa*, R. Mesthrie (ed.), 419–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberge, P. T. 1992. “Afrikaans and the ontogenetic myth”. *Language and Communication* 12: 31–52.
- Roberge, P. T. 1994. “On detecting a prior linguistic continuum in Cape Dutch”. In *Nuwe perspektiewe op die geskiedenis van Afrikaans, opgedra aan Edith H. Raidt*, G. Olivier and A. E. Coetzee (eds), 153–65. Johannesburg: Southern Books.
- Roberge, P. T. 2002. “Convergence and the formation of Afrikaans”. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 14: 57–93.
- Roberge, P. T. Forthcoming. “Reconstructing the Cape Dutch Pidgin”. In *Pidgins: Their Nature and Significance*, P. Baker, H. den Besten and M. Parkvall (eds). London: Battlebridge.
- Ross, M. 1997. “Social networks and kinds of speech-community event”. In *Archaeology and Language I: Theoretical and Methodological Orientations*, R. Blench and M. Spriggs (eds), 209–61. London and New York: Routledge.
- Scholtz, J. du P. 1963. *Taalhistoriese opstelle*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.
- Scholtz, J. du P. 1965. *Die Afrikaner en sy taal 1806–1875*. Second edition. Cape Town: Nasou.
- Scholtz, J. du P. 1972. *Afrikaans-Hollands in die agtiende eeu*. Cape Town: Nasou.
- Scholtz, J. du P. 1980. *Wording en ontwikkeling van Afrikaans*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Schoonees, P. C. et al. 1970–. *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal*. 11 volumes to date. Stellenbosch: Buro van die WAT.
- Schuchardt, Hugo. 1885. Review of Mansvelt 1884. *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 6: 464–70.
- Shaffer, D. 1978. “Afrikaans as a case study in vernacular elevation and standardization”. *Linguistics* 213, 51–64.
- Shell, R. C.-H. 1994. *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838*. Hanover (N. H.): Wesleyan University Press, published by University Press of New England.
- Smith, J. F., van Gensen, A. and Willemse, H. (eds). 1985. *Swart Afrikaanse skrywers*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape.
- Steyn, J. C. 1980. *Tuiste in eie taal*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

- Teenstra, M. D. [1830] 1943. *De vruchten mijner werkzaamheden*. Ed. by F. C. L. Bosman. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Valkhoff, M. F. 1972. *New Light on Afrikaans and "Malayo-Portuguese"*. Louvain: Éditions Peeters Imprimerie Orientaliste.
- van den Heever, R. (ed.). 1988. *Afrikaans en bevryding: Alternatiewe Afrikaans seminaar van die Kaaplandse Professionele Onderwysersunie, 26–27 Februarie 1988*. Kasselsvlei: Kaaplandse Professionele Onderwysersunie.
- van der Merwe, H. J. J. M. 1982. *Die korrekte woord: Afrikaanse taalkwessies*. Sixth edition revised by F. A. Ponelis. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.
- van der Merwe, H. J. J. M. (ed.). 1971. *Vroeë Afrikaanse woordelyste*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.
- van Oordt, L. C. (ed.). 1947–56. "Die Kaapse taalargief". Parts 1–4 privately published, Cape Town; Parts 5–10 in *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns* 10: 65–88, 11: 55–75, 12: 73–101, 13: 45–73, 14: 33–56, 16: 97–124.
- van Oordt, L. C. (ed.). 1959–62. Cape archival materials. Special Collections, J. S. Gericke Library, University of Stellenbosch, no. 139.
- van Rensburg, M. C. J. 1983. "Nie-standaardvorme, variasiepatrone en Afrikaans uit die vorige eeu". In *Taalverskeidenheid: 'n Blik op die spektrum van taalvariasie in Afrikaans*, G. N. Claassen and M. C. J. van Rensburg (eds), 134–61. Pretoria, Cape Town, and Johannesburg: Academica.
- van Rensburg, M. C. J. (ed.). 1984. *Die Afrikaans van die Griekwas van die tagtigerjare*. 2 vols. Bloemfontein: University of the Orange Free State.
- van Rensburg, M. C. J. 1990. *Taalvariëteite en die wording van Afrikaans in Afrika*. Bloemfontein: Patmos.
- van Schoor, J. L. 1983. *Die grammatika van Standaard-Afrikaans*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: Lex Patria.
- van Selms, A. (ed.). 1951. *Arabies-Afrikaanse studies I: 'n Tweetalige (Arabiese en Afrikaanse) kategismus*. (Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, n. r., deel 14, no. 1.) Amsterdam: North Holland.
- van Selms, A. (ed.). 1955. "Die oudste boek in Afrikaans: Isjmoeni se *Betroubare woord*". *Hertog-Annale* 2 (2): 61–103.
- van Selms, A. (ed.). 1979. *Abu Bakr se "Uiteensetting van die godsdiens"*. (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, n. r., deel 101.) Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Webb, V. N. 2002. *Language in South Africa: The role of language in national transformation, reconstruction, and development*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Webb, V. N. (ed.). 1992. *Afrikaans ná Apartheid*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.
- Webb, V. N., and Kriel, M. 2000. "Afrikaans and Afrikaner nationalism". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 144: 19–49.
- Wilson, M., and Thompson, L. (eds). 1969–71. *The Oxford History of South Africa*. Two volumes. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Worden, Nigel. 1985. *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caribbean Creoles

Hubert Devonish

University of the West Indies, Jamaica

1. Sociohistorical background

Origins

The modern sociolinguistic situation in the Caribbean emerged out of European colonization of the region which began when Columbus was discovered on the beaches of the Bahamas in 1492. The main historical feature of this process was African-European contact in plantation slave societies. The speakers of European languages occupied dominant positions in relation to Africans imported as slave labour. The resulting language contact situation was one in which there were speakers of a European language such as English or Dutch coexisting with speakers of a fairly heterogeneous group of West African Niger-Congo languages. Over time, language varieties emerged which derived the bulk of their vocabularies from the dominant European language but which showed features of phonology, morphology and syntax that were highly divergent from that language. These language varieties have come to be labelled Creole languages. That Caribbean Creole phonology shows influence from the West African substrate languages is not generally disputed. The source of the morphosyntax of these languages, however, has been the subject of controversy. One view, typically represented by Alleyne (1980: 136–180), is that there are strong West African retentions at the morpho-syntactic level, as well. Diametrically opposed is Bickerton (1981: 43–135). He points to the linguistic heterogeneity in early Caribbean plantation society and the consequent lack of a stable and structured linguistic input amongst children born into such societies. This, he argues, caused these children to fall back on a linguistic bioprogram which they used to create new languages, Creole languages, from scratch.¹

Whatever the source of their linguistic features, crucial to the development of these languages was their role in expressing newly emerging identities. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181) present the hypothesis that “the individual creates for

himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished". As argued by Smith (1987: 12–16), when subordinate linguistic groups are brought together in a colonial established state, an inter-group lingua franca develops. At the same time, a "new problematic cultural identity" emerges for people who were severed from communities of origin while being integrated into the new colonial state structure. He argues that in multilingual situations such as those which produce Creole languages, new languages only emerge when they have a clear social role to fill. The social role of these emergent Creole languages was to express a newly emergent "Creole" ethnic identity. As expressions of this new identity, Creole languages became, over time, the native language of the earliest locally born speakers, those of African descent and also those of European descent. Creole languages came to serve as lingua francas across all ethnic and social groups, including succeeding waves of imported West African slaves. In all this, the European language continued to function as the language of government and of public formal interaction within the dominant group. By contrast, Creole languages came into being to function as linguistic media for private informal interaction, the L(ow) functions in a diglossic situation. The European languages, by retaining roles as languages of the state and of public formal interaction, functioned as the H(igh) language in these colonial diglossic situations.

Historical lessons

Languages of Germanic influence in the Caribbean can be placed into two roughly distinct but partly overlapping groups. The first of these can be regarded as Caribbean varieties of a standard European language. These include Surinamese Dutch, and the range of localized standard varieties of English spoken in the former British possessions of the region such as Guyana, Belize and Jamaica. The Caribbean varieties of English have been treated collectively by Allsopp (1996) under the label Caribbean Standard English or, as we shall label them here, Standard Caribbean English. The second group consists of what may be called Caribbean Creole languages of Germanic lexicon. English-lexicon Creoles make up the largest portion of this group and will be the focus of this study. However, there were also three Dutch-lexicon Creoles spoken in the region. One was Negerhollands which was spoken in the former Danish West Indies where the Dutch made up the bulk of the eighteenth century slave owning class. Negerhollands is now extinct. There were two other Dutch Creoles, Skepi Dutch Creole, spoken in the former Dutch colony of Essequibo on the mainland of South America, and Berbice Dutch Creole spoken in

the nearby Dutch colony of Berbice. The two were not mutually intelligible, with the latter showing a great deal of similarity to Negerhollands. These Dutch colonies became British at the end of the nineteenth century, and are now part of the Republic of Guyana. In Guyana, Skepi Dutch Creole is extinct and Berbice Dutch Creole almost so (Robertson 1979, 1989; Kouwenberg 1994).

In spite of the poor survival rate of Dutch Creoles, they have had a rich legacy of efforts at standardization. This legacy involves many of the same issues raised in later Creole language standardization processes in the Caribbean. From the early decades of the eighteenth century, Negerhollands was employed in the Danish West Indies with great success in converting African and African descended Dutch Creole speaking slaves to Christianity. This activity required the conversion of Christian religious texts into written Negerhollands. In fact, two different writing systems were developed, one by the Moravian Brethren and the other by the Danish Lutherans, for representing the language. Observers have noted that in the late eighteenth century, the slaves in the Danish West Indies had a much higher level of literacy than slaves in other Caribbean colonies. This has been attributed to the practice in that era of encouraging literacy in the local Creole language, Negerhollands (Lawaetz 1980: 36).

Stein (1995: 41–45) describes the emergence of written Negerhollands. This process, arguably the first such development for a Caribbean Creole language, took place by way of letter writing during the period 1737 and 1767. The first letter writers were European missionaries. However, after 1739, when Negerhollands had established itself as the main language of the letters written by missionaries, slaves whom the missionaries had taught to read and write in Dutch themselves began to write letters (Stein 1995: 43). The bulk of the corpus of 147 slave letters was written in what Stein identifies as Negerhollands. He, however, points out the difficulty of distinguishing between Dutch and Negerhollands since many of his texts could be interpreted as representing Dutch with some Negerhollands interference. He suggests that the first letters were indeed intended to be written in Dutch. After 1739, however, Dutch was replaced by Negerhollands as the main language. Nevertheless, Dutch did not entirely disappear from the corpus (Stein 1995: 47).

Contemporary reports on Negerhollands suggest that its spoken form was highly variable during the eighteenth century. The variety spoken by the slaves was described at the time as being heavily mixed with West African languages, notably at the level of phonology and lexicon. The variety spoken by locally born persons of European descent was more “refined” or “pure”, i.e. relatively free of West African influence at the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels, and, as a consequence, easily understood by Europeans. It was this “pure” variety which was first selected for use by the letter writers. In keeping with other aspects of its “purity”,

this written variety closely approximated the orthographic forms of European Dutch. This Dutch influenced form of written Negerhollands was the natural outcome of the fact that the early writers, whether European or local, had acquired literacy in Dutch and were adapting their literacy practices to represent a language which shared many features with Dutch. Their preference would naturally have been to write in a variety as close to Dutch as was possible. Evidence that this was indeed the case comes from, for example, morpho-syntactic variation in the earliest writing. Thus, non-Dutch morpho-syntactic features excluded from the earliest texts in favour of more Dutch-like forms make an appearance in texts fifteen years later. As an example, the suffix morpheme *-s* is consistently used to mark plural nouns in the earliest Negerhollands texts. However, later, the lexical morpheme, *sender*, the third person plural pronoun, is used after the noun to signal plurality, almost entirely replacing *-s*. Within fifteen years, written Negerhollands had shifted to a variety which was less Dutch-influenced, but which was still characterized by the absence of words of African origin and pronunciations considered deviant from Dutch (Stein 1995: 43–52).²

In the early development of Negerhollands as a written language, we see an issue which continues to dog Creole language standardization to the present. It involves the nature of the relationship that should exist between a standardized variety of Creole and the European language from which it has derived the bulk of its vocabulary. How close to or how distant from the European language should the Creole norm be? This question is repeatedly raised in the modern efforts at standardizing Caribbean Creole languages.

The Creole-to-English continuum and standardization

Sranan is the most widely spoken of the English-lexicon Creoles of Suriname, a former Dutch colony on the northern shoulder of South America. Sranan presents a special case. It exists, according to Ferguson (1959: 429), in a bilingual situation “analogous to diglossia”. The H language, Dutch, cannot easily be construed as being part of the same language or language system as the English-lexicon L language varieties. Healy (1993: 28) proposes for Surinam two parallel continua, one involving Dutch with increasing degrees of influence from Sranan, and the other Sranan, with increasing degrees of influence from Dutch. This situation presents challenges to standardization different from the other Caribbean English-lexicon Creole situations in which the coexisting European language is English and in which we find a single rather than double continuum. In the interest of simplifying the discussion here, we shall exclude Suriname from the discussion in this paper.

In the more usual situations, English-lexicon Creoles in the Caribbean area coexist with local varieties of Standard English. This is the case with countries such as Guyana, Jamaica and Belize. There is an absence of clear lines of demarcation between English and Creole. One finds, rather, a gradual shading off from the most clearly English-oriented varieties towards those which are most deviant from English. A considerable amount of research has taken place into characterizing what has come to be called the (post-) Creole continuum (DeCamp 1971; Bickerton 1975; Rickford 1987). Against this background, the argument presented by Devonish (1978, 1998) is that the interaction between English and Creole is rule-governed. The intermediate varieties, as a consequence, are very stable. This is contrary to the position of Ferguson (1959: 433) on intermediate varieties in classic diglossic situations. His view is that these varieties tend to be relatively unstable. Typically, in the situations under discussion, speakers have repertoires that span varying ranges on the continuum. For any speaker, the more formal social situations would be likely to produce the use of varieties more approximating English, and the more informal situations, those more approximating Creole. Language behaviour in these situations is, in large measure, therefore, diglossic in nature.

Language ideology in diglossic continua

The diglossic reality of these language situations has a very specific representation in the public imagination. Creole is considered a broken form of English or, more positively, a localized dialect of English. “Standard English” is the language of public-formal and written communication. Traditionally, this is thought of as “the Queen’s English” and is widely considered to be synonymous with Standard British English. This belief is strong in spite of the fact that there is easily available evidence, notably from British English language use in the electronic mass media, that British English differs in its spoken form significantly from its closest Caribbean equivalents.

The dominant language ideology views standard varieties of English, including Standard Caribbean English, as having no identity separate and apart from British English. This feeling of a lack of distinction is assisted by the status and prestige of Internationally Acceptable English (IAE) along with its idealizing agents such as dictionaries and grammar books.³ The prevailing language ideology simultaneously emphasizes the internal coherence of the language forms closest to IAE, and minimizes any such coherence in those forms of speech most deviant from IAE. This attitude has even come to influence academic work on these language situations. Thus, DeCamp (1971: 35) criticizes the work of Bailey (1966) who produced the first comprehensive syntactic description of Jamaican Creole, on the ground that the variety she described “... is an abstract ideal type, a composite of all non-

standard features, a combination which is actually spoken by few if any Jamaicans.” In the approach of DeCamp (1971), “true” Jamaican Creole has ceased to exist, watered down to increasing degrees along the “post-Creole continuum” by influence from Standard Jamaican English. Despite her difference in perspective, this is a characterization with which Bailey (1971: 342) seems to be in agreement when she states: “The speakers of unadulterated JC [Jamaican Creole] are rare indeed...” We see here, even among linguists, manifestations of classic diglossic language ideology. Ferguson (1958: 431) states: “... H alone is regarded as real and L is reported not to exist”.

The interesting point, however, is that none of these positions takes into account the fact that IAE and its local approximations are also abstractions, and are equally a composite, this time of all “standard” features. The much criticized concept of a “composite of all non-standard features” for an abstract ideal of Jamaican Creole is only possible against the background of a “composite of all standard features”, the abstract ideal of “standard” English. Speakers of unadulterated Standard Belizean, Guyanese or Jamaican English are as rare as are speakers of “unadulterated Creole”. The ability to use varieties approximating IAE is, in the main, developed through exposure to the formal education system. However, even a highly educated speaker cannot be expected to use Standard Caribbean English to the exclusion of Creole.

English-lexicon Creole languages exist in public consciousness hidden amongst “dialects” of English. Thus, Louise Bennett, noted as a pioneer “dialect” poet in Jamaican Creole, writes a poem defending Jamaican “dialect”, in which she associates Jamaican Creole with British regional/non-standard dialects such as Scots, Yorkshire and Cockney. She asks the opponents of Jamaican Creole who have vowed to destroy it, whether *Yuh gwine kill all English dialect (o)r jus Jamaica one?* (‘Are you going to kill all the English dialects or just Jamaica’s’; Bennett, 1966: 218). This “dialect” issue and the perception that Creole is a non-standard off-shoot of English and should be treated as such, bedevil Creole norm selection, as we shall see in the following section.

2. Norm selection

Standardizing an H variety: Standard Caribbean English

The issue of norm selection applies, in the first instance, to the local H-varieties, the standard varieties of English. The aim of the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* edited by Richard Allsopp (1996), hereafter the DCEU, and the *Caribbean Lexicog-*

raphy Project out of which it was produced, is to codify an H variety, “Caribbean Standard English”, out of the range of varieties closest to Internationally Acceptable English. The emotive force operating here is a Caribbean nationalism which considers that “... the DCEU should be an inward and spiritual operator of regional integration even more powerful as a signal of unity than a national flag would be” (Allsopp 1996: xxxi). The goal is to make the elitist abstraction of “Caribbean Standard English” a sociolinguistic reality. But what of those other language forms variously described in DCEU as “basilectal” Creole, creolized language or just plain Creole and treated as outside the pale of Caribbean English? The DCEU handles these language varieties and their associated variants with “Caribbean Standard English” as the reference point. These varieties are viewed as constituting Creole “remainder features” or Creole “borrowings” and “survivals”. According to the DCEU, these variants, when employed in Caribbean English, produce less formal language varieties, with their heaviest presence at the anti-formal level:

Deliberately rejecting Formalness; consciously familiar and intimate; part of a wide range from close and friendly through jocular to coarse and vulgar; ... When such items are used an absence or a wilful closing of social distance is signalled. Such forms survive profusely in folk-proverbs and sayings ... (Allsopp 1996: lvii).

It should be noted, however, that these roles, while on the periphery of the functions of Caribbean Standard English, lie at the core of the functions of Creole.

The DCEU approaches the issue of the relationship between “Caribbean Standard English” and English lexicon Creole by claiming to cover all of what it refers to as “Caribbean English”. Allsopp (1996: lvi) establishes a hierarchy of “Formalness” “... using four descending levels, — *Formal*, *Informal*, *Anti-formal*, *Erroneous*” (Allsopp 1996: lvi) (italics in original). This hierarchy is used as a basis for both describing forms and prescribing for their use.

- (a) The “Formal” is that which is “[a]ccepted as educated: belonging or assignable to IAE; also any regionalism which is not replaceable by any other designation” (Allsopp 1996: lvi).
- (b) The “Informal” is defined as “[a]ccepted as familiar; chosen as part of usually well-structured, casual, relaxed speech, but sometimes characterized by morphological and syntactic reductions of English structure and other remainder features of decreolization” (Allsopp 1996: lvi).
- (c) As for the “Anti-Formal”, this is described as “Deliberately rejecting Formalness; consciously familiar and intimate, part of a wide range from close and friendly through jocular to coarse and vulgar; any Creolized or Creole form or structure surviving or conveniently borrowed to suit context or situation” (Allsopp 1996: lvii).

- (d) Finally “Erroneous” is that which is “Not permissible as IAE (Internationally Acceptable English), although evidently considered to be so by the user” (Allsopp 1996: lvii).

The identification of the forms associated with each category is based on their appropriateness for use in situations of varying levels of intimacy among interlocutors. Forms associated with the highest level of formality are unmarked in the DCEU and can be presumed to have been described as part of Caribbean Standard English, and to have been prescribed for it. The linguistic forms associated with the remaining two levels of formality are marked accordingly in the DCEU and show, according to Allsopp’s definition, increasing degrees of Creole influence. The Informal variety is viewed by him as consisting of “remainder features of decreolization” and the Anti-formal as being composed of, among other features, “any Creolized or Creole form or structure surviving or conveniently borrowed to suit context or occasion” (Allsopp 1996: lvi–lvii). All of this suggests that increasing numbers of Creole features are incorporated into what is otherwise Caribbean Standard English, in order to allow it to acquire some level of informality. English features are characteristic of the H functions in this diglossic situation, and Creole features the L functions.

That the dictionary project is ultimately aimed at standardizing an H variety in a diglossic situation is supported by the fact that the norm being selected is a primarily a written one. Thus, Allsopp (1996: lvi) defines Standard Caribbean English/Caribbean Standard English as

The literate English of educated nationals of Caribbean territories and their spoken English such as is considered natural in formal social contexts.

By defining it as a written language, i.e. “literate English” spoken naturally “in formal social contexts”, the language politics behind the DCEU becomes clear. The dictionary describes a language variety which has very restricted functions, largely those associated with the H domain. In other words, the DCEU represents a standardization of the H variety, sanctioned by institutions of the state. Evidence can be found for this in the assertion by the editor of the DCEU that,

...in omitting the mass of Caribbean basilectal vocabulary and idiom in favour of the mesolectal and acrolectal, and using a hierarchy of formality in status-labelling the entries throughout, the work is being prescriptive. This is in keeping with expressed needs, and with the mandate agreed and supported by successive regional resolutions ... (Allsopp, 1996: xxvi).

Standardizing the L variety: English-lexicon Creoles

In relation to normalization within the Creole language varieties, Devonish (1978) proposed the creation of a compromise variety along the continuum which would facilitate understanding and use by the maximum number of persons in the society. The aim was to identify a variety of Guyanese Creole that could be used in the mass media and in public communication, as a language medium with a wider audience than standard Guyanese English. This approach did not propose the imposition of a standard variety but rather identifying a common variety which could be used to greatest communicative effect in the mass media. The intention was that the public would continue to be free to use whatever variety of Guyanese Creole they were accustomed to when communicating in the media. The focus of this exercise was radio broadcasting with members of the public having the opportunity to communicate on radio through phone-in programs, “man-in-the-street” type interviews, etc. This approach, it was felt, would not be problematic since it would operate in a speech community characterized by tolerance of dialect variation and passive competence in a range of varieties along the continuum. The proposal for a norm was being directed at the language used by professional radio broadcasters, as distinct from that of members of the public whose voices from time to time could be heard by way of phone-in programmes and interviews. The professional radio voice would have to employ a specific variety. The recommended norm would be a neutral variety which would include the Creole speech habits of the widest range of speakers possible.

A specific method was adopted to identify the variety. It relied on a particular analysis of variation on the Creole-to-English continuum. Devonish (1989: 129–140; 1991: 565–584; 1998: 1–12) proposes that the linguistic interaction between English and Creole is rule governed. A language variety can only be proposed to exist at the level of the clause. Beyond the clause, speakers are free to shift between language varieties as their linguistic repertoires allow and as social factors require. Within the clause, of the theoretically possible combinations of Creole and English features, only a restricted number are actually possible. To illustrate, below we see a sample of the Creole and English combinations possible in equivalent sentences in Guyana and Jamaica respectively. The linguistic variables involved are

- (i) past marking with the variants /bin/ or /(b)en/ (Creole), /did/ [intermediate] and /woz/ (English), and
- (ii) continuative aspect marking, with the variants, pre-verbal /a/ (Creole), and post verbal /-in/ (English).

The starred sentences are the ones not acceptable in the particular language situation. At the most English and the most Creole levels, (a) and (f) respectively, usage

in the two speech communities is almost identical. However, at the level of the mixed or intermediate varieties, there is significant divergence. The evidence suggests that, in both communities, the combining of features from Creole and English is permissible, yet possible combinations are constrained. In fact, in each case, these constraints allow six possible combinations, blocking two. The blocked sentences, however, are different in each situation, a result of different sets of constraints being in operation.

- (1) ‘The man was/had been talking’
- | | Guyana | Jamaica | |
|----|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| a. | di maan bin a taak | di man (b)en a taak | L variety |
| b. | di maan bin taakin | *di man (b)en taakin | |
| c. | *di maan did a taak | di man did a taak | |
| d. | di maan did taakin | *di man did taakin | |
| e. | *di maan woz a taak | di man woz a taak | |
| f. | di maan woz taakin | di man woz taakin | H variety |
- (Devonish 1989: 133)

In the above, the pre-predicator marker *a* marks the continuative or progressive aspect, varying with the more English-influenced suffix — *in*, which bears the same meaning. The pre-predicator marker variant forms, *bin* and *did* and *woz* signal past tense and/or anterior. In combination, the variants from the two pre-predicator variables produce a meaning akin to English *was V-ing* or *had been V-ing*.

It was using facts such as these that Devonish (1978) sought to select forms for his publicly useable variety of Guyanese Creole, i.e. the variety designated for use in the mass media. For each morpho-syntactic variable, the variant that had the widest powers of co-occurrence with other variable features was the one selected. Faced with the Guyanese variation involving /bin/, /did/ and /woz/ for the past tense variable in the example above, and /a/ and /-in/ for the continuative aspect variable, /bin/ and /-in/ would have been selected for the publicly useable variety on the ground that /bin/ shows wider powers of co-occurrence. It is able to occur with both the basilectal /a/ continuative aspect marker variant and /-in/, the acrolectal variant. The variants /did/ and /woz/ are more restricted in their distribution. Speakers of a wider range of varieties across the continuum are likely to have /bin/ within their passive competence than they would either /did/ or /woz/. Following a similar line of reasoning, /-in/ would be selected in preference to /a/. This is by virtue of /-in/ being able to co-occur with all the past tense variants, and by it having a much wider power of co-occurrence with the past tense variants than does /a/. The latter is only able to occur with one of the three.

Interestingly, applying the same principles to the Jamaican data above, we would end up with a different pair, /woz/ and /a/ as the selected forms. This is especially

worthy of note since the respective acrolectal and basilectal forms, as represented by (a) and (f) respectively, are identical or nearly identical to one another. Thus, if the approach across the various Caribbean English-lexicon Creole situations is to opt for non-basilectal Creole norms, the varieties so selected will become more divergent from one another than is reflected in either their respective acrolects or their basilects. This would create difficulties in achieving some level of convergence in norm selection across the various Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles.

The Devonish (1978) proposal was made before a nationalist upsurge in language consciousness, especially in Jamaica, which has created a different psychological framework within which Creole standardization could take place. In Jamaica, the process of Creole language standardization and normalization is not simply a utilitarian matter, aimed at giving monolingual Creole speakers access to the mass media and public information. It is equally about the assertion of national identity amongst bilingual speakers. For the latter, the idealization of the Creole language variety is a central issue. In spite of this, however, the main claim currently being made for the public formal use of Creole is as a means of respecting the language rights of predominantly monolingual speakers of the language when they deal with agencies of the state. In May 2002 during discussions within the Joint Select Committee of Parliament charged with the task of drafting a Bill of Rights for the Jamaican constitution, the issue of language rights was raised. The view was expressed that in some areas of Jamaica a variety of Jamaican Creole was spoken which was “entirely different” from that spoken elsewhere. The implication was that this allegedly considerable gap between varieties of Jamaican Creole was going to render it impossible to grant right of access to the agencies of the state in that language.

As a result of such reservations the process of granting constitutional language rights to speakers of Jamaican Creole now focuses mainly on popular beliefs about the relative mutual intelligibility of the various varieties of the language. Only if decision makers can be persuaded that there is a form of Jamaican Creole which is intelligible to all Jamaicans, will they support the case for promoting its use by agencies of the state in their dealings with the public. If they can be persuaded, it follows that whichever variety is considered most intelligible would be the one favoured to function as a widely usable official norm for the language.

In a significant piece of research Miller (2002) attempted to answer the question and, as a consequence, to settle the issue of what would be accepted as a widely usable Jamaican Creole norm. She selected a sample of educated bilinguals, two from each of the 13 parishes in Jamaica (the two urban parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew counting as one). She asked her informants to identify, from the list of parishes, which parish dialect or dialects they considered most difficult to understand. Of the responses given, 44% identified the dialect of St. Elizabeth, a western parish, as that most difficult to understand. In addition, 94% identified the dialects

aan atak yu
and attack you

‘You don’t have to be doing anything for them to just come and attack you.’

(Miller 2002: 22–23).

The results obtained by Miller showed that the two dialect guises were equally intelligible to speakers originating in all of the parishes of Jamaica (Miller 2002: 15). This does mean that, from the intelligibility standpoint, nothing stands in the way of the Kingston and St. Andrew variety emerging as the norm. Those involved in extending the functions of Jamaican Creole seem aware of this. Thus, for example, there was the decision of the Bible Society of the West Indies when doing its audio-cassette recording entitled “Jamaican Patois Scripture Portions” around 1997, to opt for an urban, Kingston and St. Andrew variety, inclusive of the progressive marker, /a/, in their translation of portions of the New Testament into Jamaican Creole. The indicators are that in Jamaica, in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, we are seeing a process of standardization by consensus rather than fiat.⁴

A key aspect of the process of Creole language standardization in Jamaica, has been the need to create and maintain a distance between English and Creole. At the level of the lexicon, one approach is that any English word is a potential Jamaican Creole word, subject to appropriate phonological modification. The forces of social consensus in Jamaica are, however, moving in a different direction. In an analysis of Standard Jamaican English texts carried out by Sand (1999: 103–105), she compares lexical frequencies in her Jamaican English texts with those of comparable non-Caribbean corpora. She notes much higher frequencies of very formal English items, e.g. “commence”, “await”, “persons”, etc. when compared with their more everyday equivalents, i.e. “start”, “wait for”, “people”, etc. This is the reverse of the relative frequencies seen in comparable texts in metropolitan varieties of English. It appears that there is a communal drift towards the separation of Creole and English and this is manifesting itself at the level of the lexicon. The less formal English items, i.e. “start”, “wait for” and “people”, are identical or nearly identical in shape to the forms used in Jamaican Creole. Therefore, they are being avoided in Standard Jamaican English through replacement with highly formal English equivalents markedly different from the forms used in Jamaican Creole. Speakers are developing and maintaining a clear gap between the lexicons of the two varieties. The distinction between these two varieties is thus emphasized.

In the case of Belize, the standardization process seems to be heading in a different direction. If we examine the spelling guide which introduces a glossary of Belizean Creole lexical items, we see the difference: in a note on Creole languages and word origins, great emphasis is placed on loanwords and a recognition that the

great bulk of the items in that language originated from English (Belize Creole Project 1997: 24). No mention is made either in that section or in the short grammar of the language which follows, of the independent word formation devices of the language. I suggest, given other indicators which will be referred to later, that this silence is a sign of a favourable attitude to continued assimilation of English vocabulary as a means of expanding the lexicon of the language.

The issue of maintaining the distinction between the languages at the level of orthography is more problematic. This is because the writing conventions available are exclusively those of English. The only flexibility exists in the traditions associated with the writing of non-standard and regional British dialects in literary work, which allows, for example, for the use of apostrophes to indicate sounds that are supposedly deleted with reference to standard varieties of English. This approach, in fact, came to be the “standard” way by which Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles are represented, even by writers who were native speakers such as Louise Bennett (1966).

Nevertheless, many bilinguals who are already literate in English find this dialect writing approach difficult to read. A modified version of the dialect writing approach which aimed at improving readability, was adopted by Mervyn Morris in his edited collection of Louise Bennett’s poems (1982). He tried to make the text more readable to the bilingual mono-literate by assuming that (i) the reader is accustomed to reading English, (ii) anyone accustomed to Jamaican Creole will “hear” the Creole sounds even when the spelling looks like English, (iii) readability would be aided by avoiding “spattering the text with apostrophes” (Morris 1982: xx).

Other efforts have been made to deal with the readability problem. One example is Smith’s (1986: xxix) edition of oral accounts of Jamaican women’s experiences, largely given in Jamaican Creole. The editor outlines his approach to orthographic representation as follows (Smith 1986: xxix):

Though phonetic spelling would clearly be the most logical alternative, the fact that the system of education has long treated Creole as a bastard cousin to English, and the fact that people consequently find the phonetic version hard to read, means that a purely phonetic spelling was impractical at this state. The result is a compromise between phonetic spelling, English spelling and spellings which have become commonly accepted through constant usage.

Presumably, Smith intends, by her use of the term “phonetic”, to mean “phonemic”. What emerges, however, is not significantly different from other work functioning within the constraints of English dialect writing traditions.

The Belizean model, associated with the orthography employed by Belize Creole Language Project, tries to move a little further in the direction of consistency while retaining reference to the way cognate words are spelt in English. According to Decker (1995: 6), the orthographic model for Belizean Creole adopted in 1994

was one which approximated the phonemic principle in the use of its consonants, but "... the two or three different ways of spelling each vowel are chosen from the way those sounds are written most commonly in English." In fact, however, to take an extreme case, the same vowel may be represented in at least four different ways. In the case of /ai/, this is represented in the orthography as "i-e" (where — stands for the intervening consonant) as in "bite", "ie" as in "tie", "y" as in "try" and "ai" as in "wai" ("why"; Belize Creole Orthography Project 1994: 8). The choice in the first three is determined by the spellings these words take in English and in the fourth by a desire to ensure that the lexical item is represented by a minimum of three graphemes. Given the heavy reliance on how cognate items are spelt in English, it is not surprising that "... bilingual Creoles, already literate in English, have very little difficulty reading a text in this new orthography the first time they see it."

This approach is problematic, however. To illustrate, in keeping with English spelling conventions, Belizean Creole /e:/ is represented by either "a-e" or "ay". The decision on how to spell the Creole cognates of the English words, "fate" and "faith", is primarily based on the vowel spellings of the cognate items in English. Thus, the former is spelt "fate" in the Belize orthography. As for the latter, this is spelt with "ay" as in "fayt" since "ai" is a digraph used to represent the diphthong /ai/ in the orthography (Belize Creole Orthography Project 1994: 4; Decker 1995: 6). Convenient though the system is for its intended readers, it is less so for intended writers. These can only know which vowel representation to choose by referring back to how cognates are spelt in English and, where necessary, as in the case of the cognate to "faith", making some system internal adjustments.

The challenge to these half-hearted attempts at freeing the orthographic conventions from those of English has come from Carolyn Cooper (1993, 2000). She has pioneered the use of the Cassidy phonemic writing system in work aimed at the general public. She had a series of newspaper columns during the 1990s appearing fortnightly over a period of several years, written in Jamaican Creole using the Cassidy writing system, a phonemic based system developed by Cassidy (1961: 433) for representing the language. Early on in the process, however, Cooper was forced to compromise. Afraid to remain unread, she published her column side by side in two orthographies, the Cassidy and the traditional English modified orthography which she termed "Chaka-Chaka" from the Jamaican Creole word, "chaka-chaka" "untidy" (Cooper 2000: 94). Cooper (1993) most sharply attacks the orthographic compromisers in her academic critique of "Lionheart Gal", the book of personal accounts by women edited by Smith (1986) whose compromising orthographic practice has already been described. In the middle of her analysis which she began in English, Cooper (1993: 91) shifts to Jamaican Creole, the language of most of the text which she is critiquing. This shift allows her to pose an orthographic challenge

to the text under discussion.

My analysis of the testimonies of the women of Sistren ... will now proceed in Jamaican. I use the Cassidy orthography which differs markedly from the English-oriented orthography of the *Lionheart Gal* text. 'We come together and talk our life story and put it in a lickle scene...' A so Ava se Sistrin staat aaf: a tel wananada stuori. ('We came together and told our life stories and put them in little dramatic scenes...' That is how Ava said that Sistren began, by telling each other stories'; Cooper *ibid.*).

In all this, however, the jury is still out on what writing system or systems will be used for writing the English-lexicon Creoles of the Caribbean. One interesting development, however, is the re-examination of the Belizean Creole orthography discussed on BelizeWeb Forums (BelizeWeb.com, April, 2002). The discussion forum on Creole was, in fact, set up as a way of introducing the changes to the public and generating discussion about them. As far as one can gather, the intent of the revisions is to make the system more consistently phonemic. The details of the re-examination are not yet available and so it is not possible to say how much less dependent the revised system will be on the spellings of cognate forms in English.

3. Norm codification and elaboration

Standard Caribbean English

As far as conventional approaches to language planning and standardization are concerned, Standard Caribbean English is well served. The *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (Allsopp 1996) documents, records and recommends usage that is peculiar to Standard Caribbean English or is at least not recorded in dictionaries of metropolitan varieties of English. The Dictionary thus performs the role of supplementing dictionaries of British English, notably the Oxford English Dictionary.

There are problems, however, with less conventional forms of codification such as spell checkers on word processing computer software. A look into the language choice options in 1999 versions of the personal word processing software most widely used across the Commonwealth Caribbean, Microsoft Word, is revealing. We see the following options for Caribbean varieties of English: English (Belize), English (Caribbean), English (Jamaica), and English (Trinidad). However, when even major place names like Dangriga for Belize, Montego Bay for Jamaica, Piarco for Trinidad and Essequibo for Caribbean are entered as text, they are underlined in red indicating a wrong spelling; the same occurs with the names of popular national dishes such as *ackee* for Jamaica, *callaloo* for Trinidad and

pepperpot for Caribbean. These are all terms and spellings which are a normal part of English as written either in individual territories or across the Caribbean. It points to the failure of the Caribbean Lexicography Project of which the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* is a part, to effectively implement language norms through the medium by which, at present, the largest proportion of text in English in the region is being produced. Standardization of Standard Caribbean English is perhaps understandably stuck in old notions of codification, restricted as these are to dictionaries, spelling manuals, etc.

Along similar lines, users report that speech recognition software for word processing is notoriously inefficient when one employs in speech the segmental and supra-segmental phonologies of any of the standard varieties of Caribbean English. These users indicate that, in order to gain reasonable levels of success with these pieces of software, they have to assume metropolitan, North American pronunciations. In the absence of concerted efforts to work with the new technologies, the attempt by the Caribbean Lexicography Project to reinforce its norm selection will be fruitless. Given the technological changes that have taken place, a dictionary, no matter how excellent, may not be the main and certainly not the only way to propagate a codified norm.

English-lexicon Creoles

The booklet *Translating weather reports into Jamaican Creole* (University of the West Indies 1989) is a guide to the use of Jamaican Creole weather terminology and to the translation of weather news into that language. It was produced as part of a project which sought to encourage the broadcasting of weather forecasts, in particular the storm bulletins, advisories, watches and warnings transmitted during the hurricane season in the Caribbean. The booklet presented a standardized terminology for the technical concepts which needed to be communicated in weather reporting, as well as advice on stylistic and morpho-syntactic choices and devices. It also gave a sample set of texts of translated Jamaican Creole weather reports.

The publication had two target audiences. The first consisted of those who would be required to translate radio weather reports into Jamaican Creole from an original English text. The other was made up for those who would be required to read such translated written reports on the electronic mass media. The booklet advised strongly against anglicisms in any area of language use, and in favour of a translation which would be elegant and which would read as though it were originally produced in Jamaican Creole. It took a similar line in the area of the lexicon. The terminology presented in the work was generated on the basis of a countrywide interview survey which tried to capture Jamaican Creole weather terminology already in use, especially among fishermen and farmers. Working with

a list of technical terms in English and their definitions, an attempt was made to produce a wordlist of Jamaican Creole terms and their English equivalents, accessible either by looking for the English word or the Creole one. In developing this word list, every effort was made to fill the lexical gaps in Jamaican Creole by items which were semantically transparent. This meant that lexical elaboration relied heavily on the one major word formation device available in the language, i.e. compounding. The process of lexical elaboration can be demonstrated with reference to the English items “latitude” and “longitude” being translated as *worl-lain*, i.e. ‘lines around the world’. The coordinates, either north or south for latitude, or east and west for longitude, would, in the weather text, establish the distinction between *worl-lain* as latitude or longitude (University of the West Indies 1989: 8).

The translated texts would have to be written and then read aloud fluently and accurately. In this role, the issue of orthography was important. However, because these texts were being transmitted to the public orally, the orthography question was not one which had any direct public significance. The decision was taken to use the Cassidy orthography which was later also used by Cooper (see above). This was originally a phonemic transcription system for representing Jamaican Creole designed so as not to require the use of symbols not present in the Latin alphabet (Cassidy 1961: 433; Cassidy and Le Page 1980: xxxix–xl). A guide to the use Cassidy writing system is therefore included in the document (University of the West Indies, 1989: 3–7). This guide is, given its restricted audience and intent, lacking in many of the conventions of a true orthographic guide, e.g. advice how to handle phonological assimilations in rapid or relaxed speech and how to deal with morpho-phonemic variation. The task of converting Cassidy system into a public useable orthography and spreading this to the public by way of a reference guide is yet to take place.

By contrast, the *Beleez Kriol Glassary an Spellin Gide* (Belize Creole Project 1997) has a very clear focus on orthography. It is produced in order to promote the writing system originally designed by the *Belize Creole Orthography Project* in 1994. The spelling guide is detailed in outlining the sound values of the graphemes and digraphs which it seeks to promote. Except for a short discussion on the use of hyphens, however, the work restricts itself to acting as a spelling guide, and does not address the wider issues involved in the development and use of an orthography. The accompanying glossary provides an extensive Belizean Creole wordlist, written in the prescribed writing system, along with its English equivalents, followed by an English wordlist with its Belizean Creole equivalents. By contrast with the Jamaican Creole work mentioned previously, in spite of its extensive listing of words, the Belizean document does not attempt any planned lexical expansion or standardization. It includes learned loanwords from English such as *kriyaytivity* from English “creativity” and “spesifik” from English “specific”. It is difficult to avoid the conclu-

sion that the approach of the Belize Creole Project on the issue of lexical expansion reflects everyday practice amongst Belizean bilinguals, which is to treat any English word as a potential Creole word.

4. Norm acceptance

Standard Caribbean English

Richard Allsopp, the editor of the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*, has spent several decades prior to the 1996 publication of the dictionary, promoting the concept of Standard Caribbean English. The reason for this is clear. He needed some level of public support in seeking financial assistance from public agencies and institutions for the Caribbean Lexicography Project. The fact is that the Caribbean Lexicography Project did receive over time and continues to receive considerable material support from governmental and institutional sources. This suggests that the notion of Standard Caribbean English was sold successfully to upper levels of state and para-state decision-making bodies at the national and regional levels.

Given the location of the project within the University of the West Indies, an institution which is funded by and which serves 13 contributing territories within the Commonwealth Caribbean, the project was well placed to have the concept spread amongst and by students being educated there. This has happened for at least twenty years. One major avenue were the university's first year English Language courses which are compulsory for students across a wide range of disciplines. Within one component of these courses, information about language varieties within the Caribbean is examined and the concept of standard varieties of Caribbean English discussed.

According to Allsopp (1996: xx–xxi), one of the early stimuli for the Caribbean Lexicography Project was a 1967 resolution by the Caribbean Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses which called upon the University of the West Indies to compile a list of lexical items for each Caribbean territory and to circulate this to schools for the guidance of teachers. The project was subsequently conceived of as having primary importance for the secondary school examination board, the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC), set up in the 1970s to replace the United Kingdom based examination boards. The relevance of the project to the CXC is clear in that it provides the sole authoritative reference source for acceptable English language usage across those parts of the Caribbean where English is the official language.

Given its base within the only regional university, and its orientation towards providing normative solutions for teachers and for examiners in regional examina-

tions, the project, through the DCEU, is in an enviable position as a promoter of the norms it is recommending. It is able to have its recommendations on usage institutionalized, not by fiat nor by legal sanction, but by consensus among educators who look to it as the sole available authority on Caribbean English usage.

English-lexicon Creoles

Generally, across the Caribbean countries under discussion, the process has been one of Creole becoming generally acceptable in public formal domains. For example, in the electronic mass media, Shields-Brodber (1998: 202) refers to “(t)he gradual erosion of diglossia in Jamaica, accelerated by programmes such as phone-in radio talk shows...” She describes a process by which hosts of such programmes

...code-switch frequently between English and Creole for a variety of pragmatic purposes, and/or acts of identity, and who thereby provide a certain legitimacy for the use of J[amaican] C[reole] in public/formal media... and callers with demonstrably weak mastery of English, who shift to JC... (*ibid.*)

Drama, advertisements for products of mass consumption, live interviews, etc., also allow for an increasing use of English-lexicon Creole languages. At this stage, the trend is simply to use and to accept any variety of Creole with which the speaker feels comfortable. There is as yet no regionally and socially neutral variety considered acceptable for public and formal use in the electronic mass media.

Performers of popular music are at the centre of the evolving language situation. The role of oral performers of Jamaican popular music, both traditional reggae and its modern derivative, Dance Hall, is central to the process by which Jamaican Creole is developing a norm. These performers have settled on varieties which are relatively unmarked for regionalism, i.e. non-Western Jamaican varieties. They have simultaneously marked it with an urban stamp, specifically that of the capital and its surrounding areas, i.e. Kingston, St. Andrew and St. Catherine. Their works are admired nationally and internationally and constitute a body of orature which functions as model for creative language use in the speech community. The consequence is a further entrenching of Kingston as the linguistic centre of the country. This has strengthened normalization with varieties associated with Kingston as the main reference point. The work of these performers in developing both national and international Creole language consciousness is documented in works such as Cooper and Devonish (1995) and Devonish (1998a).

As has already been mentioned, the audio-tapes produced around 1996 by the Bible Society of the West Indies, consisting of translations of excerpts of the New Testament, selected for use a variety of Jamaican Creole which was urban, more specifically that of Kingston and its environs. These were played in churches and

received considerable exposure on radio stations. The response is best described as qualified public acceptance. A similar language variety choice was made on weekly radio news broadcasts on Irie FM, a national radio station. For over a year, between 1993–4, there was a weekly news summary broadcast entitled “Big Tingz Laas Wiik” on the programme “The Cutting Edge” hosted by the poet, Mutabaruka. The news summary was extremely popular but stopped being broadcasted due to a lack of resources to have them properly translated and voiced. More recently, during March–April, 2002, another weekly news in review programme in Jamaican Creole was aired by “Roots FM”, a radio station broadcasting to listeners who live in the poor urban communities of Kingston and its environs (Ferril 2002). Again the choice was the variety associated with Kingston and its environs. An evaluation of audience response to the programmes, including the reaction to the choice of Creole variety, was done by Kellyman (2002). The response is reported to have been overwhelmingly positive.

5. Recent developments

The English-lexicon Creole languages

Up until the present, the only formal body set up for the planning and promotion of an English-lexicon Creole language in a Commonwealth Caribbean country was the Belize Creole Project. The Project is linked to the Creole Council of Belize which is a voluntary organisation promoting the cultural and ethnic rights of the ethnic Creole population in that country. As such, therefore, it is not functioning as an agency of the state nor does it have as an immediate objective making Creole a language of the Belizean state. Its main objective is to develop Belizean Creole as a literary language (Belize Creole Project 1997: ii).

In Jamaica, major developments are taking place. Steps are being taken to set up an officially sanctioned language-planning agency whose role would be to develop norms for the public formal and official use of Jamaican Creole. This is the outcome of language advocacy at the level of the legislature. Representations were made to the Joint Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament set up in Jamaica to consider a bill in the form of a Draft Charter of Rights which would become part of the Jamaican Constitution. In the presentation made on 31 May 2001, Devonish (2001) addressed 13-(2) of the Draft Charter of Rights which stated that

Parliament shall pass no law and no public authority or any essential entity shall take any action which abrogates, abridges or infringes ... (j) the right to freedom of discrimination on grounds of (i) gender, (ii) race, place of origin, social class, colour, religion or political opinions.

The presentation argued that, particularly in the context of Jamaica, this list was incomplete. It was proposed that there be the addition of “(iii) language”. The modification to the Draft Charter suggested here would serve to strengthen an already existing provision, in 13-(2).(i) of the draft charter, which blocks Parliament, public authorities and essential entities from taking action which interferes with “... the right to fair and humane treatment by any public authority...”. The practical effect of the modification proposed would be to guarantee the right to receive, from a public body, service in a language in which the citizen is competent. It would also ensure that this service is provided in a courteous and respectful manner. The services of public bodies are currently rendered, at least officially, only in English. The proposed modification would have the effect of putting Jamaican Creole alongside English as a language which the state and its officers are obliged to use officially in its interactions with the public.

The response of the Joint Select Committee (Report of the Joint Select Committee 2001: 30) was to recognize the existence of language discrimination and the desirability of providing constitutional protection against it. However, it expressed concern about the ability of the agencies of the state to provide services in Jamaican Creole given the absence of a standard writing system. In addition, it expressed concerns about the problems which might present themselves in the event that all public communications, in addition to being transmitted in English, had to be sent out in Jamaican Creole. These concerns hark back to the issue of whether Jamaican Creole can effectively function as a medium for certain types of more technical communication. The issue here is one of whether the language could develop an expanded and standardized lexicon for the technical concepts which officers of the state would have to employ in the course of communicating with the public.

As a means of dealing with its concerns, the Report (2001: 30) recommended that a language planning agency for Jamaican Creole be set up within the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy at the University of the West Indies, Mona, that it report periodically to Parliament, and that its work form the basis for the eventual constitutional guarantee of protection from discrimination on the ground of language. What was achieved was a commitment to making a constitutional amendment once corpus-planning work had been done, notably in the areas of orthography standardization and lexical standardization and expansion. Interestingly enough, here we have another language standardisation project, this time one focusing on a Creole language, being located within the University of the West Indies. The model had been pioneered with the setting up of the Caribbean Lexicography Project with its focus on Standard Caribbean English usage.

The work of setting up the agency is proceeding. This is the first time in the speech communities under consideration that a language-planning agency is being

set up with official blessing. The situation creates the unprecedented opportunity for the standardization and expansion of an English-lexicon Creole language in the Caribbean, with a view to it become one of the languages used formally by the state.

5. Conclusion

Let us return to the earliest case of Caribbean Creole standardization discussed in this paper, that of the eighteenth century missionary letters written in the then Danish West Indies. There, we saw that there was the question of the relationship between Dutch, Dutch with some degree of Negerhollands influence, a Negerhollands with a high degree of Dutch influence, and finally varieties of Negerhollands which showed minimal or no influence from Dutch. The first variety was already being written. The second and then the third ended up in writing, the fourth did not. In more general terms, what we had here was an imported European standard language, an emerging Creole influenced local variety mutually intelligible with European Dutch, and Creole in its more or less European influenced forms.

This pattern was followed in those situations involving English in coexistence with English-lexicon Creole languages. Thus, in these cases, we see (i) a process of standardization of local, Creole-influenced varieties of English, assisted at a regional level by the Caribbean Lexicography Project and its standardizing tool, the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*, and (ii) competing models of Creole language standardization, one represented by that Belizean Creole, with its heavy reliance on its relationship with English, and the other by that of Jamaican Creole, which seeks a high level of autonomy from English.

There is a rational explanation for the difference in approach between Belize and Jamaica. Although it is the lingua franca of Belize, Belizean Creole is the native language of only a minority of its speakers, the ethnic Creoles. Native Creole speakers are outnumbered by native speakers of Spanish, many of whom are relatively new migrants from neighbouring Spanish speaking countries such as Guatemala and Honduras. In addition, for the entire period of its independence, Belize has been under threat by a border claim from the neighbouring, predominantly Spanish speaking country of Guatemala. The claim applies to the entire territory of Belize, thus challenging the very existence of Belize as a state. Spanish is the official language of the entire Central American region within which Belize finds itself. Both the official language of Belize, English, and Belizean English-lexicon Creole, are perceived as being under threat in the region. The promoters of Belizean Creole, not surprisingly, therefore, are happy to lean on the internationally

more powerful language, English, for support and reinforcement, hence the approach to standardization with English as a constant referent.

By contrast, Jamaica is an island state within which only two languages co-exist, English and Jamaican Creole. Jamaican Creole is the native language of the vast majority of Jamaicans. The use of one or the other of these languages has come to symbolize the major social, economic and cultural divisions in the society. English is associated positively with modernization, economic prosperity and education. Negatively, it is seen as elitist and non-Jamaican. By contrast, Jamaican Creole is viewed negatively as linked to poverty, backwardness and illiteracy. Positively, it is seen as the language of the people and of the culture and identity of the nation. As a consequence, most public discussion on the language issue takes place in binary terms, Patwa (Jamaican Creole) versus English. The advocates of Jamaican Creole in official functions, in fact, see it as co-existing with English in these roles. This is a position that the Belizean Creole language advocates have said that they would not adopt, given the much more varied ethno-linguistic nature of their own situation. In the Jamaican case, therefore, the perceived need for Creole and English to coexist in official functions produces an approach that seeks to maintain and reinforce the distinction between the two languages.

Notes

1. The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis proposed in Bickerton (1981) argues that all children are born with an innate default structure for language, a language bioprogram. Children born into situations of extreme multilingualism such as existed in early plantation slave societies were, it is argued, exposed to minimal and reduced adult language input, a macaronic pidgin being the sole language in general use. To develop language, therefore, these children had to rely in the main on what was innate, their language bioprogram.
2. Stein (1995) does recognize the possibility that the earliest forms of the written Netherlandic may have represented the language as it was spoken at the time, and that the written language diverging from Dutch came about in response to the spoken language itself becoming more divergent. However, he points to evidence suggesting that these divergent varieties long predated their appearance in writing.
3. Allsopp (1996: liv) defines Internationally Acceptable English as that common core which unites the standard varieties of English in use across the world and which "... accommodate a number of distinctive national features at all linguistic levels, chiefly in the field of lexicon."
4. In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, by contrast with that of France, for example, standardization emerges as a result of social practice and private individual initiative, e.g. the eighteenth century Samuel Johnson dictionary of English, rather than by the prescriptions of a language planning agency such as the Academie Française in France.

References

- Alleyne, M. 1980. *Comparative Afro-American*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Press.
- Allsopp, R. 1996. *The Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bailey, B. 1966. *Jamaican Creole Syntax: A transformational approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bailey, B., 1971. "Jamaican Creole: Can dialect boundaries be defined?" In *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, D. Hymes (ed.), 341–348. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Belize Creole Orthography Project. 1994. *How fi Rite Bileez Kriol*. Belize City: Belize Orthography Project.
- Belize Creole Project. 1997. *Beleez Kriol Glassary an Spellin Gide*. Belize City: Belize Creole Project.
- BelizeWeb.com. 2002. *Kriol Spelling System*. <http://forums.belizeweb.com>
- Bennett, L. 1966. *Jamaica Labrish*. Jamaica: Sangster's Bookstores.
- Bennett, L. 1982. *Selected Poems*. Jamaica: Sangster's Bookstores.
- Bickerton, D. 1981. *Roots of Language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Cassidy, F. 1961. *Jamaica Talk*. London: Macmillan.
- Cassidy, F. and Le Page, R. B. (eds). 1980. *Dictionary of Jamaican English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Christie, P. 1998. *History and Status of Creole Languages: Papers by Pauline Christie*. Kingston: UWILING Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Cooper, C. 1993. *Noises in the Blood: Orality and the 'vulgar' body of Jamaican popular culture*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Cooper, C. 2000. "(W)uman Tong(ue): Writing a bilingual newspaper column in 'post-colonial' Jamaica". In *2000 Conference Presentations: 13th Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics*, 91–96. Jamaica: Mona.
- Cooper, C. and Devonish, H. 1995. "A tale of two states: Language, lit/orature and the two Jamaicas". In *The Pressure of the Text: Orality, texts and the telling of tales*, S. Brown (ed.), 60–75. Birmingham: Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham.
- DeCamp, D. 1971. "Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum". In *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, D. Hymes (ed.), 349–370. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Decker, K. 1995. "Orthography development for Belize Creole". http://www.kriol.org/bz/LanguagePages/Language_Orthography.htm.
- Devonish, H. 1978. *The Selection and Codification of a Widely Understood and Publicly Useable Language Variety in Guyana, to be Used as a Vehicle of National Development*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. York: University of York.
- Devonish, H. 1989. "Language variation theory in the light of co-occurrence restriction rules". *York Papers in Linguistics* 13: 129–140.
- Devonish, H. 1991. "Standardisation in a creole continuum situation: The Guyana case". In *English Around the World: Sociolinguistic perspectives*, J. Cheshire (ed.), 565–584. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Devonish, H. 1998. "On the existence of autonomous varieties in 'Creole continuum situations'". In *Studies in Caribbean Language II*, P. Christie et al. (eds), 1–12. Trinidad: Society for Caribbean Linguistics.
- Devonish, H. 1998a. "Electronic orature: The deejay's discovery". *Social and Economic Studies* 40(1): 33–54.
- Devonish, H. 2001. *Language Rights in the Draft Charter of Rights in the Jamaican Constitution: A proposal*. Kingston.
- Escure, G. 1983. "Belizean Creole". In *Central American English*, J. Holm (ed.), 29–70. Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag.
- Ferguson, C. 1964 [1959]. "Diglossia". In *Language in Culture and Society*, D. Hymes (ed.), 429–239. New York: Harper & Row.
- Ferril, S. 2002. *The Use of Jamaican Language in the Presentation of Radio News*. Kingston: University of the West Indies [Unpublished Research Paper].
- Healy, M. 1993. "The parallel continuum model for Suriname: A preliminary study". In *Atlantic Meets Pacific: A global view of pidginization and creolization*, F. Byrne and J. Holm (eds), 279–290. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kellyman, N. 2002. *The Use of Jamaican English in the Presentation of the News*. Kingston: University of the West Indies [Unpublished Research Paper].
- Kouwenberg, S. 1994. *A Grammar of Berbice Dutch Creole*. Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lawaetz, E. 1980. *Black Education in the Danish West Indies from 1732–1853*. St. Croix, U. S. Virgin Islands: St. Croix Friends of Denmark Society.
- Le Page, R. B. and Tabouret-Keller, A. 1985. *Acts of Identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, T. 2002. *Jamaican Creole Dialect Intelligibility*. Kingston: University of the West Indies, Mona. Unpublished research paper.
- Morris, M. 1982. "Introduction". In *Selected Poems*, L. Bennett (ed.). Kingston: Sangster's Bookstores.
- Report of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Charter of Rights (Constitutional Amendment) Bill*. 2001. Kingston: Parliament of Jamaica.
- Rickford, J. 1987. *Dimensions of a Creole Continuum*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Robertson, I. 1979. *Berbice Dutch — A Description*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Trinidad: University of the West Indies.
- Robertson, I. 1989. "Berbice and Skepi Dutch. A lexical comparison". *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 105(1): 3–21.
- Sand, A. 1999. *Linguistic Variation in Jamaica: A corpus-based study of radio and newspaper usage*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Shields-Brodber, K. 1998. "Hens can crow too: The female voice of authority on air in Jamaica". In *Studies in Caribbean Language II*, P. Christie et al. (eds), 204–227. Trinidad: Society for Caribbean Linguistics.
- Smith, H. N. F. (ed.). 1986. *Lionheart Gal: Lifestories of Jamaican women*. London: The Women's Press.
- Smith, N. 1987. *The Genesis of the Creole Languages of Suriname*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

- Stein, P. 1995. "Early Creole writing and its effects on the discovery of Creole language structure: The case of eighteenth-century Negerhollands". In *The Early Stages of Creolization*, J. Arends (ed.), 43–62. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- University of the West Indies. 1989. *Translating Weather Reports into Jamaica Creole*. Kingston: Dept. of Linguistics and Use of English, University of the West Indies.

Danish

Tore Kristiansen

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

1. Historical background

Denmark has never been part of another state nor was it ruled by foreign powers for longer periods of its history. The country was among the first to participate in the process of nation-state building which started in Europe with the Renaissance and Reformation around 1500. Since language standardization is commonly considered a most important process which accompanied and supported the creation of the Europe of nation-states, we can expect to find the roots of the Danish Standard language some 500 years back.

The language situation which had developed during the Middle Ages and which served as the basis for the standardization process was characterized by three features:

- (a) Firstly, with the spread of Christianity in Denmark from around 1000, an exoglossic standard, Latin, had been adopted as the appropriate language to be used in many public domains and by the ruling institutions of society. From the end of the fourteenth century, Danish, in competition with German (see below), took over as the language used in writing by the royal administration and legislation (see about rural law codes below), but Latin continued to be the language of the Church (which used Danish only in communication with “common” people) and of culture and education in general.
- (b) Secondly, also the German language had a strong position in public domains of Danish society around 1500. (1) Within the world of commerce, the Hanse era, which reached its peak in the fourteenth century, brought many Low German speaking merchants and craftsmen to Denmark and the other Nordic countries (on the Hanse see Langer, this volume). It can be assumed that town populations were bilingual to a large extent, or (as proposed more recently, see e.g. Braunmüller and Diercks 1993; Jahr 1995) that Low German and Nordic

languages were so closely related that semi-communication could take place. In any case, the contact was of a kind which resulted in a lasting and most significant influence from Low German on the Nordic languages. (2) Within the world of government and administration, Low German had played a most important role for a long time. A considerable part of the Danish nobility was more familiar with Low German than with Danish, partly because many members of this group had their roots in the border areas (Holstein, Schleswig), partly because Low German was the language of prestige. In Southern Jutland, Low German was the only language used in official writings. Starting with the fifteenth century a number of Danish kings had a German background, and some of them did not speak Danish themselves. (3) Within the world of science and education, High German gradually grew in prestige from the fifteenth century on as contact was made with the many new universities in Renaissance Germany. At the end of the 1500s it had replaced Low German in all its domains.

- (c) Thirdly, the use of Danish was characterized by regional variation, in writing as well as in speech. The “dialect tree” model splits the traditional Danish dialects into three main branches: Eastern Danish (spoken on Bornholm in the Baltic Sea — and in Scania, Halland and Blekinge, i.e. the southern part of Sweden which used to be Danish until 1658), Insular Danish (spoken in the islands of Zealand and Funen, and the smaller islands to the south of these), and Western Danish or Jutlandish (spoken in Jutland). This tripartite division manifests itself in the manuscripts written in Danish from the thirteenth century, including the three rural law codes which constitute the main documents in Danish from this period, one for Scania, one for Zealand, and one for Jutland. In addition to these regional differences which existed in speech and were reflected in writing, writing itself was replete with variation which had no relation to speech differences. One and the same sound could be written in many ways, in the same text or even sentence. Superfluous letters were added for ornamental reasons. The factual information in this paragraph, as in much of what follows, is to a large extent based on the work by Peter Skautrup (1896–1982), who wrote what is generally acknowledged as the standard work on the history of the Danish language (Skautrup I-IV, 1944–1968). A major treatment of the history of the German language in Denmark is Winge (1992).

2. Norm selection

The first “selection” of a Zealand/Copenhagen norm

In principle, then, at least three regional varieties of Danish were candidates to be selected as the norm basis when the standardization process accelerated from around 1500. In practice, however, no selection took place in the sense of a deliberate choice; the choice followed as a consequence of other developments in Danish society. In fact, it seems that the choice had basically been made already at the time when the rural law codes were transposed from oral tradition to parchment (in the first half of the thirteenth century; Skautrup I: 258). Although the regional variation manifests itself over and again in the case of a number of linguistic variables (this goes for the quality of unstressed vowels, in particular, i.e. the main feature on which the tripartite division of the Danish dialect tree is based), experts in these matters seem to agree that there already was a spelling tradition which writers tried to follow as best they could and that this tradition reflected Zealand speech more than either Eastern or Western dialects.¹

Why Zealand? After all, towns like Ribe in Jutland and Lund in Scania were important centres of religion and learning, and there was no geographical, administrative or political centre, the king and his court were always on the move. It is this “polycentricity” which, to some extent, is reflected in the linguistic variation found in the rural law codes. Nevertheless, if Zealand speech was the spontaneously selected norm basis for the budding writing conventions, the most likely reason is that the noblemen and kings (the Valdemars) who headed the country’s political and spiritual life from 1150 onwards were Zealand-based. Other towns than Copenhagen were in the middle of events in those days (Roskilde, Vordingborg, Ringsted), but Copenhagen’s importance increased rapidly from the fifteenth century. The town got its university in 1479 and became the country’s “real” capital with the establishment of absolute monarchy in 1660. Since then, Denmark has been a firmly mono-centric state with Copenhagen as the uncontested centre in all respects.

Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that Zealand and Copenhagen are the names that we encounter when the seventeenth century grammarians begin deliberating about the location of “the best language”. Zealand is the geographical location pointed to by the first grammarians who address the matter around the middle of the century, but the focus soon narrows down to Copenhagen — in particular in the opinion of the bishop Henrik Gerner (1629–1700), 1678, and in an anonymous manuscript (1727). In addition, it should be noted that the early grammarians clearly refer to the social prestige of the speakers in their argumentation. In their opinion, the best language is Zealand or Copenhagen speech as heard in the mouths of educated people (Skautrup II: 316–317). The works of Danish

Grammarians from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century are available in Bertelsen (I–VI, 1915–1929, reprinted 1979); vol. VI of the 1979 reprint contains an introduction to these grammarians and a comprehensive guide to literature about them by Caroline C. Henriksen. Henriksen (1976) is an edition of the anonymous 1727 manuscript with an introduction in English to the grammarians of this period in general and to the 1727 manuscript in particular.

The subsequent “reconstruction” of a national norm

Language standardization is commonly thought to have two main aims: the creation of a common language (i) helps to facilitate communication, and (ii) has the ideological function of uniting the people into a nation (e.g. Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 65–67; Bourdieu 1991: 46–49). Therefore, norm selection will in most cases only occur once. However, it may also happen — in connection with social and political changes — that a new variety is selected as the norm basis (typically if the centre of power is moved from one city to another), or that a new norm is constructed (as this became possible with the advances of scientific linguistics after 1800, cf. the construction of Nynorsk by Ivar Aasen; on Norwegian see Jahr, this volume). While no second or alternative norm selection has occurred in Denmark, it is an interesting fact about Standard Danish that the “selection of norm” has never come to an end, but continues to be negotiated. When reading the early “norm selecting” grammarians, it is clear that the Zealand/Copenhagen variety was seen as the best language, and that social prestige was a most decisive element in that representation. However, in more recent writings about the history of the Danish language the notion of Standard Danish is constructed somewhat differently. The Zealand/Copenhagen nature of Standard Danish, in particular, is commonly questioned and denied among linguists and laymen alike. Or, if the Copenhagen roots of the Standard are acknowledged, then its prestige nature is cried down instead. In what follows I will deal with the norm “revision” which focuses on the geographical issue, and return to the “revision” which focuses on the prestige issue below (under “norm acceptance”).

The written norm

In Skautrup’s account, Standard Danish is not defined in geographical terms from the very beginning. He admits that, for linguistic reasons, the presence of a written norm from around 1200 cannot stem from either Jutlandish or Scanian scribe traditions, but at the same time Zealand is also dismissed as a norm centre. Skautrup’s position is that “we should probably not try to localize the written norm in geographical terms — except for the demonstration that it generally avoids any

dialectal feature, i.e. it has been created in circles which were not narrowly tied to or stamped by a regional dialect” (quotes from Skautrup I: 259–260, unless otherwise stated, all translations in the article are mine). Skautrup points to “the highest, secular and clerical, circles with writing skills” as the basis for norm formation. In the Middle Ages, this written norm was promoted by the chancery, “not in any capacity of a Zealandic language centre, but as a to-the-whole-country-common-and-centrifugally-working radiation point”.² There was only one written norm, “which was above the local, and towards which the peripheral areas strove to the best of their abilities”. The same conception (however, this time described from the perspective of the periphery) reappears in Skautrup’s summary of the following period 1500–1700: “The language itself, in writing and speech, was from the beginning of the period subject to a centripetal tendency” (Skautrup II: 406).

Skautrup operates with two dimensions in his explanation of the beginning standardization. Like the early grammarians he talks in terms of “high” and “low” with reference to the social dimension, but unlike them he refers to geographical categories only to deny their relevance: in his conception, “centre” and “periphery” refer to a purely linguistic relationship.

The spoken norm

In contrast to several of the early grammarians, who did not distinguish clearly between the written and spoken language, Skautrup of course makes this distinction. He locates the first developments towards a spoken standard language in the sixteenth century, more than three centuries after the emergence of the written standard. Skautrup’s reasoning about the geographical and social nature of this spoken standard is basically the same as for the written standard; he downplays the significance of geography and stresses the importance of social prestige:

The basis for this emerging spoken standard is Zealand speech, probably a Copenhagen-East Zealand dialect (an Øresund dialect), but it is not possible to determine more precisely, at least not from the materials provided so far, either the point of origin or to which extent this speech already differed from the dialect as a separate language reserved for certain higher circles. (Skautrup II: 191; translation T. Kristiansen)

Skautrup admits that “we will have to search for these circles first and foremost in Copenhagen, the city of the court, the central administration and the university” (op.cit.) but only in order to stress that what characterized those people was that they came from everywhere and moved around: “In such circles, common denominators of language were created and learned to the extent that individuals could liberate themselves from their original dialect” (op.cit.). In this conception, the spoken

standard is from the very outset and by definition something else than Copenhagen speech; it is a norm created by and for a mobile social elite, a prestige variety.

Discussion

In comparing early and later grammarians and their acceptance versus refutation, respectively, of the “Copenhagennes” of Standard Danish, it is important to remember, of course, that prior to 1800 norm selection could not be based on what we today see as a scientific understanding of how regional differences are related to each other in terms of variation and change. In particular, it was not possible for the seventeenth century grammarians to argue for one variety as being the “best” language on the grounds that it was “in the middle” linguistically speaking. Their argumentation for the best language had to be social. Nothing prevents us, however, from considering whether linguistic relationships may have played a role in the choice of the Zealand/Copenhagen varieties. Geographically speaking, Zealand and Copenhagen could easily be seen as being at the geographical and political centre (at least until Scania was lost to Sweden in 1658). Whether the Zealand/Copenhagen varieties were also easily felt to be at the centre linguistically speaking, is harder to tell. From a modern dialectological point of view, these varieties were “in the middle” with regard to some features (Eastern Danish dialects being the historically more conservative ones, Jutland dialects the more advanced ones), but also more “extreme” (i.e. historically more advanced) than both Eastern and Jutland dialects with regard to some other features.

Arguably, then, we may not be entitled to totally exclude a role in language standardization for a sense among users as to what is linguistically “the middle”. In my view, however, the denial of the “Copenhagennes” of Standard Danish should be seen as an ideological phenomenon. The roots of this phenomenon are not to be found in a changed relationship between the capital and the provinces — Copenhagen has remained the unaltered centre of the country — but rather in the very nature of this relationship. The discursive “transfer” of the Copenhagen upper class norm to a supra-regional (national) “neutral” variety is a contribution to the ideological “resolution” of the social and political conflict between a dominating Centre and a dominated Periphery. The construction of a generally acceptable relationship between Capital and Province is a priority in any nation-building project. In the case of Denmark, it is interesting to note that both of the two opposite perspectives offered by the Capital versus Province conflict seem to urge people to construe one and the same picture of the Standard norm: its Copenhagennes is rejected. From the Province perspective, this may well be an act of opposition, a way of reducing the glamour of Copenhagen. From the Capital

perspective, denying the Copenhagenness of the Standard norm may be an attempt at attenuating the oppositional Province, and thus securing the national unity which is the whole idea in the first place.

3. Norm codification

The written norm

The choice of a script system for Danish followed from developments in the Nordic societies in general and was no longer an issue around 1500. With the spread of Christianity, the Gothic script replaced the runic script. It might be mentioned, though, that the Scanian rural law code was still written in a runic version around 1300. The change to Roman letters arrived late in Denmark after having met with strong opposition; despite numerous prior attempts the Gothic script was only omitted in books from around 1860, and was removed from school teaching in 1875.

In addition to the twenty-six letters used in Latin, the Danish alphabet has three extra characters: <æ ø å>. Originally these are variants of ligatures: <æ> and <ø> go back to Latin, <å> to fifteenth century Swedish. In Danish (like all Nordic languages but unlike other European languages), these graphic symbols are treated as independent letters with their own place at the end of the alphabetic order. With regard to <æ> and <ø>, this has been the case since the first Danish dictionaries. The letter <å>, on the other hand, replaced the digraph <aa> only in a 1948 reform, and appeared as the very last letter in the official 1955 Spelling Dictionary (whereas the <aa> digraph used to appear in first position with <a>).

There certainly was an element of orthographic standardization in the writings of the medieval scribes. There existed various conventions for sound/letter correspondence, which were followed by the scribes with varying degrees of consistency. The invention of printing radically altered this situation from the second half of the fifteenth century. As the printer and his machine appeared in between the writer and the text, writing conventions changed and the printing technology created both the possibility and the need for a further standardization of the written language.

The first books were printed in Denmark at the end of the fifteenth century, and during the following century the spread of printing technology and its products made a major contribution to the establishment of a written norm. Some of the printers played a most decisive role in language codification. Most instrumental in this respect was Christiern Pedersen (1480–1554), “the founder of the Danish written norm” (Skautrup II: 176). Operating as a translator, editor and book printer (he had his own printing house for a few years, 1533–36, located in Malmö

in Scania), he developed an orthography which by and large remained fixed and gained acceptance from the 1530s on.

Already the first spelling conventions from the thirteenth century showed archaic features when compared with the spoken language. For instance, the reflexes of postvocalic /p t k/ were written <b d g>, although there is plenty of evidence that the lenition process had gone further to produce fricatives or approximants. The sixteenth century codification mainly conserved and even on some points accentuated this archaic character. The novelty of Pedersen's codification in comparison with earlier spelling habits consisted primarily in an extensive simplification (removal of superfluous, ornamental letters) and a much greater consistency. The principles, once established, seem to have been followed without any discussion during the Middle Ages (Skautrup II: 186–187).

The subsequent history of Danish spelling, however, has been rich in orthographic discussions — yet these discussions had little impact on norm codification. (Quite a few ambitious works dealing with spelling were never published, or were published only in recent years in the interest of scientific research, like for instance the anonymous 1727 manuscript already mentioned above.) The relatively complex correspondence between sounds and letters was an issue already among the seventeenth century grammarians. The more common position was to follow the Italian poly-historian J. C. Scaliger (1484–1558) and to claim that “one should write like one talks” (Scaliger 1540, Lib. I, I: 3). Later Danish grammarians and linguists have often engaged themselves in the spelling issue in favour of phonetic spelling reforms, as was the case with Rasmus Rask (1787–1832). Rask's plan for a spelling reform (1826) met with harsh resistance at the time, but provided an answer to pedagogical demands. Due to the development of general education and literacy schooling in the eighteenth century and the subsequent 1814 ordinance which made schooling obligatory for all children, questions of appropriate literacy teaching were increasingly debated by pedagogues. Most of Rask's proposals were carried out in the first official spelling rules issued by the government in 1889 to “be used and strictly followed” in the state school system.

These rules were followed up in 1892 by a governmental decree which laid down the principles of Danish orthography. In particular, the right use was stipulated on three points where variation persisted: the spelling of vowel length (*huus* > *hus* ‘house’), of diphthongs (<ei>, <øi> to <ej>, <øj>), and of earlier palatalized velars (*Kjøbenhavn* > *København*). In addition, the decree stipulated that <qv> was to be replaced by <kv>, and that well integrated loanwords should be written according to the same principles as Danish words. An old proposal (originally from Jens Høysgaard (1698–1773), 1743) to introduce a supplementary grapheme, <ö>, to match the two /ø/-phonemes found in speech, was not included. Two other old proposals also reiterated by Rask would form the core of Denmark's last and only

twentieth century spelling reform in 1948: in addition to the above mentioned change in the script system from <aa> to <å> (as a reform proposal first found in the 1727 manuscript), the initial majuscule in nouns was changed to a minuscule (the use of initial majuscules was a German inspired custom — with roots back to the Reformation literature — which had never gained full acceptance).

It should be pointed out that Denmark has a longstanding tradition of official written norm codification. The first official codifying act in the history of Danish orthography dates back to 1775 when a governmental decision stipulated that spelling should be taught in schools in accordance with the orthography used in a textbook still to be produced (edited by Ove Malling (1747–1829) and published in 1777). While the first Danish spelling dictionary (by Jacob Baden (1735–1804)) appeared in 1799, the first one to be officially sanctioned was published in 1872 (edited by Sven Grundtvig (1824–1883)). The 1892 decree mentioned above (supplied by that of 1948) remained the basis of official norm codification until 1997 when two acts of Parliament clarified the legal foundation of norm codification. It is now stipulated by law that norm codification is the responsibility of *Dansk Sprogævn*, i.e. the ‘Danish Language Council’ which has been in existence since 1955, and that the council accomplishes this by editing and publishing *Retskrivningsordbogen* (‘The Spelling Dictionary’), of which four editions have appeared so far (1955, 1986, 1996, 2001). The council can introduce only minor changes and adjustments on its own account, and changes with regards to principles can no longer be the administrative acts of a minister but have to be adopted by Parliament. The two general coding principles to be followed are defined as the principle of tradition and the principle of usage. The spelling of a word remains the same (tradition) until a clear majority of “gode og sikre sprogbrugere” (‘good and confident language users’) spell it differently (usage). The new form is included in the norm as a variant and may end up as the only correct form in a later edition of the Spelling Dictionary if the older form is no longer used. All of this amounts to little more than a clarification of the legal foundation of a longstanding practice.

The official codification is limited to the spelling of words, including inflected forms. Codification, in this sense, has to do with the relationship between the written and spoken forms of a word. A characteristic of “good and confident language users” is that they follow Danish spelling traditions as spoken Danish changes, and foreign spelling traditions as new words are imported from other languages. In consequence, a codification based on the principles of tradition and usage has caused the sounds/letters relationship to become fairly complex in modern Danish. A further consequence of sticking to these two principles is that all double forms included in the norm (to allow for change) reflect a struggle — either between a foreign and a Danish spelling (*mayonnaise* vs. *majonæse*) — or between differences which exist in spoken language within the one social group of “good

and confident language users” (e.g. *begonie/begonia, dubleant/dublant*). The codification principles secure that double forms will never reflect speech differences between social groups. The inclusion of spelling variants reflecting regional differences, as practiced for instance in Norway, has never been considered a possibility in Danish norm codification.

Today, due to the complexity of the sound/letter correspondences and the conservative character of Danish norm codification, arguably no spoken variety has a more direct relationship to the spelling than other varieties. It may be reasonable to say, then, that codification at the level of sounds and letters is no longer based on a prior selected variety: the codified norm has reached a position independent of the plurality of varieties. At the level of morphemes, the codification may still be said to reflect the Copenhagen variety more than other varieties. Two examples:

(i) Jutland dialects (used to) have a pre-positioned definite noun marker:

- (1) *e hus*
the house
'the house'

The rest of Denmark, including Copenhagen, has a post-positioned marker:

- (2) *hus-et*
house-the
'the house'

(ii) In the Copenhagen variety, the nouns are distributed over two classes (genders); most other dialects, including the Zealand dialects surrounding Copenhagen, (used to) have a three-gender system. In both cases, the standard has the Copenhagen variants.

The spoken norm

Thanks to its conservatism, written Danish is still close to written Swedish and Norwegian. In contrast, spoken Danish, in all its varieties, has moved further away from the common Nordic origin than any of the other languages (cf. Haugen 1976, Vikør 1995). This evolution continues up to the present day to the extent of disturbing the mutual intelligibility between Danes and their Nordic neighbours.

As such, the gap between spoken and written Danish testifies to a limited influence from the written code on the spoken code. While the phonetic spelling approach has had minimal impact on the codification of Danish orthography, the impact of the opposite approach which claims that “one should speak like one writes” (defended among the early grammarians by Henrik Gerner) was equally small. This is not to say that Danes are immune to the influences from written language on

formal speech. A particular style of public speaking characterized by “reading pronunciations” was commonly in use in the nineteenth century, arguably as the result of a perceived need among “ordinary” people to speak appropriately as larger sections of the population were gradually included in the administrative and governmental affairs of society. This public speech style was stigmatized and disappeared at the end of the nineteenth century, and there seems to be little evidence that it has had a lasting effect on the spoken norm (Pedersen 1997).

Scholars of Danish have disagreed on the influence of writing on speech, however. Traditionally, writing is considered as the codifying force *par excellence* in relation to the spoken standard, i.e. the written code has a codifying impact on speech. Skautrup assumes that variation and numerous double forms still characterized the language of the higher social circles around 1700 (“the language was still in motion” (Skautrup II: 332)); however, a new force had entered the arena:

It was now possible to find stable points of reference in the fairly fixed written language, and from now on we must expect an increasingly significant impact from a recitation or reading language. The written language will have a say in the further development. (op. cit.; translation T. Kristiansen)

According to Brøndum-Nielsen (1891–1977), the main development of the spoken language in the nineteenth century was characterized by restitutions of older pronunciations, caused by “the power of the written language” (Brøndum-Nielsen 1951: 92–94). In today’s standard work on the development of spoken Standard Danish, however, Brink and Lund (1975) demonstrate that the majority of the many changes which occurred in spoken Standard Danish during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries enlarged (rather than reduced) the distance between speech and writing. With reference to Brøndum-Nielsen’s point of view, they conclude their own discussion by stating that “from now on, all claims about languages of culture which stabilize and fossilize in their phonetic form because of writing etc. should come to an end” (Brink and Lund 1975: 736).

Both the prescription and description of pronunciation were not or only unsystematically addressed in the dictionaries of Danish which have appeared over the last two centuries. Their influence on the spoken norm has most certainly been negligible. This also holds true for the main ‘Dictionary of the Danish Language’ (*Ordbog over det danske Sprog I–XXVIII*, 1918–1956) which gives somewhat more systematic information on pronunciation; in spite of its considerable popularity, this information is largely outdated as a result of the many completed and on-going changes in modern Standard Danish. A first separate pronunciation dictionary was published in 1991. Based on the work by Brink and Lund (1975), *Den Store Danske Udtaleordbog* (‘The Great Danish Pronunciation Dictionary’, Brink et al. 1991) presents a codification of the Standard norm which is non-conventional by its broadness, including many social and regional variants for every entry.

4. Norm elaboration

While the introduction of printing was the decisive prerequisite for the early codification of Standard Danish, the victory of the Reformation (1536) formed a most important basis for the beginning elaboration of the language. Both in print (including the publication of Danish books with hymns and sermons, and the whole Bible in 1550) and in speech, Danish soon became the only language used to spread the gospel. Other text genres which used Danish already in the manuscripts of the Middle Ages were now also printed in Danish: statutory texts of many kinds (including the three old rural law codes) and also texts with a general educational purpose (e.g. medical advisers, almanacs, collections of proverbs). In other domains, however, the transition to Danish took more time. German remained the language of government, Latin the language of education and science (including theology). If the Danish language was promoted by the leaders of the Reformation, this followed from a practical need to reach the broad masses of the people, not from any theoretical considerations as to the merits and virtues of the mother tongue.

This latter line of reasoning did, however, emerge in the seventeenth century when national and humanistic reform ideas accompanied the establishment of an absolute monarchy and an accelerated centralization of society. A number of learned men were inspired by Renaissance ideas to advocate the study and use of the vernacular. This advocacy was still performed in Latin, however. A more theoretical interest gained momentum only in the second half of the seventeenth century as the honour and glory of the mother tongue became a leading theme of writings of the early grammarians. Their main aim — presented as a duty towards the native country and the native language itself — was to demonstrate the excellence of Danish as a language which in no respect was inferior to languages like Latin, German, etc. The Danish language was “ill” from being misused or not being used at all; the time had come to “cure” it — to use a favourite metaphor from the grammatical works of the time.

The first Danish grammar by the bishop Erik Pontoppidan (1616–1678) was written in Latin in 1664, printed in 1668, and the first one in the Danish language by the pastor Peter Syv (1631–1702) appeared in 1685. These grammars established Danish as a language with a grammar of its own, which could be used to deal with serious matters such as the study of grammar. The efforts to find the “true nature” of the Danish language had begun, including the fundamental issue of similarities with and differences from other languages (among which Latin, of course, was the principal for a long time to come), as well as the issue of terminology (Danish vs. Latin/international). If these efforts and issues are still with us today, that is no indication of failure, of course, but rather of great advances in this domain.

Some of the early grammarians also engaged in lexicographic investigations in order to realize their own demand for a Danish dictionary. However, most of the early lexicographic work remained unpublished (including a monumental lexicon by Mathias Moth (1649–1719), still unpublished), apart from being a very slow and troublesome enterprise. In an attempt to exploit and continue the early achievements, the *Videnskabernes Selskab*, ‘Royal Danish Society of Sciences and Letters’, founded 1742, published the first volume of its dictionary, *Videnskabernes Selskabs Ordbog*, in 1793; its eighth and last volume appeared only in 1905. The first five volumes remained the only reference dictionary for Danish until a comprehensive two volume Danish dictionary (by Christian Molbech (1783–1857)) appeared in 1833. Unlike Moth’s unpublished lexicon, which included a wide range of social and regional variation, both of the latter two dictionaries subscribe to prescriptive principles and aim at including only words from the “good, pure, educated” language. In contrast, the main twentieth century dictionaries of Standard Danish, i.e. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* (I–XXVIII, 1918–1956) and the recently finished *Den Danske Ordbog* (I–VI, to appear within the next few years), were edited according to descriptive principles (Lindegård Hjorth 1983 is a presentation of “The History of Danish Dictionaries”).

A few other early books should be mentioned as examples of how the Danish language slowly conquered new domains. In tune with the Renaissance interest in native origins and traditions, the most famous narrative work from the Danish middle ages (*Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus, ca. 1200) was printed first in Latin (by Christiern Pedersen, 1514) and later (1575) translated and published in Danish (by Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542–1616)). Subsequent efforts led to the production of a Danish history book: *Danmarckis Riges Krønike* (‘Chronicle of the Kingdom of Denmark’) written and printed 1595–1604 by Arild Huitfeldt (1546–1609), final edition 1652. Notwithstanding the fact that High German was the official court language during the reign (1670–1699) of Christian V, the first common national law code, *Danske Lov* ‘Danish Law’ (1683) was written in Danish, and both testified and contributed to an increased status for the Danish language in the domain of official affairs.

In the domain of literature, the achievements of the seventeenth century were mainly reworkings and translations of foreign language material. An increased emphasis on originality and creativity in Danish literary production is tightly linked to the name of Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), who in only a few years (1722–27) wrote 25 comedies for the Danish theatre in Copenhagen. In addition, as a university professor Holberg produced numerous Danish works within various disciplines and scholarly genres (e.g. treatises on historical topics and conceptions of justice, essays on ethics), and is generally recognized as the most important “elaborator” in the history of the Danish language.

Although several of the characters in Holberg's comedies are being ridiculed for their conceited linguistic habits, the author himself was only a moderate purist and repeatedly defended the usefulness of imported words. The discussions of this issue, which had started with the grammarians of the seventeenth century, culminated during the 1740s to the 1760s when a purist movement — including F. C. Eilschov (1725–1750), J. S. Sneedorff (1724–1764) and others — made significant and lasting theoretical and practical contributions to the elaboration of the Danish vocabulary (Skautrup III: §67D). Inspired by the educational aspirations of Holberg and German Enlightenment philosophers (e.g. C. Wolff, J. C. Gottsched; see Mattheier this volume), the fundamental purpose of these linguistic efforts was to make the scientific literature available to the common people in their native tongue. Carried by the same intention, creative elaboration of vocabulary continued throughout the nineteenth century, particularly with regard to technical domains. Besides his fame for the discovery of electromagnetism, the physicist and chemist H. C. Ørsted (1777–1851) is remembered as “the greatest word-maker of the 1800s” (Niels Åge Nielsen, quoted in Galberg Jacobsen 1973: 28). Among his lasting creations is *ilt*, the Danish word for oxygen. Against a background of political conflicts and wars with Germany purist endeavours in the period from the 1840s to the 1950s were marked by a climate of anti-German and pro-Scandinavian sentiments (e.g. in the 1930–40s Sven Clausen (1893–1961) and *Dansk Forening til Nordisk Sprogøgt* ‘The Danish Association for Nordic Language Cultivation’; cf. Galberg Jacobsen 1973). While this climate had some impact on language codification (cf. the orthographic reforms of 1892 and 1948), next to nothing resulted from the attempts at cultivation in the field of vocabulary. Today, the accession of new words, including loans from other languages, is closely registered by the Danish Language Council, edited and published in dictionaries of new words with examples of usage (Jarvad 1999). Apart from a few occasional proposals to replace an imported word by a “Danish creation”, the council abstains from interfering with the spontaneous handling of imported words.

5. Norm acceptance

Danish instead of exoglossic standards

In the first half of the eighteenth century, as before, the great majority of the people lived as peasants in the countryside. Reluctance to accept Danish, the only language they spoke, would not come from them. In contrast, the social elites and many townspeople had been highly involved with, and had accepted, the use of exoglossic standards for centuries. At the end of the seventeenth century, French was increas-

ingly used alongside Latin and German among the social elites. Skautrup (II: 305) pictures this “Babylonian tinsel” at the court by reporting on an opera performance on the occasion of the king’s birthday in 1699: Cupid spoke (sang) in Italian, Diana in French, Mars in High German, Neptune in Danish, and Mercure in Low German. In Holberg’s comedies, this Babylonian nature of the society is exploited for social characterizations and humorous effects.

A hundred years later (1827), the linguistic situation of Holberg’s time is characterized in a poem (by Christian Wilster (1797–1840)) as follows: “Each man who drank deeply of wisdom/ On paper he only wrote Latin/ With the ladies French, and German with his dog,/ And Danish he spoke with his servant” (Einar Haugen’s translation, quoted from Vikør 1995: 45). By the time these satiric lines were written to celebrate the centenary of Holberg’s comedies, Danish had been accepted as the main written and spoken standard language in Denmark and had replaced Latin, French and German.

The acceptance process went through an initial phase of discursive advocacy before it succeeded in achieving noticeable changes in linguistic behaviour. The process was supported by nineteenth century romanticism and its support for the idea of the national language. In Skautrup’s words: “By 1750, the centripetal forces had acquired such strength, mainly thanks to the literary activity of Holberg, that the written and spoken standards were stable and respected”. However, this use of Danish was “respected only in a purely rational sense ... there had hardly been any change in affective loyalty” (Skautrup III: 1, 130). Latin and German, and to a lesser extent French, continued to be the preferred languages among members of the social and cultural elites.

Although Latin remained prominent in the domain of education, the influence of the Enlightenment gradually moved the focus of education from religion and the classical languages to scientific disciplines and modern languages. In the so-called Latin schools, which had existed since the Reformation, this development can be seen in the statutory regulations from 1739 to 1903, when the Latin school was finally replaced by the gymnasium. The watershed years lie around 1800 when the regulations (from 1775, 1805–1809) refer to Danish as a school subject to be studied in its own right. At the university, in spite of some lectures in Danish at the end of the eighteenth century, the change came only with the 1830s. The first professor of Nordic languages was appointed in 1845 (N. M. Petersen (1791–1862)), and from 1849 Danish was included as a subject in the final university examination within the historical-philological discipline (besides Latin, Greek and History). The last doctoral thesis in Latin from the year 1900 was a true afterthought.

German continued to dominate in the domain of government; its position was added to rather than diminished throughout most of the eighteenth century. The kings and queens and the whole court continued to use German more than Danish.

Germans were still called in great numbers to hold important governmental offices. This culminated when J. F. Struensee (1737–1772), the king's German doctor, managed to usurp power for a period of two years (1770–1772), and started realizing his radical reform ideas. He was removed and decapitated. In the wake of these events, anti-German feelings lead to a series of measures aimed at reducing the influence of all things German in the handling of public affairs (Skautrup III: 23, 134–135). The conflict which followed between the German-oriented and the Danish-oriented groups within the social and cultural elite declined gradually, however, and had come to an end by 1830. Affective loyalty to the Danish language was becoming a priority as the elites of society engaged in the construction of a new sense of Danishness, a national identity.

The written norm

The leaders of the Reformation, e.g. Hans Tausen (1494–1561), Peder Palladius (1503–1560) as well as a number of anonymous men who contributed to the publication of the Bible in 1550, regulated their linguistic habits in accordance with Christiern Pedersen's codification (Skautrup II: 177, 187). To them and to other literate people, the formal reform of language was no issue at all in comparison with the substantial reform of the church they were writing about. Basically, this has been the situation ever since: the great majority of people are interested in acquiring and observing the norm, period. Of course, it is hard to imagine that even minor changes can be introduced in a written code without reactions of both acceptance and rejection. There have always been members of especially the cultural elite (including linguists) who have questioned certain aspects of the norm and have deliberately deviated from it in their own writings. The use of minuscules instead of majuscules in nouns as well as the use of <å> instead of <aa> prior to the 1948 reform, can serve as examples. As already noted, the impact of these counter-arguments and alternative practices has been limited. Although the just mentioned 1948 reform might seem a sanctioning of certain practices, it really testifies to the decisive importance of the general historical and attitudinal climate. The changes introduced had been on the reformers' program for a long time, and the arguments supporting these reforms were well known. In 1948, however, the anti-German (majuscules > minuscules) and pro-Scandinavian (aa > å) connotations of the changes had been significantly augmented by World War II. Subsequently, these changes were accepted in a few years time by all newspapers and publishing houses. It might be added, in this context, that observance of the spelling rules is compulsory for people working in the educational and governmental systems.

The spoken norm

The issue of acceptance with regard to a spoken Danish standard becomes interesting only with the nineteenth century when linguistic loyalties moved away from the exoglossic standards and positive attitudes developed towards Danish speech. The question is: towards which kind of Danish speech? Was it towards Copenhagen speech? Or was the budding prestige variety something else than Copenhagen speech, as argued by Skautrup (see above)? Is Standard Danish today something else than Copenhagen speech, as is commonly thought in the Danish speech community? In other words, it is necessary to return to the selection issue in order to deal with the acceptance issue in relation to speech.

Standard Danish = Copenhagen speech

Compared with Skautrup's view of the relative importance of "Copenhagen" and "prestige" to the notion of Standard Danish, Brink and Lund's (1975) conception is very much the opposite: the Copenhagenness of the spoken standard is foregrounded, its prestige is downplayed. Brink and Lund (1975: 764) refer to the common assumption that the standard "is based on" Zealand dialect(s), often narrowed down to East Zealand, and argue that this assumption is unnecessarily imprecise. They check all the available material on how the dialects in the area related to each other around 1840, and end up concluding that the Copenhagen dialect had to be characterized as a dialect "in the middle": it sided with Scanian dialects and came out as historically more archaic than the surrounding Zealand dialects with regard to many variables; on other (somewhat fewer) variables the Copenhagen dialect came out as historically more advanced together with the surrounding Zealand dialects (op cit.: 769–772).

Having thus demonstrated the position of the Copenhagen dialect in "the middle of" the dialect continuum, Brink and Lund do not speculate any further about the existence of a special radiating and uniting centre within or above the geographical dimension. Their definition of the spoken standard is based on the abstract notion of a set of linguistic forms found in all parts of the country. They argue — on empirical grounds — that such a set covering all points in the language existed from around 1825 (i.e. with people born at that time). Since all the forms in this set can be shown to originate from Copenhagen the standard language can thus be described historically as "Copenhagen dialect spread to the whole country" (op. cit.: 769). According to Brink and Lund, people with exclusively Standard forms in their language can be found only in Copenhagen and in the larger towns on Zealand. Except for a few percent old dialect speakers, the rest of the population speaks Copenhagen/Standard Danish with some local colouring (see also Pedersen 2003).

Copenhagen speech is the society's prestige variety

Equating Standard Danish with the Copenhagen dialect implies, of course, a rejection of the idea that the standard is a kind of cross-regional, common denominator developed by a national upper class. Brink and Lund demonstrate in their work that the vitality of the Copenhagen-based standard variety is deeply rooted in the lower social classes of the capital city. Their very comprehensive study of social variation and change in Copenhagen speech from 1840 to 1950 (informants' years of birth), illustrates that most changes originated with the working classes. As the standardization process (acceptance in usage) works its way to all the corners of the country, the socially related variation in Copenhagen speech spreads with it. Variationist studies both on Zealand and in Jutland show young people to use more "low" than "high" Copenhagen variants (Normann Jørgensen and Kristensen 1994; Jul Nielsen 1998; see also Kristensen 2003).

This picture of acceptance in terms of usage may be difficult to reconcile with a picture of acceptance in terms of prestige — for two quite different reasons. Firstly, the vitality of the "low" Copenhagen features is in clear contradiction with the overt stigmatization of many of these features. Secondly, if standard speech is nothing else than generally accepted and adopted Copenhagen speech, many, especially in the Provinces, might not be prepared to accept that this happens for prestige reasons, since it would be tantamount to admitting that many provincials (including oneself!) hold positive attitudes towards Copenhagen speech. In the latter case, it might be in the interest of norm implementation to downplay the prestige factor in explanations of the linguistic "Copenhagenization" of the country.

Brink and Lund's solution is to offer a neogrammarian type of explanation. The notion of sound laws is central to their interpretation of the advance of the Copenhagen dialect; the mechanisms of change are discussed in terms of physiology, perception and linguistic structure. They do accept that prestige may have a facilitating function in some cases of spread, but warn against an interpretation of language variation and change in terms of prestige, and socio-psychological factors in general (Brink and Lund 1974).

Both Skautrup's and Brink and Lund's account of the standardization process can be seen as attempts at securing its acceptability to all Danes: Skautrup believes in the prestige nature of the spoken standard and is forced by the logic of the "national-unity-building" discourse to minimize its "Copenhagenness". Brink and Lund insist on the "Copenhagenness" of the spoken standard and save the "innocence" of the Copenhagen advance by attributing it to sound laws instead of prestige. The sociolinguists' story about spoken norm acceptance unites the two positions in stating that Copenhagen speech is effectively spreading as the society's prestige variety.

It is not possible to give a detailed and precise picture of the gradual spread of Copenhagen speech, but current information about demographics and language usage makes it reasonable to assume that the general acceptance took place in the 1960–1980s. Since then, the traditional dialects have been dying in the sense that they no longer serve as peer group languages to the younger generations in any region. In addition, it should be stressed that variationist studies have found little evidence in support of the possible existence or development of new regional standards as alternatives to the Copenhagen-based standard (Kristiansen forthcoming). A study in Århus, the second largest city in Denmark and the most likely centre for an opposition against a continued linguistic “Copenhagenization” of Jutland, is concluded as follows: “The role of Århus as a pioneering town in the language domain seems to be limited to a somewhat faster appropriation of pronunciations which originate elsewhere (stated point-blank: Copenhagen)” (Jul Nielsen 1998: 77). The comment in parenthesis relates to, and testifies to, the reluctance of many to acknowledge the Copenhagenness of the spoken Standard.

Moving from the level of usage to the level of attitudes, it is no easier to trace the precise development of Copenhagen speech as the generally accepted modern prestige variety, but the process is certainly linked to the development of the public domain of society, beginning with the 1814 introduction of seven years of compulsory schooling for all children. At that time and ever since, it has been an undisputed fact in the Danish school system that the standard language is the only possible school language (i.e. medium of instruction). In spite of the orthography’s relative independence of all speech varieties, the teaching of reading and writing skills has always been based on the idea that there is only one way to pronounce a written word in reading (aloud), and that this pronunciation must be learned in order to learn how to spell (Kristiansen 1990). Neither in 1814 nor today do the children begin to speak the standard language in informal contexts as a result of this pedagogy, but they learn to accept — as a matter of course — that there is a “best” and “correct” language, which is different from their own, surveyed by authorities, and indispensable to anyone who wants to become a success and avoid ridicule in the greater society. With the adding of broadcasting to the many public domains in which the standard language is a matter of course, this lesson was learned even more effectively, particularly as the TV set became the central piece of furniture of every home from the 1960s. Again, the TV set may not have prompted the children to speak standard Danish, but it certainly did install that variety in their passive linguistic competence, and it did prompt them to search for linguistic norm ideals in the national society rather than in the local group.

The school and the media have played a crucial role in Denmark in the propagation of the standard language ideology (Milroy and Milroy 1999) to the extent that the whole population accepts that there is a “best” language (Kristiansen

1990). Whatever people may say to the contrary when asked, representations of the “best” language seem to be quite generally associated with Copenhagen speech, at least among young people. Speaker evaluation studies have been carried out in different parts of Denmark in a way that prevented informants from becoming aware that they disclose their language attitudes. The results show that young people evaluate both “low” and “high” Copenhagen speech more positively than their own language, even if this differs from Copenhagen speech only by a few local, mostly prosodic, features. Both the usage and the prestige of Copenhagen speech are unquestionable (Kristiansen 1998; Kristiansen, Bruun Clausen and Havaard 2002; Maegaard 2001).

6. New tendencies

Language standardization was an important force in the construction of the nation-state. The late twentieth and early twenty-first century have been and are characterized by forces which in many ways are said to be eroding the foundation of the nation-state. This raises once again the question of exo- and endoglossic standards. As the language of globalization, English has become a new exoglossic standard in many domains of Danish society: universities, business, cultural life. This has caused some concern and has led to public discussions about language of a kind rarely seen in Denmark; the central issue being the need for an official language policy in face of the advance of English. No decisions have as yet been made (for research on the English influence and attitudes towards it, see Jarvad 1995; Preisler 1999; for a further discussion of the issue, see Davidsen-Nielsen et al. 1999).

As to the standards of written and spoken Danish, the natural and interesting question to ask is whether we can trace any beginning of a destandardization process. In fact, recent years have also seen public discussions about the written norm. The introduction of minor changes in new editions of *Retskrivningsordbogen* (‘The Spelling Dictionary’) have provoked very strong reactions in parts of the public. The introduction of *majonæse* alongside *mayonnaise*, and a few other such double forms, resulted in a so-called “mayonnaise war” (fought in the press in 1986). The introduction of an English-like comma system alongside the earlier German-like system, resulted in a “comma war” (2002). Of course, such reactions should not be seen as manifestations of an evolving non-accepting attitude towards the very idea of a linguistic norm, but rather as rejections of the codifiers and their attempts at regulating the norm. In fact, the phenomenon as such can only be understood in terms of an absolute and unconditioned acceptance of the traditional, existing norm.

As to the spoken norm, the speaker evaluation studies mentioned above indicate that young Danes may be said to operate with two spoken standards: one for the media and one for the school (Kristiansen 2001). While speakers with “low” Copenhagen features are evaluated more positively on *dynamism* traits (such as self-assurance, straightforwardness, efficiency), “high” Copenhagen speakers do just as well or better on *superiority* traits (such as intelligence, ambition, trustworthiness). Arguably, this evaluative distinction reflects the division in modern public life between the domain of education and business (superiority) and the domain of the modern media (dynamism). In terms of overt attitudes (attitudes openly reproduced in the elite discourse of standard ideology), “low” Copenhagen is better known as the voice of dullness and slowness. Why would young people’s covert (more “private” and “subconscious”) attitudes hold it to be the voice of dynamism? The answer is probably to be sought in the kind of “liberation from formality” which characterizes the modern media. It may be difficult to construct informality without changing to a more “relaxed” variety. The increasing frequency of “low” features even in media contexts which used to be reserved for “high” Copenhagen speech, is probably best seen as a way of constructing informality. In sum, the conception of the spoken Standard is changing in the sense that what people perceive and value as “the best way of speaking Danish” is changing. At the same time, the “best language” remains associated with Copenhagen speech. Young Danes appear to accept the idea that there is and should be a best way of speaking the language. The standard language ideology seems as strong as ever before (Kristiansen 2003).

Notes

1. Originally, the language had “full” vowels — /a/, /u/ and /i/ — in endings, a system which was more resistant in Eastern Danish than in Insular Danish and Jutlandish. While the islanders merged the three vowels into a “schwa” vowel (which they wrote <æ> or <e>; today only <e> is used), the Jutlanders dropped them altogether in final position.
2. The Danish chancery was not located in any particular place as it followed the king who was constantly on the move.

References

- Bertelsen, H. (ed.). 1915–1927 (reprinted 1979). *Danske Grammatikere fra Midten af det syttende til Midten af det attende Aarhundrede I-VI*. København: C. A. Reitzel.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language & Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Braunmüller, K. and Diercks, W. (eds). 1993. *Niederdeutsch und die skandinavischen Sprachen I*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Brink, L. and Lund, J. 1974. *Udtaleforskelle i Danmark: Aldersbestemte — geografiske — sociale*. København: Gjellerup.
- Brink, L. and Lund, J. 1975. *Dansk Rigsmål I-II*. København: Gyldendal.
- Brink, L., Lund, J., Heger, S. and Normann Jørgensen, J. 1991. *Den Store Danske Udtaleordbog*. København: Munksgaard.
- Brøndum-Nielsen, J. 1951. *Studier og Tydninger*. København: Schultz.
- Davidson-Nielsen, N., Hansen, E. and Jarvad, P. (eds). 1999. *Engelsk eller ikke engelsk? That is the question: Engelsk indflydelse på dansk*. København: Gyldendal.
- Galberg Jacobsen, H. 1973. *Sprogøgt i Danmark i 1930'erne og 1940'erne*. København: Dansk Sprognavn.
- Haugen, E. 1976. *The Scandinavian Languages: An introduction to their history*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Henriksen, C. C. 1979. "Danske Grammatikere: En indføring og en ajourføring". In *Danske Grammatikere VI*, H. Bertelsen (ed.), 3–30. København: C. A. Reitzel.
- Henriksen, C. C. (ed.). 1976. *Dansk Rigssprog: En beskrivelse fra 1700-tallet*. København: Akademisk.
- Høysgaard, J. P. 1743. "Concordia res parvæ crescunt eller Anden Prøve af Dansk Orthographie". In *Danske Grammatikere IV*, H. Bertelsen (ed.), 219–249. København: C. A. Reitzel.
- Jahr, E. H. (ed.). 1995. *Nordisk og nedertysk: Språkkontakt og språkutvikling i seinmellomalderen*. Oslo: Novus.
- Jarvad, P. 1995. *Nye Ord — hvorfor og hvordan?* København: Gyldendal.
- Jarvad, P. 1999. *Nye ord: Ordbog over nye ord i dansk 1955–1998*. København: Gyldendal.
- Jul Nielsen, B. 1998. "Talesprogsvariationen i Århus — en sociolingvistisk redegørelse og en sammenligning med sproget i Odder". *Danske Folkemål* 40: 51–78.
- Kaplan, R. B. and Baldauf Jr., R. B. 1997. *Language Planning: From practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kristensen, K. 2003. "Standard Danish, Copenhagen sociolects, and regional varieties in the 1900s". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159: 29–43.
- Kristiansen, T. 1990. *Udtalenormering i skolen*. København: Gyldendal.
- Kristiansen, T. 1998. "The role of standard ideology in the disappearance of the traditional Danish dialects". *Folia Linguistica* XXXII (1–2): 115–129.
- Kristiansen, T. 2001. "Two standards: One for the media and one for the school". *Language Awareness* 10 (1): 9–24.
- Kristiansen, T. 2003. "The youth and the gatekeepers: Reproduction and change in language norm and variation". In *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities*, J. K. Androutsopoulos and A. Georgakopoulou (eds), 279–302. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Kristiansen, T. Forthcoming. "Sproglig regionalisering i Danmark?" (to appear in the proceedings from the 7th Conference on Nordic Dialectology held at Voss, Norway, August 2002).
- Kristiansen, T., Bruun Clausen, T. and Havgaard, M. 2002. "Sprogholdninger blandt unge i Nakskov". *Danske Talesprog* 3: 17–70.

- Lindegård Hjorth, P. 1983. *Danske ordbøgers historie*. København: C. A. Reitzel.
- Maegaard, M. 2001. "Jeg er da stolt af at jeg er sønderjyde — altså sådan forholdsvist!" Om sprogbrug og sprogholdninger hos sønderjyske unge". *Danske Talesprog* 2: 77–166.
- Milroy, J. and Milroy, L. 1999. *Authority in Language* (Third edition.) London: Routledge.
- Normann Jørgensen, J. and Kristensen, K. 1994. *Moderne sjællandsk: En undersøgelse af unge sjællænderes talesprog*. København: C. A. Reitzel.
- Ordbog over det danske Sprog I–XXVIII*, 1918–1956. København: Gyldendal.
- Pedersen, I. L. 1997. "Sprogarter og sprogforandring i 1800-tallet". In *6. Møde om Udforskningen af Dansk Sprog til minde om Peter Skautrup 1896–1996*, P. Widell and M. Kunøe (eds), 237–245. Århus: Aarhus Universitet.
- Pedersen, I. L. 2003. "Traditional Dialects and the De-dialectalization 1900–2000". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159: 9–28.
- Preisler, B. 1999. *Danskerne og det engelske sprog*. Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.
- Rask, R. 1826. *Forsøg til en videnskabelig dansk Retskrivningslære med Hensyn til Stamsproget og Nabosproget*. København: Poppske Bogtrykkeri.
- Scaliger, J. C. 1540. *De Causis Linguæ Latinæ*. Lugdunum: Gryphius.
- Skautrup, P. 1944–1968. *Det danske sprogs historie I–IV*. København: Gyldendal.
- Vikør, L. 1995. *The Nordic language: Their Status and Interrelations*. Oslo: Novus.
- Winge, V. 1992. *Dänische Deutsche — deutsche Dänen. Geschichte der deutschen Sprache in Dänemark 1300–1800 mit einem Ausblick auf das 19. Jahrhundert*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Dutch

Roland Willemyns

Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

1. Introduction

Even as of today the famous medieval animal epic *Van den Vos Reynaerde* ('Reynard the Fox') is still considered by many critics to be the most outstanding piece of literature ever written in Dutch. It was originally created during the thirteenth century in the County of Flanders, the southwestern part of the language territory, and consequently, it was written in Flemish, the then most prestigious variety of Dutch. In present day Standard Dutch, though, Flemish is not the most prominent component anymore. Yet, it certainly has contributed massively to the codification and elaboration of the Dutch language. In the present article I will analyze the (extra-)linguistic factors that account for this evolution.

Dutch is the/an official language of three countries: Belgium, The Netherlands and Surinam. As far as the standardization process is concerned, the evolution in the latter country is not relevant and will, consequently, not be discussed here. For the same reason I will not go into the situation in the Dutch overseas territories known as The Antilles (i.e. Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao and some smaller islands in the Caribbean).

The Kingdom of Belgium (10 million inhabitants) is a trilingual and federal country, consisting of four different language areas: the Dutch speaking community (called Flanders; 58% of the population), the French speaking one (called Wallonia; 32%), the small German speaking community (0.6%) and the Dutch-French bilingual community of Brussels (9.5%). Since regional governments have legislative powers the frontiers of their jurisdiction, being language borders, are defined in the constitution (Treffers and Willemyns 2002). An estimated six million Dutch speakers live in Belgium and approximately 16 million in The Kingdom of The Netherlands. Although other languages are used on a more or less regular basis by important groups of immigrants (Van Bree and De Vries 1996: 1144), there is only one indigenous minority language in The Netherlands, viz. Frisian, which has

regional official status in the province of Friesland (approximately 4% of the total population; see Hoekstra, this volume).

Today Dutch is a pluricentric language (cf. Clyne 1992), but this has not always been the case. Therefore, I will, whenever necessary, diversify the story of the development and standardization of the language according to what is relevant for which country. Language development in general and standardization in particular proceed in a specific way in the case of pluricentric languages. A common characteristic to all peripheral language territories is that linguistic usage and variety distribution diverge to a certain extent from the centre (Bister-Broosen and Willemyns 1988). This occurs in the internal periphery as well as in the external periphery. In the latter case the centre of gravity is situated outside the country. In the Dutch language area Flanders is the external periphery and, consequently, language standardization in Flanders can never proceed along exactly the same lines as in the centre of gravity, the northern *Randstad* (the area comprising the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague and Utrecht).

2. Historical background

We know of only a few written records of Dutch that were produced prior to the twelfth century'.¹ Although Dutch was definitely used in writing earlier than that, we have to wait until the second half of the thirteenth century to see the beginning of an uninterrupted written tradition.² Traditionally, Low Franconian is seen as the Germanic basis of Dutch. Ingvaeonic elements played a part as well, but there is no unanimity as to its amount or real impact (Buccini 1992). In spite of the fact that the earliest Dutch documents originate from the eastern part of the language territory, it is definitely Flanders that emerges as the cradle of Dutch. When in the course of the thirteenth century Latin was gradually replaced by Dutch as the administrative language in the Low Countries, it appeared that Brugge (Bruges) rapidly emerged as the centre of written Dutch as far as the administrative as well as the literary variety of the language was concerned (Gysseling 1971). As Flanders merged with the Duchy of Burgundy in 1384, Brugge became the most flourishing trade capital of that empire and also culturally a most important trend-setting city. Brugge's language variety has contributed decisively to the development of Dutch (Willemyns 1971). Yet, Burgundian rule also marked the increase of administrative bilinguality in the Low Countries (Armstrong 1965) and thus created the Dutch-French language contact that would be so decisive for the formation of Dutch.

From the very beginning of the Middle Dutch writing tradition a linguistic contrast between an eastern and a western variety can be witnessed. The written language of the Middle Dutch period was firmly western (specifically Flemish) in

its roots even in the non-Flemish parts of the language territory.³ In the sixteenth century, though, the economic and political centre of gravity of the Dutch language area shifted to Brabant, the central area of the language territory. An early standard variety began to take shape based on the language varieties of both Flanders and Brabant. The practices of certain book printers may give us an idea of an implicit norm. Willemyns (1997a) shows in detail how the Antwerp printer Jan van Ghelen replaced almost all West-Flemish forms in a selection of the works of the West-Flemish playwright Anthonis de Roovere (1430–1482) in 1562, not by their Brabant dialect counterparts, but by more or less “unmarked” forms which still exist in the present-day standard language.

This standardization process, though, would very soon change its course dramatically. The revolt of the Low Countries against their Roman Catholic Spanish rulers and the subsequent political split of the Dutch language territory during the second half of the sixteenth century had a dramatic impact on the history of Dutch. The centre of gravity of standardization gradually passed from the South to the North (more or less the present-day Netherlands), which had come out victoriously and as an independent nation from this war. From 1585 onwards the Low Countries were divided into two separate parts (more or less the present-day Netherlands and Belgium), each with its specific political, cultural, religious, and social development. The large number of (mostly wealthy, influential and highly educated) southern immigrants accounted for permanent contact with Southern (i.e. Flemish and Brabant) Dutch, which was, at that stage, still the prestige variety of the language. Yet, it was gradually ruled out as far as its influence on the evolution of Standard Dutch was concerned. My account of the standardization of Dutch will start at this point.

The Netherlands’ seventeenth century is known as its “Golden Age”, reflecting both economic and cultural prosperity. Influential writers such as Vondel (1587–1679), Hooft (1581–1647), Bredero (1585–1618), Cats (1577–1660) and Huygens (1596–1687) shaped the writing standard in a Republic that had developed into one of the superpowers of that time, the economical centre of which was situated in the provinces of North and South Holland. The southern Low Countries, on the contrary, stagnated culturally, economically and intellectually. In the North, the standardization of Dutch, although still strongly influenced by the southern tradition, gathered momentum in a specifically Hollandic way.⁴

As a result of the Spanish War of Succession (1702–1713), the southern “Belgian” territories were passed on from the Spanish to the Austrian branch of Habsburg, ruling through the end of the eighteenth century. The consolidation of French as the more socially acceptable tongue continued and Dutch lost a number of its functions to French and its contribution to the elaboration of the Dutch standard language decreased and eventually stopped. In the North the glory of the

Golden Age faded and gave way to what is known as the *pruikentijd* ('the age of dullness').

In 1795 the "Belgian" territories were annexed by France. Their inhabitants were considered citizens of the newly created French Republic, and for the first time in history there was a massive official attempt to change the linguistic habits of the masses by suppressing the Dutch language (Deneckere 1975). The Netherlands were overrun by French revolutionary troops as well, however, here no conscious effort was made to suppress the vernacular language. It was during the French time that two of the main instruments for the standardization of Dutch were published, viz. Siegenbeek's spelling and Weiland's grammar, which will be discussed further below.

The short-lived reunion of the "Belgian" territories and The Netherlands as one *United Kingdom of The Netherlands* (1814–1830) was of the utmost importance to the Flemings, who rediscovered their language for administration, politics, the courts, and education; that is, areas where it had but seldom been used for almost two centuries. Although the reunification period was too short for the official policy of "Dutchification" to really succeed in the "Belgian" region, a small group of cultural leaders and intellectuals were strongly influenced by both the Dutch standard language and the new linguistic opportunities, a fact which was decisive for the eventual success of the Flemish Movement.

By 1830 Belgium had become an independent constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system dominated by the bourgeois elite, for whom French was a "natural" choice as the language of the state, the administration and public life in general. The government appointed only French-speaking civil servants and the discrimination of Dutch throughout the nineteenth century was generalized and deliberate (Witte *et al.* 1997). Hence, despite the fact that Dutch speakers constituted the majority of the population, no legal means were provided for their language.⁵ The abovementioned Flemish Movement was started up almost immediately and fought a long lasting battle for cultural and linguistic rights for Dutch speakers. It took until 1898, though, to declare Dutch and French the two official languages of the country. Only in 1930 was Dutch introduced as medium of instruction at the tertiary level, and two sets of laws (1932 and 1963) guaranteed what had been the ultimate goal of the Flemish Movement i.e. the official and complete "Dutchification" of Flanders. As the Walloons, however, were opposed to widespread bilingualism throughout the country, Belgium gradually turned to the territoriality principle to accommodate the various linguistic groups. Further revisions of the constitution in 1970, 1980, 1988 and 1993 (Coudenberg 1989; Witte 1990; Alen and Suetens 1993) finally turned Belgium into the federal country it is now, with cultural autonomy and a considerable amount of self-determination for the linguistically divided parts of the country.

As far as the language-political background for standardization is concerned, the history of the northern part of the Low Countries after 1830 was decidedly less eventful. The only real language conflict that emerged during that time was the “Frisian problem”. The linguistic consequences of the de-colonization are discussed in Van Bree and De Vries (1996).

3. Selection and codification of norm

Language planning and standardization prior to the nineteenth century

From the early sixteenth century onwards, efforts were made to regulate the Dutch language by means of corpus planning devices, such as dictionaries and grammars. The shift of the centre of gravity from Flanders to Brabant, which drew attention to linguistic diversity and variation, may have been one of the triggers for standardization; the need, mainly created by the Reformation sweeping over the Low Countries, to produce texts for large religious audiences in various parts of the language territory, certainly was another one.

In the course of the sixteenth century Dutch has, as De Vries, Willemyns and Burger (1995: 59) put it, “come of age”; it was now “a language to speak and to write, to praise God, to pursue science, alongside with being the language of poets and administrators it had been for centuries already”. The lingua franca at the European level, though, continued to be Latin. As more and more people urged the use of the mother tongue in as many domains as possible, the awareness grew that it needed some “refinement and uniformization” (Van den Branden 1956) in order to be able to assume the kind of functions performed by the classical languages. The *Naembouck* (‘Name book’, c.1551), a dictionary published by the Ghent printer Joos Lambrecht (1490–1556) was one of the very first corpus planning instruments. He, and many of his successors, had commercial motives as well: the more people were able to read a particular language variety, the more books they could sell. This explains why so many printers were involved in the “language unifying business”. Lambrecht, as well as all those coming after him, condemned and stigmatized loanwords from other languages, especially French.

Status planning was provided e.g. by scientists who wrote their treatises in the vernacular. The famous botanist Rembert Dodoens (1517–1585) from Mechelen published his *Cruijde Boeck* (‘Book of plants’) in 1554, the Ghent surgeon Carolus Baten his treatises on medicine in 1589 and 1590. By far the most productive linguistic innovator of his age, though, was Simon Stevin (1548–1620) from Brugge, an all round scientist (mathematician, musicologist, engineer, astronomer) who invented many Dutch words for scientific terminologies which previously existed

only in Latin, and which are still in use today (e.g. in the domains of mathematics and physics). Stevin, and with him many other scientists, had come to the conclusion that Dutch, the language of their home country, was the “best” language in the world. The idea that languages have intrinsic qualities was rather common at the time and was propagated by scientists and “language experts” in several countries. Joannes Goropius Becanus (1518–1572), the author of the *Origines Antwerpianae* in 1569 not only claimed Dutch to be the “best” but the oldest language as well; he was convinced that it was the language spoken by Adam and Eve in paradise (Hagen 1999a: 16–18).

Creating some kind of “general” Dutch, a variety understood by as many people as possible, was not only the ideal of the book printers. It was shared by those propagating Luther’s and Calvin’s religious reforms. Both the preaching and the Bible reading necessitated some kind of a standardized language variety and, consequently, some of the preachers turned into “linguists”, trying to establish a standard language. Some even tried to create a mixed language, which would be understood in both the Dutch and the Low German areas. None of them was very successful, though (De Vries, Willemyns and Burger 1995: 60–62). It took until 1637 for the *Statenbijbel* (‘Bible of the states’) not only to create, but also to implement and spread a standardized language, which influenced modern Standard Dutch more than anything else (Van Dalen-Oskam and Mooijaart 2000).

At the same time, the sixteenth century was a period in which scores of *spraakkonstenaars* (‘grammarians’) were struggling with spelling and grammar (considered by most to be one and the same thing). The same Joos Lambrecht already mentioned as the first lexicologist, was also the author of the first spelling treatise: his *Nederlandsche Spelijnghe* (‘Dutch spelling’) was published in 1550. Yet, in the realm of spelling and grammar the ideal of a common language was less obvious and most of the *spraakkonstenaars* were looking for creating a norm based on their own dialect. The most important, though not necessarily the most influential one was Pontus de Heuiter (1535–1602) from Delft, whose *Nederduitse Orthographie* (‘Dutch orthography’) published in 1581 was the only one based on an intended general language instead of a particular dialect (Dibbets 1968). Although appreciated by present-day linguists, his proposal was not very popular with his contemporaries. The most important sixteenth century grammar was the *Twe-spraak van de Nederduitsche Letterkunst* written by Spiegel (1549–1612) and published by the Amsterdam *rederijkerskamer* “*De Eglantier*” in 1584 (Hagen 1999a: 14–16).⁶ This popular and influential grammar is usually seen as the real beginning of a tradition of prescriptive grammars in Dutch, based on the rules of the Latin grammar. The author emphasized that his language, and therefore his norm, is not that of the common Hollander, but the sociolect of the cultivated and educated classes. This marks the beginning of a new approach in the standardization debate: as far as the elaboration and implementation

of the norm were concerned, the social prestige variable grew ever more important, to the detriment of the regional variable.

Scientific lexicology in the sixteenth century prospered even more than grammar. After Joos Lambrecht's *Naembouck* a couple of professional lexicographers appeared on the scene. The Antwerp master printer Christoffel Plantijn (1520–1589) wrote, as well as commissioned, important and innovating dictionaries (Claes 1970). His own *Tetraglotton*, a quadrilingual dictionary combining Latin, Greek, French, and Dutch, was probably partly edited by Cornelis Kiliaan (1528–1607), who also was the author of one of the most famous dictionaries in the Low Countries ever, the *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, first published in 1574, but best known in the revised third edition of 1599. Kiliaan not only described the vocabulary of Dutch, he also included etymological comments and indicated in which regional dialects the listed words were used. Finally, he added the translation in both High German and Latin. He definitely produced the first scientific dictionary of a vernacular which was second to none in Europe. This dictionary was the most important status planning instrument of the Dutch language in the field of lexicology; Spiegel's *Twe-Spraack* has to be attributed the same status in the field of grammar.

Yet, by the time both books were published, an event had taken place that would change the evolution of Dutch more decisively than any language planning effort ever, viz. the so-called Eighty Years War, the revolution of the Low Countries against their Spanish, Catholic rulers. In the summer of 1585 the Spanish commander-in-chief Alexander Farnese (1545–1592) recaptured Antwerp, the last of the important cities of the Low Countries to fall into Spanish hands. The split of the country was a fact now. The massive exodus of inhabitants of the southern Low Countries to England, Germany, but mostly to the North (i.e. The Netherlands) reached its climax. Antwerp emptied: in a few years its population decreased from 100 000 to 42 000. Amsterdam's population increased from 50 000 to 100 000 by the end of the century, even 150 000 by 1650. A census taken in 1622 revealed one third of Amsterdam to be of southern origin, in Haarlem it was 50% and in Leiden 67%. As to their social status, the immigrants were not only skilled craftsmen: in 1611 half of the 310 most important merchants of Amsterdam were southerners (Van Leuvensteijn 1997). Holland became the economic and cultural centre of Europe, but the glory of the Golden Age of The Netherlands was largely paid for by money coming from Flanders and Brabant.

The massive exodus was also a "brain drain", emptying the southern Low Countries of its influential philosophers, scientists and artists. Many of them were "men of words" and the people of The Netherlands were now taught by southerners, heard southern sermons in their churches and were entertained by southern *rederijkers* playing in their theatres. The spoken word in Holland was heavily

accented with a southern flavour and a lot of that Flemish and Brabantic influence was there to stay in Standard Dutch forever, be it mostly in the more formal written variety. We may conclude that, although the sixteenth century bubbled with language planning activities, it is not easy to identify an explicit norm for the standardized language, or to understand how exactly the language was built up and what were its main components.

From the very first decades of the Golden Age of The Netherlands, we witness the appearance of a large number of treatises on grammar and spelling. The most influential one, *De Nederduytsche spraec-konst ofte tael-beschrijvinghe* ('Dutch grammar or language description'; 1633) was written by the mathematician Christiaan van Heule. The main objective of these grammars was to prescribe a norm and to change the language accordingly. Influenced by their admiration for the classical languages, the authors were eager to introduce rules based on the rich system of conjugations and declinations known from Latin and Greek. In addition, the acclaimed writers of the time were, of course, influential in their own right, both by the way they wrote and by what they had to say on language usage. Jacob Cats, the most popular of them, tried to contribute to "general" Dutch, by successfully mixing elements from Zeeland (his province of origin) with such from Holland and Brabant. According to Vondel, the most famous poet of the time, the norm of the language was to be found in the sociolect of the upper classes of both Amsterdam ("the most magnificent mercantile centre of the world") and The Hague ("the capital").⁷ Once again we see how the social variable superseded the regional one.⁸ Until well into the nineteenth century having a regional accent would be deemed less of a problem than having the wrong social accent (up to a point this is still the case today in The Netherlands).

The most influential language planning instrument by far, though, was the *Statenbijbel* mentioned above. The executive body of the northern protestant state commissioned a translation of the Bible that was carefully checked for both religious orthodoxy and the linguistic North-South balance. As a result, the language of the *Statenbijbel*, actually created for the purpose, combined northern and southern characteristics and became the basis for the northern writing tradition, thus preventing northern and southern varieties of the language of growing too far apart. A detailed account of both the translation procedure and the resulting language forms is to be found in De Vries, Willemyns and Burger (1995: 82–87).

It is generally thought that the impact of eighteenth century grammarians on the evolution and standardization of northern Dutch was rather limited. Yet, there are quite a few influential grammarians to be mentioned. The *Nederduitsche spraekunst* ('Dutch grammar', 1706) by Arnold Moonen (1644–1711) was very popular (there were at least four reprints) and was, according to its author, following the Greek and Latin grammatical tradition as well as being inspired by the work of the famous

German grammarian Justus Georg Schottel (see Mattheier, this volume). In the equally famous *Nederduytsche Spraekkonst* (1708) the author, Willem Sewel (1654–1720), explicitly stated that, in his opinion, Hollandic, i.e. the language variety as used in the province of Holland, was definitely to be considered the “best” kind of Dutch (De Bonth *et al.* 1997: 367). In the eighteenth century grammars, we also witness the breakthrough of a new and inspiring grammatical principle, viz. that grammarians ought not to invent rules but only should propagate those rules which can be derived from real language usage. Lambert ten Kate (1674–1731) first formulated this point of view in his internationally famous *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (‘Introduction to the knowledge of the superior part of the Dutch language’, 1723).⁹ Although he proved to be an excellent analyst of language change and linguistic evolution, less gifted colleagues of his were more successful and influential. Their work deepened the gap between the spoken and the (over-formalized) written language and their linguistic views came to be known as “language despotism”. Its most famous representative was Balthazar Huydecoper (1695–1778), who, in his *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde* (1730) criticized the “ungrammatical” language as used by Vondel (De Vries, Willemys and Burger 1995: 99 ff.). Thanks to Ten Kate, we also know that in the early eighteenth century a more or less “general” spoken Dutch did definitely not exist. He, and some of his colleagues, pointed out that the language differed from province to province and even from city to city (quoted in De Bonth *et al.* 1997: 363). Yet, his statement that language “unity” did exist in the written language must not necessarily mean that a standardized variety, comparable to the present one, had already emerged.

In the second half of the century language planning activities regained some of the popularity they enjoyed during its initial decades. One of the most noticeable signs of this revival is the foundation, in 1766, of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*; a ‘Society for Dutch Literature’, in which the study of “literature” included that of “language”, and which continued to exist until the present day.

Meanwhile, in the southern Low Countries, Dutch was gradually losing more functions to French. Although Dutch was still spoken and written by the large majority of the population and used for administrative purposes on a local level, it had lost its prestige and, because it lacked contact with the North, did no longer participate in the language standardization process that took place over there. Although most of the many southern grammarians advised their readers to conform to the northern norm, the southerners had no way of knowing how language was developing in the northern parts. The same, evidently, applied to the grammarians themselves who prescribed rules of their own, mostly based on their personal regional dialect. One of the most popular grammarians was Andries Steven (1676?–1747) from Kassel (now in the North of France, at that time still part of the Dutch

language area), whose *Nieuwen Nederlandschen Voorschriftenboek* (1711) enjoyed numerous reprints and was in use in some schools as long as the early nineteenth century (Smeyers 1959). More influential still was Jan des Roches (1740–1787). This former teacher from The Hague was the secretary of the “Imperial Academy of Sciences” in Brussels and the most important advisor to the Austrian rulers in the fields of language and education. He published both a grammar *De nieuwe Nederduytsche Spraekkonst* (‘The new Dutch grammar’, 1761) and a dictionary *Fransch-Nederduytsch woordenboek* (‘French-Dutch dictionary’, 1782). Although a number of grammarians can be identified in the southern Low Countries during the annexation to France and the United Kingdom of The Netherlands, nothing spectacular emerged since most of them carried on in the eighteenth century tradition. Smeijers (1959) gives a detailed overview of their production (see also De Groof 2002).

4. Language planning in the nineteenth century

The selection of norm in the South

The first leaders of the Flemish Movement were trained during the reunification time (1814–1830). Their views on language evolution and the way it could possibly be planned were entirely dominated by the political goals they wanted to achieve. Language planning indeed was not an aim in itself but a tool in a much broader social, cultural and political plan. It appeared very soon that to obtain linguistic rights for Dutch-speakers was only possible by means of a linguistic legislation, which in its turn could only be brought about by enhancing the prestige of the language. At the same time increased linguistic rights for Dutch speakers were a necessary condition for influencing language development. Consequently, several problems emerged simultaneously, one of them being that the Dutch language had lost so many functions that it was not equipped to assume the tasks its advocates had in mind. The Dutch language needed standardization, it needed to be transformed into a tool fit to perform all the functions a language had to perform in a modern, industrialized state. The situation, therefore, was favourable for language planning activities.

Two factions may be discerned: those who were advocating a domestic standardization, based on the local, regional varieties, the so-called *particularists* and those who insisted that the northern model should be followed, in other words, that the Flemings should take over as much as possible the standard language as it already existed in the North. They were called the *integrationists*. After a few decades it clearly appeared that the integrationist solution had prevailed, and their victory was never to be seriously challenged afterwards. One of the reasons for this

victory was undoubtedly a socio-political one: the only possibility for successfully repelling the competition of French — it was generally felt — was the elaboration of a language that could be accepted as being the same as the one used in The Netherlands, in order to profit domestically from the prestige the language had acquired abroad (Willemys, De Groof and Vandebussche 2002). As to its implementation, the strategy used to convince the population was quite simple and straightforward (and indeed the same as the one used to beat the particularistic adversaries): if you want rights for your language (and for those who speak it) you should use the prestige variety which, in the course of centuries, has only been preserved in Holland. To adopt it now means only to gain repossession of the heritage which has always been there for you to collect! It is obvious that this action was essentially ideological, appealing to political and nationalist feelings which, as years went on, grew more and more intense in large portions of the population. The results of this first period of language planning in modern Belgium were, therefore, essentially of an attitudinal nature, in that language activists tried to convince the population to adopt the same language as their northern neighbours (Willemys 1996).¹⁰

Integrational efforts and the codification of the norm

An intellectual elite, which had acquired experience with using Dutch in administrative, literary and scholarly writing was the first group to experience that it was necessary to unify, modernize and standardize the language. Most of them were part of the integrationist faction that suggested to organize a *Nederlandsch Congres* ('Dutch Congress') in 1849 (De Vroede 1950). This North-South reunion was to serve a double purpose: (a) to strengthen the Flemish movement, and (b) to establish contact with "men of letters" from The Netherlands which would favour "the advancement of the Dutch language and literature".

Though the particularistic faction did not attend, and the Dutch in general were rather indifferent to the cause of the Flemish activists as they did not want to interfere in what they considered to be "domestic Belgian policy" (Vanacker 1982), the First Congress on 26 August 1849 at the University of Ghent started a tradition of congresses (called *Nederlandsch Taal- en Letterkundig Congres* 'Dutch Congress on Language and Literature') which was to continue until 1912 (De Clerck 1975). Despite their limited influence on the course of the Flemish Movement and the status of Dutch in Belgium, the congresses positively contributed to intensifying contact with fellow Dutch speakers of the North and to gaining sympathy and support in The Netherlands for the Flemish cause (Willemys 1993).

One of the most important practical results of the congress (on the corpus planning level) was the decision, in 1849, to commission an extensive dictionary

(De Vries, Willemyns, and Burger 1995). The Dutch linguist Matthias de Vries (1820–1892) was the first author of the very extensive *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ('Dictionary of the Dutch Language'), which was to be written in the tradition of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Grimm brothers, and which would become a major instrument in both the elaboration and the implementation of the integrationist norm. The dictionary has only been brought to a successful end in 1998, when the fortieth and final volume was published, making the *WNT* the largest dictionary in the world (Moerdijk 1994). From the very beginning financial support was provided by both the Dutch and the Belgian governments. Later it was carried on by the bi-national *Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicografie* ('Institute for Dutch Lexicography') in Leiden, which still coordinates the official lexicographic efforts of the Low Countries under the auspices of the *Nederlandse Taalunie* ('Dutch Language Union', see below).

Ius et norma loquendi

In the Low Countries a language in contact situation with French has always existed. Yet, it is undoubtedly in the South that it had the most penetrating influence on language usage and on the structure of the languages (Willemyns 1996b). It even interfered in both corpus and status planning, since the language policy of the advocates of French considerably influenced the debate and the course of the standardization of Dutch in the nineteenth century. The struggle for the *ius loquendi* has definitely influenced the *norma loquendi*.

Until recently the tendency prevailed to underestimate the perversity of the purposeful official discrimination of Dutch by the first "Belgian" rulers. One single quotation may suffice. In 1830 the provisional government issued a decree to justify why only French could function as the official administrative language of Belgium, and why the majority language apparently could not be used in this function:

Considérant d'autre part que les langues flamande et allemande, en usage parmi les habitans de certaines localités, varient de province à province, et quelquefois de district à district, de sorte qu'il serait impossible de publier un texte officiel des lois et arrêtés en langues flamande et allemande. ('Considering on the other hand that Dutch and German, used by the inhabitants of certain places, may vary from province to province and even from county to county, it would be impossible to draft an original official text of laws and decrees in either Dutch or German.'; cited in Peeters 1930: xiv; translation R. Willemyns).

In spite of the obvious malevolence (laws and decrees had been drafted exclusively in Dutch from 1824 to 1830) as well as the downright offence of calling the language of the majority of the Belgians a "language used by the inhabitants of certain

places”, the opinions expressed in such texts were taken to heart by the Flemish activists and generated a kind of “minority complex” which has influenced the standardization policy and the semi-official language planning for more than a century and a half. By the same token this helps us to understand why the Flemings were so obsessed with wanting to convince everybody (and the French speakers in the first place) that their language was not a mere bunch of varying dialects, but a real standard language instead. And this, they believed, could only succeed if that standard language was the same one as the language used in Holland. This is yet another justification of the integrationist discourse.

Although French may not have been the language of the majority of Belgians, it surely was the country’s prestige language, and its societal superiority was not only held responsible for the discrimination of Dutch but for its “corruption” as well. Nineteenth century integrationist language reformers, the most famous of which were Willem de Vreese (1869–1938) and Hippoliet Meert (1865–1924), have constantly repeated that the language of even the best educated Flemings had been corrupted because of the language in contact situation with French, which inevitably led to numerous calques and Gallicisms (De Vreese 1899; Meert 1899). Some quotations may serve to illustrate this point of view. Meert, e.g., explains:

Hoe zou de Vlaming nu, die een slordig onderricht in zijn taal ontving, die geen steun vindt in eene algemeene, beschaafde omgangstaal, hoe zou hij zuiver Nederlandsch kennen? ... Zoo menige Fransche uitdrukking blijft ons in ‘t hoofd hangen, waar wij de Nederlandsche weerga niet van leerden kennen, dat wij ze onbewust vertalen. (‘How could you expect the Fleming, who received sloppy instruction in his mother tongue, and who, consequently, cannot turn to a general, civilized daily language [i.e. a standard language, RW] for support, how could you expect that Fleming to master pure Dutch? ...so many French expressions are locked in our head, the correct Dutch equivalent of which we never acquired and which, therefore, we unwittingly translate.’; Meert 1899: 21; translation R. Willemyns).

His colleague Willem de Vreese, combines a similar complaint with a theoretical justification of the integrationist views :

Het is onloochenbaar dat wij Zuid-Nederlanders, onder den invloed van allerlei betreurenswaardige omstandigheden en oorzaken, waaraan tot nu toe nog zeer weinig, ja niet verholpen is, nagenoeg alle taalgevoel verloren hebben, en ik meen dat wij, zoolang die toestand voortduurt, het best doen onze taal opnieuw te leeren bij hen die ze kunnen, d.i. bij de Hollanders. (‘It cannot be denied that we, people of the southern Low Countries, because of all kinds of deplorable circumstances and causes, which have hardly or not been remedied so far, have lost our language flair almost completely, and I am convinced that, as long as this situation continues, our best option is to learn our language again from those who master it

[i.e. those who never lost its command, RW], viz. the Hollanders.’; De Vreese 1899; translation R. Willemyns).

De Vreese’s status as an academically trained linguist allowed him to let language-political arguments overshadow purely linguistic ones:

Ik zie alleen heil in een nauwe aansluiting bij het zoogenaamde Hollandsch [...] Liever Hollandsch dan Fransch. Dat is mijne manier om Flamingant te zijn. (‘The only possible solution I see is to rely as much as possible on Hollandic. I prefer Hollandic over French. That is my way of being a Flemish activist.’; *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie van Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1899; translation R. Willemyns).

The responsibility of the governmental Frenchification policy for the “language corruption” is also demonstrated by Haest (1985). Her investigation of the syntax of Antwerp newspapers shows that 2% of all attested Gallicisms in her corpus appeared in 1700, 6,8% in 1750, and 12,2% in 1800. After the foundation of Belgium the percentages increased: in 1850 the total reaches no less than 44,6% and slows down to 34,1% in 1900. The explanation is quite simple, she says: “the complete and systematic Frenchification of education and administration in the young Belgian state, where now not only the upper class but the petty bourgeoisie as well has almost daily contact with the French language” (Haest 1985: 112). Ongoing investigations of my Brussels research team consistently confirm that real Frenchification in Flanders has mainly started from 1830 onward, i.e. after the Belgian state was founded. Only from the 1930s (i.e. with the “Dutchification” of the university of Ghent) was it possible to bring actual language performance in line with the convictions and attitudes discussed above, since only by then had Dutch in Belgium become a language used in and for science.

Official language planning: the spelling

As mentioned, 1777 is the year that saw the first official spelling norm in The Netherlands, viz. Jan des Roches’ *Nederduytsche spraek-konst*. In the North Siegenbeek’s spelling (*Verhandeling over de spelling der Nederduytsche taal en bevordering van eenparigheid in derzelve*, ‘Treatise on the spelling of Dutch and on how to increase its uniformity’, 1804), commissioned by the government of the *Bataafsche Republiek* was the compulsory guideline in education as well as administration from 1804 onward.

Yet, in the course of the nineteenth century, both the spelling system and the political situation of the Low Countries changed often and considerably, and so did the outcome of their interplay. From 1795 through 1814, during the annexation of the southern Low Countries to France, French was the only official language and its

use was obligatory in all official circumstances. An official spelling for Dutch, consequently, did not exist. In the United Kingdom of The Netherlands (1814–1830) the use of Dutch as an official language was compulsory by law from 1824 onward. The Siegenbeek spelling system was obligatory in the North, but the government never issued a decree to make it compulsory for the southern part of the realm as well. To a certain extent, therefore, its usage may have been a sign of political allegiance.

After 1830, French was the sole administrative language of the newly created Belgium. Its use was not compulsory, but was firmly encouraged by the government. Many city and other administrations switched to French to the detriment of the Dutch majority language. Yet, during all that time, documents were written in Dutch in all Flemish city halls (albeit in very varying quantities) and, consequently, those who wrote them had to make decisions regarding the orthographic system. It is only later that the Royal Decree of 1 January 1844 made the so-called “Committee-spelling” official. Finally, in November 1864 the “De Vries and Te Winkel”-system, which was used in the North as well, was made compulsory by Royal Decree (Couvreur and Willemys 1998).

The so-called “Committee-spelling” resulted from a struggle between the opposing particularists and integrationists. The dissolution of the United Kingdom of The Netherlands in 1830 had given way to a renewed feeling of uncertainty and insecurity as far as the norm of the language and its spelling was concerned. In order to remedy this situation the Belgian government, strongly lobbied by integrationist organizations, held a competition to design a spelling system and installed a committee to judge the entries. The jury unanimously rejected all twelve submitted entries and, in 1839, published a system of its own, known as *de commissie-spelling* (‘the committee-spelling’). With only a few exceptions the committee-spelling mirrored the Siegenbeek-spelling in use in The Netherlands and in so doing the committee practically introduced the orthographic unity between the North and the South (De Groof 2001).

In spite of the fierce opposition of particularists the Belgian government made the committee-spelling official by Royal Decree. In order to grasp the impact of this decision, one has to realize that at this time orthography was still considered as an integrated part of the language or, even more to the point, that the spelling *was* the language. Taking over the northern spelling system consequently was seen as taking over the northern language variety. The symbolic value of this decision was enormous. The particularists experienced the decision as a harsh defeat, whereas the integrationist supporters cheered it as a decisive victory. And from that moment onwards indeed, the particularists never again succeeded in really influencing the views of the mainstream Flemish cultural elite.

Ongoing research on the way city officials reacted to these language planning measures and spelling norm changes, are currently yielding insights on two different levels, viz. language choice and language use which are new and rather fascinating. This research can be summarized as follows (Willemyns and Vanhecke forthcoming):

- a) Language choice in the chancelleries of smaller cities is completely different from what could be expected on the basis of the prevailing assumptions.
- b) In spite of the rapid succession of spelling systems the scribes appear to have been remarkably well informed about them.
- c) The clerks and scribes must have made some kind of an agreement as to which spelling system to use.
- d) The spelling inconsistency is rather restricted and the amount of spelling “variation” does not even remotely match the amount found in non-professional lower and lower middle class texts.
- e) It remains unclear so far whether switching to another orthography at the onset of a new political regime is an expression of political allegiance, but it seems a plausible assumption.
- f) It is not yet sure whether pressure has been exerted and by whom, but it is remarkable that the scribes had the competence to adjust to new rules, regardless of the question whether they were forced to adjust or not.
- g) Corpus planning appears to have been quite successful, at least in the professional scribes examined so far.

As far as the written language of the majority of the Flemish population was concerned, this remained largely unaffected by language planning activities: most Flemings did not conform to any official or unofficial spelling norm, but made use of highly individual spelling systems instead (Vandenbussche 1999). Only towards the end of the nineteenth century did standardized spelling finally spread in Flanders, apparently from the higher towards the lower social classes (Vandenbussche 2001).

The codification of Standard Dutch in the North (The Netherlands)

In The Netherlands, a country without language conflicts and limited language contact, there was no reason in the nineteenth century for language planning measures aimed at enhancing the status and prestige of Dutch, which was the sole official language of the country. Consequently, the activities of language purists, teachers and linguists alike were concentrated on that particular language, on prescribing how it ought to be normalized, standardized and used.

The early nineteenth century saw the real beginning of “Netherlandistics” as a scholarly, academic discipline and its two pioneers were Matthijs Siegenbeek

(1774–1854) and Petrus Weiland (1754–1842), the authors of the official and authoritative spelling and grammar. Weiland's grammar (*Nederduitsche spraak-kunst*, 1805) consisted of two volumes, the first on phonetics and morphology, the second on syntax. Like Siegenbeek's orthographic treatise, these two volumes are the typical, and probably also "best" representations of the so-called "normative tradition" which characterizes the linguistic activity of the early nineteenth century (de Bonth 1997: 380 ff.).

In the mid-nineteenth century the normative tradition gave way, as far as scholarly linguistics was concerned, to historic-comparative linguistics, a development which would also affect the standardization process. The aforementioned Matthias de Vries was a prominent scholar of historical linguistics as a professor of Dutch philology, and he felt it was necessary to devise a new orthography of Dutch for the publication of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (WNT).¹¹ The orthography was primarily designed by De Vries' co-author of the WNT, Lammert Allard te Winkel (1809–1868). The spelling system, known as the De Vries-Te Winkel- system, was made compulsory by the Belgian government in 1864, and was officially accepted by the government of The Netherlands shortly after. It was this system which definitively established orthographic unity in both parts of the Low Countries, albeit that in the North, for lack of legal compulsory measures, numerous literary authors continued to use a spelling system of their own.

Hulshof (1997: 455) described the outgoing nineteenth century in The Netherlands as "a period of transition from an unnatural written language to a civilized spoken language".¹² From various sides indeed, the slogan *schrijf zoals je spreekt* ('write as you speak') was heard and this principle was to be the basis of a language planning action, mainly supported by writers and linguists in order to, as Kollewijn put it, "simplify the written language" (De Vries, Willemyns and Burger 1995: 159).¹³ The main literary impulse came from famous poets like Kloos (1859–1938), Gorter (1864–1927), Van Deyssel (1864–1952) and other so-called *Tachtigers*, as well as the novelist Multatuli (pseudonym of Eduard Douwes Dekker, 1820–1887).¹⁴ The main literary journal propagating those views was *De nieuwe Gids*, and as far as linguistics is concerned, a similar role was played by *Taal en Letteren*, succeeded in 1907 by *De nieuwe Taalgids*.

Whereas the norm of the written language was, at least, "identifiable", this was hardly the case with the spoken language which around 1900 was still very much characterized by regionally different features. As the spoken language was proclaimed the main source of the language during the nineteenth century, this generated a new kind of norm problem. Again, the social variable was paramount: the only spoken language deemed fit to imitate in writing was the so-called *beschaaefde taal* ('civilized language') of the small social and intellectual elite (Hulshof 1997: 458). Even half a century later, the famous Dutch linguist G. G. Kloeke

(1951) estimated that competence in ABN was limited to some 3% of the population of The Netherlands. Anyway, as Hulshof (1997: 477) rightly observes, at the end of the nineteenth century, the linguistic picture in The Netherlands is still firmly characterized by a regionally flavoured spoken variety on the one side and a normative, slightly old-fashioned written language variety on the other.

5. Twentieth century: Elaboration and implementation

The Netherlands, prior to World War II was, as Van den Toorn (1997: 479) reminds us, a conservative country and “that applies to the Dutch language as well: there were no substantial changes until long after 1940” (*ibid.*). Between 1920 and 1940 the main language planning focus was on “the longing for and the pursuit of a standardized language” (*ibid.*). As far as linguistic characteristics were concerned, the basis of that emerging ABN is the language used by the better situated classes in the larger western cities (the *Randstad*). This Hollandic variety has won acceptance and has subsequently been implemented through the educational system as well as through the influence of existing (newspapers) as well as the new media (radio). According to Van den Toorn, the acceptance and usage of ABN had become “a characteristic of civilization and a product of disciplining: it was a voluntary effort to accept a general norm” (*op. cit.*: 480). Yet, gradually, he says, the western flavour grew more important than the “general” characteristics and whereas in the first half of the twentieth century the traditional definition of an ABN-speaker, in imitation of Jespersen’s famous words, still was somebody whose speech did not betray his geographic origins, in the century’s second half “somebody whose speech does betray his western origin” was the more adequate description. All of this, as well as Kloeke’s (see above) and other people’s estimations of the amount of ABN-speakers, clearly depends on how the standard language is perceived and defined, and what is considered to be its norm; in other words, on the amount and the kind of norm variation one is prepared to accept. This is further discussed below.

During the whole nineteenth and part of the twentieth century the lack of direct and frequent contact with The Netherlands made the implementation of the standard norm in Belgium a precarious and difficult problem. The practical obstacles, for one, were so huge that it was only after World War II that substantial success could be expected and actually occurred. The popularization of radio and, afterwards, television was undoubtedly the first major development helping to overcome practical problems. Yet another was the massive “entrance into battle” of the core of Flemish linguists. Especially in the sixties and seventies the Flemings were not only constantly exposed to the northern norm in the media, but the Flemish media also contributed actively by giving academic linguists the opportu-

nity of addressing their audience and of spreading their views. All radio and television channels had a prime time program and almost every newspaper had a daily column to help Flemings to gain proficiency in the northern flavoured standard language which was, as was constantly repeated, *their* own. Most of these programs were of the “do not say ... but say...” kind. Following the column title (*Uit de taaltuin*, ‘From the language garden’) of one of the prestigious newspapers all of these activities were called *language gardening*, and mostly the “gardeners” were established linguists and university professors. The results of this combined efforts were quite amazing and basically succeeded in what is a very tough and unusual task, viz. to provide almost an entire population in a couple of decades with a more or less new language or, to put it more correctly, with a less known variety of their own language. As opposed to The Netherlands, during the larger part of the twentieth century the focus was on eliminating regional accents, rather than on stressing the social component. Yet in Flanders too, the “civilized” component of ABN (General *Civilized* Dutch) used to be heavily stressed.

Another unusual factor should also be emphasized, viz. that this massive language status planning effort was performed with almost no official government involvement. 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 official governmental backing and the main effort was performed through private initiative. There was substantial governmental action on the corpus planning level, though (cf. Willemyns and Haeseryn 1998).

Since Dutch was the mother tongue and vehicular language of at least 60% of the Belgian population, it would seem altogether natural for the Belgian government to be concerned with its promotion and to be anxious to remain in permanent contact with the government of The Netherlands. As history reveals, the Belgian government has for a long time been hostile to the language of the majority of its subjects and this has limited such contacts until after World War II, when the so-called Cultural Agreement (officially the “Convention on the Cultural and Intellectual Relations”) between both countries was ratified. It has always been the ultimate goal of the Flemings to associate the Dutch to their efforts and this has often proven to be a tough job. The conclusion of the “Cultural Agreement” has been acclaimed as an important step in the desire for integration.¹⁵ It was, however, undoubtedly the *Taalunie* which has been felt to be the real consecration of these efforts. The *Nederlandse Taalunie* (‘Dutch Language Union’) was installed under a treaty passed by the Dutch and Belgian governments in 1980, transferring to this international body their prerogatives in all matters concerning language and literature.¹⁶ The *Taalunie* is composed of four institutions: a *Committee of Ministers*, comprising ministers of both countries; an *Inter-parliamentary Commission*, comprising MP’s of both countries; a *Secretary General* and a *Council for Dutch*

Language and Literature (Willemyns 1984). Aiming at “integrating as far as possible The Netherlands and the Dutch Speaking Community of Belgium in the field of the Dutch language and literature in the broadest sense” (art. 2), the *Nederlandse Taalunie* is undoubtedly a remarkable piece of work and a very unusual occurrence in international linguistic relations, since no national government has so far conceded to a supra-national institution what is generally considered to be its own prerogative, i.e. to decide autonomously on linguistic and cultural affairs. The activities of the *Nederlandse Taalunie* lie both in the fields of corpus and of status planning.

As stated above, the traditional definition of Standard Dutch — as it exists in the general public consciousness — has always been: the language which is used by educated and cultivated people in the western part of The Netherlands. In its first edition (1984) the authors of the ultimate normative instrument for the grammar of Dutch, the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (‘General Grammar of Dutch’; called the ANS), state that it has been written in order to enable language users “om zich een oordeel te vormen over de grammaticaliteit en de aanvaardbaarheid van hedendaags Nederlands taalgebruik” (‘to judge the grammaticality and acceptability of the present-day usage of Dutch’; ANS 1984: 10). They then explain what has to be considered present-day usage of Dutch, and in so doing almost officially define the norm. I quote:

De ANS geeft in principe een beschrijving van het moderne Nederlandse taalgebruik, zoals dat tot uiting komt in de standaardtaal. We verstaan daaronder de taal die in alle regio’s van het Nederlandse taalgebied bruikbaar is in zgn. secundaire relaties, d.w.z. in het contact met ‘vreemden’. De standaardtaal is bovengewestelijk en algemeen bruikbaar: het gaat hier om taalvormen die niet gebonden zijn aan een bepaalde stijl (dus bijv. woorden, vormen of constructies die alleen maar in de schrijftaal of alleen maar in de spreektaal verschijnen), aan een bepaalde regio (dus bijv. taalvormen die alleen maar in het zuiden of alleen maar in het oosten van ons taalgebied voorkomen) of aan een bepaalde groep (dus bijv. taalvormen die alleen maar door de beoefenaars van een bepaald beroep gebruikt worden). Standaard-Nederlands is dus de taal waarmee men in secundaire relaties altijd en overal in het Nederlandse taalgebied terecht kan. (‘The ANS gives a description of the present-day usage of Dutch as it emerges in the standard language. We consider the standard language to be the language which can be used in all parts of the Dutch language territory in so-called secondary relations, i.e. in contact with strangers. The standard language is a supra-regional variety which is usable in all kinds of circumstances, which is not restricted to a specific style (e.g. words, forms or constructions limited to the written or to the spoken language), a specific region (e.g. only in use in the south or the east of the language territory) or a specific group (e.g. only in use in the jargon of a specific profession). In sum, Standard Dutch is the language which

guarantees contact in secondary relations in the Dutch language territory always and everywhere.’; ANS 1984: 12; translation R. Willemyns).

In the second edition of 1997 the above definition has disappeared and has been replaced by a more extensive description of language variability. The only thing remaining in the way of a definition is that Standard Dutch is “de taal waarin geen elementen of structuren voorkomen die duidelijk opvallen als niet-algemeen” (‘the language variety containing no elements or structures which definitely strike as being ‘non-general’; ANS 1997: 16).

Attempts in other grammars or dictionaries to define what Standard Dutch is or to locate its norm are equally vague. For the most part, the amount of variation which is allowed within the confines of the norm is not theoretically specified, presumably because there is no way of describing or delineating it. Yet, it often occurs that particular utterances are labelled either “substandard” or are described by any other term that indicates a deviation from the norm. Such labels may, of course, vary in the course of time.¹⁷

Dutch being a pluricentric language, it is not only normal that the actual realization of the norm may vary slightly according to region, but even that the very notion of the norm itself is not necessarily identical in all parts of the language territory. In Flanders, as we have seen in the controversy between nineteenth century particularists and integrationists, such discussions have a very long tradition. But although nowadays the consensus on the norm is much larger than it used to be, different views may still set apart the *Randstad* from the internal or external periphery. Most people, be it professional linguists or amateurs, explicitly or implicitly accept the norm to be a changing notion, i.e. a device which may change in time or from region to region. Yet, the view that the norm is something unchangeable does still exist and can still be heard in similar discussions as well. Both as far as the arguments on regional and social variation as well as on the status of the norm in the Dutch language area are concerned, I am confining myself to two references, viz. De Vries (1987) and Willemyns (1987), which were published in the same volume and offer a fair overview of arguments as well as opposing points of view regarding the status of the norm.

Finally, as far as the norm instruments are concerned, there is a general consensus on where they are to be found: *Van Dale’s* dictionary (*Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal*) and the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (ANS) are undoubtedly the generally accepted reference works in norm discussions. They also function as prescriptive instruments, although their authors prefer to consider their works to be descriptive. The *Woordenlijst der Nederlandse Taal*, published under the auspices of the *Nederlandse Taalunie*, is the official guideline for the spelling of Dutch.

6. Present day distribution of standard and non-standard varieties

The Netherlands

Almost half of The Netherlands's sixteen million people live in the *Randstad*, the area where the modern Dutch standard language took shape from the seventeenth century onwards. It spread geographically as well as socially over the rest of the territory, at first only within the borders of The Netherlands, and afterwards also into Belgium. A map shown in Hagen (1989) illustrates how dialect use and mastery increase the further one moves away from the *Randstad*. Yet, more recent studies (all discussed in Willemyns 1997b) demonstrate that very often matters are much less straightforward. Both the acceptance of and the attitudes towards linguistic varieties are determined by the fact that the western flavoured standard language is not only a supra-regional means of communication but also the sociolect of the so-called "better situated" classes in the country at large. Socially determined linguistic attitudes are the strongest in the *Randstad* itself: the habitual varieties of the popular classes in this highly urbanized region (called *stadsdialecten* 'urban dialects') mostly provoke negative attitudes. Despite the fact that, from a purely linguistic point of view, the so-called *regiolecten* differ more widely from the standard than the urban dialects, the attitudes toward them are generally more favourable, mainly because they (still) lack the social stigma.¹⁸

Although, overall, dialects appear to be losing ground rapidly, there is no unanimity among scholars as to the pace of their disappearance. A discrepancy has indeed been observed between positive attitudes towards the dialects on the one hand, and yet a rapid decrease of those dialects on the other hand. Also, there appears to be no direct relationship between dialect proficiency and dialect usage: even in places where proficiency is still high a dramatic and rapid decrease in dialect usage has been observed (Willemyns 1997b).

It has never been possible to identify a clear-cut border between the dialects spoken on both sides of the Dutch-German border. Yet, due to dialect decline and the ever-increasing penetration of the respective standard languages on both sides of the border, what used to be a dialect continuum is rapidly falling apart into two different language areas. Studies edited by Bister-Broosen (1998) detail all aspects of this evolution and demonstrate how nowadays the differing standard languages even affect the dialects themselves.

As far as the state border between The Netherlands and Flanders is concerned, the most relevant observation is that not one single distinctive bundle of isoglosses is running parallel with it (cf. the map in Weijnen 1966). Consequently, the West- and East-Flemish dialects constitute a continuum with those spoken in the Dutch province of Zeeland, as do the dialects of the Belgian provinces Antwerpen, Vlaams-

Brabant and Limburg with those of the Dutch provinces of Noord-Brabant and Limburg. Yet, here too, dialect decline is disrupting linguistic ties of old, but since these dialects are “roofed” (*überdacht*) by the same standard language nothing as dramatic is happening as on the German-Dutch border.

Flanders

The present day language situation in Flanders is characterized by a rather complicated use of several codes. The theoretical range of the linguistic continuum reaches from dialect to Standard Dutch, with several intermediate codes in between. The decisive criterion is dialect interference: the more one goes into the direction of the standard, the less interference can be noticed. The diglossic and bilingual situation as it existed in the nineteenth century has gradually been dissolved during the first half of the twentieth century. Linguistic legislation already mentioned and the gradual loss of all functions for French led to Flanders becoming strictly monolingual. Dialect loss and dialect levelling gained momentum after WW II and are responsible for the disappearance of the former diglossic situation in Flanders (with the exception of the province of West-Flanders where the former situation, although changing as well, may still be said to persist; Willemyns 1997b).

During the last few decades the mastery and use of regional dialects have declined dramatically and, at the same time, the use of and the proficiency in the standard variety has considerably increased. Consequently, the communicative habits of most youngsters and of most inhabitants of the central regions of Flanders have shifted towards the standard pole of the continuum. Although the social value of the codes and the discriminating use made of them by members of various social classes is still less explicit than it is in many other West European communities and in The Netherlands in particular, code usage is increasingly socially determined.

The close contact which exists between French and Dutch in Belgium in general and in bilingual Brussels in particular has led to a considerable amount of linguistic interference. This contact situation also entailed consequences for the standardization process of Dutch itself.

South-North variation

In order to adapt their linguistic performance to the northern norm, the Flemish standard language learner/speaker had to come to grips with pronunciation, lexical aspects and morphological and syntactic issues.

Pronunciation is the aspect which caused the least trouble and convergence towards the northern norm was reached very early (i.e. before World War II; Goossens 1985; Cassier and Van de Craen 1986). Recent research has established

that the southern Standard Dutch pronunciation has hardly changed over the past half-century. The norm seems to have remained the pronunciation standard as it has been laid down by Blancquaert in 1934: the /ʁ/ is velar and shows no signs of rasping (the *zachte g* ‘soft g’); the place of articulation of the /r/ is mostly alveolar (*tongpunt-r* ‘tongue tip r’), with the uvular (*huig-* r as a valuable alternative and the /w/ is usually bilabial instead of labio-dental. Mostly “ee” en “oo” are pure monophthongs; the voiced pronunciation of word initial /v/ and /z/ is the habitual one (Van de Velde 1997: 56). The same used to be the case in what Van de Velde calls *Older Northern Standard Dutch*, i.e. the variety recorded between 1935 and 1950. In *Present Day Northern Standard Dutch* (i.e. after 1950) a number of characteristic novelties appear: a very distinct devoicing of /v/ and /z/ in word initial position, a strong uvular vibration of the /ʁ/ and the diphthongization of /e/ and /o/. The vocalic realization of /r/ is rapidly gaining field and trilled realizations of postvocalic /r/ have disappeared almost completely. Van de Velde (1997) concludes that there is no evidence that the norm has really been abandoned neither in The Netherlands nor in Flanders over the past sixty years. Yet, around 1935 the Dutch started to slowly shift away from the norm which used to be also theirs. This shift has gained momentum over the past decades, but has not been followed in Flanders (Van de Velde 1996). Also, it has to be noted that most speakers in the southern part of The Netherlands, i.e. the internal periphery, are much nearer to the Belgian than to the northern pronunciation.¹⁹

In the lexical field the picture is slightly different. The discussion of nineteenth century particularism has revealed that tenacious and often bitter debates took place regarding the amount of southern vocabulary that ought to be retained or even introduced into the general norm. Vocabulary is undoubtedly what appeals most of all to the imagination of the public and lexical change hardly ever passes unnoticed. In general, Flanders displays a strong attitude towards stigmatizing French influence, so much so that language planners advocating the northern norm have quite a problem in dealing with over-zeal resulting in hypercorrection. Southern dialects have retained numerous French loanwords and so does Standard Dutch. The problem is that they are not always the same ones and so overzealous “Dutchifiers” have established a habit of finding a Dutch alternative for most loans. In some cases where southern dialects and the northern standard have the same French loanword, the southern substandard has a number of “Dutchified” equivalents (so-called *purisms*) which exist neither in the dialects nor in the northern standard (Goossens 1975). Most of the remaining lexical variation can be attributed to the following categories: official terminology, archaisms, dialectisms, loanwords and neologisms. An extensive analysis of all categories is to be found in Willemyns (1990).

Anyway, in the lexical field too, recent investigations reveal that North-South levelling is a still continuing process. Between 1950 and 1990, as Geeraerts, Grondelaers and Speelman (1999) discovered, lexical convergence between Flanders and The Netherlands has constantly increased. As to the direction of this convergence, Deygers and Van den Heede (2000) demonstrate that in most cases the South adapted to the North, rather than the other way around. As to the procedures, both theoretically possible mechanisms do occur: taking over “typically northern” items as well as gradually dropping “typically southern” expressions. The latter mechanism, though, appears to be more frequent than the former one.

North-South convergence in the field of morphology and syntax has been less well investigated so far and variation, therefore, often passes unnoticed. A notorious exception, though, is the discussion on the pronominal system with respect to the forms of address. Most southern dialects have a one-pronoun system of address (viz. *gij*), as opposed to the so-called T-V distinction in Standard Dutch. For a long time and despite language planning efforts, this one-pronoun system remained characteristic of the standard language of many southerners to the extent that it was sometimes considered to be a core value of southern language usage. The advocates of the northern norm succeeded in even taking this stronghold. Yet, replacing a one-pronoun system by a T-V system is not only a matter of attitude and goodwill but may lead to practical problems, even for those who made the conscious decision to adopt it. The existence of two systems in one individual (i.e. a one-pronoun system in the dialect or *Umgangssprache* and a T-V system in the standard language) inevitably leads to interference, especially for those who display a lack of confidence and security in their use of the standard language. Switching from one system to another and especially using T and V forms in inappropriate conditions (even in some very formal and guarded circumstances) are some of the characteristics of what I described as a *pronominal chaos* (Willemyns 1990), a frequent sign of linguistic insecurity in a transitional period. As a consequence of the destandardization wave to be discussed below, there seems to be a revival of some kind of the one-pronoun southern (Brabantic) system.

7. The future evolution and potential destandardizing tendencies

In The Netherlands some linguists are currently detecting increasing variation away from the conventional norm of spoken Standard Dutch. I am referring here to what Stroop has called *Poldernederlands* (Stroop 1997 and 1998). An equally centrifugal evolution seems to be occurring in Flanders where we witness the development of a spoken linguistic variety often referred to as *tussentaal* (Taeldeman 1993, Jaspers

2001), *Verkavelingsvlaams* (Van Istendael 1993) or, more recently, as *Schoon Vlaams* (Goossens 2000). For a constantly growing part of the population, both in the North and in the South, the conventional norm of the standard language appears to be no longer the target language in an increasing number of settings. The fact that both centrifugal developments, although unrelated, occur simultaneously may decisively influence the evolution of Dutch as a pluricentric language in the twenty-first century.

The most prominent characteristic of *Poldernederlands* is the pronunciation *aai* for the diphthong /ei/: *tijd* > *taaid* ‘time’, *klein* > *klaain* ‘little’. Yet, a similar change appears to affect other diphthongs as well: /ui/ turns into *au* (*buik* > *bauk* ‘belly’, *huis* > *haus* ‘house’) and /ou/ turns into *aa* (*getrouwd* > *getraauwd* ‘married’); Stroop 1998: 25–26). The trigger for this lowering of diphthongs, Stroop argues, is the diphthongization of the long vowels, a process which has been in progress in the western part of The Netherlands for decades. The real origin, he continues, is socially and not geographically determined. The group of speakers responsible for both the origin and the very fast spread of *Poldernederlands* are young, highly educated females.

In the South the centrifugal tendency has led to the development of a variety, based on essentially Brabantic characteristics often referred to as *Verkavelingsvlaams* or as *Schoon Vlaams*. The most characteristic way in which this *Schoon Vlaams* differs from the norm is not pronunciation or even the lexicon, according to Goossens (2000), but grammar and the grammatical features in question have been directly borrowed from central, southern dialects (he discusses adjective and pronominal inflection as examples). It has not — in my opinion — been emphasized strongly enough so far that the genesis of *Schoon Vlaams* has to be related to the current process of dialect loss, that one is indeed a direct, and probably also an inevitable consequence of the other. The process of dialect loss and levelling, which has started considerably later in Flanders than in The Netherlands, is now gaining momentum. Thanks to a considerable number of investigations over the past decades (an overview in Willemyns 1997b), we know that in many cases the variety replacing the dialect is not the standard language but an equally informal variety, i.e. an *Umgangssprache* or regional standard which very often has a decidedly Brabantic flavour even outside the Brabant region.

Successful language changes, i.e. developments that eventually succeed, are mostly the result of compromises between what is called *taalnatuur* (‘language nature’) and *taalcultuur*, (‘language culture’), i.e. developments located between the natural language evolution on the one hand, and language planning efforts directed at bringing about these changes on the other hand. Since in these particular cases *taalnatuur* has been allowed to proliferate, it is quite comprehensible that the call for remedying interventions is growing louder. Yet, let us not forget that all

of this is highly speculative. *Poldernederlands* is a very neatly defined linguistic notion but whether it will have the projected far reaching consequences surely remains to be seen. *Verkavelingsvlaams*, on the other hand, is a rather confused notion, since it has become sort of a collective name for various different tendencies, which may still develop in diverging directions.

Most of all, from a historical perspective everything discussed so far is short-term change, brought about and used by specific portions of the population in different parts of the language community. However attractive structural explanations may appear, the question whether short-term change will eventually evolve into long-term change, in durable change affecting the language and its norm, will depend upon sociolinguistic factors determining the spread of change through time and space. The usual variables like social and occupational class, age group, gender, as well as domain specification and language planning factors are likely to interfere with this process. Predictions, therefore, are not very helpful, except for this one: the linguistic evolution of Dutch in the twenty-first century promises to be an exiting and thrilling affair, worthwhile to participate in and to be closely observed!

Notes

1. One of the best-known texts is a psalm translation called *De Wachtendonckse Psalmen*. It is supposed to have been written in the ninth/tenth century in the Rhine-Meuse region (Krefeld/Venlo) in an eastern variety of Dutch, labeled Old Low Franconian by some. An edition with ample comments and an overview of recent and former research is to be found in De Grauwe (1979).
2. Willemyns (1979: 16–19) gives an overview of all the available texts written down during the thirteenth century. The so-called *Corpus-Gysseling* is an annotated edition of all texts written prior to 1300 (Gysseling 1977).
3. Van Loey (1937) lists some of the Brabantic (=eastern) regional characteristics that were gradually abandoned in Brabantic texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, due to the influence of the more prestigious Flemish (=western) writing tradition.
4. A discussion of the English terminology with respect to regional varieties of Dutch can be found in Donaldson (1983).
5. 2 300 000 Dutch speakers as opposed to 1 200 000 French speakers (Ruys 1981: 47).
6. A *rederijkerskamer* is a play writing and play performing literary society. They were very popular and very prestigious all over The Netherlands.
7. In his *Aenleidinge ter Nederduytsche Dichtkunste* (1650). The relevant, extensive quotation is also to be found in Hagen (1999: 27).

8. In the same sentence, Vondel states that the “old Amsterdam” language is too ridiculous and the “old Antwerp” language too disgusting to be able to function as the basis for a “civilized” standard language.

9. Ten Kate was also the first linguist to discover the regularity of the system of strong verbs in the Germanic languages and one of the pioneers of historical linguistics.

10. Unfortunately, the term “particularists” is not only used for those language planners advocating a domestic standardization or a more extensive share of southern vocabulary in a northerly flavoured standard language. The term “second generation particularists” is also used to refer to a particular branch of the particularist movement that was very active during the final quarter of the nineteenth century in the province of West-Flanders, for whom the language aspect was only a by-product of a religious fundamentalist movement and whose main purpose was to safeguard the strict catholic character of (West-)Flanders (Willemyns 1997c).

11. It were two students of his, Jacob Verdam and Eelco Verwijs who were the authors of the ten volume *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (‘Middle Dutch Dictionary’), the first volume of which appeared in 1885.

12. In the original Hulshof uses the very familiar abbreviation ABN (*Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands* ‘General Civilized Dutch’) which has been used for decades to designate, both in The Netherlands and in Belgium, the normative standard language. It has now been replaced by AN (= *Algemeen Nederlands* ‘General Dutch’).

13. Kollewijn devised a new spelling system for which he succeeded to gather so much support that he founded a *Vereniging tot vereenvouding van onze schrijftaal* (‘Organization for the simplification of our written language’). His system was never officially implemented, though.

14. A famous poetry movement named after the decade it started in (tachtig ‘eighty’).

15. In January 1995 this Cultural Treaty has been replaced by a new one, this time concluded between the Government of The Netherlands and the autonomous Government of Flanders, to which the constitutional reform had granted the right to conclude treaties with foreign nations.

16. The *Nederlandse Taalunie* (‘Dutch Language Union’), has been established as a consequence of the “Treaty between the Kingdom of Belgium and the Kingdom of The Netherlands concerning the Dutch Language Union” on 9 September 1980; the instruments of ratification were exchanged in The Hague on 27 January 1982. The text reads that “His Majesty the King of the Belgians and Her Majesty the Queen of The Netherlands ... have decided the instalment of a union in the field of the Dutch language”. The seat of the *Taalunie* is in The Hague.

17. A few decades ago the (slight) diphthongization of the long vowels /e/, /o/ and /ø/ was deemed “substandard” whereas of today it is considered the “normal” pronunciation not only of the *Randstad*, where it originated, but in *Algemeen Nederlands* in general (even though it does not often occur in the pronunciation of southerners).

18. According to Hoppenbrouwers (1990), the *regiolect* is a complex of non-standard varieties in a given region.

19. In The Netherlands the so-called *zachte g* is seen as a shibboleth, even a stigma for the southern provinces Noord-Brabant and Limburg.

References

- Alen, A. and Suetens, L. P. (eds).1993. *Het federale België na de vierde staatshervorming*. Brugge: Die Keure.
- ANS 1984. *Algemene Nederlandse spraakkunst onder redactie van G. Geerts, W. Haeseryn, J. De Rooij en M. C. van den Toorn*. Groningen-Leuven: Wolters Noordhoff.
- ANS 1997. *Algemene Nederlandse spraakkunst onder redactie van W. Haeseryn, K. Romijn, G. Geerts, J. De Rooij en M. C. van den Toorn*. Second, completely revised edition. Two volumes. Groningen: Martinus Nijhoff Uitgevers; Deurne: Wolters Plantyn.
- Armstrong, C. A. J. 1965. "The language question in the Low Countries; The use of French and Dutch by the Dukes of Burgundy and their administration". In *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, J. R. Hale, J. Highfield, J. and B. Smalley (eds), 386–409. London: Faber & Faber.
- Bister-Broosen, H. (ed.). 1998. *Niederländisch am Niederrhein*. Frankfurt: P. Lang Verlag.
- Bister-Broosen, H. and Willemyns, R. 1988. "Perifere woordenschat in woordenboeken van het Duitse, Franse en Nederlandse taalgebied". *De nieuwe Taalgids* 81: 417–429.
- Blancquaert, E. 1934. *Praktische uitspraakleer van de Nederlandsche taal*. Antwerpen: De Sikkel.
- Buccini, A. 1992. *The Development of Umlaut and the Dialectal Position of Dutch in Germanic*. Ann Arbor: Microfilms International.
- Cassier, L., and Van de Craen, P. 1986. "Vijftig jaar evolutie van het Nederlands". In *Werk-in-uitvoering*, J. Creten, G. Geerts, and K. Jaspaert (eds), 59–73. Leuven: Acco.
- Claes, F. 1970. *De bronnen van drie woordenboeken uit de drukkerij van Plantijn*. Brussel: Belgisch Interuniversitair Centrum voor Neerlandistiek.
- Clyne, M. (ed.).1992. *Pluricentric Languages. Differing norms in differing nations*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Coudenberg 1989. *The New Belgian Institutional Framework*. Brussel: Group Coudenberg.
- Couvreur, W. and Willemyns, R. 1998. "Spellingoorlog". In *Nieuwe Encyclopedie van de Vlaamse Beweging*, 2802–2805. Tiel: Lannoo.
- De Bonth et al. (1997). *Nieuwnederlands (circa 1650–1880)*. In *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse taal*, M. C. van den Toorn, W. J. J. Pijnenburg, J. A. van Leuvensteijn and J. M. van der Horst (eds), 361–453. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- De Clerck, K. 1975. "Nederland-Vlaanderen". In *Encyclopedie van de Vlaamse Beweging*, 1041–1049. Tiel: Lannoo.
- De Grauwe, L. 1979. *De Wachtendonckse Psalmen en Glossen*. Gent: Kon. Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde.
- De Groof, J. 2001. "Taalplanning in 'Vlaams-België' in de negentiende eeuw: een theoretisch-methodologische verkenning". *Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandsche Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* LIV: 119–137.

- De Groof, J. 2002. “‘Langue Flamande’: De vroege Vlaamse Beweging in 23 volumes”. *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 112: 127–161.
- De Jonghe, A. 1967. *De taalpolitiek van Willem I. Sint-Andries/Brugge*: Darthet.
- Deneckere, M. 1954. *Histoire de la langue française dans les Flandres (1770–1823)*. Gent: Rijksuniversiteit.
- Deneckere, M. 1975. “Franse taalpolitiek 1796–1814”. In *Encyclopedie van de Vlaamse Beweging, 1593–1594*. Tiel: Lannoo.
- De Vreese, W. 1899. *Galicismen in het Zuidnederlandsch. Proeve van taalzuivering*. Gent: A. Siffer.
- De Vries, J. W. 1987. “De standaardtaal in Nederland”. In *Variatie en Norm in de Standaardtaal*, J. de Rooij (ed.), 143–164. Amsterdam: Meertensinstituut.
- De Vries, J. W., Willemyns, R. and Burger, P. 1995. *Het verhaal van een taal. Negen eeuwen Nederlands*. Amsterdam: Prometheus (fifth edition).
- De Vroede, M. 1950. “Het Nederlands Congres van 1849”. In *Cultureel Jaarboek van de provincie Oost-Vlaanderen 1949*, 289–332. Gent.
- Deygers, K. and van den Heede, V. 2000. “Belgisch-Nederlandse ‘klassiekers’ als variabelen voor lexicaal variatie-onderzoek: Een evaluatie”. *Taal en Tongval* 52: 308–328.
- Dibbets, G. R. W. 1968. *Nederduitse orthographie van Pontus de Heuiter (1581). Een Inleiding*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Donaldson, B. 1983. *Dutch. A linguistic history of Holland and Belgium*. Leiden: Nijhoff.
- Geeraerts, D., Grondelaers, S. and Speelman, D. 1999. *Convergentie en divergentie in de Nederlandse woordenschat. Een onderzoek naar kleding- en voetbaltermen*. Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut.
- Goossens, J. 1975. “Vlaamse purismen”. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde*: 112–132.
- Goossens, J. 1985. “Herauslösung und Herausbildung des Niederländischen”. In *Entstehung von Sprachen und Völkern*, P. Sture Ureland (ed.), 287–304. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer Verlag.
- Goossens, J. 1989. “Primaire en secundaire umlaut in het Nederlandse taalgebied”. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 29: 61–65.
- Goossens, J. 2000. “De toekomst van het Nederlands in Vlaanderen”. *Ons Erfdeel* 43: 3–13.
- Gysseling, M. 1971. “De invoering van het Nederlands in ambtelijke bescheiden in de 13de eeuw”. *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de KVA*: 27–35.
- Gysseling, M. 1977ff. *Corpus van Middelnederlandse teksten (tot en met het jaar 1300) uitgegeven door Maurits Gysseling, m.m.v. en van woordindices voorzien door Willy Pijnenburg. Reeks I: Ambtelijke bescheiden*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Gysseling, M. 1987. *Corpus van Middelnederlandse teksten (tot en met het jaar 1300) uitgegeven door Maurits Gysseling, m.m.v. en van woordindices voorzien door Willy Pijnenburg. Reeks II: Literaire handschriften*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Haest, R. 1985. “Interferentie als klasseverschijnsel”. In *Dialect, standaardtaal en maatschappij*, J. Taeldeman and H. Dewulf (eds), 106–114. Leuven: Acco.
- Hagen, A. 1989. “The Netherlands”. *Sociolinguistica* 3: 61–74.
- Hagen, A. 1999a. *Schone moedertaal. Lofzangen op het Nederlands 1500–2000*. Amsterdam: Contact.

- Hagen, A. 1999b. *De Lof der Nederlandse Taal*. Valedictory oration. 17 December 1999. Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Hoppenbrouwers, C. 1990. *Het regiolect. Van dialect tot algemeen Nederlands*. Muiderberg.
- Hulshof, H. 1997. *Nieuwnederlands (circa 1880–1920)*. In *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Taal*, M. C. van den Toorn, W. J. J. Pijnenburg, J. A. van Leuvensteijn and J. M. van der Horst (eds), 455–477. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Jaspers, J. 2001. “Het Vlaamse stigma, over tussentaal en normativiteit”. *Taal en Tongval* 53: 129–153.
- Kloeke, G. G. 1951. *Gezag en norm bij het gebruik van verzorgd Nederlands*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.
- Moerdijk, A. 1994. *Handleiding bij het Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. Den Haag: Sdu.
- Meert, H. 1899. *Onkruid onder de Tarwe*. Gent: Siffer
- Peeters, C. H. 1930. *Nederlandsche Taalgids, Woordenboek van Belgicismen met verklaring en opgave van de overeenkomstige woorden en uitdrukkingen in het algemeen Nederlandsch*. Antwerpen: De Sikkel.
- Ruys, M. 1981. *Die Flamen. Ein Volk in Bewegung, eine werdende Nation*. Tielt: Lannoo.
- Smeyers, J. 1959. *Vlaams taal- en volksbewustzijn in het Zuidnederlands geestesleven van de 18de eeuw*. Gent : Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie.
- Sternberg, 1998. “Frühe niederrheinische Urkunden am Klevischen Hof”. In *Niederländisch am Niederrhein*, H. Bister-Broosen (ed.), 53–82. Frankfurt: P. Lang Verlag
- Stroop, J. 1997. *Poldernederlands. Waardoor het ABN verdwijnt*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Stroop, J. 1998. “Wordt het Poldernederlands model?”. *Taal en Tongval, Themanummer 10*: 10–29.
- Taeldeman, J. 1993. “Welk Nederlands voor Vlamingen?”. *Spiegel Historiaal* 33: 9–28.
- Treffers, J. and Willemyns, R. (eds). 2002. *The Romance-Germanic Language Border*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Vanacker, H. 1982. *De “Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkundige Congressen” en de vernederlandsing van het onderwijs*. Gent: Rijksuniversiteit.
- Van Bree, C. and de Vries, J. 1996. “Netherlands”. In *Kontaktlinguistik. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*, H. Goebel, P. Nelde, Z. Sary and W. Wölck (eds), 143–152. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Van Dale. 1999. *Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal*. Utrecht/Antwerpen: Van Dale Lexicografie.
- Van Dalen-Oskam, K. and Mooijaart, M. 2000. *Bijbels Lexicon. Woorden en uitdrukkingen uit de bijbel in het Nederlands van nu*. Amsterdam: Prometheus.
- Van de Craen, P. and Willemyns, R. 1988. “The Standardization of Dutch in Flanders”. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 73: 45–64.
- Van den Branden, L. 1956. *Het streven naar verheerlijking, zuivering en opbouw van het Nederlands in de 16de eeuw*. Gent: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde.
- Vandenbussche, W. 1999. Een bijdrage tot de studie van het taalgebruik van de lagere klassen in het 19de-eeuwse Brugge. Ph.D. thesis. Vrije Universiteit Brussel.
- Vandenbussche, W. 2001. “Nederlands als prestigetaal voor de Brugse upper class in de 19de eeuw?” *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 111: 323–340.

- Van den Toorn, M. 1997. "Nieuwnederlands (1920 tot nu)". In *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Taal*, M. C. van den Toorn, W. J. J. Pijnenburg, J. A. van Leuvensteijn and J. M. van der Horst (eds), 479–562. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Van de Velde, H. 1996. Variatie en verandering in het gesproken Standaard-Nederlands (1935–1993). Ph.D thesis. Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Van de Velde, H. 1997. "Uitspraakdivergentie in klank en beeld". *Taal en Tongval (Thema-nummer 10)*: 49–62.
- Van Istendael, G. 1993. *Het Belgisch labyrint. Wakker worden in een ander land*. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers (fourteenth revised edition 2001).
- Van Leuvensteijn, J. A. 1997. "Vroegnieuwederlands (circa 1550–1650)". In *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Taal*, M. C. van den Toorn, W. J. J. Pijnenburg, J. A. van Leuvensteijn and J. M. van der Horst (eds), 227–360. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Van Loey, A. 1937. *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Zuidwestbrabantsch in de 13de en 14de eeuw. Fonologie*. Tongeren: G.Michiels.
- Weijnen, A. 1966. *Nederlandse dialectkunde*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Willemyns, R. 1971. *Bijdrage tot de studie van de klankleer van het Brugs op het einde van de Middeleeuwen*. Tongeren: Michiels.
- Willemyns, R. 1979. *Het niet-literaire Middelnederlands*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Willemyns, R. 1984. "A common legal framework for language union in the Dutch language area: The Treaty of Linguistic Union (Taalunieoverdrag)". *Multilingua* 3(4): 215–223.
- Willemyns, R. 1987. "Norm en variatie in Vlaanderen". In *Variatie en Norm in de Standaardtaal*, J.de Rooij (ed.), 143–164. Amsterdam: Meertensinstituut.
- Willemyns, R. 1990. "A General Model for the Lexicographical Treatment of Peripheral Vocabulary". In *Learning, Keeping and Using Language II*, M. A. K. Halliday, John Gibbons and Howard Nicholas (eds), 25–39. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Willemyns, R. 1993. "Integration vs. particularism. The undeclared issue at the first "Dutch Congress" in 1849". In *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning*, J. Fishman (ed.), 69–83. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Willemyns, R. 1996. "Pluricentric Principles in the Standardization of 19th Century Dutch". *Word* 47: 63–72.
- Willemyns, R. 1997. "Laatmiddelnederlands (circa 1350–1550)". In *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Taal*, M. C. van den Toorn, W. J. J. Pijnenburg, J. A. van Leuvensteijn and J. M. van der Horst (eds), 147–219. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Willemyns, R. 1997b. "Dialektverlustr im niederländischen Sprachraum". *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 64: 129–154.
- Willemyns, R. 1997c. "Religious fundamentalism and language planning in 19th century Flanders". *Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 2: 281–302.
- Willemyns, R. and Haeseryn, R. 1998. "Taal en Vlaamse Beweging". *Nieuwe Encyclopedie van de Vlaamse Beweging*, 2931–2946. Tiel: Lannoo.
- Willemyns, R., De Groof, J. and Vandenbussche, W. 2002. "Die Standardisierungsgeschichte des Niederländischen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Einige Ergebnisse und Forschungsdesiderate". In *Standardfragen. Soziolinguistische Perspektiven auf Sprachge-*

- schichte, Sprachkontakt und Sprachvariation*, J.K. Androutsopoulos, and E. Ziegler (eds), 27–38. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.
- Willemyns, R. and Vanhecke, E. Forthcoming. “Corpus planning in 19th century Flanders and its consequences on public language usage in the administration”. *Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 7.
- Witte, E. 1990. “De staatshervorming van 1888”. *Ons Erfdeel*: 185–196.
- Witte, E., Craeybeckx, J. and Meynen, A. 1997. *Politieke geschiedenis van België van 1830 tot heden*. Brussel: Vubpress.

English

Terttu Nevalainen

University of Helsinki, Finland

Foreword

Linguistic standardization tends to follow different time lines and to reach varying degrees of uniformity depending on the structural and functional domain undergoing the process. A nationwide standardization of the English language began with spelling and morphology in the fifteenth century. By the mid-seventeenth century, English spelling had become relatively fixed, and few significant changes have taken place in the printed word since then. English orthography therefore provides a good match for the first half of Einar Haugen's (1966 [1997: 348]) definition of a codified standard with "minimal variation in form".

On the other hand, English vocabulary had not yet started to be codified in monolingual dictionaries when its conscious elaboration began in the sixteenth century — a process that is bound to go on uninterrupted as long as English continues to fulfil the other half of Haugen's definition of a standard language assuming "maximal variation in function". To do justice to the complex history of a pluricentric language like English, this chapter approaches Einar Haugen's four dimensions of standardization (selection, acceptance, codification, and elaboration) as processes that vary not only according to the domain but also according to the national status of the language to be standardized. For historical reasons, the rise of Standard English in England will provide the backbone of the discussion.

1. Sociohistorical background

Historical discontinuities

The English language has a long written history. One of the first texts in Old English to have come down to us is Cædmon's hymn, a poem about Creation attributed to

a seventh-century monk by the name of Cædmon. The poem has been preserved in several Old English dialects (from the eighth to the eleventh century), including the original Northumbrian and a later West Saxon version.¹ The first two lines of the poem run as follows:

Northumbrian:

<i>Nu scylun hergan</i>	<i>hefaenricaes uard,</i>
now-shall (we)-praise	heaven kingdom's-guardian
<i>metudæs maecti</i>	<i>end his modgidanc</i>
creator's-might	and-his-mind thought (purpose)

West Saxon:

<i>Nu sculon herigean</i>	<i>heofonrices weard,</i>
now-shall (we)-praise	heaven kingdom's-guardian
<i>meotodes meahte</i>	<i>and his modgeþanc</i>
creator's-might	and-his-mind thought (purpose)

Modern English:

Now we shall praise	the kingdom of heaven's guardian
The might of the Creator	and his purpose

The late West Saxon written dialect is sometimes referred to as standard Old English. But it never became the standard at a national level, for in the Anglo-Saxon period England did not constitute one single nation with shared linguistic norms. By quirks of history neither is West Saxon the dialectal ancestor of modern Standard English. West Saxon was spoken in the area of England that is now the West Country, one of the country's most conservative dialect areas, while the rise of the modern standard can be traced back to the capital region in the East Midland area. By contrast, many spoken aspects of modern Scottish Standard English go back to the Northumbrian dialect.²

The continuity of West Saxon and other written varieties of English was interrupted by the Norman Conquest in 1066, which replaced English with Anglo-Norman French as the medium of administrative, literary and religious writings. England was in fact trilingual as Latin also continued to be used in the administration and as the language of the church and higher education throughout the Middle Ages. But as French gradually declined in official use, the form of English that spread to the rest of the country as the first nationwide model in the early fifteenth century was the written language of the government documents issued by the King's writing offices, the largest of which was the Chancery.

Several "local" types of writing tending towards regularization of spelling and morphology had already emerged during the fourteenth century. One of the best

known is the Central Midland Standard, which is attested in a large number of texts, including the religious writings (bibles, sermons, tracts) of John Wycliffe and his followers. Another local norm is found in mid-fourteenth-century official documents in the London area. A later type of London writing appears in texts copied in the late fourteenth century, which contain, for instance, *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer. Vernacularization and spelling regularization were also under way in other genres at the time, including medical and other scientific writing.³

Early literacy and urbanization

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at the juncture of Late Middle and Early Modern English, forms of written English converged to the extent that most of them became unlocalizable. This is what might be predicted by cultural historians, who often associate language standardization with other phenomena compounded under “modernity”, including urban as opposed to rural residence, geographical mobility, and contact with mass media. In all these respects the London area, the urban cluster of the City of London, Westminster and Southwark, emerges as the hub of activity in late medieval and early modern England.

To begin with mass media, the first English printing press was set up by William Caxton (c. 1421–1491) in 1476 in Westminster, the seat of the Royal Court and the central government of the country. Movable type provided the means of disseminating written texts in multiple copies to a number of people simultaneously, spreading certain forms and conventions, while ignoring and suppressing others. From Caxton’s time on, London was the capital of the book trade: about 98% of the books published in England between 1500 and 1700 were printed in the capital. It took, however, some time before the impact of printing began to be felt: the number of titles published in 1500 was only 54, by 1550 it had quadrupled, amounting to 214. In 1640 the corresponding annual figure was already 577 (Görlach 1991: 6–7, 13).

The rise of printing is also inextricably connected with literacy. Around 1500 the proportion of English people who could *both* read *and* write was not large. Cressy (1980: 141–177) estimates that it amounted to about ten per cent of the male and one per cent of the female population at a time when the total population was no more than two million. Full literacy was, however, much higher in London than elsewhere. By 1640 it had reached an estimated average level of 30 per cent of the male population in the entire country, but already some 60 per cent of the male population of London. The social dividing line between the gentry and the non-gentry surfaces in literacy figures: while the overall literacy of women in the seventeenth century lagged behind that of men considerably, we may assume that all gentry could both read and write by this time.

Early modern England was predominantly a rural society: in 1500 only ten to twelve per cent of the population of over two million is estimated to have lived in towns. However, large-scale migration began to take place from the fifteenth century onwards. People moved from densely populated farming regions to undeveloped land and from the countryside to London and other cities. The importance of migration to the capital cannot be underestimated at a time when London's population quintupled from roughly 100,000 in 1550 to 500,000 in 1700, accounting for over ten per cent of the population of five million in England around 1700 (Finlay and Shearer 1986: 42–51). The role of migration to London becomes even more vital if we consider that London's death rate often exceeded its birth rate because of epidemic and endemic diseases. On the basis of court records Coleman and Salt (1992: 27) conclude that no more than fifteen per cent of Londoners had been born in the capital in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The fact that the country's politics, central government, trade and fashion largely concentrated on the capital helped to make London speech widely understood throughout England. On the other hand, the unprecedented growth and urbanization that took place in early modern London made it a focal point for dialect contact, and something of a linguistic melting pot. Circumstances like this are apt to lead to language variation and change today (Milroy and Milroy 1985). If London English had already become a model for wider use, as was suggested above, this demographic mobility would lead us to expect that it was liable to be moulded by a good deal of dialectal variation in the course of time.

Overseas expansion

The expansion of English began in the Middle Ages when the language first gained ground in the Celtic-speaking areas of the British Isles. The history of Scots can be traced back to Anglo-Saxon times (see note 2, above, and the chapter on Scots in this volume). English first spread to Wales as a consequence of the Norman Conquest, but it only came under the English rule, politically and linguistically, in the sixteenth century. English involvement in Ireland also goes back to the Middle Ages, but efforts were taken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to strengthen it throughout the country. By the mid-nineteenth century, Ireland had been made part of the United Kingdom and English had also become the dominant language there. Because of this political, economic and cultural dominance, English English set the standard-language norm throughout the British Isles. Hence the term *British English*.

The expansion of English reached global proportions in the seventeenth century when it was transported to North America. Four major waves of immigrants have been distinguished: (1) puritans from East Anglia to Massachusetts Bay, 1629–1641; (2) gentry and their servants from the south of England to Virginia, 1642–

1675; (3) Quakers from the North Midlands to the Delaware Valley, 1675–1725; and (4) common people from the north of England, northern Ireland and Scotland to the Appalachians, 1717–1775 (Fischer 1989: 16, 226–227, 421, 608–609). The population of the United States reached four million by about 1790. In the course of time, the separation of the American colonies from the mother country led to their languages developing in different directions. In their new environment, the English settlers had contacts with speakers of native American languages, African slaves, and immigrants from elsewhere in Europe. Despite the political and economic significance of east-coast cities like New York, there was however no one city in the New World that would have equalled London in linguistic prestige.

Canada has its own complex settlement history, but the major influence shaping Canadian English as we know it today was northern American English in the eighteenth century. English and English-based creoles were also introduced to the Caribbean as a result of the African slave trade, which began in the seventeenth century and was only abolished after the American Civil War in the nineteenth (see Devonish on Caribbean creoles in this volume).

Australia came to be used as a British penal colony in the last decades of the eighteenth century, and “free” immigration there reached significant numbers by the mid-nineteenth century. British control in New Zealand and South Africa was also established in the course of the nineteenth century. Due to geographic separation and diverse contact influences, growing linguistic divergence can be detected between the southern hemisphere extraterritorial Englishes and Standard British English in the twentieth century. Because of their much shorter settlement history and close cultural and political links with Britain, however, this divergence has not reached the same proportions as in North America.

Today the English language enjoys an official or special status in at least 75 countries around the world. According to statistics published by the British Council, the number of native English speakers is estimated at about 375 million. Another 375 million are estimated to speak English as their second language, and some 750 million people are believed to speak it as a foreign language. English has made a particularly strong impact as a second or official language in West Africa and in the Indian subcontinent, where the British Empire expanded in the eighteenth century.⁴

2. Norm selection and acceptance

The Old English example quoted above suggests that the dialects of Old English were probably mutually intelligible. This was also the case of Middle English dialects in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although there is some literary and

anecdotal evidence suggesting that misunderstandings could arise in the spoken communication especially between northern and southern dialect speakers. In the course of the Middle Ages, northern English dialects had been substantially influenced by contacts with Scandinavian languages arising from Viking invasions, settlements and trade. These long-term contacts had left their marks not only in place-names but also in phonology, vocabulary and morphology; the verb form *are*, pronoun *they* and preposition *till*, for instance, are all Scandinavian loans in English.

One reflection of the increased distance between northern and southern dialects may be the rise of varieties such as the Central Midland Standard in the fourteenth century, mentioned above. The Central Midland counties, especially Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire, formed an intermediate dialect area between the north and the south and their dialect could therefore be widely understood throughout the country. However, the Central Midland area was not where the country's official business was conducted.

Written language

It was during his second campaign to France in 1417–22 that King Henry V (1387–1422) took the decision to dispatch most of his official correspondence home in English rather than, as had been customary before, in French. His reasons for doing so were perhaps not only strategic, prompted by enemy intelligence, but also financial: to enlist support from the citizens of London. Or the decision may have been part of the King's domestic policy to justify the Lancastrian claim to the throne by promoting English nationalism (Fisher 1996: 20–23). But, irrespective of the actual motivation, the decision meant a leap forward in the process of the functional elaboration of the vernacular. When implementing English as a language of the central administration, the clerks of the King's Signet Office also came to select the *reference variety* to be used for the purpose. Although there had been two local norms in the London area in the fourteenth century, no direct continuity can be traced between this first supra-local written norm and its local predecessors except that all three were southern rather than northern in their basic dialectal make-up.

It is assumed that it was the Signet Office, the King's personal writing office, which provided the model for the other Westminster offices, the Privy Seal and the Chancery. Their usages then spread when administrative and legal documents were copied and disseminated in English both within the Chancery and throughout the country in the decades that followed. The principal Chancery clerks were also active in training their staff and other clerks and common lawyers to master the form and content of documents in Latin, French and presumably in English as well. *Chancery Standard* is the general term introduced by Michael Samuels (1963) to describe the

language produced by the central bureaucracy from the 1430s to the 1470s, before printing was introduced into England. In principle, though not in all details, the first printers also *accepted* the reference variety selected by the Chancery for reproduction through the printed medium.

In dialectal terms, the English of the fifteenth-century Chancery texts is East Midland-based, southern rather than northern in outline. It draws on both London and Central Midland usages containing features such as the southern third-person verbal ending *-th*, as in *hath*, *sayeth* (v. northern *-s*; *has*, *says*) and the plural *be/ben* (v. northern *are*). Some Midland features that go back to northern dialects, however, also occur commonly, such as the personal pronouns *they*, *them* and *their* (v. southern forms with *h-*); adverbs ending in *-ly* (v. southern *-lich*); suffixless plural forms of verbs (v. southern forms with *-(e)n*); and past participles without the prefix *y-*, as in *called* (v. southern *ycalled*; Fisher 1996: 50–51, 76). These features may have been reinforced by the number of Chancery clerks who came from the northern counties in the Lancastrian era.

Spelling in the Chancery texts often tends to be conservative and does not mirror ongoing phonetic developments. The grapheme <gh> is used as a reflection of the velar fricative in words like *high* and *knight*, although the vocalization of the consonant was already under way in speech. Similarly, the initial <h> is present in French loanwords such as *heir* and *honour*, where the initial consonant was almost certainly no longer pronounced. The final <e> is often treated unsystematically in unstressed positions. On the other hand, there are spellings that reflect southern rather than northern pronunciations, including the use of <y> for /j/ in *ayen* ('again') and *yeue* ('give'; Fisher 1996: 50–51, Fisher *et al.* 1984: 28–33).

As the last two examples show, Chancery spellings were not the only source for the standard spelling system, which has evolved over time. The practices of the Westminster writing offices were also far from fixed in the fifteenth century, as can be easily seen from the number of variant forms and spellings of ordinary words that appear in official documents. A couple of typical examples may illustrate the situation. Although the spelling *such*, with or without a final <e>, is the preferred Chancery form, a number of alternative forms are found in these government documents in different proportions, including *sich*, *sych*, *seche*, *swich* and *sweche*. Similarly, *not* is the preferred spelling of the negative particle with *nat* as a minority form, but there are also clerks who frequently prefer to spell the word with <gh> or <3> after the vowel (Fisher *et al.* 1984: 27, 30).

Although the Chancery Standard clearly falls short of the requirement of "minimal variation in form", it represents a decisive move towards it. As the use of the vernacular expanded in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a number of new contexts emerged in which English had not been committed to writing before. When this happened, it was done by men with little or no training in

writing their own mother tongue. This was therefore a period with a record amount of spelling variation, when a common word like *through* could have something in the order of five hundred different spellings, ranging from *thurgh*, *thorough*, *þorowe* to hardly recognizable forms such as *drowgz*, *yhurght*, *trghug* and *trowffe* (Smith 1996: 68). Compared to this, the 14 variant forms found in 70,000 words of Chancery documents represents a considerable reduction.⁵

Spoken language

It is a truism that what grammatically and lexically counts as Standard English can in principle be spoken in any accent (Trudgill 1999a: 119). Standards of pronunciation are also not fixed like orthographic standards but national pronunciation norms continue to emerge in various parts of the English-speaking world. This ongoing rise of new reference accents in modern times bears some resemblance to the emergence of local written standards in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This section will give an outline of the selection of the first supra-local pronunciation norm in England. Processes of re-selection of new norms in the United States and elsewhere in the English-speaking world will be discussed below.

Endorsements of a supra-local speech norm start to appear from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, explicitly advocating a southern variety as the one to be imitated. In *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589: 120–121), a handbook of rhetoric intended for aspiring poets, George Puttenham (c. 1529–1591) specifies it as “the vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much aboute”. Puttenham’s norm is also a sociolect, the speech of “the better brought vp sort”. The reasons listed by Puttenham in support of his recommendation fulfil the textbook criteria for norm selection: the norm has the aristocratic authority of the Royal Court while at the same time being democratic (“the most vsuall of all his countrey”); it has aesthetic value (“well sounding”) and is deemed suitable as a literary medium (“English poesie”; Görlach 1990: 25). But no doubt the first reason carried the most weight. Haugen (1966 [1997: 349]) notes that “if a recognized élite already exists with a characteristic vernacular, its norm will almost inevitably prevail.”

Puttenham is not alone, nor indeed the first to propose the upper social ranks of the capital as a model of spoken language worth aspiring to. An earlier proposal to the same effect was made in the mid-sixteenth century by the London orthoepist John Hart (d. 1574), who was faced with the problem of finding a consistent basis for a spelling reform. He hoped to develop a spelling system that would reflect the spoken language of the time better than the conservative norm which was becoming fixed in the sixteenth century. Like Puttenham after him, Hart (1570: IIIb) looks up to “the Court and London, where the flower of the English tongue is vsed”.

An early phonetician, John Hart also gives a fair description of what the metropolitan norm was like in his day. Just like other varieties of English at the time, it was rhotic: post-vocalic /r/ was pronounced in words like *car* and *door*. Similarly, there was no qualitative difference between the vowels in words like *trap* and *path*. In these respects, this “proto-standard” resembled what is now American English more closely than the modern non-rhotic norms of English, Australian, New Zealand and South African English. No difference was also made in the sixteenth century between the vowels in words like *foot* and *strut* or *put* and *cut* (both pronounced with /u/ as in northern dialects in England today). On the other hand, the vowels in *meet* and *meat* and other similar word pairs were distinct (containing a close and open long /e/, respectively).

The variety that Hart describes contains /o/ in *long* and *strong*, whereas the contemporary northern English dialects pronounced these words with /a/, as in *lang* and *strang*. The metropolitan norm was distinguished from the West Midland dialects in that it had an unrounded vowel in *land* and *hand* as opposed to the rounded one common in the west (*lond*, *hond*). The proto-standard also differed from regional dialects further south. A case in point is the voicing of initial fricatives, as in *zeven* (‘seven’) and *vour* (‘four’), which occurred in dialects from Kent to Devon. It was one of the stock features stigmatized on the London stage. However, although regional pronunciations like this were generally ruled out, many of them found a permanent place in English vocabulary. Southern initial fricative voicing is retained, for instance, in the standard feminine form *vixen*, which corresponds to the mainstream voiceless initial fricative in *fox*.⁶

Re-selection of reference norms

This sixteenth-century speech norm was neither fixed nor yet codified, but it was “focalized” in social and regional terms in that it was associated with the upper ranks in the south-east of England, especially in the capital region. This reference accent underwent changes over time, some of which were shared by the majority of accents in England, while others were more localized. The accent also provided a norm for British overseas colonies — and continues to do so to a certain extent in the present-day southern hemisphere varieties of Australian, New Zealand and South African English. Extraterritorial varieties of English distinguish between *foot* and *strut*, *put* and *cut*, and similar word pairs, but merge *meet* and *meat*, *see* and *sea*, for instance. Both are features of southern English dialects and the London reference accent. The split of *foot* and *strut* words took place in the seventeenth century, and the merger of *meet* and *meat* was completed by about 1700, before the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 or English settlements in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

But we can talk about *resetting* of norms when northern hemisphere varieties ceased to follow the development of the British English model, and *re-selected* their reference accents. Scottish, Irish and North American English pronunciation standards are still all rhotic, and so do not share the development of /r/-dropping in postvocalic contexts, which took place in the eighteenth century in many southern dialects in England, including the reference one. Despite notable southern influence on Scottish Standard English, which was strengthened after the Union of England and Scotland in 1707, the Scottish reference accent has retained its distinctiveness and never lost features such as rhoticity.

The mid-eighteenth century marks the end of the shared development of the predecessors of the modern British English reference accent, known as *Received Pronunciation* (RP), and its counterpart in the United States, *General American* (GA). Resetting the norm did not happen abruptly, however. It is reported that even in the early 1800s, Americans travelling in England could pass as Englishmen (Fisher 2001: 73). /R/-dropping, for instance, had been imported to North American English, to eastern New England and the coastal southern states. But after the American Civil War (1861–1865), prestige shifted away from the regions associated with the former British elite to northern and mid-western rhotic dialects. These dialects do not, for instance, make a qualitative difference between the vowels in words like *trap* and *bath*, which were differentiated in southern English dialects in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some later developments in the North American reference accent that distinguish modern GA from RP include unrounding /o/ in words like *lot* and *bother*, dropping /j/ in *news* and *tune*, and voicing the intervocalic /t/ in words like *later* and *writer*.⁷

Received Pronunciation is also losing ground today as a reference accent in the southern hemisphere varieties of English, notably Australian, New Zealand and South African English. They have evolved a continuum of accents from Cultivated to General and Broad. The Cultivated or Conservative varieties are still focussed on RP to some extent, but the General ones are distinctly local. The General varieties are not stigmatized but may not, however, be the obvious accent of choice, for instance, for all electronic media (Lass 1990: 272–273).

3. Codification and elaboration

The question of an academy

Unlike French or Italian, Standard English was not codified by a language academy, although a number of appeals to that effect were made after the English Civil War and Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The Royal Society, a national academy of

science founded in 1662, set up a committee in 1664 with the aim of improving the English language. The committee included John Dryden (1631–1700), John Evelyn (1620–1706) and other men of letters, but failed to produce any concrete results.

A famous individual appeal for establishing an English equivalent of the French Academy was made by Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), himself an Irishman, in a public letter addressed to Robert Harley, the first Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer of England, entitled *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (two editions published in 1712). Swift advocated that this society should not only establish proper linguistic usage but that it should also “ascertain and fix” the English language permanently. His proposal met with approval; it was only attacked by John Oldmixon, a Whig, who opposed Dean Swift on political grounds. However, the proposal came to nothing, according to some contemporaries because of the untimely death of Queen Anne in 1714, which left it without a royal sponsor. But as the eighteenth century advanced doubts began to be cast in Britain on the feasibility of securing the stability of the English language by means of an academy (Baugh and Cable 1993: 263).

The situation was different in the United States, where many organizations have been formed from the early nineteenth century onwards tasked with the job of refining and preserving the American language. Among them, the American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres was founded in 1820 with John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) as its president, and the American Academy of Arts and Letters was formed around 1908. But despite their institutional status, their net effect on language usage has apparently been imperceptible (Venezky 2001: 346–347).

What these appeals to authority reveal is the entrenchment of the “ideology of standardization” after the Restoration (Milroy and Milroy 1991: 36), including a public awareness of and attention to questions of linguistic uniformity and authority. This section discusses the various processes which affected different structural domains of the language at different times, most of them continuing until the present day. This is also the crux of the matter: all living languages are liable to change, which means that few aspects of natural languages can be permanently codified. Proposals for language academies therefore keep resurfacing from time to time. One recent appeal comes from John Honey (1997: 163–164), who argues that:

So what the English language needs is a form of authority that can easily be appealed to for guidance as to the uses which are acceptable compared with those which are not — an authority based not on an individual’s irrational likes or dislikes but on the genuine consensus of educated opinion ... There are two ways of doing this: by creating an *official* Academy on the French model, or by encouraging the formation of an *unofficial* group of respected users of the language who will offer guidance on a whole range of specific points ...

Orthography

The codification of English spelling was virtually completed in print by about 1650. The process was remarkably rapid in view of the fact that the basic principles were still debated by orthoepists and grammarians in the sixteenth century. They included issues such as whether English spelling should be phonemic, reflecting pronunciation as closely as possible, or logographic, distinguishing homophones by spelling them differently. John Hart published several books, including *Methodē* (1570), advocating a more phonemic spelling system; other contemporary spelling reformers working along similar lines were Sir John Cheke (1514–1557), Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577), and William Bullokar (1530?–1609). In the sixteenth century printers were generally less occupied by theoretical aspects of spelling codification and only expressed their views indirectly by adopting certain printing practices. John Rastell (died 1536) was one of the earliest printers to issue a set of spelling recommendations in 1530 (Salmon 1999: 16–20).

The idea of a spelling reform based on the spoken idiom also met with strong opposition. Richard Mulcaster (1532?–1611), an influential London schoolmaster, for instance, denounced this idea in his *Elementarie* (1582). His reasons were practical: there was too much variation in speech, especially in regional dialects, to recommend pronunciation as a basis for orthography. Appealing to Quintilian and other classical authors, Mulcaster relied on established usage to provide the guidelines for spelling, stating that “[t]he vse & custom of our cuntrie, hath allredie chosen a kinde of penning, wherein she hath set down hir relligion, hir lawes, hir priuat and publik dealings” (*Elementarie* 1582: 98). He expressed the need for a dictionary to supply the “right writing” of words, and appended to his *Elementarie* an alphabetical spelling list of more than 8,000 common English words. Over half of them are identical with the modern standard; if we discard the contemporary convention of using <i> for both <i> and <j>, and <v> word-initially and <u> medially for both the vowel and the consonant, the proportion is much higher (Barber 1997: 86). Incidentally, Mulcaster’s list includes *again* and *giue*, showing that here northern custom had prevailed over southern (see *Written language*, above).

Textbooks for reading and spelling like Mulcaster’s had a direct impact on how English orthography was taught and learned. Edmund Coote’s (1562?–1610) *The English Schoole-maister* (1596), which contained a spelling-book and a hard-word dictionary, was one of the most popular texts at the time and went through more than fifty editions in the seventeenth century. By 1650 the printed word in England was characterized by a remarkable degree of orthographic uniformity. A fixed spelling system had become an area of technical specialization in the printing trade, and printers’ standards were imposed on texts to be published. Needless to say, a good deal of spelling variation continued to be found in private writings at the time.

Throughout the seventeenth century the progression of spelling in the American colonies followed the same path towards stability as in the mother country. The first printing press was established in Cambridge, MA, in 1638–1639, and the second in 1675. It may be argued, however, that even after political independence the printing press exercised a less direct influence on the fixing of those American spellings that are distinct from the British than the dictionaries and spelling books published in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁸ It is a sign of their great popularity that *The American Spelling Book* (1783) by Noah Webster (1758–1843), also known as the “Blue-backed speller”, went through over 250 printings in sixty years in several revised editions; in the 1850s, a million copies a year are estimated to have been sold. This small book and the influential dictionaries published by Webster codified such American spellings as the suffix <or> in words like *favor*, *harbor*, <er> in *center*, *theater*, and <se> in *defense* and *offense* (Crystal 1995: 80).

Lexis

The position of traditional spellings was reinforced by publication of monolingual English dictionaries, often highly derivative works, which until the eighteenth century were mostly “hard-word” dictionaries. The first slim volume, *A Table Alphabeticall*, was published in 1604 by the Rutland schoolmaster Robert Cawdrey, who largely relied on Coote (1596). Unlike word-lists appended to reading manuals, which merely listed word forms, dictionaries contained definitions of “hard vsuall English wordes”, and so also contributed to the codification of the borrowed lexical element in English, which was not readily accessible to those without the benefit of a classical education.

Heavy lexical borrowing from the classical languages, Latin in particular, was characteristic of the conscious elaboration of the vernacular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was prompted partly by what was felt to be the insufficiency of the English language as a written medium — Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727), for instance, continued to publish in Latin in the seventeenth century — and partly by the Renaissance literary ideal of lexical variation, *copia verborum*, which encouraged borrowing for the sake of synonymy. The influence of Latin was all-pervasive throughout the period; it provided not only a repository of technical terminology for new domains of use such as science but also frameworks for stylistic and grammatical analysis of the emerging standard language (Adamson 1999: 570–576; Nevalainen 1999: 358–360).

The codification of technical vocabulary began very early on. Well over a hundred publications, monolingual glossaries and dictionaries, defining technical terms appeared between 1475 and 1640 alone. They included translator’s glossaries,

which were typically appended to texts translated from Latin dealing with medicine, religious instruction, education and polemics. Specialist terminologies were compiled in a wide variety of fields ranging from alchemy and architecture to law, logic and military fortification (Schäfer 1989: 74–75). The influence of French can also be seen in technical terminologies such as the first English law dictionary, the printer John Rastell's *Expositiones terminorum legum anglorum*, published in the early 1520s. Its later editions all contain an English translation of the French text like, for instance, the 1579 edition, *An Exposition of Certaine Difficult and Obscure Words, and Termes of the Lawes of this Realme*. It has entries for terms still in technical use in Present-day English, including *baile*, *burglarie*, *contract*, *morgage* and *voucher*.

Specialist terms also appeared prominently in seventeenth-century “hard-word” dictionaries such as the ones compiled by John Bullokar (fl. 1616), Thomas Blount (1618–1679) and Elisha Coles (1640?–1680). It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that monolingual English dictionaries began to record the most common everyday words. The most notable among them were the works published by John Kersey (fl. 1720) and Nathan Bailey (d. 1742), and the two-volume milestone of early English lexicography, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) by Samuel Johnson (1709–1784). Illustrating usage by citing examples from “the best writers”, Dr Johnson’s dictionary was an English equivalent to the Italian *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, first published in 1612, or *Le dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, first issued in 1694. However, Johnson did not only describe usage but he also considered it the duty of the lexicographer to correct and proscribe “improprieties and absurdities” of the language. For him they included words such as *lesser* and *noways*. This normative attitude to language codification was shared by contemporary and later eighteenth-century grammarians (see Grammar, below).⁹

Sir William Craigie (1867–1957), one of the editors of *The Oxford English Dictionary* and *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, has argued that until 1820 the passage of new words and senses across the Atlantic was from Britain to America, the major exception being terms for objects peculiar to the New World. But after 1820, the direction of the traffic changed, with a large number of new words and word senses originating in America. The term “Americanism” is attributed to John Witherspoon, a Scot appointed in 1768 president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), who admits to coining it on the analogy of “Scotticism”. “Americanisms” for him were ways of speaking peculiar to America “even among persons of rank and education” (Fisher 2001: 67–70). It was the first major dictionary of American English, Noah Webster’s *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, published in 1828, which consolidated not only many words (e.g. *chowder*, *hickory* and *skunk*) and word senses established in the United States but also most of the spellings that distinguish American forms from British today.

Certain inconsistent and reformed spellings that had not caught on such as *ake*, *bild*, *tung*, and *iland* were, however, dropped from the second edition.

The latter half of the nineteenth century marks the rise of new descriptive scholarly approaches to the study of language in general. One of its fruits in English lexicography is the most comprehensive lexical repository of the English language to date, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). The compilation of *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (NED), the name it was first known by, began under the editorship of James Murray (1837–1915) in 1879 with the aim of recording the entire vocabulary of the English language from the Early Middle English period (c. 1150) onwards. The first part of the dictionary was published in 1884, the first full edition completed in 1928, and reissued in twelve volumes and a supplement in 1933. More new material from North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, South Asia, and the Caribbean was included in the four new supplements, which were incorporated into the 20-volume second edition, which came out in 1989. The third, on-line version of the dictionary was launched in March 2000. The OED aims at a comprehensive coverage of the English language, its entries showing if a word or a sense is restricted to a particular geographical area (Australia, North America, Scotland), to a given register or style (colloquial, poetic, slang, etc.) or to a branch of knowledge or field of activity (anthropology, politics, veterinary science, etc.). In the new revised edition, British English is viewed as only one of the varieties to be recorded:

When the First Edition of the Dictionary was published, it documented the language of the British Isles in greater detail than the varieties of English which were established or emerging elsewhere. Since that time, a considerable amount of major lexicographical work has been conducted in other areas where English is used, and the current revision is able to benefit from this scholarship. Material from such texts as the *Dictionary of American English* and the *Dictionary of Americanisms*, the *Dictionary of Canadianisms*, the *Dictionary of South African English*, the *Australian National Dictionary*, the *Dictionary of New Zealand English*, and many others, supported by the Dictionary's own reading programme, has enabled the editors to enhance the coverage of varieties of English worldwide. The English of the British Isles now becomes one (or indeed several) of these varieties, whereas previously standard British English may have been regarded as the dominant form of English.

(http://www.oed.com/public/guide/preface_4.htm#varieties; 8 Sept., 2002)

Most of the comprehensive dictionaries of the various national varieties of English mentioned in the quote were published in the latter half of the twentieth century, *A Dictionary of Canadianisms* in 1967, *A Dictionary of South African English* in 1978, *The Australian National Dictionary* in 1988, and *The Dictionary of New Zealand English* in 1997.

While the OED aims for maximally comprehensive coverage, codifying not only the common core of English vocabulary but also its varieties and registers, one of the most influential dictionaries published in the United States, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1961) edited by Philip Babcock Gove, focuses on "general" English. Scholarly opinion varies concerning the extent to which national varieties diverge from a lexical common core. John Algeo, an American lexicologist, minimizes these differences: "the vocabulary of the English-speaking world is so intertwined that it must be treated as a fundamental unity, with only marginal national variation" (1998: 61). This does not, however, do away with the fact that the English-speaking world displays extended variety-specific synonymy of thousands of items such as *elevators* and *lifts*, *subways* and *undergrounds*, and *gasoline* and *petrol*, and that only one variant form is codified in national dictionaries as belonging to the national standard (Crystal 1995: 306).

Grammar

The first grammars of English were meant for either foreign learners or for students who needed to have a grasp of the structure of their mother tongue in order to learn Latin. These grammars were directly modelled on Latin, and covered parts of speech and accidence (plus spelling, pronunciation and word-formation), but paid little or no attention to syntax. The first brief grammar of the English language to appear in English was William Bullokar's (1530?-1609) *Pamphlet for Grammar* (1586), and the first one to be based on an analysis of actual language material was John Wallis's (1616–1703) *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1653), intended for foreign learners of English.

Textbooks are implicitly normative in that they teach how a language is to be used. Wallis, for instance, is remembered by his *shall* and *will* rule, which specifies that to mark the future tense (*predictio*) *shall* is used in the first person and *will* in the rest. But in his description of the preterite and past participle forms of irregular verbs Wallis is not explicit but gives alternative forms without evaluating them except in terms of frequency. He cites, for instance, three preterite forms for a verb like *spin* (*spun*, *span* and *spinned*; Wallis 1653: 118–120). A similar proliferation of irregular forms is found in Christopher Cooper's (d. 1698) *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1685), which specifically aims to describe good usage. The number of variant forms cited is significantly reduced in eighteenth-century grammars. While recording some variation, *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) by Dr Robert Lowth (1710–1787), for instance, gives only one preterite and/or past participle form to many of these verbs. Moreover, quotations of "improper" forms are appended to the text in footnotes (Lass 1994: 98–108). These denouncements of

“false” grammar were to become the hallmark of English grammars in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Earlier grammars, altogether thirty-two published in the seventeenth century, did not proscribe usages. The increased concern, and market, for grammatical correctness in the eighteenth century is also reflected in the sharp rise in the number of grammar books published in the latter half of the century (see Figure 1, based on Michael 1970: 588–594).

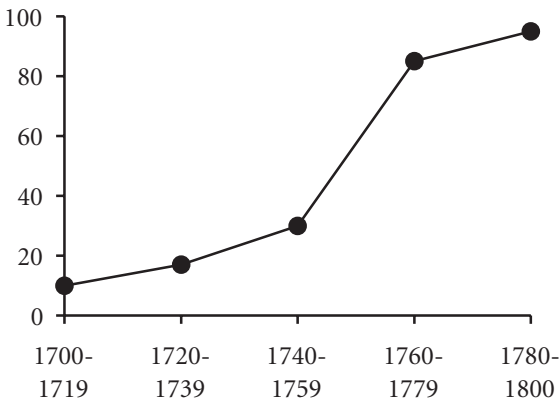


Figure 1. English grammars published in the eighteenth century (in absolute figures).

These soaring figures no doubt reflect what Carey McIntosh (1998: 8–9, 169–194) calls a general “commodification” of language in the eighteenth century. The personal correspondence of the eighteenth-century bookseller Robert Dodsley (1703–1764) reveals that the idea for Lowth’s *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) did not come from Lowth himself but from Dodsley. It therefore turns out to be a similar kind of “bookseller’s project” as Dr Johnson’s *Dictionary* (1755), which, according to Johnson’s biographer James Boswell, was also conceived by Dodsley (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000: 28). As a representative of the booktrade, Dodsley here joins ranks with the publisher-codifiers a century earlier who were instrumental in regularizing the spelling of English, and is followed by such best-selling publishers as the Merriam brothers, George (1803–1880) and Charles Merriam (1806–1887), in the United States. They purchased the unsold copies of the second edition of Webster’s *An American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1841, and secured the rights to compile new, revised editions of that work.¹⁰

Eighteenth-century grammarians had three basic aims: (1) to codify the facts of English grammar; (2), to decide on variant forms, showing one of them to be the correct one; and (3) to point out what in their opinion were common errors of language use. Lowth's *Short Introduction* states that it is not enough that a grammar shows what is right; it must also point out what is wrong. Lowth condemns, for instance, double negatives, forms such as *between you and I*, *different than/to*, and *who is it for* (the offending form here shown in bold). At least twenty-two editions of the grammar came out in the eighteenth century, and it had scores of imitators. As grammar norms were to a large extent shared on both sides of the Atlantic, Lowth's work was highly influential throughout the English-speaking world. It was used by Harvard students well into the 1840s and influenced the grammatical thinking of such active promoters of American English as Noah Webster (Finegan 2001: 365, 371).

Another best-selling grammar throughout the English-speaking world was published in 1795 by Lindley Murray (1745–1826), an American businessman and lawyer, who had retired in England. The popularity of his *English Grammar*, heavily indebted to both Lowth's *Short Introduction* and Joseph Priestley's (1733–1804) *The Rudiments of English Grammar* (1761), continued in the nineteenth century when it was translated into many other languages. Altogether some 300 editions of Murray's grammar have been recorded, making it the most frequently reprinted grammar of English during the nineteenth century (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, ed., 1996).

Eighteenth-century grammars took their illustrations of erroneous usage from literary sources published in the early 1700s or in the previous century. In the sample of nearly two hundred normative works included in *A Dictionary of English Normative Grammar, 1700–1800* (Sundby *et al.* 1991: 35) the most frequently cited sources are, in this order, Swift, *The New Testament*, Hume, Addison, Pope, *The Spectator*, *The Old Testament*, Shakespeare, and Dryden. The attitudinal labels given to proscribed forms and usages range from simply disapproving (“bad”, “censurable”, “inadmissible”, “unpardonable”) and some more or less elusive qualities of decorum (“affected”, “barbarous”, “harsh”, “inelegant”) to social and register variation (“cant”, “colloquial”, “vulgar”), regional provenance (“Scotticism”) and many other aspects of linguistic variation (“new”, “obsolete”, “rare”; see Sundby *et al.* 1991).

In the nineteenth century, attitudes to “bad grammar” changed, as linguistic purity began to be associated with moral and religious rectitude. This was already clearly visible in Murray, who encouraged error-hunting in English teaching. As shown by Finegan (2001: 375–388), the practice was taken to an extreme by some nineteenth-century American writers such as Samuel Kirkham and Goold Brown, who appointed the grammarian — not custom or the “best authors” as earlier prescriptivists had done — as the arbiter of correctness. The notion of linguistic

correctness coupled with moral value led especially amateur grammarians to noting errors in the usage of their linguistic enemies and social inferiors. This process of social indexing of grammatical usage is connected with the rise in the nineteenth century of the scientific study of language, which “urged grammarians to accept what xenophobia and social snobbery prompted them to disdain” (Finegan 2001: 384). In England and among some American literati, grammatical purists directed their attention to Americanisms, which they feared were a corrupting influence on the English language.

The linguistically informed grammar-writing tradition produced a vast number of descriptive grammars of English in the twentieth century. The pioneering works, such as Otto Jespersen’s six-volume *A Modern English Grammar* (1909–1949), are historically oriented, but in the second half of the century synchronic grammars of Present-day English predominate. The team of Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik published two substantial one-volume grammars, *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (1972) and *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985), which both aim to describe the “supra-national” element of English grammar with some discussion of register variation and varietal differences between British and American English. In their preface to the first volume the authors specify the variety of English they describe:

Moreover, our *Grammar* aims at this comprehensiveness and depth in treating English irrespective of frontiers: our field is no less than the grammar of educated English current in the second half of the twentieth century in the world’s major English-speaking communities. Only where a feature belongs specifically to British usage or American usage, to informal conversation or to the dignity of formal writing, are ‘labels’ introduced in the description to show that we are no longer discussing the ‘common core’ of educated English. (Quirk *et al.* 1972: v).

One of those instances where a label is used occurs with the first-person auxiliary choice between *shall* and *will* expressing intention: *shall* is given as the more typical alternative in British English. In the first-person singular of questions *will* is, however, asterisked as universally ungrammatical: *Shall/*Will I come at once?* (Quirk *et al.* 1972: 99).

Register variation is foregrounded in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999) co-authored by Douglas Biber, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad and Edward Finegan. One of the goals of this grammar, which is based on a large corpus of British and American English, is “to describe the patterns of variation that exist within standard English, and to account for those patterns in terms of contextual factors” (Biber *et al.* 1999: 18). The authors subscribe to the notion of a “common core” and note that the core grammatical structures are relatively uniform across dialects but that grammatical differences across registers are more extensive than those across dialects. They also admit,

however, that the distinction between standard and non-standard English in conversation is sometimes unclear (Biber *et al.* 1999: 20–21). Here no dialect label is given to the first-person use of *shall* and *will*. Although *shall* is found to be generally rare, its use as a volitional modal is observed in academic prose (ACAD) and conversation (CONV); in the latter it is typically used in questions acting as offers (Biber *et al.* 1999: 496–497):

- (1) We **shall** here be concerned with only s and p orbitals. (ACAD)
- (2) **Shall** we wait for them? (CONV)

It is obvious that the grammar of colloquial speech is not codified to the same extent as the grammar of written Standard English. This may not present a problem for those who define standard-language grammar the way Quirk *et al.* (1972) do as the *common core* of educated English. But difficulties arise if the grammarian wants to draw a line between standard and non-standard conversation: even educated native speakers, who constitute the reference group in most Standard-English grammars, often speak and write differently. Biber *et al.* (1999: 191) found that forms like *I says* and *he don't*, for instance, were frequent in their corpus of colloquial speech. They argue that spoken-language features like this form chunks where the individual elements are not chosen independently. In general terms, this means that spoken and written language have partly different grammars, and that standard and non-standard varieties of English cannot always be distinguished in colloquial speech.

The prescriptive tradition continues to prosper in usage guides, many of them shared by British and American markets. The names associated with this tradition include H. W. Fowler, Ernest Gowers and Eric Partridge. Fowler's *The King's English* (co-authored with his brother F. G. Fowler) and *Modern English Usage* have become household names in the field, with *Modern English Usage* described as "a volume that occupied the family bookshelf alongside the Bible and a dictionary" (Bex 1999: 93). It first appeared in 1926 and has since been reissued in numerous reprints and several new editions. The most recent one, *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage* (1996) edited by Robert Burchfield, updates the original by lifting the ban on "legitimate modern practices", such as the use of *who* as an object pronoun. However, the criticism levelled against changes like this in the *New Fowler* especially in the United States shows how deeply entrenched prescriptive attitudes have become in the public mind (Morton 1998).

Pronunciation

Compared with the early selection of a reference accent, the codification stage of the British English pronunciation standard comes relatively late. There is evidence

from the seventeenth century to suggest that the degree of focusing may have vacillated much more in pronunciation than in the other domains of language use (Mugglestone 1995: 14). Pronunciation entries began to be included in dictionaries in the course of the eighteenth century. Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755) marked features such as word stress using the notation introduced by Nathan Bailey and presented foreign sounds as an educated Englishman might pronounce them. A great deal of variability, however, existed in the pronunciation of individual words well into the late eighteenth century, as was noted by the Irish-born actor and elocutionist Thomas Sheridan (1719–1788), who published *A General Dictionary of the English Language* in 1780. To create more uniformity and, as he states on the title-page, “to establish a plain and permanent Standard of Pronunciation”, he urged imitation of the speech patterns of “people of education at court”, devoting an appendix to the “chief mistakes” made by the Irish, Scots and Welsh (Sheridan 1780: 60–62; MacMahon 1998: 382–384).

Perhaps the most authoritative account of British English pronunciation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language* compiled by the London actor and elocutionist John Walker (1732–1807), first published in 1791 and reissued over a hundred times between 1791 and 1904. Walker's pronunciation entries came immediately after each headword with each word divided into syllables, and vowel qualities marked by superscript numbers placed over vowels to indicate their values as they were specified at the beginning of the book. Walker's norm was based on “good usage”: “sounds . . . most generally received among the learned and polite, as well as the bulk of speakers” (Walker 1791: viii; MacMahon 1998: 387). Walker followed Sheridan's normative practice and provided rules for natives of Ireland and Scotland for attaining “a just pronunciation of English”; he listed common errors made by Londoners, Cockneys in particular (such as /h/ dropping), and gave directions to foreign learners of English.

The first pronunciation dictionaries appeared in the United States in the early nineteenth century but most of them did not show any particular sensitivity to current American forms. “American pronunciations” were, however, already observed by Noah Webster in his dictionaries; the first edition of his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1828) also contains a critique of Walker (1791). On the other hand, British English norms had their supporters in lexicographers like Joseph Worcester (1784–1865), who published three dictionaries between 1830 and 1860. Where American pronunciations differed from British, Worcester preferred the British forms regarding them as “better”, “more accurate” and “more harmonious and agreeable” (Bronstein 1990: 139). For the better part of the nineteenth century, the codification of English pronunciation in the United States was divided between two centres: educated usage at home and in England.

The dialectologist Alexander Ellis (1814–1890) is commonly credited with coining the term *Received Pronunciation* (RP) (“received” here meaning ‘generally accepted’). In his *On Early English Pronunciation* (1869: 23) he defined it as the educated accent “of the metropolis, of the court, the pulpit, and the bar”, and so re-established these social domains as the centres of focusing where English accent norms were set. Ellis maintained that this Received Pronunciation could be heard throughout the country, but noted that those who came from the provinces were likely to retain traces of their regional accents in their speech. Geographical focusing was still in evidence, and the educated pronunciation of the capital city could be distinguished from other educated accents. This variability continues until the present day, and terms like “modified regional pronunciation” and “regional RP” have been introduced to describe the more regionally coloured RP-like accents (Gimson 1980: 87, Cruttenden 1994: 80).

Detailed codification of RP only became feasible when the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) came into existence and began to be used by phoneticians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. *An Outline of English Phonetics* by Daniel Jones (1881–1967) was first published in its entirety in 1918 and went through nine editions. *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* came out in 1917 and underwent a series of revisions first by Jones himself, and subsequently by A. C. Gimson and Susan Ramsaran (fourteenth edition, 1977). Its fifteenth edition by Peter Roach and James Hartman appeared in 1997, and the sixteenth, edited by Roach and Hartman together with Jane Setter, in 2003. John Wells’s *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* came out in 1990, and its second edition in 2000. Both Wells and the recent editions of Jones give RP and General American pronunciations using the IPA notation. Wells also gives information on variant forms, according to age groups and registers, recording e.g. colloquial pronunciations such as /tweni/ alongside /twenty/.

These efforts to keep abreast of the more recent trends in the variability of RP show that pronunciation cannot be standardized in the same way as spelling. A. C. Gimson (1970: 88) distinguishes three distinct kinds of RP: *conservative*, *general*, and *advanced*. According to him, conservative RP is used by the older generation and certain professions, and general RP is typified by the pronunciation adopted by the BBC, whereas advanced RP is associated with young people of some exclusive social groups and certain professional circles. Widely used in higher education, Gimson’s textbook *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (1961) reached its sixth edition, produced by Alan Cruttenden, in 2001.¹¹

The use of the label *General American* (GA) by Wells (1990) and others to refer to the pronunciation of US speakers with no noticeable eastern or southern accent may suggest that the accent has been extensively studied and codified. This is not

the case. One of the few detailed descriptions of “General American” is John Kenyon and Thomas Knott’s *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (1944, 1953), which was intended as the American counterpart to Daniel Jones’s dictionary. Like Jones, Kenyon and Knott based their description on the colloquial speech of educated speakers. Bronstein (1990: 146–147) notes that the work remains “the only significantly comprehensive pronunciation lexicon for American English, despite the fact that linguistic/phonetic research over the past 40 years does render it somewhat out of date”. Although a new edition of Kenyon and Knott was published in 1975, specialist works like this have not been in great demand. It appears that general-purpose dictionaries can cater for the pronunciation information on American English needed by the EFL market, while scholarly efforts are mainly directed at recording the regional and social variation of the language with less interest in determining the standard.

4. Concluding discussion

National standards

This chapter has viewed standardization in English as a set of processes that have applied variably to the different structural and functional domains of the language. These processes have been shaped by the emergence of new, postcolonial varieties of English around the world. Maximal standardization has been achieved in orthography, where there are relatively few national differences among English-speaking countries. At the other end of the scale, pronunciation has two distinct standards in England and North America, with a striking difference in their status and distribution. General American, to the extent that it can be determined (many scholars are reluctant to do this), is a levelled norm spoken by the majority of educated Americans. By contrast, Received Pronunciation is much more focused, and general non-regional RP is spoken by only three to five per cent of the population of England (Trudgill 1999b: 2–3).

The standard varieties of English around the world are also characterized by substantial lexical differences. David Grote’s *British English for American Readers* (1992), for instance, lists nearly 6,500 entries. A large number of these words appear in both varieties but differ in their denotations or connotations or both (Crystal 1995: 306). In grammar absolute varietal differences are fewer, but divergent preferences of alternative usages can often be detected (Biber *et al.* 1999). It may therefore be argued that although the standard common core may be relatively uniform, national varieties have parcelled out the non-core features differently in their respective standards.

General attitudes to Standard English also appear to differ to some extent in the United States and England. In England, the standard continues to be associated with Received Pronunciation, reflecting what Lesley Milroy (1999) calls a class-based language ideology, an “accent bar” created by elite education. In the United States, negative attitudes are focused on race and ethnicity more than on social class. Dennis Preston’s studies in perceptual dialectology (1996) indicate that ordinary people can rarely agree where the *best* American English is spoken, but it is much easier for them to reach a consensus on where and by whom the *worst* US English is spoken (by Southerners, New Yorkers, African-Americans, Asians, Mexican-Americans, etc.).¹²

International standards?

Standard English can be termed “pluricentric” in that there are two major national standard varieties of English in the world today, American and British. Several scenarios have been proposed as to the global future of English in general, and Standard English in particular. One is presented by John Honey (1997: 243–253), who predicts that the world will divide neatly into two linguistic spheres of influence. The British variety is expected to dominate in the European Union, Eastern Europe, the states of the former USSR and Africa. American English, by contrast, is found to set the model for South America. In Asia, British English has gained a powerful position in the subcontinent of India and most of Oceania, led by Australia and New Zealand. Honey (1997: 245) envisages the main “battleground” to be in those populous Asian states which he classifies as still uncommitted, China and Indonesia. Although this account favours the British variety as a global model, Honey anticipates that its larger native-speaker population will give American English a powerful edge.

A largely different scenario is put forward by Tom McArthur (2002), who argues that global English has no centre today, because it is prominently present on every continent. He presents a number of sources suggesting that English will share the fate that Latin had after the fall of the Roman Empire: it will continue changing in different directions until regional varieties become mutually unintelligible, while a modified form of the “classical” language emerges as a *lingua franca* between speakers of these new regional varieties. Some writers refer to this would-be global variety as *International Standard English*, others as *General English*. The proponents of the latter notion describe it as a variety that excludes obvious local and regional dialects but has a wider distribution than Present-day Standard English(es) in that it accommodates spoken language and much-used grammatical forms such as *he don’t* (Gramley 2001: 2–3).

Notes

1. The entire poem can be accessed at the following web sites (7 Oct., 2002):
<http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/rp/poems/caedmon1.html>
<http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/library/oe/minor-poems.html>
2. However, Standard Scottish English is usually not taken to be a direct descendant of older forms of Scots, but the result of a contact situation with southern English from the sixteenth century onwards. See Frank (1994) and Dossena's contribution on Scots in the present volume.
3. On local Middle English standards, see the classic article by Samuels (1963). The Chancery Standard is discussed and illustrated at length by Fisher *et al.* (1984), McIntosh *et al.* (1986: 47–49), Benskin (1992), Fisher (1996) and Smith (1996: 68–73); on medical writing, see Taavitsainen (2000). As many writers note, work on this topic is still in progress.
4. More detailed settlement histories can be found, e.g., in Crystal (1995) and Bauer (2002). The British Council figures come from their web site (accessed 10 Sept., 2002):
<http://www.britishcouncil.org/english/engfaqs.htm#howmany>
5. The amount of variation, both dialectal and random, in the written language of the period is carefully documented in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (McIntosh *et al.* 1986). Grammatical variation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is considered by Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (forthcoming).
6. Hart's phonology is discussed by Danielsson (1963) and Early Modern English pronunciation in general by Lass (1999); on the history of regional variation, see Trudgill (1999b).
7. For a systematic comparison of the two regional norms, see e.g. Wells (1982). Accent differences in the major international varieties of English are also discussed by Trudgill and Hannah (1994).
8. For standardization of spelling, see Scragg (1974), Salmon (1999) and Venezky (2001), and the references therein.
9. Early English dictionaries are discussed by Starnes and Noyes (1991), and grammatical theory and parts of speech by Michael (1970) and Vorlat (1975).
10. See further <http://www.m-w.com/about/noah.htm> (accessed 12 Sept., 2002).
11. For Late Modern English pronunciation, see MacMahon (1998) and Mugglestone (1995). For some sceptical comments on *Estuary English* as the “new RP”, see Trudgill (2002: 171–180), and the web documents available from: <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/home.htm> (accessed 16 Sept., 2002).
12. Einar Haugen (1966 [1997: 349]) terms the situation in English as a type of “schizoglossia”. He observes that there is a marked difference between the written and spoken standards of most people, and that both have different styles which vary according to the situation. These styles, he argues, “provide wealth and diversity within a language and ensure that the stability or rigidity of the norm will have an element of elasticity as well”.

References

1) *Primary sources*

- Avis, W. S. (editor-in-chief). 1967. *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*. Toronto: Gage.
- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S. and Finegan, E. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.
- Branford, J. (ed.). 1978. *A Dictionary of South African English*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Bullokar, W. 1586. *William Bullokarz Pamphlet for Grammar: Or rather too be saied hiz Abbreuiation of his Grammar for English, extracted out-of hiz Grammar at-larg*. London: Edmund Bollifant.
- Burchfield, R. W. (ed.). 1996. *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage*. Third edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cawdrey, R. 1604. *A Table Alphabeticall, Conteyning and Teaching the True Writing, and Vnderstanding of Hard Vsual English Wordes, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French, &c. With the interpretation thereof by plaine English words*. London: Printed by J. Roberts for E. Weaver.
- Cooper, C. 1685. *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*. London: Typis J. Richardson; impensis Benj. Tooke.
- Coote, E. [1596] 1968. *The English Schoole-maister*. London: Printed by the Widow Orwin for Ralph Jackson and Robert Dexter. A facsimile of the edition of 1596 (*English Linguistics*, 98). Menston: Scolar Press.
- Cruttenden, A. 1994. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Ellis, A. J. [1869] 1968. *On Early English Pronunciation* (Early English Text Society, Extra Series 2). Reprinted. London: Greenwood Press.
- Fowler, H. W. 1926. *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fowler, H. W. and Fowler, F. G. [1906] 1931. *The King's English*. Third edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gimson, A. C. [1962] 1980. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*. Third edition. London: Edward Arnold.
- Gimson, A. C. 2001. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*. Sixth edition, revised by Alan Cruttenden. London: Arnold.
- Gove, P. B. (ed.). 1961. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*. Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam Company.
- Hart, J. 1570. *Methodo or Comfortable Beginning for All Vnlearned, whereby they may bee taught to read English, in a very short time, with pleasure: So profitable as straunge, put in light, by I(ohn) H(art), Chester Heralt*. London: Henrie Denham.
- Jespersen, O. 1909–1949. *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. Compl. by Niels Haislund. Copenhagen: Eijnar Munksgaard; London: Allen & Unwin.
- Johnson, S. 1755. *A Dictionary of the English Language: In which the words are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations by examples from the best writers*. London: Printed by W. Strahan, for J. and P. Knapton [etc.].

- Jones, D. 1917. *An English Pronouncing Dictionary*. London: Dent.
- Jones, D. 1918. *An Outline of English Phonetics*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Kenyon, J. and Knott, T. A. 1944, 1953. *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*. Springfield, MA: Merriam.
- Lowth, R. 1762. *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*. London: J. Hughes for A. Millar.
- Mulcaster, R. 1582. *The First Part of the Elementarie which Entreateth Chiefly of the Right Writing of our English Tongue*. London: T. Vautroullier.
- Murray, L. 1795. *English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an appendix, containing rules and observations for promoting perspicuity in speaking and writing*. York: Wilson, Spence & Mawman.
- Orsman, H. W. (ed.). 1997. *The Dictionary of New Zealand English: A dictionary of New Zealandisms on historical principles*. Auckland / New York: Oxford University Press.
- Puttenham, G. [1589] 1968. *The Arte of English Poesie*. London: Printed for Richard Field. A facsimile of the edition of 1589 (*English Linguistics*, 110). Menston: Scolar Press.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. and Svartvik, J. 1972. *A Grammar of Contemporary English*. London: Longman.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. and Svartvik, J. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Ramson, W. S. (ed.). 1988. *The Australian National Dictionary: A dictionary of Australianisms on historical principles*. Melbourne/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rastell, J. 1579. *An Exposition of Certain Difficult and Obscure Words, and Termes of the Lawes of this Realme ... both in French and English*. London: Richard Tottell.
- Sheridan, T. 1780. *A General Dictionary of the English Language; One main Object of which is, to establish a plain and permanent Standard of Pronunciation*. London: J. Dodsley, C. Dilly & J. Wilkie.
- Simpson, J. A. and Weiner, E. S. C. (eds). 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edition; *Additions* 1993–7, J. Simpson, E. Weiner and M. Proffitt (eds); third edition (in progress) March 2000–, ed. J. Simpson. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <<http://oed.com>>
- Swift, J. 1712. *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue; in a letter to the Most Honourable Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain*. London: Benj. Tooke.
- Wallis, J. 1653. *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae. Cui praefigitur, de loquela sive sonorum formatione tractatus grammatico-physicus*. Oxford: Leon. Lichfield.
- Walker, J. 1791. *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*. London: G. G. J. & J. Robinson and T. Cadell.
- Webster, N. 1783. *The American Spelling Book ... Being the First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English language*. Hartford, CT: Hudson & Goodwin.
- Webster, N. 1828. *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. Two volumes. New York: S. Converse.
- Wells, J. C. [1990] 2000. *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*. Second edition. Harlow: Pearson Education.

2) *Secondary sources*

- Adamson, S. 1999. "Literary language". In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 3, 1476–1776, R. Lass (ed.), 539–653. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Algeo, J. 1998. "Vocabulary". In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. four, 1776–1997, S. Romaine (ed.), 57–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barber, C. 1997. *Early Modern English*. Second edition Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bauer, L. 2002. *An Introduction to International Varieties of English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Baugh, A. C. and Cable, T. 1993. *A History of the English Language*. Fourth edition. London: Routledge.
- Benskin, M. 1992. "Some new perspectives on the origins of standard written English". In *Dialect and Standard Language in the English, Dutch, German and Norwegian Language Areas*, J. A. van Leuvensteijn and J. B. Berns (eds), 71–105. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Bex, T. 1999. "Representations of English in twentieth-century Britain: Fowler, Gowers and Partridge". In *Standard English: The widening debate*, T. Bex and R. Watts (eds), 89–109. London/New York: Routledge.
- Bronstein, A. J. 1990. "The development of pronunciation in English language dictionaries". In *Studies in the Pronunciation of English*, S. Ramsaran (ed.), 137–152. London/New York: Routledge.
- Coleman, D. and Salt, J. 1992. *The British Population: Patterns, trends, processes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cressy, D. 1980. *Literacy and Social Order; Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. 1995. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Danielsson, B. (ed.). 1963. *John Hart's Works on English Orthography and Pronunciation (1551, 1569, 1570)*. Part two: *Phonology*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Finegan, E. 1998. "English grammar and usage". In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 4, 1776–1997, S. Romaine (ed.), 536–588. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Finegan, E. 2001. "Usage". In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 6, *English in North America*, J. Algeo (ed.), 358–421. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Finlay, R. and Shearer, B. 1986. "Population growth and suburban expansion". In *The Making of the Metropolis: London 1500–1700*, A. L. Beier and R. Finlay (eds.), 37–59. London: Longman.
- Fischer, D. H. 1989. *Albion's Seed: Four British folkways in America*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher, J. H. 1996. *The Emergence of Standard English*. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press.
- Fisher, J. H. 2001. "British and American, continuity and divergence". In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 6, *English in North America*, J. Algeo (ed.), 59–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fisher, J. H., Richardson, M. and Fisher, J. L. 1984. *An Anthology of Chancery English*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Frank, T. 1994. "Language standardization in eighteenth-century Scotland". In *Towards a Standard English, 1600–1800*, D. Stein and I. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds), 51–62. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Görlach, M. 1990. "The development of Standard Englishes". In *Studies in the History of the English Language* (Anglistische Forschungen, 210), M. Görlach (ed.), 9–64. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Görlach, M. 1991. *Introduction to Early Modern English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gramley, S. 2001. *The Vocabulary of World English*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Haugen, E. [1966] 1997. "Language standardization". Reprinted in *Sociolinguistics*, N. Coupland and A. Jaworski (eds), 341–352. London: Macmillan.
- Honey, J. 1997. *Language is Power: The story of standard English and its enemies*. London/Boston: Faber & Faber.
- Lass, R. 1990. "A 'standard' South African vowel system". In *Studies in the Pronunciation of English*, S. Ramsaran (ed.), 272–285. London/New York: Routledge.
- Lass, R. 1994. "Proliferation and option-cutting: The strong verb in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries". In *Towards a Standard English, 1600–1800*, D. Stein and I. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds), 81–113. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lass, R. 1999. "Phonology and morphology". In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 3, 1476–1776, R. Lass (ed.), 56–186. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McArthur, T. 2002. *The Oxford Guide to World English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McIntosh, A., Samuels, M. L. and Benskin, M. 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- McIntosh, C. 1998. *The Evolution of English Prose, 1700–1800: Style, Politeness, and Print Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacMahon, M. K. C. 1998. "Phonology". In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 4, 1776–1997, S. Romaine (ed.), 373–535. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Michael, I. 1970. *English Grammatical Categories and the Tradition to 1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Milroy, L. 1999. "Standard English and language ideology in Britain and the United States". In *Standard English: The widening debate*, T. Bex and R. Watts (eds), 173–206. London: Routledge.
- Milroy, J. and Milroy, L. 1985. "Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation". *Journal of Linguistics* 21: 339–384.
- Milroy, J. and Milroy, L. [1985] 1991. *Authority in Language: Investigating language prescription and standardisation*. Reprinted. London: Routledge.
- Morton, H. C. 1998. "Burchfield on usage: Remaking Fowler's classic". *American Speech* 73 (3): 313–325.
- Mugglestone, L. 1995. *'Talking Proper': The rise of accent as social symbol*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nevalainen, T. 1999. "Early Modern English lexis and semantics". In *The Cambridge History*

- of the English Language, Vol. three, 1476–1776, R. Lass (ed.), 332–458. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nevalainen, T. and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, I. Forthcoming. “Standardisation: Of processes and products”. In *A History of the English Language*, R. Hogg and D. Denison (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Preston, D. 1996. “Where the worst English is spoken”. In *Focus on the USA*, E. Schneider (ed.), 297–361. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Salmon, V. 1999. “Orthography and punctuation”. In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 3, 1476–1776, R. Lass (ed.), 13–55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Samuels, M. L. 1963. “Some applications of Middle English dialectology”. *English Studies* 44: 81–94.
- Schäfer, J. 1989. *Early Modern English Lexicography*. Two volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Scragg, D. G. 1974. *A History of English Spelling*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Smith, J. 1996. *An Historical Study of English*. London: Routledge.
- Starnes, D. T., Noyes, G. E. [1946] 1991. *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson 1604–1755* (Studies in the History of Language Sciences, 57). New Edition by G. Stein. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sundby, B., Bjørge, A. K., Haugland K. E. 1991. *A Dictionary of English Normative Grammar 1700–1800*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Taavitsainen, I. 2000. “Scientific language and spelling standardisation 1375–1550”. In *The Development of Standard English 1300–1800; Theories, Descriptions, Conflicts*, L. Wright (ed.), 131–154. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tieken-Boon van Ostade, I. 2000. “Robert Dodsley and the genesis of Lowth’s *Short Introduction to English Grammar*”. *Historiographica Linguistica* 27 (1): 21–36.
- Tieken-Boon van Ostade, I. (ed.). 1996. *Two Hundred Years of Lindley Murray*. Münster: Nodus.
- Trudgill, P. 1999a. “Standard English: What it isn’t”. In *Standard English: The widening debate*, T. Bex and R. Watts (eds), 117–128. London & New York: Routledge.
- Trudgill, P. 1999b. *The Dialects of England*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Trudgill, P. 2002. *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Trudgill, P. and Hannah, J. 1994. *International English: A guide to the varieties of standard English*. Third edition. London: Edward Arnold.
- Venezky, R. L. 2001. “Spelling”. In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. 6, *English in North America*, J. Algeo (ed.), 340–357. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vorlat, E. 1975. *The Development of English Grammatical Theory, 1586–1737: With special reference to the theory of parts of speech*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Wareing, J. 1980. “Changes in the geographical distribution of the recruitment of apprentices to the London companies 1486–1750”. *Journal of Historical Geography* 6: 241–249.
- Wells, J. C. 1982. *Accents of English*. Three volumes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Faroese*

Zakaris Svabo Hansen, Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen
and Eivind Weyhe

University of the Faroe Islands

1. Introduction

This article describes the standardization of Faroese from a diachronic as well as synchronic perspective, with special focus on the standardization of the written language. Although the question of a Faroese standard pronunciation will not be discussed in detail, it should be pointed out that speakers of Faroese are conscious of linguistic variation and usually have a favourable attitude towards dialect use and the diversity of Faroese dialects.

A central objective of standardization is to achieve minimal variation in form (cf. Haugen 1972). Moreover, standardization functions as a marker of the speech community with respect to other speech communities, i.e. speakers of one standard language are differentiated from speakers of another standard language. Standard languages also fulfil a prestige function, that is, the existence of and knowledge about a standard language carries prestige in the speech community and on the individual level. In this article we will present an account of Faroese corpus planning (i.e. the modification of existing linguistic forms and the creation of new forms) and status planning (i.e. the use of language in new domains in society, i.e. official language, technical language, language of instruction, etc.). Acquisition planning, that is, initiatives which aim at increasing the number of language users (speakers, writers, listeners, readers), and prestige planning, which includes initiatives to create a favourable psychological background, will not be discussed specifically. Language planning which can be defined as “deliberate, conscious and future-oriented activities aimed at influencing the linguistic repertoire and behaviour of speech communities” (Árnason 2001) can influence language change, and planned language development has been opposed to “natural” processes of linguistic evolution (cf. Árnason 2001). In the context of Faroese, language planning has included both status and corpus planning. Since the middle of the nineteenth century there

has been a determined effort to improve the status of the Faroese language in all aspects of society and to restore the Faroese written language. Corpus planning has involved the creation of new words for the everyday language as well as the expansion of technical terminology. The goal of official language planning has been to enhance the use of Faroese as a “valid” language in all areas of society and in all situations; that is, as a language which can fulfil all the functions which are called for by a modern society. Even though Faroese meets the criteria of a national language, the Danish government is still reluctant to apply this term to Faroese.

2. Codification

The codification phase in Haugen’s model refers to the selection and stabilization of the linguistic norm, including orthography, pronunciation, morphology as well as fundamental aspects of syntax and vocabulary (Vikør 2001: 184). Codification is most often a one-off act: once it has been decided upon and has had time to settle, it is usually difficult to change the established norm. However, occasionally re-codification occurs, e.g. changes in the orthography, in single words or word groups, adjustments of rules for inflection, etc. (for examples of specific re-codifications in Faroese, see the section *Evaluation* in this article). Codification is seen as a matter for professionals and is dealt with in language committees or by individuals (e.g. Svabo and Hammershaimb), Bible translators, etc. (Vikør 2001: 185).

Linguistic and historical background

Faroese is a West Nordic language, closely related to Icelandic and West Norwegian. It is spoken on the Faroe Islands by a population of only about 50 000 inhabitants. The eighteen Islands are “located in the North Atlantic, about three hundred miles north of Scotland’s Shetland Islands and midway between Iceland and the west coast of Norway” (Haugen 1987: 91), and were settled more than a thousand years ago. If one includes the Faroese living outside of the Faroe Islands (the majority of these live in Denmark), the Faroese speech community can be estimated at roughly 60 000 people. The Faroe Islands constitute a self-governed part of the Kingdom of Denmark and their status in the Kingdom is determined by the Home Rule Act of 1948. The Home Rule Act states that Faroese is the principal language of the islands but, at the same time, grants Danish a special position on the Faroe Islands. Danish can be used on equal terms with Faroese in communications between the population and the authorities, and it is stressed in the Act itself that Danish must be learnt thoroughly in Faroese schools.

The Nordic settlers, who must have come primarily from Norway (but probably also from the Nordic settlements on the British Isles), brought the Old Norse language with them to the Faroe Islands where it gained a permanent foothold. The Nordic colonization is assumed to have taken place around 800 AD (Debes 1990). There are traces of Celtic admixture in the language, but whether this is due to a regular Celtic (Pre-Nordic) settlement on the islands, or due to contact with Celtic-speaking people in the south, is controversial. It was the Nordic settlement which gained lasting influence, also with regard to language. In the following centuries the islands belonged to the larger Old Norse speech community which included Norway, Iceland, Greenland and Nordic settlements in the south. Old Norse was the spoken language of the islands, as well as the language of administration and law, and the islands formed part of the Old Norse cultural sphere.

A bilingual society

With the political weakening of the Norwegian Kingdom (*Noregsveldi*) in the fourteenth century the Old Norse cultural community was disbanded, and Old Norse gradually lost its role as the language of administration. The development was completed by the time of the Reformation. Danish took over as the language of law, court, and church, and functioned as the standard language of the country. As result of the subsequent dialectalization of Faroese, the old legal language became more and more unintelligible to the speech community, and the laws had to be translated into Danish. With the Reformation the Danish Bible and the hymn book, and probably also preaching in Danish, entered the Faroese church. However, the spoken language of the population remained Faroese. The ballad texts which accompanied the so-called Faroese dance and which have their roots in the Middle Ages continued to be sung in Faroese, and it is likely that new ballads were created within the genre.¹ However, it appears that the ballad genre existed only as oral poetry and it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that it was first recorded by J. C. Svabo (1746–1824).

The Faroe Islands thus developed into a bilingual society. The mother tongue served as the everyday spoken language and as the carrier of an oral poetic tradition. In their dealings with officials and authorities, however, the population was probably forced to use Danish or a form of Danish-Faroese. However, the Danish officials on the Faroe Islands were few in number (even if one were to include the Danish priests in their ranks). They numbered less than a dozen and the Faroese had only limited contact with them. The secular officials lived in the capital Tórshavn and communication across the country was problematic: each of the country's seven priests had to serve several churches (perhaps six to eight) and they

visited the most distant places only a few times during the year. An explanation as to why on the Faroe Islands a spoken Danish language (i.e. some sort of Danish with a Faroese substrate) did not have time or opportunity to develop is probably found in these sociolinguistic conditions. However, a special Faroese pronunciation of Danish developed in this context: a local pronunciation, strongly influenced by Faroese phonology. This Faroese variety of Danish developed most probably as a kind of reading pronunciation and was used when reading Danish texts, when singing hymns, and of course when communicating with the authorities. Danish ballads have also been adopted into the Faroese ballad repertory (mainly through printed editions), and were sung at the chain dance together with the Faroese ballads. The Danish ballads are still sung today, using the Faroese pronunciation variant of Danish. Yet, this local variety of Danish never gained a foothold as a spoken language on the islands.

A further result of the use of Danish as the language of administration was the adoption of Danish variants of Faroese names (personal names as well as place names). In daily speech the population continued to use the Faroese name forms, but in official documents, such as parish registers, land registries, the protocols of the *Løgting* (the Faroese Parliament) and official letters, Danish forms were used. Danish personal names were used by the population and even today these naming practices are still present on the Islands. Moreover, the Danish forms of place names were listed on maps of the Faroe Islands until well into the twentieth century (see also the sections *Personal names* and *Place names*).

The language is given a written form

Since Faroese did not exist as an official language and did not have a written standard, it did not develop any form of standard pronunciation either. On the contrary, spoken Faroese reflects a considerable number of dialects, and when the language developed a new written form around 1800 — primarily in connection with the recording of ballad texts — this fact left its mark on the orthographies of the texts. Lacking a generally accepted orthography, each writer used a more or less orthophonic spelling which reflected his dialectal background. In the late eighteenth century, J. C. Svabo (1746–1824) developed his own orthography for his collections of ballads and lexical items (Matras 1939; Svabo 1966–70). His spelling is remarkably consistent and is influenced by the fact that he was born and raised on the Vágar island. Svabo was also the first person to establish a classification of the Faroese dialects and he described one of the dialects as the “Common Dialect”. This “Common Dialect” reflected a Mid-Faroese pronunciation similar to his own (Weyhe 1996a). In the first half of the nineteenth century the Gospel according to St. Matthew (Schrøter 1823) and the Saga of the Faroe Islanders (Rafn 1832) were

published in a Faroese translation. Attempts at creating an orthographic standard were made at this time, a development most clearly noticeable in the Saga text (Skårup 1964). However, the differences between the various Faroese dialects presented a problem: which dialect should be used as a basis for a future orthography? The question was resolved with V. U. Hammershaimb's (1819–1909) orthography, first published in 1846 and finalized in his Faroese grammar (Hammershaimb 1854). Even though posterity has given him credit for this orthography, it was very likely the result of a collaboration between Hammershaimb, the Icelander Jón Sigurðsson, and Professor C. C. Rafn in Copenhagen. In the introduction to the *Færøsk Anthologi* ('Faroese Anthology') Hammershaimb wrote (1891: LV):

When, almost 50 years ago, I was encouraged to record ballads, myths, etc., for the publications of the Association of Ancient Writing (*Oldskriftselskabet*) and to write a Faroese grammar, I felt most troubled, as none of the spoken dialects seemed to me to be suited as a common written language and medium of communication for all the islands. I realized that choosing the pronunciation characteristic of a particular dialect would be unfair to the other dialects with their perhaps equally rightful claims for their particular pronunciations. However, if one went about the creation of a written language in another manner, that is, by choosing an etymologizing orthography with an approximation to the old, since forgotten, or alternatively a mainly phonetic orthography which selected those features from the different dialects that seemed most suitable for a Faroese standard written language, then in both cases the same criticism applies as it does to the attempt at creating a standard language in Norway, namely, that it was artificial and doctrinaire. I chose the etymologizing way, as it seemed to me to offer the best advantages for the language, provided it should have any future ahead of it. In this way the communication in Faroese not only became easier for strangers to read and more pleasant to look at, but also brought the Faroese people nearer to the closely related languages of Icelandic and Danish. They would hereby have an easier time acquiring the common features of these languages instead of isolating themselves by using their distorted pronunciation as the basis of their written language. (Translated from Danish)

Hammershaimb thus chose to build on the etymological principle. He took the Old Norse language as his starting point, but also considered some of the linguistic changes that had occurred in Faroese. His orthography became, in a manner of speaking, "supra-dialectal" and avoided favouring a single dialect over the others (Matras 1951).

Orthography and pronunciation

The large discrepancy between orthography and pronunciation, which was to be the consequence of the etymological principle, did not meet with universal ap-

proval. It led to educational problems as it was hard for people to learn the orthography. Still, a proposal by the philologist Jakob Jakobsen in 1889 which suggested a more phonetic orthography (cf. Larsen 1991) did not meet with approval either. A compromise from 1895 (basically a slightly modified version of Hammershaimb's etymological norm) suffered the same fate. Posterity has, with the exception of minor changes, held on to the orthography which today carries the name of Hammershaimb. However, Hammershaimb's etymologically based differentiation between <ø> and <ö> does not seem to have caught on, and was not used in the first Faroese newspapers published in the 1890s. However, the Bible translator J. Dahl holds on to it in his school grammar (Dahl 1908) and in his Bible translation (see, for example, the New Testament, 1937). In 1954 a couple of changes were carried out in the orthography, concerning, for example, the writing of double consonants preceding genitive-*s* (e.g. the genitive sg. of *fjall* 'mountain' is *fjals* instead of *fjalls*; see also Section 6).

It is important to emphasize that the standardization of the mid-nineteenth century only concerned the orthography and not the pronunciation. The standardization efforts appear to have been based on the idea that everybody should be able to pronounce the language in accordance with their own dialect, for example, when reading aloud the written standard. In his grammar from 1854, Hammershaimb describes the pronunciation differences between the dialects in great detail, without actually putting any one of them over others (however, he does not completely avoid an aesthetic evaluation, as he considers some dialects as having a more "pure" and "sonorous" pronunciation, while he uses expressions such as "crude" and "farmerlike" about other dialects). When Hammershaimb's *Faroese Anthology* came out in 1891, it also contained a Faroese-Danish dictionary compiled by Jakob Jakobsen (consisting of a word list for the texts of the anthology and previously published lay texts). The dictionary had a description of pronunciation after every listed word and thus reflected specific pronunciations. However, the rationale for these choices is not discussed in any detail. It is stated matter-of-factly in a footnote to the first letter (*A, Á*) that "Every word is represented with phonetic transcription in Southern Streymoy dialect". The same information is found in the introduction to the first volume ("J. Jakobsen has ... for every word in the glossary given its pronunciation in Southern Streymoy dialect in square brackets"). This practice continues in Faroese dictionaries up until the present day (Jacobsen & Matras 1927–28; Poulsen et al. 1998), and also occurs in different descriptions of Faroese pronunciation, even though dialectal differences are often mentioned (for example Lockwood 1955; Rischel's introduction to Jacobsen & Matras 1961). This has probably contributed considerably to cementing a Central-Faroese pronunciation as the basis for a broad pronunciation standard on the Islands. However, this pronunciation standard is not explicitly recognized as such,

neither by the authorities nor by the proverbial “man in the street”. The tendency is, however, indisputable.

Tendencies towards a standard

At this point we may quote from a paper by Oskar Bandle (1982: 37–38) in which he characterizes the situation (standard vs. dialect) as follows:

Standard/dialect probably still makes up the most important sociolinguistic structure on the Faroe Islands. Next to the archaic standard language, which has been constructed for written communication, people mostly speak the local language of their area (in the capital Tórshavn a number of mixed dialects). But in addition, a less locally coloured oral High variety exists which has its centre on Southern Streymoy ... It avoids extreme dialectal features but is otherwise open to regional variations. However, so far this is only a tendency of the spoken standard language and has therefore not yet been able seriously to threaten the dialects. (Translated from Swedish)

However, it is important to stress that neither the word list in Hammershaimb (1891) nor the later dictionaries reflect the Southern Streymoy pronunciation directly. This dialect, whose centre of gravity is the capital Tórshavn, shows, for example, lenition, that is, intervocalic $[p t k]$ are pronounced as $[b d g]$ (as opposed to the dialects on Eysturoy, Northern Streymoy and Vággar). However, the pronunciation specifications in the dictionaries list the $[p t k]$ forms of the written language. Another characteristic feature of Central Faroese is the merging of $[i]$ and $[u]$ in unstressed syllables in most environments (the distinction is only maintained in front of a nasal). This is another point where the dictionary pronunciation does not follow the Southern Streymoy dialect, but reflects the pronunciation of the unstressed vowels in accordance with the written language. The distribution of these vowels as reflected in the standard or dictionary pronunciation does not exist in any modern Faroese dialect. We, therefore, have to conclude that the pronunciation prescribed by the dictionaries is an idealized written language pronunciation with its basis in Central Faroese (Weyhe 1987, 1988). It should be noted that it is not common to use these standard pronunciations in practice, except perhaps when slavishly reading aloud from a manuscript.

The language descriptions of the 1800s not only described phonological variation. Inflectional variation is also reflected — albeit to a lesser degree. As Hammershaimb (1854) pointed out: it is precisely in the sound system that we find the greatest differences in dialect — and to a lesser degree in the morphology, with the exception of the personal pronoun system (Weyhe 1996a).

There is no doubt that Hammershaimb (and perhaps also Jakobsen) regretted the gradual disappearance of the many archaic inflections. Many of these forms no

longer had a strong position in spoken usage although they were still included in grammatical descriptions. Examples of such older forms are among others: old accusative forms without *-r* in the masculine plural of nominal declensions (forms such as *daga*, *hesta*, *spaka*, *hina* for *dagar* ‘days’; *hestar* ‘horses’; *spakar* ‘meek, quiet’; *hinar*, ‘the others’), and also *tá* (for *teir* ‘they’), *tvá* (for *tveir* ‘two’); old plural forms of the personal pronoun; the preservation of the distinction dual — plural as well as inflection according to person in the plural form of the verbs (e.g. *vær høvum* for modern Faroese *vit hava* ‘we have’). No serious attempts were made to reintroduce these archaic forms into the written norm. On the other hand, it appears that there has been a strong interest in maintaining the plural forms without *-r* of the neuter *ija*-stems (*kvæði* instead of *kvæðir* ‘ballads’) and *an*-stems (*eygu* instead of *eygur* ‘eyes’), even though the *r*-forms are common in the spoken language (and already were so in the ballads). Grammars and dictionaries normally list double forms in these cases. One group of nouns, the so-called “nomina agentis” words ending in *-ari* (for example *lærari* ‘teacher’), generally do not follow the prescribed inflection in daily speech. According to the grammars, these words should follow the inflection of other masculine nouns and show the ending in *-ar* in the plural. The form should thus be *lærarar* in the nominative as well as in the accusative. However, in large parts of the country one finds *lærarir* in the spoken language, in other parts of the country *lærara*. Even though the form *lærarar* does not seem to belong to genuine spoken language anywhere, this is the only codified form in grammars and dictionaries; that is, in the standardized language (Weyhe 1991a, 1991b, 1996a).

In modern Faroese there is a strong tendency to generalize inflectional endings in the definite form of masculine nouns in the nominative and accusative plural. For example, the standard forms for ‘the boats’ are *bátarnir* in the nominative and *bátarnar* in the accusative. Language users, however, often use *-nir* or *-nar* in both cases (there is a certain dialectal distribution). Moreover there is a tendency to replace the definite plural suffix *-nar* with *-nir* when added to feminine nouns with a plural *-ar* ending, e.g. *fjaðrarnir* (instead of standard *fjaðrarnar*, ‘the feathers’). These features are not mentioned in the grammars (except perhaps as a warning not to use such forms), and are not accepted in standard language usage; accordingly, the forms are corrected in written works in the schools (Weyhe 1996a).

We should also mention the use of the genitive in this context. In Old Norse the nominal declension had four cases, but in Faroese the inflected genitive form was gradually replaced by the prepositional genitive construction. However, original genitive forms do occur in certain fixed expressions. When Old Norse (and partly Icelandic) was chosen as the ideal point of reference for a Faroese written language, an attempt was made to reintroduce the genitive. This was done by listing genitive forms in the nominal paradigms, even in cases where they were no longer used in

the spoken language. In modern Faroese the genitive is a typical feature of the written language. The higher the level of style in a given text, the more genitive constructions can be expected. For example, genitive usage is a characteristic feature of religious language, poetic language (especially older), legal language and formal lectures, but is rare in the spoken language. The latter primarily uses prepositional phrases to express possessive relationships. In addition, Faroese has developed a new way to form the genitive of possession: *-sa* can be used as a suffix with personal names (*Jógvansa* ‘John’s’) and personal titles (*mammusa* ‘mother’s’), and also as a group genitive with noun phrases (for example in the place name *Jógvan í Lon-sa sessur* ‘Jógvan í Lon’s seat’). This construction is also seen in the written language from time to time. However, it is not fully accepted — at least not in all styles (Weyhe 1996b).

The socio-historical context on the Faroe Islands from the Late Middle Ages until today has had an enormous impact on the vocabulary of Faroese. The language has experienced massive influence from Danish which puts a strong mark on the Faroese spoken language to this very day. Since the end of the nineteenth century, when the efforts to create and develop a Faroese written language began in earnest, a purist tendency has been dominant, although its intensity varied from writer to writer. Wherever possible, the so-called Danicisms, as well as foreign words in general, were avoided in favour of “good Faroese words”. This has led to a situation in which the written Faroese language differs from the spoken language. The Faroese standard language, as it appears in books and newspapers and is orally represented on radio and TV, shows a relatively uniform character. It is therefore reasonable to talk of a written language standard which is generally accepted by the speech community, although there is some debate about the purist principles according to which it has been developed (Sandøy 1997).

As mentioned above, one can to some extent speak of a tendency to a spoken language standard based on a Central Faroese pronunciation of the written language. The way in which this standard is practised shows a lot more tolerance towards phonological variation in the dialects than towards the various inflected forms which we encounter in the spoken language. This is probably connected to the fact that the etymological orthography does not favour a certain dialectal pronunciation, and does therefore not dictate a certain pronunciation norm. With regard to morphology, however, certain forms of inflection have been codified in the grammar and are part of the canon of grammar teaching. This has led to a lower level of tolerance towards variation in inflection.

3. Comments on selection

The selection phase in Haugen's model describes the decisions about which language variety should be chosen as the basis for the standardized form of a language. It is most common that the language variety spoken by the political or economic elite is chosen as the basis of the standard language. However, Faroese is unusual because its standard is an abstract construction, based on a supra-dialectal norm and the Old Norse written language (Vikør 2001: 185). Another written language with a similar background is Nynorsk (see Jahr, this volume). The two norms were created at about the same time — in the middle of the nineteenth century, but Faroese was more influenced by Scandinavism than Nynorsk.² Nynorsk, like Faroese, was a superstructure on top of the dialects. The differences between the Faroese dialects lie primarily in the area of phonology; the dialects are quite similar with regard to morphology and syntax. The orthographic and morphological norm of the written Faroese standard was explicitly based on etymological and historical principles. The Nynorsk norm was also partially historically based (in order to deal with the differences in the spoken language). At the same time, however, it was clearly oriented towards contemporary Norwegian society and included few features which did not exist in the spoken language of at least one Norwegian dialect (Venås 1990: 193). The Faroese orthographic norm, on the other hand, cannot be traced back to any particular dialect or sociolect (Matras 1951; Djupedal 1964). Hammershaimb gave very high priority to morphological unambiguity over phonological accuracy, and to etymological spellings over synchronic representations.

In other words, the Faroese standard did not originate from a social, political or geographical centre of power. It emerged as a result of the fact that Hammershaimb, together with a number of prominent Nordic philologists, was familiar with the history of the Nordic languages and the linguistic structures of Old Norse, and was inspired by Romanticism and Scandinavism. His conception of the Faroese standard language made it possible to bridge the dialectal differences and did not give preferential treatment to one dialect over another. This also supported the Scandinavianist orientation of his proposal: Scandinavians would more easily be able to read an orthography influenced by Old Norse and Icelandic than an orthography reflecting all the sound changes which had occurred since in Faroese. Vikør (2001: 191) points out that Hammershaimb's orthography reflects a Scandinavianist ideology rather than a desire for dissociation from Danish.

4. Elaboration of function

The third phase of Haugen's model concerns elaboration of function, that is, the development of the functional parts of the language: vocabulary, phraseology, syntax and stylistic registers. Elaboration is carried out so that the language is able to meet the existing and future demands of the society in which it is to be used. Elaboration is a continuous process: language is a functional and dynamic phenomenon and must constantly be adapted to new demands and new functions in society. An example of such an elaboration of function is the creation of scientific terminologies. Such terminologies are created to some extent "spontaneously" in professional groups in society. However, language planning has been highly institutionalized in many modern societies, e.g. via national language councils, terminology boards, etc.

Principles of word formation in the colloquial language

First some general remarks on Faroese word formation in the colloquial language and the technical language. Four methods for elaborating the vocabulary can be distinguished (cf. Kristinsson et al. 1991):

1. Compounding
2. Creating derivations
3. Using old words with new meaning
4. Borrowing

The most common method used to expand the lexicon is the creation of compounds. But the Faroese language also allows derivation, for example, by using one of a number of archaic suffixes. The method of attaching new meaning to existing words is also used to some extent. In the Faroese context, borrowing is considered an emergency solution; a last option when all alternatives have been exhausted. Semantic loans and loan translations, on the other hand, are common.

We will now list some examples of the four methods of vocabulary extension. The lexicographer Jakob Jakobsen (1864–1918) used the compound method most frequently: *halastjørna* ('comet', from *hali* 'tail' and *stjørna* 'star'), *skjalasavn* ('archive', from *skjal* 'document' and *savn* 'collection'). We have not found a single example of a newly formed derivation in Jakobsen's work. However, Jakobsen used existing words with a new meaning (method number three). Examples include:

básur: (old) 'box in a stable' > (new) 'lot at an exhibition'

deild: (old) 'lot of land' > (new) 'section, e.g. in a company, or division, e.g. in sport'

rás: (old) 'path' > (new) 'television and radio channel'

Jakobsen did not use loanwords. Examples of loanwords can be found in current dictionaries (e.g. the Danish-Faroese Dictionary 1995): *sirkul* (from Danish *cirke* ‘circle’), *týpa* (from Danish *type* ‘type’), *spitari* (from Danish *speeder* ‘accelerator’), *kopling* (from Danish *kobling* ‘clutch’).

The tradition of creating neologisms goes back to the oldest generation of Faroese linguists after Hammershaimb. Around 1890 Jakobsen initiated discussions concerning the composition of the Faroese lexicon and the debate continued throughout the 1890s. Jacobsen realized that the development of an orthography was only the initial step and that it was necessary to deal with a new problem, namely the lexicon: what words should be used to describe things and phenomena, which were outside of Faroese daily life? Jacobsen’s attitude was that it was necessary to form new words for these new concepts. And this was a difficult task, in particular because the written language had been Danish for such a long time. Even spoken Faroese drew heavily on Danish words and expressions. Jakobsen declared himself an unconditional supporter of lexical purism, and he created many new Faroese words for both the colloquial and the professional language (e.g. for astronomy, cf. Jóhannesarson and Joensen 1999). Jakobsen argued that Faroese had been exposed to massive influence from Danish for a long time, and that it was therefore hardly possible to say anything in Faroese without violating traditional Faroese language use. He mentioned many Faroese words, which had given way to Danish words and expressions. According to Jakobsen, an active effort was needed in order to find and form Faroese words. Instead of loanwords the Faroese people should use Faroese words and expressions where these existed, even if these were only used by a small part of the population. In those cases where loanwords have already ousted the original Faroese words it is necessary to be even more cautious. Jacobsen’s attitude can be described as an example of “conservative purism” (Vikør 2001: 194). In Jakobsen’s work we find the same idealism which was also typical of *The Icelandic Learning Association* of 1779 (see Árnason, this volume).³ Jakobsen drew heavily on Icelandic structures and many of his neologisms were based on Icelandic words. Today, many of his proposals are an integral part of the modern Faroese vocabulary (Larsen 1993).

Chr. Matras (1900–1988) followed in Jakobsen’s footsteps and created a large number of Faroese words. Matras also published a manifesto for the restoration of the Faroese language (cf. Matras 1929: 46–59). He took as his starting point a poem written by the young poet and politician Jóannes Patursson in the spirit of romanticist patriotism in 1888. The poem was read aloud at a meeting on Boxing Day in 1888. In the poem Patursson used the new poetic word *stinni* in the sense of ‘force’. According to Matras the creation of this word symbolized a new era in the elaboration of the Faroese vocabulary; it was the first example of a newly coined

noun which was formed without the application of the Danish suffix *-lighed*.⁴ With this poem the restoration of the Faroese language began; a restoration which aimed to expand the Faroese language on its domestic territory and to elaborate Faroese into a useful tool for national and international communication (Matras 1929: 57). Among Matras's neologisms are: *evnisbundin* 'material', *ígerð* 'infection', *gagnnýta* 'utilize, exploit', *yrkisgagn* 'organ', *sannkenning* 'acknowledgement', *sjóbúnaður* 'aquaculture', *skilmarking* 'definition', *algilding* 'generalization' (Poulsen 1991b: 11–12).

J. H. W. Poulsen (1934-) has since the 1970s gained distinction as a clever “word smith” for lexical elaboration in the colloquial language as well as in the technical language (see, for example, his list of computer terms published 1990, and his list of terms for the oil industry published 2002). The principle behind these neologisms is exclusively purist: all neologisms should be formed on domestic grounds (Poulsen 1985: 45–56). The main methods of word formation are compounding (e.g. *flogbólur* 'volleyball' from *flog* 'flying' and *bólur* 'ball'; *hugburður* 'attitude' from *hug* 'mind' and *burður* 'carrying'; *talgildur* 'digital' from *tal* 'number' and *gildur* 'valued'), derivation (e.g. *telda* 'computer' from *tal* 'number'), and to some extent the use of existing words with new meaning (e.g. *fløga* 'CD', originally 'compressed layer of a haystack').

Standardization in dictionaries

Dictionaries also contribute to language standardization. Faroese has, considering its short written tradition, a relatively long dictionary tradition. Faroese dictionaries have undoubtedly played a part in the standardization process. At present the *Faroese Dictionary* (1998) is considered the authority for lexical usage — without having any kind of formal, official authorization. Faroese does, however, not yet have a definite spelling dictionary, and different orthographies are used in the various dictionaries.

The first Faroese dictionary was J. C. Svabo's *Dictionarium Færoense* (henceforth DicFær). The manuscripts for the dictionary date back to around 1770, however, it was not published until 1966. Nevertheless, we know that the editors of some later dictionaries have been familiar with the manuscripts and in some cases have incorporated aspects of these into their work. For instance Svend Grundtvig's dictionary *Lexicon Færoense* I–III (1877–1888) consists of 15 000 entries and builds on manuscripts and other lexical materials which were available at the time. As noted above, in 1891 a word collection by Jakob Jakobsen was published as the second part of the afore-mentioned *Færøsk Anthologi* ('Faroese Anthology') by V. U. Hammershaimb in 1891 (henceforth FA-1891).

Some types of loanwords

The basis of the Faroese vocabulary are indigenous words of a common Nordic origin. However, throughout its history the language has incorporated a large number of words from other language areas, especially words of (Low) German origin (see Langer, this volume). Traditionally, there has been a reluctance to accept these loanwords into the written language. In this section we will consider some examples which refer to certain Low German prefixes and suffixes, and we will illustrate how they are treated in some of the Faroese dictionaries. The survey is not exhaustive but should give an idea of how this area stands at the moment.

The prefixes which will be taken into consideration are *an-*, *be-*, and *for-* and the suffixes are *-heit* and *-ilsi*. A comparison between the inclusion of words containing these affixes in the two dictionaries DicFær and FA-1891 clearly shows that an attempt was made to minimize the number of words of this type and to use synonyms of Nordic origin instead (cf. Simonsen 2001). A survey of the DicFær shows the following numbers:

- an-* three words, e.g. *annaam* (Danish *greb* ‘grasp, grip’), *annaama* (Danish (*at*) *få* ‘(to) get’);
- be-* 33 words, e.g. *bedrujva* (Danish *bedrive* ‘commit’), *bekjimra* (Danish *bekymre* ‘worry, trouble’), *bestanda* (Danish *bestå* ‘last, continue’);
- for-* 58 words, e.g. *forbuj* (Danish *forbi* ‘past, by’), *forgenga* (Danish *forgå* ‘perish, be destroyed’), *forhojra* (Danish *forhøre* ‘interrogate’), *forklaara* (Danish *forklare* ‘explain’);
- heit* 63 words, e.g. *blindhajt* (Danish *blindhed* ‘blindness’), *evihajt* (Danish *evighed* ‘eternity’), *hearhajt* (Danish *hårdhed* ‘hardness’), *stolthajt* (Danish *stolthed* ‘pride’);
- ilsi* twelve words, e.g. *nøtrilsi* (Danish *skælven, bæven* ‘trembling, shaking’), *rajsnilsi* (Danish *renselse* ‘purification’), *ørilsi* (Danish *svimmelhed* ‘dizziness, faintness’).

In the FA-1891 the numbers are:

- an-* two words, e.g. *anfall* (Danish *anfald* ‘attack, bout’);
- be-* seven words, e.g. *begynna* (Danish *begynde* ‘begin’), *behalda* (Danish *beholde* ‘keep’), *betyða* (Danish *betyde* ‘mean’);
- for-* fourteen words, e.g. *forderva* (Danish *fordærve* ‘corrupt’), *forlåta* (Danish *forlade* ‘leave, abandon’), *forsvara* (Danish *forsvare*, ‘defend’), *forundra* (Danish *forundre*, ‘surprise’);
- heit* no words;
- ilsi* one word, *ørilsi* (Danish *svimmelhed*, ‘dizziness, faintness’).

This shows a clear drop in the representation of these words in the FA-1891. It is beyond doubt that this was a conscious choice as the use of several of these words is specifically advised against by the editor:

behaga ... In correct Faroese *dáma* or *líkjast á*.

behalda ... More correctly *hava*, *halda*, *njóta*.

bevara ... More correctly *goyma*, *varðveita*.

The dictionary to follow the FA-1891 was the *Føroysk-donsk orðabók* ('Faroese-Danish Dictionary') by M. A. Jacobsen and Chr. Matras (1927–8; henceforth FDO-1927). The dictionary is based on previous works, but supplements them with new word material which had appeared in editions of books, magazines, and newspapers, etc., in the intervening period. With regard to the question of prefixes and suffixes, the FDO-1927 includes about the same number of words with *an-* and *for-* as the FA-1891. However, it is notable that it has no examples of the prefix *be-*. The suffix *-heit* is also excluded, while the dictionary has a few more examples of *-ilsí* than the FA-1891. Examples are: *forbannílsí* (Danish *forbandelse* 'curse'), *nøtrílsí* (Danish *skælven*, *bæven* 'trembling, shaking'), *svímílsí* (Danish *besvimelse* 'faint'), *syftílsí* (Danish *påheksed sygdom* 'illness, sickness produced by witchcraft').

The *Føroysk-donsk orðabók* came out in a new and greatly enlarged edition in 1961 (henceforth FDO-1961) with a supplementary volume in 1974. Concerning the frequency of *an-*, *for-*, and *-ilsí* the circumstances are similar to the ones found in the 1927–8 edition. But matters are different as regards the prefix *be-*: the FDO-1961 not only includes four words of this type as independent entries (i.e. *begynna*, Danish *begynde* 'begin'; *begynnílsí*, *begynningur*, Danish *begyndelse* 'beginning'; *betala*, Danish *betale* 'pay'), but the authors also inform the reader under the entry *be-* that it is "a prefix which is found in a number of loanwords, especially in spoken language". The suffix *-heit* is found in at least six entries, as opposed to the first edition where it was not found at all. The differences between the 1927 and the 1961 edition might be due to a number of factors (e.g. the sources available for the different editions might have varied and it is possible that the new edition had a broader text basis). It is unlikely, however, that the loanwords in general became more acceptable.

1998 was the year in which the first monolingual Faroese dictionary was published: the *Føroysk orðabók* ('Faroese Dictionary'; henceforth FO-1998). The FO-1998 is much more voluminous than its predecessors. In some respects the representation of the above mentioned affixes differs from the earlier dictionaries. The prefixes *an-* and *be-* occur about as rarely as in the other dictionaries, with the exception of the DicFær. However, it does have a general entry *be-* where a number of words of this type are listed, e.g. *bedraga* (Danish *bedrage* 'deceive'), *behandle* (Danish *behandle* 'treat'), *behøvast* (Danish *behøves* 'be needed'), *bestemma* (Danish *bestemme* 'decide') and *besøkja* (Danish *besøge* 'visit'). On the other hand, the prefix *for-* does not have a separate entry but words with this prefix are listed in almost 100 independent entries. Only a small part of these words are indicated as belonging to

the spoken language. The explanation for this marked increase is not that the principles of lexical selection are much different from those of previous dictionaries. The explanation can probably be found in the fact that many of these words have, with time, acquired their own independent meaning and can no longer be considered “crude” loanwords.

However, compared to *Donsk-føroysk orðabók* (‘Danish-Faroese Dictionary’) from 1995 (henceforth DFO-95), FO-1998 has much fewer words of this type. DFO-95 breaks markedly with the normative, prescriptive practice which had until then been used in Faroese dictionaries. It builds on a liberal descriptive approach and lists many words which are regularly heard in spoken Faroese. This means that the DFO-95 contains a considerably larger representation of these prefixed words. This includes words which begin with *be-* (44 instances, e.g. *bedrøviligur* (Danish *bedrøvelig* ‘sad, sorry’), *begávaður* (Danish *begavet* ‘intelligent’), *begrípa* (Danish *begribe* ‘understand’), *begrunda* (Danish *begrunde* ‘give reasons for’), *bevísa* (Danish *bevise* ‘prove, demonstrate’). Especially frequent are words with the prefix *for-* (364 instances, e.g. *forelskaður* from Danish *forelsket* ‘in love’; *foroldaður* from Danish *forældet* ‘obsolete, dated’; *forkálkaður* from Danish *forkalket*, ‘sclerotic/ senile’; *formerkja* from Danish *mærke, føle* ‘feel, notice’). The suffixes *-heit* and *-ilsi* are also far more frequent in DFO-95 than in any other Faroese dictionary. Words ending in *-heit* are registered with 143 instances (e.g. *bundinheit* from Danish *bundethed* ‘restraint’; *flottheit* from Danish *flothed* ‘generousness, smartness’; *fruktbarheit* from Danish *frugtbarhed* ‘fertility’; *grammheit* from Danish *grådighed* ‘greediness’; *neyvheit* from Danish *nøjagtighed* ‘exactness’), and words ending in *-ilsi* with 190 instances (e.g. *begávilsilsi* from Danish *begavelse* ‘gifts’; *dannilsilsi* from Danish *dannelse* ‘culture’; *forelskilsilsi* from Danish *forelskelse* ‘love, falling in love’; *forstoppilsilsi* from Danish *forstoppelse* ‘constipation’).

In the standardization of Faroese the substitution of foreign suffixes by suffixes which are more Faroese in origin has played an important role. For example, this is the case for the previously mentioned suffix *-heit* which is frequently substituted by *-leiki*; e.g. Danish *evighed* > *ævinleiki* ‘eternity’, Danish *sandhed* > *sannleiki* ‘truth’, Danish *dumhed* > *býttleiki* ‘stupidity’. The suffix *-lighed* is in some cases exchanged with *-ligleiki*: Danish *udødelighed* > *ódeyðiligleiki* ‘immortality’, Danish *uforgængelighed* > *óforgeingiligleiki* ‘indestructibility, imperishableness’, Danish *elendighed* > *ússaligleiki* ‘poverty’, Danish *inderlighed* > *inniligleiki* ‘sincerity’. Other Faroese words of this type without direct Danish equivalents are, for example, *ðhøgligleiki* (Danish *ubekvemhed* ‘un-comfortableness’) and *ræðuligleiki* (Danish *frygtelighed, forskrækkelighed* ‘frightfulness, awfulness’). However, it should be added that in colloquial language one often meets unstandardized forms such as, for example, *evigheit* (Danish *evighed* ‘eternity’), *sannheit* (Danish *sandhed* ‘truth’), *býttheit* (Danish *dumhed* ‘stupidity’), *ódeyðiligkeit* (Danish *udødelighed* ‘immortal-

ity'), *óforgeingiligheit* (Danish *uforgængelighed* 'indestructibility, imperishableness'), *ússaligheit* (Danish *elendighed* 'poverty'), *inniligheit* (Danish *inderlighed* 'sincerity').

Another example of this substitution process in the context of standardization can, for example, be found in FO-1998, where there is the tendency to leave out the form *-ilsi* and replace it with *-ing*: *upplivilsi* > *uppliving* (Danish *oplevelse* 'experience'), *áminnilsi* > *áminning* (Danish *påmindelse* 'reminder, warning'), *ájáttilsi* > *ájátting* (Danish *samtykke* 'consent'), *forláttilsi* > *fyrigeving* (Danish *forladelse, tilgivelse* 'forgiveness'), *hendilsi* > *hending* (Danish *hændelse* 'event'), *játtilsi* > *játting*, *játtan* (Danish *indrømmelse* 'consent, confession'), *njóttilsi* > *njótting* (Danish *nydelse* 'enjoyment'). It is not explicitly stated that forms with *-ing* should be preferred over forms with *-ilsi*. However, this interpretation is implicit in the hierarchy of definitions: forms with *-ing* are listed as the main forms; forms with *-ilsi* are often defined as belonging to the spoken language. In other cases, the forms with *-ilsi* cannot be replaced with *-ing* because they are semantically different, e.g. *stavilsi* (Danish *stavelse* 'syllable') vs. *staving* (Danish *stavning, skrivemåde* 'spelling'), *skapilsi* (Danish *skikkelse* 'form, figure') vs. *skaping* (Danish *skabelse* 'creation'), and *líknilsi* (Danish *lignelse* 'parable') vs. *líkning* (Danish *ligning* 'assessment').

The standardization of loanwords

In Faroese language standardization there is a need for guidelines which specify the procedures for incorporating new words into the lexicon. Traditionally, Faroese language standardization has followed a strictly purist approach and was very reluctant to accept loanwords into the written language. However, the bilingual dictionaries (which came out in the 1990s, i.e. English-Faroese Dictionary 1992, Danish-Faroese Dictionary 1995 and Danish-Faroese Dictionary 1998) made it necessary to find a solution to this problem. Among the new loanwords which will need a standardized Faroese form are those words which in Danish (and English) end in *-tion*. The question is whether to spell the suffix *-tión* (historical, archaic variant), or *-sjón* (modern variant, reflecting Faroese pronunciation). The above mentioned dictionaries display different practices. Here we will only look at how two Danish-Faroese dictionaries (from 1995 and 1998 respectively) have solved the problem.

In the Faroese section of the 1995 edition there are 103 instances of words with this ending. Without exception they are written with *-tión*, e.g. *funktión* (Danish *funktion* 'function'), *inflatió*n (Danish *inflation* 'inflation'), *konfirmatió*n (Danish *konfirmation* 'confirmation'), *motió*n (Danish *motion* 'exercise'), *reaktió*n (Danish *reaktion* 'reaction, response'), *restratió*n (Danish *restauration, restaurant* 'restaurant'), *variatió*n (Danish *variation* 'variation, variety'). The Faroese section of the 1998 edition does not have as many words of this type, but here both spellings

occur. The choice of the spelling variants does not appear to follow a specific pattern or regularity and includes forms such as *funksjón*, *inflasjón*, *konfirmasjón*, *motiÓN*, *reaktiÓN*, *restauratiÓN*, *variatiÓN*. The reason for choosing the *-tiÓN* type might reflect the fact that adoption of the foreign word into Faroese is not yet fully completed. The archaic spelling is used to demonstrate that the word is of foreign origin. Another possibility is that *-tiÓN* is chosen for historical (etymological) and aesthetic reasons. By choosing the spelling *-sjÓN* the foreign word is adapted more closely to the Faroese pronunciation and the foreign origin of the word is less marked. It has been mentioned above that the Faroese Dictionary (FO-1998) plays an authoritative role in the standardization of the language, but for this particular question it does not provide much help as the dictionary has only three head words of this type, all of which are written with *-tiÓN* (that is, they don't reflect the pronunciation spelling *-sjÓN*). The words are *auktiÓN* (Danish *auktion* 'auction, sale'), *funktiÓN*, and *konfirmatiÓN*. The word *pensjÓN* (Danish *pension* 'pension') is written with *-sjÓN*, but this spelling is supported by the Danish form of the word, which is also written *-sion*.

Etymology and loanwords – a dilemma

If we take a closer look at the general position of the FO-1998 towards orthographic standardization we may say that it is faced with a dilemma.

In some instances the dictionary has made changes to the spelling of words in accordance with the etymology of these words, that is, the words have been given a spelling which reflects their historical origin more closely. Some of these changes go back to previous editions of the FDO. Examples of such changes include (the second forms are the etymological ones):

doyin > *doyðin* 'weight'; *leggja doyðin á* 'attach importance/weight to'
funnvísur > *fundvísur* 'who easily finds something'
troðka > *troka* 'force, push'

It is characteristic of several of the abandoned forms that they are closer to the pronunciation of modern Faroese. The new etymological spellings thus move away from the current pronunciation and risk leading to a reading pronunciation (examples include *klibbari* > *klyvberi* 'cleft saddle'; *skortna* > *skorpna* 'dry up'; *drobbløðra* > *droyrbloðra* 'blood-blister').

On the other hand, the FO-1998 has adopted loanwords by changing their spelling so that they match more closely the pronunciation of these words in Faroese. In this way the etymological principle is in many cases dropped in favour of an attempt to give the words a kind of phonetic spelling. Examples of this include: *gir* 'gear', *vesi* 'WC', *greyppfrukt* 'grapefruit', *bakkur* 'back' [in football],

djassur ‘jazz’, *djús* ‘juice’, *hippi* ‘hippie’, *drøgg* ‘drug’, *kips* ‘chips’, *koddendi* ‘cod end’, *leys* ‘lace’, *nailon* ‘nylon’, *rokkur* ‘rock’, (*at*) *slóa* ‘(to) slow’, *spitari* (Danish *speeder* ‘accelerator’), *tekk* ‘teak’, *treylari* ‘trailer’, *tvein* ‘twine’, *tvist* ‘twist’, *vist* ‘whist’. This practice does have a certain tradition in Faroese as can be illustrated with examples such as *skeilett* ‘skylight’, *breitil* ‘bridle’, *keys* ‘casing’ and *tóv* ‘tow’ which have been borrowed from English in connection with fishing. DFO-95 has also quite a few word forms of this kind. However, many of the spellings did not meet with universal approval when the dictionary was first published. This goes for spellings such as *kovboy* ‘cowboy’, *sjalu* (Danish *jaloux*, ‘jealous’), *desain* ‘design’, *nivo* (Danish *niveau*, ‘level’), *intrisja* ‘intrigue’, *mannikeng* (Danish *mannequin*, ‘dummy’).

Standardization and variation

Another characteristic of the FO-1998 is the large number of regional words which have been included as head words. Out of a total of 65 691 entries the indication “(stb.)” — which means that the entry represents a local word — is found with 3841 lexical items. Together with words from specific villages the dictionary includes an estimated total of 5000 local words. The inclusion of these regional words was not the result of a specific editorial decision. However, since Faroese received its orthographic and lexical norm (which could otherwise have had a standardizing effect on the language) relatively late, variation in the vocabulary has traditionally played a great role in Faroese.

The question of vocabulary continues to be a subject of discussion in the Faroese speech community. Especially common are discussions about what constitutes good and bad usage. The main viewpoints typically represent a purist view of language which wishes to limit the amount of foreign words, and a more liberal language view which is open to loanwords. As far as the dictionaries are concerned, many people feel that they favour a more purist attitude which stresses a “sanitized” written language, rather than a liberal attitude which is more open to the inclusion of common words from everyday language. Critics of the dictionaries have noted that a more or less conscious attempt is being made to ignore some recent loanwords which belong to the everyday language in order to safeguard the “purity” of the Faroese language (cf. for example Thomsen 1998: 26ff). The criticism is based on a claim that the lexicographers tend to favour a purist approach in their work and prefer to ignore the evolving linguistic reality. This purist orientation can cause problems for users of the dictionaries. It is possible that a gap might develop between the vocabulary found in the dictionaries, and the vocabulary people actually use in their daily lives. Therefore one should probably be careful when equating the linguistic standards found in the dictionaries with the standards

otherwise found in society. The current situation leaves much to be desired even though newer dictionaries (among them the 1995 and 1998 edition of the DFO) try to reduce the lexical gap between written and spoken language.

Before we end this section we wish to comment briefly on standard and variation in general. The main difference between the dialects is found in the sound system. The Faroese speech community is traditionally rather tolerant with regard to variation in pronunciation, doubtless also because the difference cannot be seen in the etymological orthography. The capital of the Faroe Islands, Tórshavn, is a kind of melting pot when it comes to variation in pronunciation since people representing all of the Faroese dialects meet here. On the other hand, it seems that people are less tolerant when it comes to variation in grammar (e.g. inflectional endings) or lexical variation (e.g. words that have different gender in the dialects and consequently varying forms, e.g. *lomvigi* (m.) vs. *lomviga* (f.) ‘guillemot’; *køkur* (m.) vs. *køk* (f.) ‘kitchen’; cf. also Weyhe 1991b: 16ff, see also Section 2).

Technical language

The principles for the formation of words are the same in the technical language as in the colloquial language (cf. the four methods mentioned above). The most common methods are compounding and semantic loans or loan translations. However, it is also possible to use the derivation method. The method of attaching new meaning to existing words is also used in the formation of technical terms. Again, borrowing is considered an emergency solution. Hybrids are not recommended by Faroese terminologists.

On the Faroe Islands the development of specific technical vocabulary is considered to be a part of the general language policy; as such, it is governed by the same normative and purist approach which characterizes lexicographic efforts in general.⁵ One of the consequences of the general purist orientation is that differences can arise between the prescribed norms and the actual use within the subject area (an example of this are the terms used in Hans Debes Joensen’s book on physics, cf. Alisfrøði 1969). The prescribed terms often do not achieve norm status among professionals who prefer using the internationally established terminology — perhaps in a slightly adapted form in pronunciation, inflection, etc.

During the 1900s Faroese was elaborated in a number of subject areas. At the same time, since Faroese was used more and more in speech and writing, the need for the formation of new words grew. Corpus planning was thus a consequence of status planning: the more functions the language fulfilled in society, the more corpus work was needed.

Rasmus Rasmussen

The Faroese teacher Rasmus Rasmussen (1871–1962) wrote a Faroese text book on geometry for use in the newly (in 1899) established folk high school.⁶ The book, however, was never published. This material is interesting because the terms Rasmussen employs are very unusual compared to later Faroese word formation. He makes use of international terms instead of domestic neologisms, that is, the lexical purist principle for word formation is not present in his work. Instead he includes many Danish words, using a spelling which has been approximated to the Faroese system, and which marks gender and Faroese inflectional endings. Examples of this morphological and phonological purism are: *cirkul* (m.) (Danish *cirkel* ‘circle’), *diametur* (m.) (Danish *diameter* ‘diameter’), *diagonalur* (m.) (Danish *diagonal* ‘diagonal’), *explementvinkul* (m.) (Danish *eksplementvinkel* ‘explementary angle’), *figurur* (m.) (Danish *figur* ‘figure’), *geometri* (f.) (Danish *geometri* ‘geometry’), *komplimentvinkul* (m.) (Danish *komplementvinkel* ‘complimentary angle’), *kongruentur* (adj.) (Danish *kongruent* ‘congruent’), *parallellar linjur* (f. pl.) (Danish *parallele linjer* ‘parallel lines’), *periferi* (f.) (Danish *periferi* ‘circumference, periphery’), *segment* (n.) (Danish *segment* ‘segment’), *sektor* (m.) (Danish *sektor* ‘sector’), *supplementvinkul* (m.) (Danish *supplementvinkel* ‘supplemental angle’), *symmetriskur* (adj.) (Danish *symmetrisk* ‘symmetrical’), *tangentur* (m.) (Danish *tangent* ‘tangent’), *vinkul* (m.) (Danish *vinkel* ‘angle’). An example of phonological purism, that is, the adaptation of the loanword to Faroese phonology, is *plánur* (m.) (Danish *plan* ‘plan’). One of the few neologisms is the word *slóð* which describes a moveable point (Jacobsen 2001b: 44).

Rasmussen’s book on geometry was written shortly after the establishment of the Faroese orthographic norm. He also published the first Faroese textbook on botany in 1910; a book which is considered a seminal work of Faroese terminology. With this publication Rasmussen established a carefully prepared terminology which has been in use in this field ever since (Jacobsen 2001b: 44–45).

Some later terminologists

The elaboration of Faroese technical language continued. In the 1930s Mikkjal á Ryggi’s book on zoology (for use in the primary and lower secondary schools) came out and set a standard for that particular area. In 1960 Jóhs. av Skarði published a list of administrative and governmental terms. Unlike the educational books of R. Rasmussen and M. á Ryggi, Jóhs. av Skarði’s word list was intended as a proper list of technical terms with the aim to establish the Faroese terms in this field. However, the word list is in many ways similar to a colloquial Danish-Faroese dictionary and includes many words from everyday language; that is, its purpose was as much

general language standardization as it was improvement of communication within the government and the administration, and its aim was as much of a symbolic nature as it was instrumentalist. The list is a forerunner of Jóhs. av Skarði's Danish-Faroese Dictionary from 1967. Another work of terminology that should be mentioned is Sigurð Joensen's list of legal terms (unpublished). Sigurð Joensen was a lawyer and for many years a member of the Faroese Language Committee. One of Sigurð Joensen's contemporaries was the geologist Jóannes Rasmussen, who developed a Faroese geological terminology (available on www.fmn.fo). The medical officer Hans Debes Joensen wrote a book on physics, *Alisfrøði*, in 1969. Another terminologist of that generation was Hanus við Høgadalásá who published a Faroese list of postal terms, which also featured Danish and French equivalents, in 1944.

Jóhs. av Skarði, Sigurð Joensen, Jóannes Rasmussen, Hans Debes Joensen and Hanus við Høgadalásá were contemporaries (born between 1911 and 1913; *Rithøvundabókin* 1995). With the exception of Jóhs. av Skarði, they made up part of the Faroese diaspora studying in Denmark during the war. They got together abroad and discussed culture and language. People living abroad often see their native country in a new light and realize things about it that never occurred to them before. The feeling of being a foreigner in a new environment can create solidarity among minority groups with a common culture and language (Debes 1991: 14). In this context the foundation of the Faroese Student Society (see below) and of Faroese periodicals took place. Periodicals such as *Búgvín*, *Jól uttanlendis* and *Útiseti*, which were published during the war, have had great importance for the development of a modern Faroese written language. On the Faroe Islands the newspaper *Føringatíðindi* was very influential as a mediator of new thoughts and ideas (Debes 1991: 22). Incidentally, the nineteenth century Faroese national movement was also a phenomenon of the Faroese student diaspora in Denmark (see below).

It is also possible to consider the foundation of the Faroese radio as a diaspora phenomenon supported by Faroese students in Denmark. It was the forerunner for the "Radio of the Faroe Islands" founded in 1957 (cf. Poulsen 1991a: 50). The Association of Faroese Radio Amateurs compiled a Faroese word list with Danish and English equivalents. This group also contributed to the general discussions about technical language elaboration. In an issue of their member's magazine *Oyarin*, they discuss advantages and disadvantages of national and international terminologies. The terms in the word list are almost exclusively domestic neologisms. Among the very few loanwords are *transformari*, *akkumulatorur*, and *katoda*. The members of the Association preferred Faroese neologisms because it is often difficult to adjust the international terminology to Faroese rules of inflection and pronunciation. Concerning the principles for word formation they argue that the use of loanwords should always be a last resort (Oyarin no. 12).

Other word lists of technical terms which have been of great importance to the development and standardization of the Faroese technical language are:

- A word list for computer technology entitled *Nøkur teldorð* ('Some data terms', published 1990).
- A word list for quality management and quality assurance, which is a translation of the international standard *ISO 8402 Quality Management and Quality Assurance Vocabulary* (1996).
- A text book on marketing for the Faroese Business School in Tórshavn with many new Faroese terms (2001).
- A terminology list for the oil business (www.fmn.fo)

A terminology list for literature and linguistics and a Faroese technical dictionary are being worked on. A common feature of these lists of technical terms is that they make extensive use of Faroese neologisms and turn to the use of loanwords only as a last resort. The elaboration of function is performed among others by linguists and terminologists, as well as by writers of both fiction and non-fiction (Vikør 2001: 185). Most Faroese lists of technical terms are a result of a collaboration between linguists and experts.

5. Implementation

Implementation is the process of establishing the standard language in society. The implementation takes place through, for example, the school system, publishing houses, broadcasting media, institutions such as the church, and other organizations. In chronological order we will now discuss some institutions and organizations which have had great importance for the implementation process of Faroese.

The beginning of the national movement in 1888

We begin our overview of implementation at the end of the 1800s when people got together for the first time to discuss the status of the Faroese language. The national movement on the Faroe Islands began with the so-called "Christmas Meeting" which was held in the house of the Løgting (the parliament) on Boxing Day in 1888. The "organizers" invited people to discuss the preservation of the Faroese language and Faroese customs. Inspired by nationalist sentiments, a resolution was made at the meeting to work for the general improvement of the status of Faroese in the school system, to introduce Faroese as an independent subject in schools, to teach

Faroese history, to use Faroese in the churches and to use Faroese as a means of communication between the population and the administration. This resolution can be characterized as an initiative for status planning; it was an attempt to give Faroese a higher status in society, in the church and in the school system. A concrete result was the setting up of the Faroese folk high school in 1899 (cf. Debes 1982: 163).

Before Hammershaimb created his orthography in the mid-nineteenth century and Faroese thus made its first appearance as a national standard language, the sociolinguistic situation was characterized by significant domain restriction: all written communication took place in Danish, the liturgical language was Danish, the language of administration was Danish; personal names were written in Danish, place names were written in Danish. Following the construction of the Faroese orthographic standard in 1846, the restoration of the Faroese language began, and Faroese gained ground in many old and new domains of communication. We can list some landmarks:

- the publication of Faroese newspapers (from 1890)
- the establishment of a Faroese folk high school (1899)
- Faroese becomes a subject taught at the teacher-training college (1907)
- reading Faroese becomes a compulsory subject taught in school (1912)
- writing Faroese becomes a compulsory subject taught in school (1920)
- all teachers must complete a course in Faroese before they are appointed (1931)
- translation of the New Testament (1937)
- Faroese is placed on equal footing with Danish as a language of instruction (1938)
- Faroese is placed on equal footing with Danish as the liturgical language (1939)
- Faroese is recognized as the principal language of the Islands (1948)
- publication of the complete Faroese Bible translation (1949)
- establishment of a Faroese radio station (1957)
- Faroese place names are standardized in accordance with Faroese orthography (1960)
- publication of the Faroese hymn book and church Bible (1961)
- establishment of a Faroese television station (1984)
- establishment of the Faroese Language Committee (1985)
- the Faroese Law of Personal Names is passed by parliament (1992)

The Faroese Student Society

The Faroese Student Society, which was founded in Copenhagen in 1910, was actively involved in the restoration and standardization of the Faroese language. The society published Faroese literature including, among other works, the first

Faroese poetry collection (*Yrkingar*) by J. H. O. Djurhuus in 1914. It took part in the dispute about a standardized spelling of Faroese place names. In 1924 it published a booklet with Faroese place names and in the same year a book on the spelling of place names. The society took an active part in the discussions about Faroese as a language of instruction in the school system. The forerunner of this society was the student society *Grani* which was founded in 1901 to ‘make the language supple’ i.e. to further the functional elaboration of Faroese through, for example, the creation of technical language registers. At one meeting of the *Grani* society it was decided that J. Dahl should write a Faroese grammar. The grammar was published in 1908. As a text book the Faroese grammar had great importance for the development of a Faroese standard morphology. In 1937 the Student Society published a pamphlet which called for changing “\$7” (§7 in the Education Act stated that the language of instruction must be Danish). The law was changed in 1938.

The Faroese Language Society (*Føroya Málfelag*)

The first group to be concerned with Faroese language planning on the Faroe Islands was the Faroese Language Society (established 1933). However, the society disintegrated after a relatively short time: the last annual general meeting was held in 1941, and in 1949 an unsuccessful attempt was made to re-establish the society. The aims of the society were similar to those of the Faroese Student Society, that is, to develop the Faroese language so that it could be used in all areas of Faroese society, to give the language statutory rights in all matters, to give guidance on the use of written Faroese, and to publish books which could serve as a model for how to express oneself in writing. The society’s aims thus included both corpus planning and status planning activities (cf. Poulsen 1991a: 49–50). Great importance was attached to the creation of lists of technical terms in Faroese, and committees were set up, for example, for the development of terminologies in the areas of trade, shipping, agriculture, medicine, jurisprudence, schools, engineering, etc. In retrospect, we can note that not all of the society’s terminology committees completed the desired word lists. However, the society published a manual for letter writing (1934), a small literary history by Chr. Matras (1935), and a small colloquial Faroese-Danish and Danish-Faroese dictionary with the title *Yrkisnøvn*, (‘technical terms’, 1937).

The Language Institute at the Faroese Society of Sciences (*Málstovnur Føroya Fróðskaparfelags*)

The same people who were active in the Danish diaspora continued with their work after their return to the Faroe Islands. In 1952 the Faroese Society of Sciences (*Føroya*

Fróðskaparfelag) was founded, and one of the main objectives of the society was to publish *Fróðskaparrit*, a scientific journal written entirely in Faroese, in order to develop Faroese as a language of science. This was a continuation of the fundamental aim of the Faroese Language Society to meet the linguistic demands of the modern world. Another goal of the society was also to establish a Faroese scientific institution. In 1965 the *Fróðskaparsetur Føroya* (or *Academia Færoensis*, later *Universitas Færoensis*) was founded (Joensen 1990). Another, equally important, aim was to work towards language standardization and language maintenance: the Language Institute at the Faroese Society of Science (*Málstovnur Føroya Fróðskaparfelags*) was founded in 1958 as a private organization. Its function was to give linguistic advice and to publish lists of technical terms.

The actual reason for the establishment of the Language Institute was the necessity of creating Faroese words and scientific terms in connection with the *Fróðskaparrit* journal. The necessary Faroese vocabulary was not always at hand and there was a great need for new Faroese words. One of the first initiatives of the Language Institute was the re-publication of the Faroese-Danish Dictionary (1961) by M. A. Jacobsen and Chr. Matras, whose first edition came out in 1927–28. The Faroese Government (*Føroya Landsstýri*) financed the publication under the condition that the profit from the sales went to the Dictionary Foundation (*Orðabókagrunnurin*) which has since then financed many Faroese dictionary publications.

The Faroese Radio (*Útvarp Føroya*)

The Faroese Radio (established in 1957) initially supported a kind of standard Faroese pronunciation based on the Southern Streymoy dialect, and newsreaders pronounced the unstressed vowels in accordance with the orthography (and not according to the various dialectal pronunciations). However, the principle of using a standard Faroese pronunciation in radio broadcasts was later abandoned. In the beginning there was also an attempt to restore the old Nordic way of counting (for example *sjeytifimm* ‘seventy-five’ instead of the *fimm og hálvfjerðs* of the spoken language, which is in accordance with Danish *fem og halvfjerds*), but this never became the standard. In 1997 the following conclusion was reached at a meeting:

The Radio should attempt to use a living Faroese language. The language must be light and understandable and should be neither unnecessarily formal nor trivialized. The language must by no means prevent the listeners from getting a word in or from understanding the radio broadcasts. (Jacobsen 2001a: 50; the passage has been translated from Danish)

About the dialects it is stated: “The language of the radio should reflect the fact that there are different dialects on the Faroe Islands, and the radio should protect the richness of the dialects” (*op.cit.*). The principle of a standard pronunciation has clearly been rejected. Today all broadcasters are allowed to use their (mutually intelligible) dialects.

The Faroese television (*Sjónvarp Føroya*)

Sjónvarp Føroya was founded in 1984. On 13 January 2001 the then minister of cultural affairs submitted a proposal for changes in the law of the *Løgting* about radio and television. In the notes for the proposal the minister put forward some thoughts on language and the linguistic influence from television media. The minister pointed out that with the present development in the media it is necessary to strengthen Faroese television as a cultural institution and a cultural transmitter, because the Faroese language and culture are under great pressure from foreign language mass media. The production of Faroese programs and the broadcasting of high quality foreign programs with Faroese subtitles is thus very important. The objective was that Faroese programs should make up half of the total broadcasting time by 1 January, 2003. Great importance is attached to strengthening the position of the Faroese language in television programs, especially for children and teenagers. According to the program guidelines, the television should try to use a “living” Faroese language, i.e. the language should be easily understandable and not unnecessarily formal. With regard to the dialects it is said that the television should reflect the fact that there are many dialects on the Faroe Islands, and that the television should protect the linguistic treasure of the dialects (the same wording as the one for the radio).

The Faroese Language Committee (*Føroyska málnevndin*)

In 1985 the Faroese Language Committee (*Føroyska málnevndin*) was established. It is similar in structure and function to the other Nordic language councils. However, the statutes of the committee are most similar to that of the Icelandic Language Council and express a pronounced purist and normative orientation. The Language Committee is a publicly financed entity, whose aim is the development and preservation of the Faroese language. The Faroese Language Committee provides public institutions and the general public with advice and information on questions concerning the Faroese language. The Language Committee also collects and records new Faroese words and helps to select and create new words. According to the statutes, the Committee is also required to detect any “incorrect” usage

that may appear, and should attempt to prevent such usage from becoming the norm. The Language Committee works together with other terminology institutions, and has a secretariat with a full-time position for a secretary, who answers linguistic questions from public institutions and individuals. The most typical question to the Language Committee is: what is this or that called in Faroese? It is emphasized in the statutes that the Language Committee should co-operate with the media and other relevant institutions (e.g. central administration and schools). The Language Committee receives many enquiries, mostly via telephone and e-mail. According to the statutes, one of the functions of the Language Committee is to answer questions about personal names and place names. Since the establishment of the Committee of Personal Names in 1992 (see below), the issue of personal names has been administered by this institution. The chairman of the Committee of Personal Names is a scientific employee at the Institute of Faroese Language and Literature at the University of the Faroe Islands.

The Language Committee has five members who meet once a month in order to discuss the incoming questions. The Government appoints the members based upon recommendations from the National Education Department, the Institute of Faroese Language and Literature at the University of the Faroe Islands, the Faroese Language Teachers' Association, the Faroese Society of Authors and the Faroese Media Union. The Language Committee is elected for four years. The Institute of Faroese Language and Literature at the University of the Faroe Islands provides general linguistic assistance and guidance, and makes its language collections available to the Committee. The secretariat of the Language Committee (*Málstovan*) has rooms at the Institute of Faroese Language and Literature. The Language Committee is a member of the Nordic Language Council where matters of a common Nordic interest are discussed.

In summary, we may say that the present language policy is implemented through the usual channels: dictionaries, grammars, newspapers, radio and television, works of terminology, standard works, text books, schools, through the Language Committee's mouthpiece *Orðafar* and through the daily language counselling performed by the secretariat of the Language Committee.

Personal names

We would like to include a discussion of personal names in this survey because names are indeed an important part of a language. The first "Law of Personal Names" was passed in 1992. A list of approved names was compiled and a Committee of Personal Names was set up to administer the law. One of the principles was that a valid name must be in accordance with the rules of Faroese orthography, pronunciation and morphological inflection. The Law of Personal Names

from 1992 represents a new linguistic standard. The Law was evaluated after ten years resulting in a revised and more liberal name law which came into force on 1 July, 2002.

In 1989 the Faroese Language Committee gave out a list of personal names. In this list the main emphasis was placed on Old Norse name material; names which were not in accordance with Faroese morphology, orthography and pronunciation were omitted (Poulsen 1989). This policy points back to a previous name list from 1930 (Jacobsen & Matras 1930), the main purpose of which was to make the Faroese use more names of Nordic origin. The name list from 1930 contained names from *The Saga of the Faroe Islanders*, from medieval diplomas as well as Faroese place names and common Nordic names. In 1992 the Committee of Personal Names followed this policy and interpreted it very literally to the great dissatisfaction of many people. The 1992 law was too restrictive towards well-established names which did not fit the strict interpretation of Faroese names. These names — e.g. names of the type *Leif*, *Oluf*, *Erik*, *Joen*, *Jacob*, that is, Danish “versions” of old Faroese names *Leivur*, *Ólavur*, *Eirikur*, *Jógvan*, *Jákup* — have existed in the Faroese name material for several centuries. The more liberal 2002 law allows Danish name forms to a greater degree. It remains, however, a fact that the name list of the Committee of Personal Names favours names of Old Norse origin and supports the Old Norse custom of patronymics.

Place names

Next to personal names, place names were also given Danish versions (for example on maps). However, in the spoken language the place names have always been Faroese. The Danish names given to localities on the Faroe Islands are thus a written language phenomenon. Nevertheless, a considerable effort was made in the first half of the twentieth century to establish Faroese names. The Faroese Student Society in Copenhagen worked hard to standardize Faroese place names. The Danish names were, in many cases, distortions of the original Faroese forms, for example, Danish *Andefjord* for Faroese *Oyndarfjørður*, *Glibre* for *Glyvrrar*, *Myggenæs* for *Mykines*, *Suderø* for *Suðuroy*, etc.

In 1960 a list of Faroese place names (*Listi yvir staðanøvn í Føroyum*) was published. The list has two parts: one with Faroese names and one with Danish names. In the Faroese part there are 1576 names; in the Danish part there are 178 names. The Danish part contains the following localities: groups of islands, the most important islands and promontories, districts, municipalities and villages, the largest lakes and the most important waters. The Committee of Place Names stresses that some of these Danish names are very old and go back to the oldest land registries from the sixteenth century, i.e. they are older than the Faroese written

language. On maps and in other official documents Faroese place names are listed in the Danish form. The Committee of Place Names commented on the list of place names from 1960 as follows:

The Committee of Place Names has aimed to limit the number of Danish place names as much as possible and intends to further reduce it in future editions of the list but, out of consideration for the central administration, it considers it necessary to retain provisionally the Danish names of the most important localities side by side with the Faroese (translated from *Listi yvir staðanøvn í Føroyum* 1960; for further discussion of the standardization of Faroese place names cf. Schmidt 2002: 337).

As far as the standardization of the orthography is concerned, the Committee of Place Names remarks that the Faroese orthography used in the Faroese-Danish dictionary (from 1927–28) has been generally followed. However, they respect the changes approved by the Faroese local education authority in 1954 (see below).

There are different types of place names in Faroese. Concerning the orthography of place names the following rules can be formulated: names consisting of a noun and an adjective are written in one word (e.g. *Langasandur* from *langur* ‘long’ and *sandur* ‘sand’); names with an adjective in the comparative or superlative are written in two words both with a capital letter (e.g. *Heimara Líð* ‘sloop nearer to the village’); names with an enclitic adjective are written in two words, both with a capital letter (e.g. *Gjógvin Litla* ‘cleft the little’); names consisting of a noun plus an adverb plus a noun are written in three words with a capital letter in the nouns (e.g. *Fjalið millum Botna* ‘the mountain between valleys’); names consisting of an adverb plus a preposition plus a noun are written as follows: the adverb with a capital letter, the preposition in lower case and the noun with a capital letter (e.g. *Yviri við Strond* ‘over by seaside’). On current maps of the Faroe Islands (the latest map came out in 1998) there are about 14 000 place names. However, the spelling of the names does not always follow the rules which were established in the list from 1960.

The standard forms of foreign geographical names are found in the publication *Statsnavne og nationalitetsord* ‘State Names and Nationality Words’. The Language Committee has standardized these forms. Work continues to be carried out concerning Faroese place names, including the standardization of these names at the Institute of Faroese Language and Literature at the University of the Faroe Islands.

6. Conclusion: Evaluation and re-codification

Evaluation refers to the analysis of how well the above-mentioned efforts have succeeded in Faroese society. The aim is to assess the degree to which one should

alter or modify standardization initiatives which have not produced the intended results. The standard should be evaluated or revised if it turns out not to be acceptable as a whole, or with regard to individual aspects.

There are some concrete examples of re-codification in the Faroese orthography. Hammershaimb's first edition of the orthography (1846) was less etymological than the orthography used in the grammar (1854) and the Faroese Anthology (1891). In later works further changes occurred. These led to a closer approximation of the orthography to the Old Norse norm. For example, a differentiation was made between <*i*> and <*y*>; the Old Norse diphthong <*au*> (which in 1846 was written <*e*> in short position, e.g. *Esturoi*), was changed to <*ey*> (today the word is written *Eysturoy*, which is the name of one of the islands); <*e*> was changed to <*a*> in front of <*ng*> (e.g. *drangur* 'high projecting rock in the sea'); and the dative ending *-un* was changed to *-um* (Hansen 1991: 6–7). The most radical suggestion for a change in the orthography came in 1889 when Jakobsen introduced his phonetically based orthography which was meant to replace Hammershaimb's etymological orthography. In the late nineteenth century the first newspaper written in Faroese (*Føringatíðindi*) was established, and standardization of the orthography was therefore extremely relevant. The orthography of Hammershaimb had barely had time to stabilize itself as a norm when the new proposal appeared. It was impossible to come to an agreement about which orthography was the best and a compromise called *Broyting* ('change') was made between Hammershaimb's etymological orthography and Jakobsen's phonetic orthography. The new orthography built on the etymological principle with the exception of a few modifications which moved the orthographical standard closer to the pronunciation (Larsen 1991: 11). *Broyting* did not gain ground either. Jakobsen, however, used this compromise consequently in all his later publications.

In the Faroese Anthology from 1891 both <*ø*> and <*ö*> are used, corresponding to the division between *œ* (or *ø*) and *ø* in Old Norse, that is, <*ø*> indicated the i-umlauted vowel, while <*ö*> indicated the u-umlauted vowel (the two have merged in modern Faroese). In the Anthology one can find pairs of homonyms with the two <*ø*>-forms: *öðá* ('a sort of large mussel') and *øðá* ('make angry'). But in the Faroese-Danish dictionary from 1927–28 a distinction is no longer made between the two letters. J. Dahl is the last to keep up the distinction between the two symbols, and he does this, for example, in his translation of the New Testament in 1937; e.g. he writes *brøður* ('brothers') but *föst* (f. sg./pl. to *fastur* 'firm').

In 1954 further changes were made to the orthography. One of the aims was to introduce common features of the spoken language into the written standard language. The changes were suggested by a committee set up by the *Løgting*. The changes included the simplification of double consonants preceding a consonantal inflectional ending, e.g. *tunnur* 'thin' but *tunt* (viz. *tunn+t*), *kann* (present singular

of the verb *kunna*, ‘could’) but *kanst* (viz. *kann+st*). The reform also introduced the optional forms of *eingin/ongin* ‘no one, none’. Another change was to accept the *ir-*forms used in the spoken language as variants of the archaic *-i-*forms in the plural of strongly inflected neuter nouns, e.g. *stykkir* next to *stykki* ‘pieces, bits’. At the end of the 1954 announcement the committee explicitly allowed for spelling variation:

It is noted that the Faroese orthography in the schools will in the future be determined in accordance with the above points. This means that every pupil, to the degree to which the orthography in relation to the above mentioned points is optional, can freely choose which of the optional forms he wishes to use, without this being considered a mistake on the part of the pupil. (Translated from Danish).

The Faroese by and large agree on the present orthography despite the large difference between pronunciation and spelling. Nevertheless, during the 1990s suggestions have been made to change the spelling in a direction which brings it closer to the pronunciation.

Notes

* This article was translated from the original Danish text by Maria Novrup, University of Copenhagen. The translation has been edited by Ana Deumert and Wim Vandebussche.

1. This was a ring dance performed without accompanying music: dancers held hands while singing ballads under the leadership of a “songleader”. This dance is rooted in the medieval European dance tradition and has survived until the present day on the Faroe Islands.
2. Scandinavism was a movement with the aim to demonstrate the linguistic relationships between the languages of the Nordic countries.
3. The statutes of the *Association* state that neologisms should be used in the publications of the society instead of loanwords. Loanwords which were found in thirteenth and fourteenth century texts, however, were accepted in those cases where better or more “beautiful” Icelandic words did not exist (Ottósson 1990: 42).
4. *-lighed* combines two suffixes: *-lig* turns a word into an adjective (cf. English *-ly*), whereas *-hed* is a noun marker.
5. The Icelandic terminologist Sigurður Jónsson claims that the demand for neologisms (rather than borrowings) is an obstruction to terminology work in Iceland, i.e. purism makes it difficult to develop a well functioning Icelandic terminology. In his opinion, the technical terms should not be national but international (Jónsson 1990).
6. The folk high school is an examination free educational institution for adults, primarily aimed at ”personal development”.

References

- 25 ára minnisrit. 1910–20. september–1935. 1935. Keyppannahavn: Hitt Føroyska Studentafelagið í Keyppannahavn.
- Árnason, K. 2001. “Language planning and the structure of Icelandic”. Handout from: *Standardisering og variation i vestnordisk*. Symposium supported by the foundation ‘Vera och Greta Oldbergs stiftelse’. Långholmen, 5–7 October 2001.
- Bandle, O. 1982. “Sociolingvistiska strukturer i de nordiska språken. Om förhållandet mellan standard, regionala språk och dialekt”. In *Talspråksforskning i Norden*, M. Thelander (ed.), 33–50. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Dahl, J. 1908. *Føroysk mál læra til skúlabrúks*. Keyppannahavn og Kristiania: Hitt føroyska bókmentafelagið.
- Debes, H. J. 1982. *Nú er tann stundin... Tjóðskaparrøsla og sjálvstýrispolitikkur til 1906 við søguligum baksýni*. Tórshavn: Føroya Skúlabókagrunnur.
- Debes, H. J. 1990. *Føroya søga*. Tórshavn: Føroya Skúlabókagrunnur.
- Debes, H. J. 1991. “Tjóðskaparrøsla sum søguligt fyrbrigdi og granskingarevni”. *Fróðskaparrit* 36–37: 8–27.
- Djupedal, R. 1964. “Litt om framvoksteren av det færøyske skriftmålet”. In *Skriftspråk i utvikling. Tiårsskrift for Norsk språknemd 1952–1964*, A. Hellevik and E. Lundeby (eds), 144–186. Oslo: Norsk språknemnd.
- Grundtvig, S. 1877–88. *Lexicon Færoense I-III*. Compiled by Jørgen Bloch. København.
- Hammershaimb, V. U. 1854. “Færøisk sproglære”. *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*: 233–316.
- Hammershaimb, V. U. 1891. *Færøsk Anthologi I-II*. Word collection and register compiled by Jakob Jakobsen. København.
- Hansen, Z. S. 1991. “Um skriftmálið”. *Málting* 3: 2–7.
- Hansen, Z. S. 1997. “Leksikografi i et lille sprogsamfund — fordele og ulemper”. In *LexicoNordica* 4, H. Bergenholtz and S. G. Malmgren (eds), 31–39. Oslo: Nordisk forening for leksikografi i samarbejde med Nordisk sprogråd.
- Haugen, E. 1972. *The Ecology of Language*. Selected and introduced by A. S. Dil. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Jacobsen, J. í Lon. 1999. “Udenlandske navne i det færøske atlas”. In *Utanlandske namn i Norden. Norna-rapporter 68. Rapport frå NORNA's tjuesjette symposium i Oslo 28.-30 mai 1997*, B. Helleland and L. Nilsson (eds), 21–30. Uppsala: Norna-förlaget i samarbejde med Nordisk sprogråd.
- Jacobsen, J. í Lon. 2001a. “Standardfærøsk eller standard i færøsk?” *Sprog i Norden* 2001: 47–65.
- Jacobsen, J. í Lon. 2001b. “Hugburður til føroysk yrkisorð”. In *Málfregnir* 20, A. P. Kristinsson (ed.), 43–51. Reykjavík: Íslensk málnefnd.
- Jacobsen, J. í Lon, Hansen, Z. S., Johansen, A., Staksberg, M. and Petersen, H. P. 2001. “Udredning om domænetab og sprogpoltiske initiativer i færøsk”.
<http://siu.no/vev.nsf/info/Internasjonalisering-NordmalForum2001-E4BB6>
- Jacobsen, M. A. and Matras, C. 1927–28. *Føroysk-donsk orðabók*. Tórshavn: Varðin.

- Jacobsen, M. A. and Matras, C. 1930. *Føroysk fólkanøvn. Navnalisti til leiðbeiningar*. Tórshavn: Varðin.
- Jacobsen, M. A. and Matras, C. 1961. *Føroysk-donsk orðabók*. Second edition. Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.
- Joensen, J. P. 1990. *Fróðskaparsetur Føroya 1965–1990. Stutt søguligt yvirlit á 25 ára degnum 20. mai 1990*. Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.
- Jóhannesarson, T. and Joensen, H. 1999. “Álmanakkin hjá Keypmannahavnar lærda háskúla”. *Varðin* 66: 7–21.
- Jónsson, S. 1990. “Är kravet på neologismer ett hinder för terminologiarbetet?”. In *Terminologi, edb och vidensteknik*, H. Picht (ed.), 205–212. Varde: Nordtermsymposium 1989.
- Kristinsson, A. P., Helgadóttir, S. and Jónsson, S. 1991. *Leiðbeiningar fyrir orðanefndir. Íslensk málstöð*. Reykjavík: Íslensk málnefnd.
- Larsen, K. 1991. “Eitt stavsetingaruppskot”. *Málting* 2: 2–12.
- Larsen, K. 1993. “Hin fyrsti málreinsarin”. *Málting* 9: 12–19.
- Listi yvir staðanøvn í Føroyum*. 1960. Útgivið hevur Stednavneudvalget. Góðkent hevur rikismálaráðið.
- Lockwood, W. B. 1955. *An Introduction to Modern Faroese*. København: Føroya Skúlabókgagnur.
- Matras, C. 1929. “Hin føroyski málspurningurin og støða hans í norrønum nýreisingarverki”. *Varðin* 9: 46–59.
- Matras, C. 1939. *Svabos færøske Visehaandskrifter*. København: Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur.
- Matras, C. 1934. *Lítill brævabók*. Tórshavn: Føroya Málfeleg.
- Matras, C. 1935. *Føroysk bókmentasøga*. Tórshavn: Føroya Málfeleg.
- Matras, C. 1951. *Det færøske skriftsprog af 1846*. (= *Scripta Islandica. Isländska sällskapetets årsbok* 2/1951). Uppsala og Stockholm. København.
- Ottósson, K. G. 1990. *Íslensk málhreinsun. Sögulegt yfirlit*. Reykjavík: Íslensk málnefnd.
- Petersen, H. P. and Staksberg, M. 1995. *Donsk-føroysk orðabók*. Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.
- Poulsen, J. H. W. 1985. “Orðagerð á heimligum støði”. *Sprog i Norden*: 46–56.
- Poulsen, J. H. W. 1989. *Fólkanøvn. Úrval til leiðbeiningar*. Tórshavn: Føroyska málnevndin.
- Poulsen, J. H. W. 1990. *Nøkur teldorð*. Tórshavn: Føroyska málnevndin.
- Poulsen, J. H. W. 1991a. “Føroyska málnevndin”. *Fróðskaparrit* 36–37: 39–56.
- Poulsen, J. H. W. 1991b. “Hugleiðingar um málrøktarmannin Chr. Matras”. *Málting* 1: 4–14.
- Poulsen, J. H. W. et al. 1998. *Føroysk orðabók*. Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.
- Poulsen, S. 1996. *Góðskuleiðsla og góðskutrygging*. Tórshavn: Menningarstovan.
- Rafn, C. C. (ed.). 1832. *Færeyínga saga eller Færøboernes Historie i den islandske Grundtext med færøisk og dansk Oversættelse*. Kjøbenhavn.
- Rasmussen, R. 1936. *Føroya Flora*. Tórshavn: Føroya Málfeleg.
- Rithøvundabókin*. 1995. Tórshavn: Rithøvundafelag Føroya.
- Sandøy, H. 1997. “Purisme i færøysk”. In *Purisme på norsk?* Norsk språkråds skrifter No. 4, 39–45. Oslo: Norsk språkråd.
- Schmidt, T. 2002. “Hitt føroyska studentafelagið og arbeidet for færøyske stedsnavn”. In

- Eivindarmál. Heiðursrit til Eivind Weyhe á seksti ára degi hansara 25. apríl 2002*, A. Johansen et al. (eds), 327–338. Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.
- Schroter, J. H. 1823. *Evangelium Sankta Matthæussa aa Førisk o Dansk*. Randers: Det danske Bibelselskab.
- Simonsen, M. A. 2001. *Leitorðaurval við serligum atliti at orðum við ónorrønum atskoytum*. Unpublished paper. Føroyamálsdeildin. Tórshavn.
- Skårup, P. 1964. *Rasmus Rask og færøsk* (= Færoensia VI). København.
- Skála, A. í et al. 1998. *Donsk-føroysk orðabók*. Tórshavn: Stiðin.
- Svabo, J. C. 1966–70. *Dictionarium Færoense*. Ed. by C. Matras. København: Munksgaard.
- Thomassen, A. 1985. *Færøsk i den færøske skole. Fra århundredeskiftet til 1938*. Odense: The Publication Committee's collection of student papers.
- Thomsen, J. 1998. "Føroysk orðabók". *Málting* 24: 26–37.
- Vannebo, K. I. 2001. "Om begrepenes sproglig standard og sproglig standardisering". *Sprog i Norden*: 119–128.
- Venås, K. 1990. "Etymologisk mot talemålsnær normering. V. U. Hammershaimb og Ivar Aasen — ei jamføring". *Maal og Minne 1990*: 192–200.
- Vikør, L. S. 2001. "Språknormering i ein språkkontaktsituasjon". In *Moderne lingvistiske teorier og færøsk*, K. Braunmüller and J. í Lon Jacobsen (eds), 181–198. Oslo: Novus og Nordisk Sprogråd.
- Weyhe, E. 1987. "Dialekt og standard i færøsk". In *Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of Teachers of Scandinavian Studies in Great Britain and Northern Ireland*, R. D. S. Allan and M. P. Barnes (eds), 298–312. University College London.
- Weyhe, E. 1988. "Færøske dialekter og deres stilling i dag". In *Nordiske studiar. Innlegg på den tredje nordiske dialektologkonferansen 1986*, A. Bjørkum and A. Borg (eds), 139–150. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Weyhe, E. 1991a. "Pluralis af nomina agentis på -ari i færøsk". *Danske folkemål* 33: 263–275.
- Weyhe, E. 1991b. "Nøkur orð um bendingarmun í føroyskum bygdamálum". *Málting* 1:16–22.
- Weyhe, E. 1996a. "Bendingamunur í føroyskum málførum". *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfraði* 18: 71–118.
- Weyhe, E. 1996b. "Genitiven i færøske grammatikker — et problembarn". In *Studier i talesprogsvariation og sprogkontakt. Til Inger Ejekjær på halvfjerdsårsdagen den 20. maj 1996*, 309–320. København: Institut for dansk Dialektforskning.
- Yrkisnøvn*. 1937. Tórshavn: Føroya Málfelag.
- Zachariassen, A. 2001. *Marknaðarføring*. Tórshavn.

Frisian*

Standardization in progress of a language in decay

Eric Hoekstra

Fryske Akademy, The Netherlands

1. Historical background

The first standard of the Frisian language is reflected in documents from the so-called Old Frisian period (c. 1200 to 1550; cf. Bremmer 2001).¹ These surviving manuscripts show a considerable degree of linguistic uniformity. When Old Frisian disappeared from the historical record around 1550, Frisian lost its early standard. During the subsequent Middle Frisian Period (roughly 1550–1800) there are few signs of standardization in the modest written production. The roots of the modern Frisian standard (from 1800 to the present day) lie in the linguistic romanticism of the nineteenth century. Frisian may thus be said to have had an incipient standard language (Old Frisian), to have lost it and to have acquired a new standard. In this paper I will first briefly discuss the Old Frisian standard and then concentrate on the origin and development of the standard of present-day Frisian.

Norm selection, codification, acceptance and decay in Old Frisian

Little is known about the process of norm selection in Old Frisian. However, some indirect evidence may be gleaned from the type of texts that were written in Old Frisian. Old Frisian literature comprises mainly legal texts; most of the remaining documents are historical chronicles which were written for political and/or ideological purposes (Johnston 2001 provides a useful overview of Old Frisian law manuscripts; charters are discussed by Vries 2001a). Apart from legal texts, there are also religious texts, historical texts as well as texts dealing with administrative issues. To the latter category belongs a large collection of charters (i.e. manuscripts

recording privileges and property) as well as municipal records written in Old Frisian. The written tradition of Old Frisian begins in about 1200 (Bremmer 2001). However, the oldest parts of some legal texts (*Santjin kèsten* ‘Seventeen Statutes’ and *Fjouwer-en-tweintich lânrijochten* ‘Twenty-four Land Laws’), as far as their content is concerned, date back to the ninth century, and were allegedly given by Charlemagne (Algra 1991: 205–279). It must be kept in mind that the Old Frisian tradition existed next to the older and more influential tradition of Latin. Latin is therefore the first factor that will have influenced the process of norm selection, especially since most scribes may be assumed to have been versed both in Latin and in Old Frisian. Norm elaboration was not an explicitly conscious process as it often is in the modern age. The rules of the language were not codified in grammars and dictionaries, although there probably existed word lists for pedagogical purposes. An indirect example of the latter are the *Psalmglossen* (‘Psalm glosses’). These are Old Frisian inter-verbal glosses to fragments of Latin psalms. Norm elaboration in the Old Frisian period was mainly a function of the development of new genres of written texts. The legal texts are older (ninth century to thirteenth century), but as the knowledge of writing diffused through the community, chronicles and administrative documents came into existence (thirteenth century to fifteenth century; cf. Johnston 2001). These genres contributed to the diversification of the vocabulary. Moreover, the need to communicate different kinds of information led to the development of standards specific to the text genre at hand. Norm acceptance is in the first place a matter of power and prestige. Translated into the social situation of the northern Netherlands between 1200 and 1550, the influence of Old Frisian can be gleaned from the wide geographical dispersion of manuscripts (roughly in the area between the IJsselmeer in the northern Netherlands and the river Weser in northern Germany). The written norm was most likely put into practice by monks and scribes in the service of secular and religious authorities.

The Old Frisian standard was subsequently affected by norm decay and function loss. Due to shifts in power and prestige, Old Frisian gradually lost its position to the rival standards of Low German (see Langer this volume) and Dutch (see Willemyns this volume). This process has been described and analysed by Vries (1993, 2001b). Frisian was replaced by Dutch in the sixteenth century as far as the written language was concerned, but Frisian remained the spoken language of the country. Nevertheless, because of the status associated with written language and because of the immigration of powerful Dutch-appointed officials, the higher echelons of society regularly spoke Dutch. Moreover, in more formal situations such as church services and court sessions, Dutch was also used as the spoken language.

What were the reasons for the decay of Old Frisian as a written language? First, it should be noted that the Old Frisian writing tradition was not particularly strong, since it existed in the shadow of the all-powerful Latin tradition. Second, there was

hardly any religious or secular literature in Old Frisian, and the socio-cultural basis of the Old Frisian writing tradition was thus very small. Accordingly, when printing came to Frisia, there was not much Old Frisian material available for printing. The only printed book of the fifteenth century is a collection of Old Frisian law texts with Latin glosses. Third, the systematic production of charters and other administrative documents begins rather late, roughly in the sixteenth century, although individual documents had already been produced in the fourteenth century. The late beginning of the systematic production of charters is due to the socio-economic development of Frisia at that time. There was no central political power enforcing control through a written administration, and the Frisian nobility was small and politically insignificant. In fact, Frisia consisted of a number of independent municipalities, which formed a political federation. Frisia was a largely agricultural society and cities, otherwise centres of written administration, developed late and remained comparatively small (on the historical development of Frisian towns cf. Vries 2000). In the years 1499–1504, the municipalities lost their independence to an external power: to the duchy of Saxony (led by Duke Albert of Saxony, later by Duke Georg) until 1515 and to the Burgundian-Habsburgian Empire (led by Charles of Austria, Count of Holland, after Georg sold his rule over Frisia for 100,000 florins) until 1581. Saxony's rule ended municipal independence and is commonly referred to as the end of 'Frisian freedom'. Although Frisian charters are found as early as the fourteenth century, they always exist side by side with Dutch charters, and Dutch was invariably used when charters involved parties from outside Frisia. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Dutch was increasingly used for charters involving parties from within Frisia. Usage varied from city to city. Sometimes the charters were in Dutch, while correspondence about the charters was in Frisian, as was the case with the city of Bolsward. In other words, with the introduction of a centralized government in Frisia (by Charles of Austria, Count of Holland), the importance of administrative writing increased and the language used by that government was Dutch.

A slumbering written language: Middle Frisian²

In the period from 1550 to 1800, Frisian did not have any official status: it was a spoken language and was used mainly in the countryside. The cities had developed their own language, *Stêdsk* ('Town Frisian'), a mixture of Dutch and Frisian. The oldest Town Frisian text dates from 1768 (a play called *Vermaak der Slagtery* by A. Jeltema). Town Frisian came into existence as a result of Frisians attempting to speak Dutch (Fokkema 1937; Jonkman 1993; Van Bree 2001).

Education in Frisia at the time did not lead to native-like proficiency in Dutch. Little is known about the training of scribes. However, the linguistic insufficiency of

their training can be gleaned from the extent to which they mixed the languages involved. It has been pointed out by, for example, Johnston (2001: 592) that some of the Low German manuscripts produced in Frisia were full of Frisian idioms. As most Frisians had no substantial command of Dutch, they transferred the syntactic structures of Frisian into their Dutch, similar to what second language learners do when they acquire a second language imperfectly. In other words, gaps in the knowledge of the target language are filled with linguistic structures which came from the learner's mother tongue (Van Coetsem 1988; Hoekstra 1993). Accordingly, Town Frisian shared most of the sound system and the vocabulary of frequent words, including irregular verbs, with Dutch. With Frisian it shared morphological suffixes, syntax and the vocabulary of infrequent words. The very existence of Town Frisian testifies to the omnipotence of Dutch as a language of prestige and power in Frisia. The Frisian language proper was to a very large extent relegated to the countryside and the lower walks of society.

Nevertheless, some Frisian was still written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the latest Old Frisian writings almost coincide with the oldest Middle Frisian writings, Middle Frisian completely breaks with the orthography and grammar of Old Frisian and presumably reflects the spoken language of that period much more closely than the archaic Old Frisian standard, which the spoken language in its continuous development had long left behind (i.e. by about 1500/1550). There is also a difference in text genres between Old Frisian and Middle Frisian documents. Whereas Old Frisian texts deal primarily with the law, charters and administration, Middle Frisian texts involve secular and spiritual literature.

An important figure of the Middle Frisian period was the Baroque poet Gysbert Japicx (1603–1666). He is the author of most of the surviving Middle Frisian language material. His *Friesche Rymelarye* ('Frisian rhymings', 1668) contain both pastoral and religious poetry. A later edition of his work also includes correspondence and prose translations. In his work Japicx could not fall back on Old Frisian for either subject matter, choice of words or orthography (Halbertsma 1827: 317–319, cited in Breuker 2001a: 712). Not only was there hardly any literature in Old Frisian, but the language had become obsolete by the seventeenth century and the old manuscripts were not easily available. Japicx had to develop his own orthography and his own diction (including both literary style and lexicon). His personal written variety served as a kind of standard language for himself and a small circle of readers, some of whom adopted his spelling conventions. However, this literary standard was isolated within Frisian society where Dutch and Latin were the dominant written languages. Japicx' importance for the development of the Frisian standard language is fourfold. First, the literary quality of his texts made him one of the most important writers of the time (even when compared with the contemporary Dutch and Latin literature in Frisia). Second, he was the most significant

Middle Frisian writer with respect to sheer quantity of textual production: about half of the surviving Middle Frisian material has been written by Japicx. Third, his work kept Frisian alive as a written language by providing a linguistic ‘model’ for later Middle Frisian writers such as, for example, Jan Althuysen (1715–1763). Other writers, like Johannes Hilarides (1649–1725) and Eelke Meinerts (1732–1812), took a more linguistic interest in Japicx’ work. Their writings contributed to linguistic study of Frisian and paved the way for the codification of Frisian at the end of the nineteenth century. Meinerts, for example, contributed directly to the codification of the Frisian language, by propagating a purist attitude towards Dutch loans and advocating the use of common Frisian forms instead of dialectally marked vocabulary (Breuker 2001a: 713). Fourth, in the Romantic age, Japicx’ work served as an inspiring example to those who wanted to revive the Frisian tradition of writing. It was used as evidence by those who claimed that Frisian really was an independent language (not simply a dialect), in which literary work could be written. Despite the stimulus provided by Japicx, the output of the Middle Frisian period remained limited. The fact that only about one million words of Middle Frisian survive cannot be ascribed to a coincidence of history, but provides an indication of the scantiness of the Middle Frisian output. The language was slumbering, and it was not to be reawakened until the nineteenth century.

It was noted by Breuker (2001a: 716) that the study of Middle Frisian has been neglected. There are no dictionaries, grammar or orthographical surveys available. However, the Frisian Academy (www.fa.knaw.nl) will publish all available Middle Frisian texts on the Internet in 2004. The Middle Frisian Language Corpus will include bibliographical and linguistic annotations. The Corpus will provide an important tool for the construction of a Middle Frisian dictionary and a Middle Frisian grammar, which are planned for the subsequent years.

2. Norm selection of Modern Frisian

Historical background³

We can distinguish two major sources for the Romantic revival of Frisian, its study and standardization. The first source is academic. At the end of the eighteenth century, Frisia had a university at Franeker.⁴ The Franeker professor of Greek, Everwinus Wassenbergh (1742–1826) initiated new interest in the study of the work of Japicx. Wassenbergh studied classical influences on the work of Japicx, but was also interested in other aspects of Frisia’s literary and linguistic heritage such as proverbs (there is a collection of Middle Frisian proverbs by Burmania, 1641) and proper names. Some of his students, such as, for example, Ecco Epkema (1759–

1832) carried on Wassenbergh's work. Another academic who deserves to be mentioned in this context is Joost Halbertsma (1789–1869). Halbertsma not only studied the Frisian language, but also produced literary work together with his brother Eeltsje Halbertsma (1797–1858). This relates to the second source of the revival of interest in Frisian which was literary. The Halbertsma brothers published a magazine called *The Lapekoer of Gabe Skroar* ('Tailor Gabe's Ragbag', later reprinted as *Rimen en Teltsjes* 'Rhymes and Tales') which was very popular. It contained poems, songs, short stories as well as cabaret pieces. All texts were written in easily accessible Frisian (characterized, for example, by closeness to spoken language), often with a comical undertone. The contributions by Joost Halbertsma were sometimes more learned than those of his brother Eeltsje, without becoming too academic. Another writer who should be mentioned is Waling Dykstra (1821–1914), who was widely read and very productive. Frisian was once again a language that was written and that was read.

Selection of orthography

When the Halbertsmas began to write in Frisian, they encountered the same problem as Japicx two hundred years earlier: in the absence of a continuous literary tradition, there was no codified language norm available. They solved the problem by taking what they saw as the vernacular of their own time as a starting point. Their orthography is a reasonably adequate attempt to represent the pronunciation of the vernacular. Other Frisian writers chose a different approach. Harmen Sytstra (1817–1862) returned to the norms of Old Frisian for orthography and grammar. The spelling he used was, however, difficult to learn. Other writers used Japicx's orthography. Ultimately a variant of the Halbertsma orthography, which was based on the spoken vernacular, would win out. However, this did not happen until the end of the nineteenth century.

3. Norm codification of Modern Frisian

An important theme in the early history of the codification of the language was the attempt throughout the nineteenth century to arrive at a unified spelling (cf. Folkertsma 1973; also for detailed information about orthography in the nineteenth century). The period of variant spellings came to an end in the late 1870s. In 1879, the *Selscip foar Frysce Taal in Skriftekennise* ('Society for Frisian Language and Literature') adopted the orthography mainly developed by the librarian Gerben Colmjon (1828–1884; Breuker 2001a: 715). In the following years, this spelling was

generally adopted. Colmjon's spelling system was similar to the system proposed by Halbertsma. The 1879 spelling, however, retained some archaic features of the type which abounded in Sytstra's highly archaising spelling system. The adopted spelling system was a compromise between historical and modern spelling principles (Feitsma 1999a: 168). A second hallmark in the history of codification was the dictionary of Frisian produced by Waling Dykstra (1900, 1903, 1911). Joost Halbertsma had attempted to compile a dictionary, but he got no further than the letter F (*Feer* 'feather'). Dykstra's dictionary was the first 'complete' Frisian dictionary and was widely used. It contained many linguistically sophisticated observations with regard to lexical differences between Frisian and Dutch.

Some grammars of Frisian also appeared in the nineteenth century, but they did not have much impact on those writing Frisian. Epkema (1824) wrote a descriptive grammar based on the model of the Dutch grammars of his time. Sytstra (1854) published a prescriptive grammar constructing an ideal Frisian language out of the various dialects and historical stages of the language. A well-written practical grammar written by S. K. Feitsma appeared in 1902. This grammar was widely used for educational purposes. Sipma (1913) published the first English-language grammar of Frisian. By that time, the basis for the elementary codification of the Frisian language as far as grammar was concerned had been laid (see Feitsma 1999b for further information on grammars of Frisian written in that period). The early Frisian grammars are linguistically relatively unrefined. They are, however, a direct reflection of the growing interest in the Frisian language and its codification in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Selection of dialect

(West) Frisia contains three large dialect groups: Clay Frisian in the Northwest, Wood Frisian in the Southeast, and Southwestern Frisian. With respect to morphology and syntax, there are no known differences between the Clay dialect and the other Frisian dialects. As far as lexis is concerned, there are minor differences concerning some vocabulary items, like the word for *swing*, which is *touter* in Clay Frisian, *soeie* in Woods Frisian. In such cases, both variants are allowed, both being different from Dutch (*schommel*).

From the very beginning of the nineteenth century, written Frisian was oriented mainly towards the dialects of Clay Frisian since most of the writers active in the Frisian movement came from this area. Both the Halbertsmas and Waling Dykstra used Clay Frisian. Historically, the Clay area is also the richest part of the province, hence the most powerful and prestigious area; feelings of national identity and pride were also particularly strong in this part of Frisia. As in many other

standard language histories, the dialect associated with the most prestigious and economically as well as culturally influential area came to be selected as the basis of the new standard norm.

The question remained, however, to what extent dialect variation should be allowed in the emerging standard orthography. West Frisian dialect differences concern mainly vowel variation and some vocabulary items. For example, the diphthongs written as <oa> and <uo> in standard Frisian are pronounced in the Clay and the Woods area as /wa/ and /wo/. In the Southwestern dialects, however, they are pronounced without the /w/ and the vowels have a different quality: Clay Frisian /wa/ corresponds to a short central half open vowel, Clay Frisian /wo/ corresponds to short central half closed vowel (Hof 1933). Furthermore, <oa> may be pronounced as /ja/ in the southern Woods area. On the whole, the question as to whether such variation in the phonological domain should be reflected in the spelling has been answered negatively

Cultural and linguistic revival of Frisian

The process of codification and elaboration of a language often co-occurs with an increased vitality of the speech community. Hence in the first half of the twentieth century when codification and elaboration of the Frisian language began, one also sees an increasing vitality of Frisian culture. The Frisian movement in particular, which propagated the rights of the Frisian language and culture, gained strength in the first half of the twentieth century. Political aspirations, on the other hand, have always been weakly developed in Frisia. It was generally assumed that more rights for the Frisian language and culture could be obtained from the Dutch government in The Hague without drawing any political conclusions. Thus the Frisian movement must be understood as having been first and foremost a cultural event. Magazines in Frisian sprang up, likewise societies for singing in Frisian, acting in Frisian, and so forth (there were regular contacts with Frisian speakers in Germany as well, see Steensen 2001). It should not be forgotten that a century earlier all political, cultural and religious activities were conducted in Dutch, while Frisian was only used in face-to-face interactions in house and village. When Waling Dykstra and Tjibbe Geerts van der Meulen first toured the country with a Frisian Cabaret program — a specifically Netherlandic type of performance combining songs, slapstick and social criticism — they moved many people to tears, who were immensely touched by the dramatic effect of theatre in their own native language. Although the rise of Frisian was a modest phenomenon which did not affect the status and prestige of the Dutch language in Frisia, its relatively successful development in the cultural field testifies to the changed perception of Frisian since 1800 (cf. Scholten 1974 on the first Frisian performances; Jensma 1998 on Frisian book production).

4. Norm elaboration

Development of institutions dealing with standardization

In the nineteenth century, the codification of the Frisian language had mainly been the interest of initiatives of individual persons, or, at most, particular societies like the *Selscip*. In the twentieth century, the standardization of the Frisian language became a matter of concern of the public authorities; thus recognizing the language-political ideals to which the nineteenth century pro-Frisian language activists had devoted much of their time and energy. The efforts of two institutions were particularly important for the development and elaboration of the Frisian standard language. The first that should be mentioned is the *Fryske Akademy* ('Frisian Academy'), an academic institute for the study of matters pertaining to the province of Fryslân ('Frisia'), founded in 1938. The Frisian Academy receives one-third of its funding from the province of Frisia, and two-thirds of its funding from the *Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen* ('Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences'). It provides employment for about 70 people. It has three departments: the department of linguistics, the department of history and the department of social sciences.

The Academy advises the government of the province of Frisia on matters pertaining to Frisian linguistic policy and also provides answers to questions of linguistic terminology. Companies producing texts on graveyard stones, for example, may contact the Frisian academy in order to have a Dutch text translated into Frisian. Typically, neither the customers themselves, nor the company, are able to do so for lack of substantial schooling in Frisian. Similarly, the Academy may be contacted by advertising agencies who want to have a commercial in Frisian. The Academy also translates official documents into Frisian, because few politicians and administrators within the provincial Frisian government are proficient in the written standard. The *Omrop Fryslân* ('Frisian Broadcasting Company') regularly contacts the Frisian Academy on questions of terminology. All these requests support norm elaboration. The Academy also advised the province on the 1980 spelling reform of Frisian, and it developed, with support from the province, a Frisian spell checker for Microsoft Word.

The *Omrop* mainly broadcasts in Frisian. Since many journalists are native speakers of Dutch and do not speak Frisian, they take courses to learn or improve their Frisian before they start working for the *Omrop*. The *Omrop Fryslân* broadcasts one hour of Frisian television per day, which is repeated at different times during the evening; Frisian radio broadcasts continuously throughout the day and evening. The programs of the Frisian Broadcasting Company mainly focus on the Frisian province, and thus fill the gap between Frisian speakers and the omnipres-

ent Dutch television with its focus on the western part of the country (where the big cities of The Netherlands are).

The other institute that is relevant to elaboration is the *Algemeine Fryske Underrjocht Kommissje* ('General Frisian Education Committee'), founded in 1927. The General Frisian Education Committee (www.afuk.nl) deals with all aspects of Frisian education. It is an institute that actively promotes the use of the Frisian language. The Education Committee produces books that can be used in class for teaching Frisian to children. Frisian primary schools have one compulsory hour of Frisian language teaching per week, which is mostly used for learning Frisian songs or telling stories. In secondary schools, Frisian is virtually non-existent: it is an optional subject and conformity to the Dutch norm is so strong as to make Frisian classes impossible (for attitude studies with respect to Dutch and Frisian see Gorter et al. 1985 as well as Gorter and Jonkman 1995). A small number of primary schools in the countryside are experimenting with providing a larger and more substantial part of the classes in Frisian. However, attempts to enforce obligatory classes in Frisian in secondary education caused protest from parents and schools. Bilingual education thus remains an unattainable ideal. The Education Committee also buys a page (once a week) in the two Dutch language newspapers that are widely read in Frisia: the *Friesch Dagblad* and the *Leeuwarder Courant*. These local newspapers occasionally have an article in Frisian, and they sometimes render the quotes of the interviewees or spokesmen in Frisian. The Education Committee fills the page they buy in the newspapers with popular articles written in Frisian as well as with games such as, for example, crosswords.

Norm elaboration: orthography, vocabulary, grammar

The Frisian Academy advised on the two spelling reforms that took place in the twentieth century (1945 and 1980). In both cases, there was pressure from people working in Frisian education, who wanted to eliminate unnecessary differences between the Dutch and Frisian orthographies. Thus, regarding the orthographic principles of Frisian the educational principle was stronger than the principle of distancing. The original orthographic proposals were watered down. Other parties — among whom were members of the provincial politicians who had to approve of the reform — had other priorities and the resulting reform was a compromise, leading, accordingly, to an inconsistent standard orthography (cf. Feitsma 1999a: 170). Mention should also be made of the spelling system proposed by the linguist and writer Trinus Riemersma. He developed a highly consistent, mainly phonological spelling system (cf. Riemersma 1977 for details), and some books were printed in this spelling.

The first dictionary of importance, as mentioned earlier, was Waling Dykstra's

(1900, 1903, 1911) dictionary. However, as the recognition of Frisian as a ‘real’ language grew, and as more linguists wanted to know more about this least conspicuous of the Germanic languages, the need arose for a scientific dictionary of Frisian. Most large standard languages such as, for example, Dutch possess shelf-filling dictionaries such as the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (‘Dictionary of the Dutch Language’). In the 1930s, it was decided that a similar dictionary would be published for the Frisian language. However, since the publication of such a dictionary usually takes many years, it was felt necessary to establish an institute that would take responsibility for the project. The planned publication of a Frisian dictionary (*Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal*, ‘Dictionary of the Frisian Language’) was one of the main reasons for the foundation of the Frisian Academy (Dykstra 1999: 206). Between 1940 and 1960 a large collection of quotations was built up. By that time, departments of Frisian, run mostly part-time, had been established at the University of Utrecht, at the Free University of Amsterdam, at the University of Groningen and the University of Leiden (because of budget cuts the departments of Frisian at the University of Utrecht and the Free University of Amsterdam were later closed). Academics from the departments of Frisian, together with colleagues from Dutch departments, were members of the advisory board of the dictionary project. The writing of the dictionary articles began in the 1960s. The first part of the dictionary (from *A* to *Behekst*) was published in 1984. Since then, one volume has appeared nearly every year. The dictionary has now reached volume eighteen (last entry *siedsprût*, ‘germ’). The dictionary’s meta-language is Dutch. The Frisian Academy attempted to plan to use Frisian as a meta-language, but the Minister of Education and Sciences (whose agreement was required, partially because of funding) blocked this(!).

The Frisian Academy also produced two concise dictionaries, one for Frisian-Dutch (1984) and one for Dutch-Frisian (1985). Both dictionaries went through several editions. The Academy also produces books about technical vocabulary and thus actively engages in norm elaboration. Glossaries, have appeared, for example, on plant names in Frisian (Franke and van der Ploeg 1984) and on the mechanical parts of cars (de Haan 1984). A dictionary of legal terminology came out recently (Duijff 2001). Frisian may be used in court: a defendant or witness has the right to use Frisian and many legal documents may be drawn up in Frisian. Little use is made of this possibility, however; the custom to revert to Dutch in the formal domains is extremely strong.

The attention of the Frisian Academy has been heavily focused on lexicography at the expense of grammar. Although many articles and some dissertations dealing with aspects of grammatical research have been published, no substantial grammar has appeared. There are a few shorter grammars (cf. Tiersma 1985, Hoekema 1996), and, in the early part of the twentieth century, traditional grammars based on the

Latin model were published (see Feitsma 1999b on older grammars of Frisian). In addition, the Education Committee has produced textbook material both for the teaching of Frisian as a foreign language to speakers of Dutch and for the teaching of written Frisian (vocabulary, spelling, grammar) to mother tongue speakers of Frisian. An overview of the output of Frisian philology between 1880 and 1940 can be found in Miedema (1961); a general historiographical outline of Frisian linguistics can be found in Dykstra and Bremmer (1999).

In the process of language elaboration, the question comes up to what extent variation should be allowed in a standard norm. In many cases, although the orthography is standardized, the pronunciation is not. However, the Education Committee actively endorses the Clay Frisian dialect as the standard pronunciation. The Committee believes that there should be one standard for pedagogical and practical reasons, and it is claimed that especially children and civil servants benefit from having a clearly defined, unambiguous standard or linguistic norm (Hiemstra 1983: 33–35). The oral exams of the Education Committee actually subtract points for dialect pronunciation. This, however, has been criticized as an overly strict approach, and it has been suggested that variation can also be viewed as a form of cultural richness (cf. Breuker 1993, 2001a). In addition, it has been argued that instead of focusing on preserving obsolete expressions from the traditional farming life or correcting Frisian dialect pronunciation, the attention of the Education Committee should be focused on the influence of Dutch on modern Frisian vocabulary and grammar.

5. Closeness of written Frisian to spoken Frisian

It is generally thought, and this holds true for the present, that written Frisian stands in a closer relationship to spoken Frisian than the written Dutch standard to spoken Dutch in Frisia (hence Frisian was considered to be “more authentic” in the romantic world view of the nineteenth century). There are two main reasons for the closeness of written Frisian to spoken Frisian. First, Dutch has a long history as a strong standard language and the divide between spoken and written language has widened considerably with time. Second, the use of standard written Dutch in formal domains like judicial courts, government institutions and writing in general has led to the gradual elaboration of the language away from everyday linguistic practices in face-to-face interaction. However, according to some critics, the Frisian standard supported by the Frisian Education Committee also has a somewhat artificial and formal ring to it, and it has thus received the nickname *boekjefrysk* (‘book Frisian’). Social support for the use of this standard in formal domains is low, and in most places Dutch is used. Frisian, on the other

hand, is used in more private or informal interpersonal interactions. Shop owners, for example, typically address customers in Dutch and then talk to the shop employee in non-standard Frisian. The main characteristic of this spoken Frisian is the great amount of Dutch influence, in all areas of grammar and vocabulary. This type of “interference” or “language contact” Frisian has not yet been the subject of systematic study.

6. Norm acceptance

Norm adoption has been investigated extensively in Gorter et al. (1985) as well as Gorter and Jonkman (1995), although their interpretation has been criticized in De Haan (1996) and Breuker (2001b: 122ff). Gorter and Jonkman investigated linguistic proficiency in Frisian on the basis of self-rating. As a result the label “Frisian” covers a wide range of varieties of the language, including dialectal Frisian and Frisian with Dutch interferences. The informants’ claims about themselves were not verified. Their research indicates the following:

- 94 % of their informants claimed to be able to understand Frisian,
- 74 % claimed to be able to speak Frisian,
- 64 % claimed to be able to read Frisian, and
- 17 % claimed to be able to write Frisian.

As Breuker (2001b: 122) has pointed out, these results must be interpreted against the general dominance of Dutch: almost all informants are able to understand, speak, read and write Dutch fluently, and of those who have proficiency in Frisian, many actually speak, hear, read and write Dutch most of the time. Breuker points out that two Frisian speech communities can be distinguished (although in reality they are better described as extreme points on a spectrum). On the one hand, there are a few thousand speakers of Standard Frisian who try to speak it wherever they can, and who aim to speak it as correctly as possible, i.e. with as little interference from Dutch as possible, in accordance with the rules of the standardized variety. On the other hand, there is a large group of speakers (between 200,000 and 300,000 people) who switch between Frisian and Dutch, depending on the social context and interlocutor. Most of them speak Frisian at home (either exclusively or in combination with Dutch) and with other speakers of Frisian. They speak Dutch in formal situations as well as with monolingual speakers of Dutch. It is customary for them to switch from Frisian to Dutch if their conversation partner talks Dutch, even if the latter understands Frisian. This group of speakers of Frisian may occasionally read a Frisian book, but mostly, they read Dutch. They may watch an hour of Frisian television every evening, but they are sure to watch two hours of

Dutch television. They don't care about their Frisian because they have hardly been schooled in it, and there is no social pressure or direct need to speak Frisian; even in small villages where Frisian is much more common, Dutch is an accepted option.

7. Recent developments

As a result of recent language activism by the *Fryske Nasjonale Partij* ('Frisian National Party'; carrying 5 percent of the votes on average, less in the cities, more in the countryside) and pro-Frisian politicians from all other parties, Frisian has received some status within political circles. Thus, Frisian is spoken by some politicians on the municipal and the provincial level. Furthermore, the province of Frisia is officially bilingual: individuals can request municipal documents to be translated into Frisian and provincial documents are bilingual (Frisian next to Dutch) if the subject concerns the Frisian language or culture. However, Frisian official documents are rarely requested since most people read Dutch better than Frisian. In the field of education, no significant progress has been made.

Apart from slight advances of Frisian at the bureaucratic level, the popular image of Frisian has also been elevated by the use of Frisian in pop music (the groups *De Kast* and *Twarres* have recorded some successful Frisian songs). A comparison of the language survey of Gorter et al. (1985) with that of Gorter and Jonkman (1995) suggests that the use of Frisian was relatively stable in the 1980s and 1990s. However, the very structures and linguistic autonomy of Frisian are increasingly being eroded through on-going influence from Dutch (De Haan 1996), on the one hand, and through the persistent lack of Frisian in education and media, on the other hand. The marginal presence of Frisian in the public domain can be interpreted as a reflection of Frisian's lack of overt social prestige. Nevertheless, the Frisian language and culture are today recognized by many politicians as an asset, not a liability — much as with old windmills, which were demolished in the past, but which are now protected as national monuments.

To sum up, the official Frisian standard is accepted as a spoken norm by a minority of speakers (as a reading norm the standard is generally accepted), and it plays a small role at the institutional level. The standard norm is, furthermore, taught in some primary schools but this does not have much impact, since there is no follow-up at the level of secondary schools. On the positive side, once we start comparing Frisian to Dutch dialects rather than to the Dutch standard language, there is reason for optimism. After all, Frisian is more widely written and read than any dialect of Dutch within The Netherlands. Furthermore, Frisian is allowed in some formal domains, it has become a standard ingredient of the image which the provincial and other authorities like to uphold. This is more than holds true of any

dialect of Dutch. In addition, if we compare the present state of affairs of Frisian with that of 1800, there has been substantial progress. Thus Frisian is, socially speaking, really in between being a dialect and a standard language, and it will probably continue to be so.

Notes

* Thanks are due to Willem Visser for reading the manuscript critically. In this article I shall restrict myself to West-Frisian, the Frisian language which is spoken in the province of *Friesland* in The Netherlands and which has approximately 400,000 speakers. The Frisian language family further consists of two other languages, East- and North-Frisian (respectively 2000 and 10,000 speakers), which are also recognized as separate and official minority languages in the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. On the historical origin of North Frisian, see Århammar (2001); on East-Frisian, see Versloot (2001).

1. The Old Frisian period ended later than the corresponding periods in other Germanic languages. On this issue see Bremmer (2001).
2. This section is based on Feitsma's (2001) excellent overview of the language and literature of the Middle Frisian period. For information on the study of lexicography and grammar in this period, see Boersma (1999a,b).
3. This and the following sections owe much to the research reported by Breuker in various publications (especially 1993, 2001a).
4. The university of Franeker was closed down as a result of Napoleonic centralization efforts; it was not re-opened by the Dutch authorities after the Napoleonic wars.

References

- Algra, N. 1991. *Zeventien Keuren en Vierentwintig Landrechten*. Doorn: Graal.
- Århammar, N. 2001. "Die Herkunft der Nordfriesen und des Nordfriesischen". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 531–537. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Boersma, P. 1999a. "De leksikografy fan it Midfrysk". In *In skiednis fan 'e Fryske taalkunde*, A. Dykstra and R. Bremmer Jr. (eds), 111–125. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Boersma, P. 1999b. "De taalkunde fan it Midfrysk". In *In skiednis fan 'e Fryske taalkunde*, A. Dykstra and R. Bremmer Jr. (eds), 126–144. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Bree, C. van 2001. "'Stadtfriesisch' und andere nichtfriesische Dialekte der Provinz Fryslân". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 129–138. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Bremmer, R. 2001. "The Geographical Division and Periodization of Old Frisian". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 602–606. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

- Breuker, P. 1993. Noarmaspekten fan it hjoeddeiske Frysk. Dissertation, University of Groningen.
- Breuker, P. 2001a. "The development of Standard West Frisian". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 711–721. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Breuker, P. 2001b. "West Frisian in language contact". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 121–129. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Coetsem, F. van 1988. *Loan phonology and the two transfer types in language contact*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Duijff, P. 2001 *Juridisch Woordenboek Nederlands-Fries/Juridysk Wurdboek Nederlânsk-Frysk*. Groningen: Martinus Nijhoff and Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Dykstra, A. and Bremmer Jr., R. (eds) 1999. *In skiednis fan 'e Fryske taalkunde*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Dykstra, A. 1999. "De leksikografy fan it Nijfrysk". In *In skiednis fan 'e Fryske taalkunde*, A. Dykstra and R. Bremmer Jr. (eds), 191–212. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Dykstra, W. 1900, 1903, 1911. *Friesch Woordenboek*. Three volumes. Leeuwarden: Meijer en Schaafsma.
- Epkema, E. 1824. *Woordenboek op de gedichten en verdere geschriften van Gijsbert Japicx*. Leeuwarden.
- Feitsma, S. 1902. *De vlugge Fries. Handleiding om zonder onderwijzer in korten tijd Friesch te leeren lezen, schrijven en spreken*. Kampen: Zalsman.
- Feitsma, A. 1999a. "Skiednis fan de stavering". In *In skiednis fan 'e Fryske taalkunde*, A. Dykstra and R. Bremmer Jr. (eds), 154–174. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Feitsma, A. 1999b. "Grammatika fan it Nijfrysk". In *In skiednis fan 'e Fryske taalkunde*, A. Dykstra and R. Bremmer Jr. (eds), 175–190. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Feitsma, A. 2001. "Mittelfriesische Sprache und Literatur". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 704–711. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Feitsma, T. 1958. "Om in nije stavering. It lûdsysteem fan de fokalen." *Us Wurk* 07: 34–39.
- Feitsma, T. 1958. "Om in nije stavering. It lûdsysteem fan de konsonanten." *Us Wurk* 07: 86–90.
- Fokkema 1937. *Het Stadsfries. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis en de grammatica van het dialect van Leeuwarden*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Folkertsma, B. 1973. *De stavering fan it Westerlauwerske Frysk yn de njoggentjinde ieu. Estrik* 46. Grins.
- Franke, D. and van der Ploeg, D. 1984. *List fan offisjele Fryske Plantenammen*. Fryske Akademy, Ljouwert
- Gorter, D., Jelsma, G., van der Plank, P. and K. de Vos (eds). 1985. *Taal yn Fryslân*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Gorter, D and Jonkman, R. (eds). 1995. *Taal yn Fryslân op 'e nij besjoen*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Haan, G. de. 1996. "Over de (in)stabiliteit van het Fries." *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 01: 306–319.
- Haan, R. de. 1984. *Terminology fan de saakfakken*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Halbertsma, J. 1827. *Hulde aan Gysbert Japicx II*. Ljouwert.
- Hiemstra, S. 1983. "Noarm en ynterferinsje". *De Pompeblêden* 54 (8): 147–152.

- Hoekema, T. 1996. *Beknopte Friese Vormleer*. Leeuwarden: AFÛK.
- Hoekstra, E. 1993. "Over de implicaties van enkele morfo-syntactische eigenaardigheden in West-Friese dialecten". *Taal en Tongval* 45: 135–154.
- Hof, J. 1933. *Friesche Dialectgeographie*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Jensma, G. 1998. *Het Rode tasje van Salverda : Burgerlijk bewustzijn en Friese identiteit in de negentiende eeuw*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Johnston, T. 2001. "The Old Frisian law manuscripts and law texts." In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 571–587. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Johnston, T. 2001. "The Middle Low German Translations of Old Frisian Legal Texts". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 587–594. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Jonkman, R. 1993. *In taalsosjologysk ûndersyk nei it Stedsk yn ferhâlding ta it Nederlânsk en it Frysk yn Ljouwert*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Miedema, H. T. J. 1961. *Paedwizers fan de Fryske filology. Th. Siebs (1862–1941), F. Buitenrust Hetteema (1862–1922) en de Fryske filology tusken 1880 en 1940*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- H. Munske (ed.). 2001. *Handbook of Frisian Studies*. In collaboration with N. Århammar, V. Faltings, J. Hoekstra, O. Vries, A. Walker and O. Wilts. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Riemersma, T. 1977. *Fôien en fredeloas. Noivud*. Ljouwert: Koperative Utjowerij.
- Scholten, K. C. 1974. "Winterjoune-nocht". In *Tsjibbe Gearts van der Meulen. Wâldman en Wrâldboarger*, F. Dam, K. Dykstra, J. Knol and Y. Poortinga (eds), 135–144. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Steensen, T. 2001. "Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung interfriesischer Beziehungen". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 698–703. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Tiersma, P. 1985. *Frisian Reference Grammar*. Dordrecht: Foris. [reprint 1999, corrected and improved]
- Versloot, A. 2001. "Grundzüge ostfriesischer Sprachgeschichte". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 734–740. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Vries, O. 1993. *Naar ploeg en koestal vluchtte Uw taal; De verdringing van het Fries als schrijftaal door het Nederlands (tot 1580)*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
- Vries, O. 2000. "De stêden oan it roer. It tiidrek fan stêdske supremasy yn Fryslân (1482–1486)". *It Beaken* 62: 73–99
- Vries, O. 2001a. "Die altfriesischen Urkunden". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 594–601. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Vries, O. 2001b. "Die Verdrängung des Altfriesischen als Schreibsprache". In *Handbook of Frisian Studies*, H. Munske et al. (eds), 606–613. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- WFT, *Wurdboek fan de Fryske Taal / Woordenboek der Friese Taal* 1984. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

German*

Klaus J. Mattheier

University of Heidelberg, Germany

1. Sociohistorical background

The settlement of the German language area took place in the fourth and fifth centuries as a result of the Migration of People (*Völkerwanderung*), and involved ethnic groups who spoke language varieties belonging to the continental West Germanic type. At the same time, possibly also as a result of the Migration of People, new tribal structures were formed. The numerous tribes — which go back to Roman times — re-organized and formed three new ethnic and linguistic groups: the Franks, the Bavarians and the Alemanni. In addition, there was a new ethno-linguistic formation based on North-Sea Germanic in the north of the German language area: Old-Saxon which formed the basis for Low German (see Langer, this volume). These four varieties constituted the dialectal basis in the historical German language area. Colonization of the originally West-Slavic areas East of the rivers Elbe and Saale, extended the basis of Standard German to include East Middle German which developed since the eleventh century in later Saxony, Thuringia and Silesia, as well as East Low German of Mecklenburg and Brandenburg. As early as Old High German times (ninth century) and with the beginning of a vernacular writing tradition, there is evidence for the existence of an Alemannic, Bavarian and Frankish identity and an ethno-linguistic separation from non-German, e.g. early Romance, varieties. A certain degree of hierarchization between the individual varieties has also been observed. Because of the Frankish historical-political dominance in the German language territory during the early Middle Ages, lexical items belonging to the Frankish lexicon are found in regions of southern Germany, in particular with regard to legal and administrative language (Wells 1985: 40–50).

The area of the later German language territory was originally settled by an illiterate population. Literacy existed in the former Roman settlements in the west where there was continuity of a Latin writing tradition especially in the early diocesan towns. However, this literate tradition was limited to the clerical estate

and to text genres belonging to the clerical-missionary and also literary domain. It was thus a medial diglossia in which writing took place exclusively in Latin. Among members of the clerical estate Latin was also (within limits) the spoken language. Members of the other estates were monolingual and used a more or less regionally marked vernacular.

A written vernacular tradition developed within the later German language area from the eighth century onwards. In this case we are dealing with an example of what has been called “secondary literacy”, i.e. the early vernacular writers first acquired Latin literacy. This had a significant effect on the phonetic interpretation of the Latin letters in the vernacular with all its different regional variants. The early vernacular tradition is regional and thus bound to the dialect areas in which the texts were produced. In the beginning these were primarily monasteries and diocesan towns which formed cultural centres. Written language varieties of Old-Bavarian, Old-Alemannic and Old-Frankish can be distinguished from the ninth and tenth centuries onwards. In addition, special linguistic forms had developed within the chancery traditions of the different monastic scriptoria. After a historical break in the vernacular writing tradition in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, a continuously developing and — when compared with Latin — expanding vernacular literacy started in the mid-eleventh century. This early vernacular literacy was still shaped by its dialectal origin as well as regional tradition. Texts about missionary work and the Christian faith were clearly dominant. But one also finds occasional literary texts. The process of vernacularization was accompanied by an increasing focus on the written word: the transition from an oral to a literate society. Latin was still dominant until well into the thirteenth century. New written genres first emerged in Latin and vernacularization meant the translation of a Latin written tradition. Only from the beginning of the fourteenth century did new written text genres develop, e.g. the urban guild regulations which were directly produced in the vernacular.

The interaction between the development of a literate society and the development of vernacular literacy in various text genres was interrupted by a special development which concerned primarily the German aristocracy and their self-representation. A cultural re-evaluation and early norm development can be observed with regard to the written Alemannic dialect, but was largely limited to the functional domain of court poetry and epics. Typical characteristics of these texts are a relatively firmly structured rhetorical form, an extended number of French loanwords, an ideologically marked lexicon which refers to a knightly group identity, and finally a clear tendency towards the levelling of extreme dialect features. Texts of Bavarian and Thuringian origin also adopted Alemannic dialect forms. The Middle High German “poets’ language” (*Dichtersprache*) was only sporadically used outside of the literary domain, e.g. in the Peace of Mainz (1235) or in the

chancery language of Ludwig of Bavaria (Wolf 1981: 179ff). The literary dialect disappeared in the second half of the thirteenth century with the disintegration of the social group which was able to support such a Middle High German “poets’ language”, and the on-going vernacularization of literacy moved again into the centre of the development.

In the late Middle Ages the regional identity of socio-communicative structures was further supported by two historical developments, both of which were limited (in contrast to the supra-regional knightly aristocracy of the high Middle Ages) to smaller geographical areas: early urbanization and the emergence of secular territories (*Landesherrschaften*; von Polenz 2000: 103f.). The formation of *Landesherrschaften* within the Empire led to territorial fragmentation and supported tendencies towards the development of regionally-bound communication structures. The emergence of territorially-based identities contributed to the stabilization of regional structures. Urbanization, on the other hand, appears to point to the development of supra-regional structures — as in the case of the extensive trade relationships of urban merchants. However, most of the cities which emerged or expanded in the late Middle Ages had initially only limited interactions with the wider surrounding areas. Urbanization thus also supported territorial compartmentalization and facilitated the development of regionally-bound communication structures.

In other words, the late Middle Ages in Germany were linguistically characterized by a development towards decentralization. This led to the formation of a multitude of varieties (based on the respective regional dialect) in the larger and smaller political territories as well as in the cities and their surroundings. Moreover, the development of the cities strongly supported vernacularization, partially because knowledge of Latin was not widespread in the urban context. This general process of the decentralization of the communicative structures in the German language area was accompanied by a development in the opposite direction, that is, administrative centralization within individual regions. This included, for example, the hierarchization of individual scriptoria within cities. The most important chancery developed on the basis of the respective local dialect a written variety which was used as a model within the chancery itself as well as in other sub-ordinate chanceries. In particular in the fifteenth century we can observe processes towards unification and variant reduction which led to the formation of relatively homogenous and uniform written dialects by the end of the century. The levelling of regional writing practices (*schreiblandschaftlicher Ausgleich*)¹ involved sounds and their written representations as well as morphology and in particular the lexicon (Möller 2000: 51–76).

In this manner one can distinguish four (or perhaps five) regional written dialects for the mid-fifteenth century. These varieties appeared from 1460 onwards also as print languages. The four main written dialects were:

- (a) East Upper German with the centres of Augsburg and Nuremberg.
- (b) West Upper German with the central writing and printing places Strasbourg, Basle and Zurich.
- (c) East Middle German, which is also referred to historically as the ‘German of Meißen’ (*Meißnisches Deutsch*) or the ‘chancery language of the Wettins’ (*Wettinsche Kanzleisprache*).²
- (d) West Middle German with Cologne and later also Mainz and Frankfurt as centres of prestige.

Despite their dialectal basis these regional written dialects include structures which are clearly distinct from the spoken language. Texts from secondary or small-town chanceries frequently show a written language which is evidently closer to dialectal speech, and thus allow a glimpse of the spoken language. The spoken language was characterized, as far as we know, by internal stratification in the sense that different social groups in different communicative contexts used language varieties which were either closer to dialectal speech, or closer to the written dialect.

Important for the development of language awareness and the identity function of language was that in the late Middle Ages the regional written dialects were always experienced as one’s “own” language (auto-centric; cf. Maas 1987). Other written dialects were clearly distinguished as hetero-centric, “foreign” languages. For example, external letters were written, in accordance with the conventions of receiver-orientation, not in one’s own dialect but in the “foreign” dialect. In addition, there is extensive evidence that there was a scientific as well as a popular awareness of the different regional languages (Reiffenstein 1984, 1985). The point of departure for the standardization of the German language was thus a decentralized communicative space with several larger regional written dialects, which functioned within their own regions as linguistic norms.

2. Selection phase

Up until the first half of the fifteenth century there is limited evidence in the German language area for a historical development which would transcend the existence of the four (or perhaps five) regional writing styles. Processes of dialect levelling which led to variant reduction only took place within the borders of the respective dialect area, as has been shown for the Rhineland by Möller (2000). Only with regard to the historical relations between East High German and East Middle German one can find signs of past influence which point to intensive economic and cultural contact between these two territories in the late Middle Ages (thirteenth and fourteenth century).

From the mid-fifteenth century onwards the decentralized variety structure of the late medieval written dialects was transformed through a centripetal process. These developments mark the real beginning of German language standardization and were triggered — and this is historically beyond dispute — by a social change which is generally referred to as modernization. Societal modernization, that is, the transformation of a decentralized feudal society into a centralized modern mass society (*Massengesellschaft*) started in Germany (as well as in other West European societies) in the fourteenth century. Socio-communicative repercussions, e.g. standardization, are only noticeable after 1450.

The most important aspects of the modernization processes have been summarized by H. U. Wehler (2000: 1086); that is, on-going economic growth on the basis of enduring industrial-technical expansion as well as increasing social differentiation, in particular in the cities as a consequence of an ever more complex division of labour. This led to increasing geographical as well as social mobility and facilitated the sociolinguistic blending of society. The intensive development of the education system and the diffusion of certain basic cultural skills (e.g. writing) throughout society became a necessity. In particular, modernizing societies are in need of a supra-regional, functionally differentiated and stable communicative system. As a consequence of these developments, modernizing societies develop generally accepted social values and norms which provide an independent identity for the newly developing socio-communicative and socio-cultural formations. The emerging norms of the German standard language appear as early as the sixteenth century in a proto-national discourse. In the context of the increasing participation of ever larger segments of the population in economic and political decision-making a new type of social and political public developed, whose socio-communicative structures generated copious new communicative constellations and text genres.

These developments provided the general conditions for the formation of a German standard language. With regard to the regional aspects of this development, it is important to note that modernization did not start simultaneously throughout the German empire. In particular, the development of new socio-communicative structures began earlier in central trade cities and economically progressive regions. For the mid-fifteenth century one should mention the region which has been shaped by the economic centres of Augsburg and Nuremberg. The written and printed language of these central urban chanceries and printing presses, as well as that of the Imperial Chancery of Maximilian I (1493–1519), was described by contemporaries — not only within the region but also in other *Schreiblandschaften* (see footnote 1) — as ‘general German’ (*gemeines Deutsch*; Mattheier 1991). This expression (which originally also referred to a generally understandable language in a stylistic sense) was used from the turn of the century to describe a supra-regional and even proto-standard variety. At the same time there is evidence that this ‘general German’ was

initially used alongside, and soon also in place of, the regional written language in the Low German and West-Middle German cultural centres. In these regions we can observe a marked shift of the written language. Influence of the southern-based 'general German' can also be observed in written and printed language of the East-Middle German region, e.g. apocope, the spelling <ai> for /ei/ or <p,t> for /b,d/. However, it seems that in this case the diffusion process was not a type of language shift or replacement of the existing regional written language as was the case in the North and West, but rather a gradual diffusion of the more prestigious East Upper German sounds and forms into the East Middle German variety. This can possibly be attributed to the long-term linguistic relations between these two regions. The Western Upper German area around Basle and Zurich, however, stood apart from these developments and maintained the regional character of the written language. Only the originally Alemannic Augsburg was oriented as early as the fourteenth century towards Eastern Upper German. This development was reinforced by the international economic power of the Fugger and Welser as well as by the close relationships between Augsburg printers and the Imperial Chancery which had its decrees printed in Augsburg.

Only after 1500 did the invention of printing (around 1450) have an effect on the German written language. Several regional print languages developed in parallel to the regional written languages during the second half of the fifteenth century. However, because of the small numbers and limited distribution of German-language print publications (when compared to Latin books), this development had little impact on the evolution of German. After 1500 we can observe the emergence of three regional print languages via processes of diffusion and levelling. These print languages were important for the future development of German: the southern German print language (represented by Augsburg, Nuremberg and Vienna), the West Middle German print language (Cologne, Mainz and Frankfurt), and the East Middle German print language (Wittenberg, Jena and Leipzig).

In the first two or three decades of the sixteenth century the history of the German speech community was, on the level of the written language, characterized by a "normal" selection process. The varieties of the three central regions (as well as the Low German language) were influenced or replaced by the East Upper German written and print language whose special status was generally recognized. This was indicated by the contemporary label 'general German'. This development was "normal" insofar as it showed far-reaching similarities to the early standardization processes of the English and French speech community (Mattheier 2000). In all these cases the origin of the standard language was located in an administrative and/or economic centre whose regional written language acquired a special prestige. If the development had been continuous, one could have expected the formation and diffusion of a German standard language with clear East Upper German

features. However, the development was interrupted in the 1520s and 1530s by the activities of Martin Luther (1483–1546) and the Reformation which he initiated. The Reformation had a decisive effect on the German Empire and the German speech community which far transcended the religious dimensions. The effects of the Reformation for the development of the German language are directly and indirectly anchored in the figure of Martin Luther. From the very beginning the linguistic forms of Luther's central writings — which spread across an ever growing reading public — acted as a linguistic model of enormous prestige. The language of Luther as well as the language in which Luther's writings were printed, however, was *not* the 'general German' of East Upper German provenance, but was based on the East Middle German written norm. Luther's famous dictum in the *Tischreden* ('table speeches') of 1532 should not mislead the language historian in this respect:

Nullam certam linguam Germanice habeo, sed communem ut me intellegere possint ex superiori et inferiori Germania. *Ich rede nach der Sechsischen cantzley, quam imitantur omnes duces et reges Germaniae, alle reichstette, fürsten, höfe, schreiben nach der Sechsischen cantzeleien unser churfürsten.* Ideo est communissima linguam Germaniae. Maximilianus imperator et elector Fridericus imperium ita ad certam linguam definierunt, *haben also alle sprachen in eine getzogen* ('I have no special German language of my own but use the general German language so that I can be understood by Lowlanders and Uplanders. I use the language of the Saxon Chancery which is used by all princes and kings in Germany, all imperial cities, princes and courts write according to the Saxon chancery of our Electoral princes. This is the common German language. The Emperor Maximilian and the Elector Fredericus defined this special language in the Empire, they combined all languages into one'; cited in von Polenz 2000: 166; translation A. Deumert).

This dictum shows that Luther — in contrast to the language-historical findings — had no awareness of an opposition between the East Middle German written variety (of, for example, the Saxon Electoral Chancery) and 'general German' with its clearly East Upper German imprint.

In protestant regions Luther's linguistic model influenced the written varieties to acquire a decidedly East Middle German character (although the language of Luther also shows some southern influence). The 'Luther language' (*Luthersprache*) thus provided the linguistic foundations for a second basis of the standard language. In particular, after the Diet of Augsburg (*Augsburger Reichstag* 1555) — which recognized after twenty-five years of religious wars the Lutheran faith with the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*³ — a dualism of written languages characterized the development of the standard. The Catholic southern German secular territories and also religious territories such as the Cologne archbishopric as well as the Imperial Court in Vienna continued the traditions of the Upper German-influenced 'general German'. The protestant territories, on the other hand, were

oriented towards the East Middle German norm of the *Luthersprache*. The developing “norm dualism” dominated the historical development of the German-speaking territories over the next two hundred years. However, as early as the first half of the seventeenth century it is noticeable that the two norm constellations were not equal, and there is evidence that the East Middle German written norm occupied a more central place in the standardization process. At this time there is no evidence of southern linguistic influence in East Middle German. The southern Imperial standard, on the other hand, continuously incorporated East Middle German variants on different levels of linguistic structure, and thus assimilated more and more to the eastern norm. The skewed pattern of linguistic influence is indicative of the balance of power in this norm dualism. At the same time, however, the debate about *Lutherdeutsch* and *gemeines Deutsch* which took place in parallel to these linguistic processes was confrontational, as if — at least on the level of the normative discourse — two equal candidates asserted their claim to form the basis of a generally acceptable German standard norm.

The selection phase of the standardization of the German language thus shows a more complex structure than one would have expected, especially when compared to the fundamentally linear development of other West European nations such as England or France. In the case of German we are dealing with two different developments. The first development was the transition of several supra-regional and non-hierarchical communication systems to a bipolar system with two standard varieties, *Lutherdeutsch* and *gemeines Deutsch* respectively. These two varieties constituted independent developmental centres of the emerging standard language. The second development, which interacted with the codification and elaboration process, was an example of a *questione della lingua* debate which we know from Italian language history (Mattheier 2000: 1097). The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were dominated by an on-going conflict between these two standard norms. The selection phase was only completed at the end of the eighteenth century when, for example, Bavaria made the transition to the East Middle German norm as codified in Gottsched’s grammar (cf. Reiffenstein 1989).

3. The codification of German

In the context of the history of German the selection phase was primarily a “verticalization process” (Reichmann 1988), i.e. the abundance of variants and varieties and the speakers’ tolerance towards this abundance was reduced to two regionally and culturally different normative (High) varieties, Luther-German and ‘general German’. The result of this process was the development of a communication tool which complied with the demands of modernization, i.e. supra-regional

intelligibility, descriptive differentiation and permanence of writing. Moreover, at a time when the whole of Western Europe was in the process of nation building, it was of central importance for the socio-cultural development of the territory to have a language which could function as an instrument of national identification. Language, and in particular the “national language”, was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one of the most important instruments for the formation and representation of a German national identity. In order to fulfil this function in an appropriate manner — and especially in competition with Latin and French — “proper” and “educated” German had to exhibit qualities such as “correctness”, “purity”, “clarity”, “beauty” and “authenticity”, that is, philological accuracy and well-formed norms. To prove and to develop these qualities was the main aim of the ideology of linguistic correctness which shaped and structured the standardization of German in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was the goal of the emerging language-political movement to create and to develop a cultural symbol which could represent the German cultural and national identity (*Kulturnation*, ‘cultural nation’) *vis á vis* the trans-national media of communication, i.e. French (for the German aristocracy) and Latin (for the clergy and science).

In addition to its function as a symbol of national identity, the concept of a uniform and educated German national language soon became a marker of social differentiation. The educated, elitist character of this variety demanded on-going cultivation and its acquisition was time-consuming and costly. Its use was thus largely limited to the aristocratic and middle-class elite, that is, the socially leading groups in the age of absolutism. The special and frequently mentioned character of the German standard language as *Bildungsjargon* (‘jargon of education’) is a result of this history. The differentiation between the ‘language of education’ (*Bildungssprache*) and colloquial German shaped the German speech community up until the 1960s.

The formation of a uniform German standard norm is reflected in two partially overlapping discourses: (a) the discourse about the appropriate model, that is, the exemplary texts, writers and geographical areas towards which “correct”, “beautiful” and “good” language use should be oriented; and (b) the discourse of norms and codification, that is, the description of these norms and their codification in grammar books, i.e. we are dealing with language cultivation as undertaken by the grammarians.

Exemplary texts, writers and geographical areas

The discourse of the appropriate model towards which language cultivation should be oriented emerged in the final decades of the fifteenth century. In place of the aforementioned abundance of variants and varieties and the tolerance towards this

abundance, one now finds the idea of a uniform model norm, reflecting the conception of a standard language as it was developing all over Western Europe at this time. The history of German presents a special case of this development as the two standard varieties of *Lutherdeutsch* und *gemeines Deutsch* remained in competition for a long time.

The historical process of “verticalization” (see above) was accompanied by a discourse about best models and linguistic authorities for exemplary German. This discourse dominated the standard language debate from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. In the first phase (roughly up until 1520/30) the norm of ‘general German’ was universally accepted. ‘General German’ was structurally clearly oriented towards the East Upper German dialect of the writing and printing centres of Nuremberg and Augsburg. However, the very notion of a ‘general German’ suggests that we are dealing with a kind of supra-regional variety. Time and again the Imperial Court is referred to as the legitimate linguistic authority, and reference is also made to the “best” German writers as linguistic models for this ‘general German’. Here one can see the legitimization of “correct”, “good” and “beautiful” language via the exemplary use of the *authoribus elegantissimis* which is familiar from the discussions about Latin norms. However, in reality the model function of contemporary writers was limited (Josten 1976).

Of central importance for the emergence of a language norm discourse in the German-speaking territories during the sixteenth century was the Reformation and the activities of Luther as well as his writings, which had a decisive effect as model texts for ordinary language user as well as grammarians. The most important texts are Luther’s Bible translation (1535), in particular the New Testament (1522), the hymns and the catechism. In the beginning the model function of these texts was limited to the relatively small literate segment of the speech community. In addition, there were a number of semi-literate responses and influences (e.g. reading aloud as well as the ability to read without writing competence), which diffused the Luther-language beyond literate circles. However, the influence the Luther-language model was regionally restricted to the territorial establishment of the Reformation in the cities and *Landesherrschaften* which took shape in the mid-sixteenth century after the end of the religious wars and was influenced by the beginning Counter-Reformation.

One of the first explicit references to Luther as an authority for exemplary German can be found in Fabian Frangk’s spelling book *Ein Cantzley und Titel buechlin* (‘A Chancery and Title book’) which was first published in Wittenberg in 1531. Further editions appeared in Cologne, Frankfurt and Leipzig. Next to texts from the Imperial Chancery and the printing office of Johann Schönberger (1481–1523) in Augsburg, Frangk also mentions “D. Luther’s writing”. Justus Jonas’ (1494–1555) funeral oration for Luther contributed to the subsequent stylization of Luther as the “creator” of the German standard language in Protestant circles. Jonas said: “er

hat die Deutsche sprach wider recht herfür gebracht, das man nu wider kann recht deudsch reden und schreiben” (“he has really brought the German language back so that one can now again speak and write correct German”; cited in Erben 1974: 579). And shortly afterwards the humanist praise of Luther as “rechter Teutscher Cicero” (“true German Cicero”) appeared (Erasmus Alberus 1556; cf. Josten 1976: 109). In the following hundred years, the references to the exemplary language of Luther developed into a topos in the discourse of a German language norm. However, since the seventeenth century the linguistic norm of Luther’s texts no longer functioned as a direct model for actual language behaviour. Instead, the written language of Saxony (*Meißnisches Deutsch*) emerged as a point of orientation in the standard language development. It should be noted that this is not Saxony as referred to by Luther (i.e. the centres of Halle and Wittenberg which were oriented towards the Middle German/Low German transition area), but Electoral Saxony (*Kursachsen*) which was consolidated in the seventeenth century and included the urban centres of Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz. However, there is little doubt that the idea of the Saxon language as an exemplary linguistic model profited in times to come from the linguistic authority that had been attributed to Luther.

The development was also supported by general cultural-historical factors: in the seventeenth and in particular the eighteenth century Electoral Saxony was one of the principal social and economic modernization centres of the German Empire and was relevant to the early industrialization and urbanization of the region. Saxony also emerged a centre of cultural and intellectual modernization. This is reflected in the prestige of the Saxon Court as well as the importance of Saxony’s cities and universities in the “reception” (*Rezeption*) of the Enlightenment philosophy.

Within a highly developed absolutist territory with a complex administrative structure, early ‘middle-class’/‘educated’ (*bildungsbürgerliche*) social groups emerged, in particular from the early eighteenth century onwards among the functional elites of absolutist administration. In addition to other identity symbols the educated elite established a special concern for refined and “correct” (*regelrecht*, literally ‘according to the rules’) language use as a social identification symbol. This “Protestant-bourgeois sociolect” (“*protestantisch-bildungsbürgerlicher Soziolekt*”, Von Polenz 1994: 140) developed in the beginning primarily in the Protestant regions of the German Empire. From the first half of the eighteenth century this variety is also noticeable in the Catholic regions, in particular in Vienna, the centre of the Empire. It developed into the unchallenged norm of the written standard, thus replacing the long competing southern Imperial language by, at the latest, the second half of the eighteenth century.

An important motor in this development was the fact that from the mid-seventeenth century almost all language theoreticians and grammarians came from the Low German-speaking areas, but worked in the East Middle German region and propagated the idea of the exemplary *Meißnisch*. One could name Schottel, Freyer,

Bödiker, Gottsched and Adelung (see below). The model function of East Middle German was generally limited to the written language, in particular grammar, syntax, lexicon and style. On the other hand, the debate about “correct” pronunciation and an appropriate orthography (which had started in the early seventeenth century) constituted the starting point for the development of a counter-discourse since pronunciation and orthography were not based on the norms of *Meißnisch*. The pronunciation peculiarities of the Saxon dialect which also appear in the spoken variety of Saxony’s leading social groups (in particular the lack of distinction between voiced and voiceless plosives, the /j/-pronunciation for /g/, the unrounding of /ü/ and /ö/) were generally excluded from the idea of the *Meißen*-norm by language experts and grammarians, and were described as a *Verfälschung der Grundlaute* (‘distortion of the fundamental sounds’) and *unzierliche Sonderheiten der Außrede* (‘un-elegant peculiarities of pronunciation’; von Polenz 1994: 142).

One of the main arguments which was repeatedly used to confirm the idea of the *Meißen*-norm is the topos of the “best writers” which worked in Saxony and thus ensured its character as a linguistic model. Time and again this topos, which goes back to the discussions of a humanist Latin norm, played an important role in the German norm discourse. The argument of the exemplary writers as a point of orientation for the German standard language was introduced as early as the sixteenth century. This was followed by a second phase which was dominated by Luther and his writings. In Protestant regions Luther appeared without exception as the exemplary writer. The language of *Meißen* was supported by this topos in a third phase: it is now stated that the “best” writers who provide linguistic points of orientation all came from the East Middle German region (Henne 1968). However, the counter-discourse to this position also used the argument of the “best” writers. For example, when Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813) argues against Adelung at the end of the eighteenth century that there are “good writers” all over Germany, and that all of these are models for “good” and “beautiful” language use. Here Wieland could obviously refer to the writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, and we thus find the starting point of a discourse tradition which shaped the development of the standard language from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which continued until after the Second World War: the central point of orientation for the standard norm is the language of the classical writers.

The codification of the German standard language

In addition to conflicts about appropriate models and norms for the emerging standard language which shaped the debate from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, attempts at codification and normative description of what was believed to

be the exemplary language, began in the sixteenth century. The goals of these descriptive and prescriptive activities were intertwined with cultural, patriotic, language-pedagogical and educational motives.

The starting point of these debates was the idea of linguistic purity which should be established (or re-established) through language cultivation. The idea of a “pure” language is part of a late humanist European tradition and was supported by different arguments. On the one hand, the perceived socio-communicative advantages of a “pure” language were emphasized. More important, however, were the cultural-patriotic arguments which were based (a) on the idea of the historical depth of the German language (in contrast to the Romance competitors), and (b) on the idea of the equal or even higher quality of German because of its large number of non-borrowed *Stammwörter* (‘stem-words’, i.e. old or “primeval” roots, *voces primitivae*), and, in particular, because of the so-called *Grund- und Kunstrichtigkeit* (‘fundamental and artistic correctness’) of German, that is, the organization of the German language according to grammatical rules which can be extracted by grammarians. For the baroque linguistic scholars the actual linguistic activity which would bring the exemplary qualities of the German language into focus was *language cultivation* (i.e. the “liberation” of the German written language from irregularities, influences from dialects and lower class sociolects) and *linguistic purism* (that is, the “liberation” of the German language from all foreign influences, in particular from Latin, Italian and French).

In the German-speaking territories early codificatory writings fall into two genres: (a) alphabetization or literacy texts, and (b) texts aimed at the development of a chancery norm. The alphabetization literature (which started in the 1480s) included primers and ABC books, writing and reading instruction books as well as spelling books. While these were initially oriented towards regional written norms, they show a supra-regional orientation from the 1530s, and were aimed at conveying the norms of “general German”, “high German”, or “proper and good German”. This alphabetization literature had two different goals. One aim was to enable people to absorb the central texts of the Reformation. Because of the centrality of the written word to the very ideas of the Reformation, a close connection developed between the Reformation and literacy or alphabetization. In addition the alphabetization literature was also rooted in a growing, general desire for education; as noted by Valentin Ickelsamer (c. 1500–1547):

(Der) gemain man (sollte) selbst lessen (und) bas urteylen, (denn es) kann itzo nichts kundwirdiges in der ganzen welt geschehen/ Es kumbt schriftlich durch den Truck zu lessen (‘The general man himself should read and form judgement, because nothing worth noting can now happen in the world, it will come to be readable in writing through the print’; cited in Von Polenz 1994: 173; translation A. Deumert)

The second genre in the context of the early codification of a German standard language were treatises aimed at the codification of the chancery norms and the central text types of the chancery. Here we find formula books, title books, letter books, chancery books and *schryfftspiegel*; all these were concerned with the codification of texts and documents that were produced in chanceries. At least up until the mid-sixteenth century chanceries were linguistically exemplary institutions (Josten 1976: 219), and their linguistic practices influenced other text genres considerably, e.g. private letters, early newspapers and even pamphlets.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the task of language cultivation as well as purification from foreign words was carried out by special institutions in different European countries and also in the German Empire. In the German context this task was taken over by *Sprachgesellschaften* ('language societies') which emerged in the seventeenth century as an early organizational form of the "middle-class" public. Their aim was the realization of a number of linguistic and literary goals which were believed to support the development of an independent national culture. Most important is here the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* ('Fruitbearing Society') which was founded in 1617 according to the model of the Florentine *Accademia della Crusca* by a group around Prince Ludwig von Anhalt-Köthen (1579–1650). Next to a large number of aristocrats this group included among its members almost all *Spracharbeiter* of the time ('language workers'; i.e. grammarians, writers and lexicographers). A central task of this and other similarly structured societies was the maintenance and cultivation of the mother tongue through its use in meetings and letters, as well as through specific poetic exercises. Moreover, studies were carried out with regard to the identification and dissemination of the grammatical norms of written German, e.g. through the writing of grammars, the work on a German dictionary and in particular *Wörterarbeit* ('word-work'), that is, the formulation of German replacements for foreign words. Regarding the importance of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* for the standardization of German, it is necessary to distinguish between direct results and indirect effects. Direct results of the discussion and correspondence between members were first and foremost a number of important translations, for example, the Tasso translation of Dietrich von Werder (1584–1657). In addition, a German orthography was developed by Christian Gueinz in 1645, and was officially recognized by the society. However, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* was more effective indirectly. The language discourse which developed among its members (and among the writers they criticized) was of central importance for the codification achievements of the seventeenth century, e.g. the poetry treatise by Martin Opitz (1624, *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* 'Book of German Poetry'), the first German grammar by Justus Georg Schottel (1663) and the first German dictionary by Kasper Stieler (1691). Stieler published his dictionary under the *nom de plume* which he had used in the

Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft although the society was dissolved in the mid 1680s (*der Spaten* ‘the spade’).

The early efforts directed towards the description of a German grammar in the second half of the sixteenth century were motivated by practical needs which were a consequence of the teaching of Latin in the schools, and also the teaching of German as a foreign language. Here one should name the grammars of Laurentius Albertus (*Teutsch Grammatick oder SprachKunst* ‘German Grammar or Language Art’; Augsburg 1573), Albertus Ölinger (*Vnterricht der Hoch Teutschen Spraach ...* ‘Teaching of the High German Language...’; Strasbourg c. 1573), and Johannes Claius (1535–1592; *Grammatica Germanicae lingvae ...* ‘Grammar of the German Language’; Leipzig 1578). From the 1600s, however, the aforementioned ideological motivation for language cultivation comes to the fore with its cultural and patriotic goals and intentions. The important grammar of Schottel, for example, was largely a cultural-patriotic text which aimed at proving the high status of the German language *vis à vis* the Romance languages.

The most important codifying texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth century are the works of Opitz, Schottel, Bödiker, Freyer, Antesperg, Gottsched and Adelung. Some of these texts are important because of their language-descriptive achievements, others because of their status planning functions within the standard language discourse.

The first “language cultivator” was Martin Opitz (1597–1639) who published with his poetry treatise a seminal stylistic and poetic guide for the German literary language. This text formed an important starting point for the development of an independent literary language which was emancipated from foreign influences. Next to central poetic style values such as *Zierlichkeit* (‘daintiness’), *Deutlichkeit* (‘clarity’) and *Reinheit* (‘purity’), Opitz also demanded that High German (*Hochdeutsch*, here understood as East Middle German, *Meißnisch*) should be used as a literary language. In chapter IV he writes:

Damit wir aber reine reden mögen/ sollen wir uns befeissen deme welches wir Hochdeutsch nennen besten vermögens nach zue kommen/ und nicht derer örter sprache/ wo falsch geredet wird/ in unsere schriften vermischen (‘So that we might speak purely/ we should aim to approach as closely as we can that which we call High German/ and not the language of places/ where it is spoken wrongly/ mix into our writings’; cited in von Polenz 1994: 304; translation A. Deumert).

Within the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* the debate about “correct” High German and its most appropriate grammatical description took place between the two protagonists Christian Gueinz (1592–1650) and Justus Georg Schottel (1612–1676). In 1641 both presented, probably encouraged by the society, first drafts of their conceptions of a German grammar. These drafts illustrate the fundamental

difference between the two approaches. Gueinz based his German norm on speech usage and, very traditionally, mentioned as models Luther, the Resolutions of the Imperial Parliaments (*Reichstagsabschiede*), the “best” writers and the *Meißen* norm. Schottel, on the other hand, proceeded from the idea of the *Grundrichtigkeit* (‘fundamental correctness’) of German which could be uncovered by the grammarians through their analysis. For the first time in the standardization process one sees here the concept of an “artificial” development of the standard language through a conscious selection process based on writing and scholarship (Von Polenz 1994: 154).

The main work of Schottel (*Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Hauptsprache...* ‘Detailed Study of the German Main Language’, 1663) played an important role in the following years because of its grammatical descriptions (in particular in the area of word formation), as well as its pedagogical and cultural effects regarding the elevation of the German language *vis à vis* other European languages. Schottel’s grammar significantly influenced all further grammatical descriptions of German. However, for practical orthographical and grammatical work as well as the educational diffusion of standard norms, not Schottel but Hieronymus Freyer (1675–1747) and Johann Bödicker (1641–1695) should be mentioned. Bödicker’s main work (*Grundsätze Der Deutschen Sprachen im reden und Schreiben ...* ‘Fundamental Principles of the German Language with regard to Speaking and Writing’; Cölln a.d. Spree 1690) and its revisions by his son Edzard (1698, 1701 and 1709), by Johann Leonard Frisch (1729) as well as by Johann Jacob Wippel (1746), was — because of its easily comprehensible rules and its preparation for educational purposes — the German grammar which had the greatest practical influence before the publication of Adelung’s grammar in 1782. With regard to orthography Hieronymus Freyer with his *Anweisungen zur Teutschen Orthographie* (‘Instructions for German Orthography’; Halle 1722; new editions in 1728, 1735 and 1746) occupied a similar position. Freyer’s orthography was based on the reform pedagogy of August Hermann Franke (1663–1727) and established the idea of a hierarchy of four orthographic principles: pronunciation, derivation, analogy and usage. The orthography was influential through its adoption by Franke schools. The thirty-seventh edition of the Canstein Bible edition also used the ‘Halle orthography’ and had an effect on, in particular, the Protestant regions.

The southern German and Austrian regions of the German Empire only participated in the discourse about “correct” German after the publication of the work of Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766). Gottsched’s importance for the discourse about German language norms must be understood in the context of his position as *Literaturpapst* (lit. ‘pope of literature’, i.e. the leading literary critic) which formed the basis of his linguistic authority. Yet, in his main linguistic work

(*Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst* 'Foundation of a German Grammar (literally 'language art')'; Leipzig 1748) Gottsched was certainly not original. In many of his decisions he did not go beyond Bödiker and Freyer. However, he did not see himself as a norm maker, but rather as someone who popularized and formulated existing norms. In the Catholic south of the German Empire Johann Balthasar von Antesperger (1682/83–1765) published a German grammar in Austria, and Heinrich Braun (1732–1792) in Bavaria. Antesperger attempted — in close contact with Gottsched and following his work — to build with his *Kayserliche Deutsche Grammatik* ('Imperial German Grammar'; Vienna 1747) a bridge between the traditions of Austrian High German and the newer developments in the north. Although many of his suggestions were not adopted, his work contributed to an opening of Austria towards the East Middle German/ North German written language norms (Wiesinger 1993).

The influential Bavarian school reformist Heinrich Braun wrote his main work (*Anleitung zur deutschen Sprachkunst ...* 'Instruction to German Grammar...'; München 1765) on order from the Bavarian Electoral Prince and also followed Gottsched's work. Although he took over many of Gottsched's concepts, he also developed critical positions based on the Bavarian linguistic situation. The official use of this grammar in the school system after 1765 finally ensured the adoption of the East Middle German norm by Bavaria (Reiffenstein 1989).

The developments towards the formulation of a general German standard language culminated in work of Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806). Adelung's publications, which dealt with diverse aspects of language description and reflection, were seminal and remained influential until well into the nineteenth century. His most important texts for language standardization were: a grammar for use in schools (Leipzig 1782), an orthography (including a short dictionary and grammar; Leipzig 1788) and a five volume dictionary (Leipzig 1774–1786). In his grammatical work Adelung summarized the state of knowledge precisely and clearly, and thus laid the foundations for linguistic research in the nineteenth century. At the same time, the use of Adelung's grammar in schools supported the development of a normative basis which, in the nineteenth century, spread quickly across the entire German language area. The same is true for his orthography and in particular the famous dictionary which constituted up until the second half of the nineteenth century the basis for German lexicography. From the time of Adelung we can assume the existence of a standard language norm with relatively stable features. In the nineteenth century significant standardization work took place only with regard to lexicon development and stylistics, as well as in the areas of orthography and orthoepy, i.e. the planning and formation of a uniform spoken norm of standard German.

Orthography

The orthographical traditions which had developed by the end of the eighteenth century, and which had been disseminated throughout the German-speaking territories as a result of the popularization and pedagogical use of Adelung's orthography, followed — as is the case for other written languages with a long history — different and competing principles. More linguistically motivated principles (such as spellings based on phonetics, etymology or analogy) were in competition with more sociolinguistic principles (such as usage and uniformity). In the first half of the nineteenth century two spelling discourses can be observed. There was the issue of the unification of the spelling system, which showed differences and peculiarities across social groups as well as across individual schools and teachers. Moreover, discussions about the “correct” orthographic principle were also continued. The orthographic discourse also included supporters of the so-called “historical principle” who propagated the idea of a “natural development” from the Middle Ages to the present.

But the actual impetus for the development of a uniform orthographic norm is probably found in the general historical and political changes which accompanied the *Reichsgründung* (i.e. the establishment of a unified German state under Bismarck in 1871). A uniform orthography functioned as a symbol of national unity within the German Empire and also with regard to the other European nations. The point of orientation for the norm discussion after 1871 was the *Berliner Regellbuch* ('Berlin Rule Book'; 1871) which was published with the participation of the German language scholar Wilhelm Wilmanns, and the *Deutsche Rechtschreibung* ('German Orthography') which was published one year later by Konrad Duden (1872, 1880, 1902). After a first, unsuccessful attempt at agreement during the I. Orthographic Conference in Berlin 1876 (where the main point of discussion was the realization of specific reform ideas), the II. Orthographic Conference (1901) concentrated on the question of spelling unification. Based on the orthographical usage which had been codified by Duden, the aim was to achieve unification throughout the German-speaking territories, including the German Empire, Austria and Switzerland. In 1902 an orthographic codex was published in the form of spelling rules as well as a dictionary. The latter listed forms which diverged from the specified spelling rules. In the course of the twentieth century smaller additions and changes were included in the so-called 'Orthography-Duden' (*Rechtschreib-Duden*). More far-reaching reforms such as, for example, the attempt to introduce a moderate lower-case spelling in the 1960s were unsuccessful. An extensive reform was discussed from the beginning of the 1990s and was introduced in 1996/1998: “Sie [the reform] entstand mit der Zielsetzung einer behutsamen Vereinfachung und Systematisierung für die Schreibenlernenden bei nur geringer Veränderung des gewohnten Schriftbildes” ('[The reform] was developed with the aim of a

careful simplification and systematization for those who are learning to write, with minimal change to the established orthographic picture'; Von Polenz 1999: 247). This orthographic reform is still controversial.

Orthoepy

Against the background of the on-going standardization of a German written language, one notices from the seventeenth and eighteenth century on a systematic attempt to develop a cultivated (that is, oriented towards the written norm) spoken language (Kurka 1980). In Protestant areas we find as early as the sixteenth century (for example, in communal Bible readings) evidence for a non-regional reading pronunciation which developed considerable independence in the Low German-speaking areas of northern Germany. This Protestant language culture, which distanced itself from the local dialects, became in the eighteenth century a point of orientation for the development of a pronunciation norm on the basis of the exemplary written *Meißen*-German. This development was supported by the above mentioned fact that the majority of grammarians came from Northern Germany and were working in Saxony. However, even with regard to the Protestant areas, a fundamental rejection of strong dialectal pronunciations of the written language did not occur before the nineteenth century. This is not surprising in so far as there did not yet exist supra-regional, socio-communicative institutions which required the presence of a uniform spoken language. The spoken language culture was always regional — at least in so far as the spoken language was German at all and not French (at the courts) or Latin (in the sciences). The first supra-regionally organized institutions which required a (spoken) medium for supra-regional communication were — from the second half of the eighteenth century — the court and the national theatres. Attempts towards the development of a spoken norm started by focusing on the pronunciation of actors. Goethe, for example, formulated in 1803 *Regeln für Schauspieler* ('Rules for actors') which demanded, among other things, a supra-regional pronunciation of literary texts (Weithase 1949).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the formation of uniform norms of pronunciation for the standard written language was supported by three factors. Firstly, the developing science of sounds, phonetics, developed the theoretical foundation for an appropriate differentiation of sounds. Secondly, only after 1871 did the development of a uniform spoken norm have national-political implications in so far as it could be interpreted as a symbol of national unity. And thirdly, we can see — with regard to language-sociological aspects — from the mid-nineteenth century the early formation of socio-communicative institutions such as clubs and societies (*Vereinswesen*) as well as the parliamentary system, which supported supra-regional spoken communication.

The discourse about the codification and development of a spoken norm was characterized by an opposition between the abstract-typological position of e.g. Eduard Sievers and Theodor Siebs which was hostile towards variation, and the position of e.g. Wilhelm Viëtor and Rudolf Hildebrand which focused on patterns of usage and empirical-statistical investigations. The abstract-typological position became established with Siebs' influential *Deutsche Bühnenaussprache* ('German Stage Pronunciation', 1898), a spoken norm largely based on "educated" and "elitist" opinions of taste. The idea of an "educated" pronunciation without empirical support in actual pronunciation usage was present in orthoepic discussions up until the 1990s. However, the original orientation at the stage pronunciation was step by step replaced by the notion of a "moderate high language" ("*gemässigte Hochsprache*"). In the GDR a different path was taken in the 1950s and 1960s; and the pronunciation norm was based on empirical studies of radio broadcasters (Krech 1964). After unification a new starting point was established which took into account both principles.

4. Norm elaboration

In this paper the term norm elaboration is used to refer to the extension of the functional range of the standard variety with regard to sociolinguistic as well linguistic dimensions. Included are also changes within the existing standard which are motivated by the opening up of new communicative functions, e.g. when a literary standard develops into a national standard as can be seen in the history of German.

In the context of the notion of the "architecture of language", which was suggested by Eugenio Coseriu (cf. Albrecht 1990: 50), elaboration is primarily located in the "diaphasic" dimension. This includes not only situation-specific language use but also media-specific use and function-specific use. Initially the standard variety was exclusively limited to the written domain, while the spoken language remained more or less influenced by dialects. Moreover, for a long time use of the standard variety was limited to official communication. Only later did the standard extend its area of usage to more private communicative situations. Some other language functions were also not yet dominated by the standard variety, e.g. the academic language up until the eighteenth century; or one could mention the language of the natural sciences in the German speech community today which is largely English.

In the history of the German standard language elaboration took place in parallel to meta-linguistic norm debates as well as processes of codification. With regard to elaboration we can observe firstly an external, more sociolinguistic pro-

cess, and secondly an internal process which affected the standard language directly. On the one hand, the developing standard language extended its scope (or its claim to functional extension) to domains which up until then had been dominated by non-German languages such as Latin (for science) or French (at the courts). In addition, the scope of the standard variety expanded further as new communicative domains developed, e.g. the elaboration of technical and scientific language, and the development of German as a language of public communication (used in the newly emerging mass media), as well as the *Ausbau* of German as a literary language (see below).

The displacement of the Latin scientific language with the German written standard as well as the displacement of dialects with the spoken standard in conversations with children (which can be observed from the 1960s all over Germany), were part of the status elaboration of the standard variety. The *Ausbau* of the German standard in the areas of technical and scientific language as well as in the areas of the media and administration was also a question of the internal development of the structures of the standard (i.e. corpus elaboration). Affected were primarily the domain of lexicography as new terminologies were established and expanded, and the stylistic or rather text-linguistic domain as new genres with new stylistic demands developed alongside the formation of new communicative contexts.

In the history of German, corpus elaboration took place in those areas where the German standard variety was adopted for communicative domains which had originally been dominated by a foreign language. The two most important processes of this kind were the displacement of Latin by German as the written language (partially also the spoken language) and the displacement of French as the language of the courts and the upper classes. The entire Middle Ages and the early modern times were characterized by the gradual displacement of Latin from the written domain. Up until the eighteenth century Latin had been maintained in particular — excluding the traditions of the neo-Latin literary language — in the legal domain and in the universities, as well as in technical and scientific registers. The stability of Latin in the legal domain is based on the early modern adoption and reception of Roman Law in the German Empire. Early beginnings of a German legal language were unable to assert themselves despite the German-language tradition of the Imperial Court (*Reichskammergericht*). The Latin language as used by legal professionals soon developed into a secret language of lawyers and judges, and in the era of absolutism it was used by the growing group of legally trained administrative civil servants. Only in the eighteenth century can one observe — in the context of the effects of the legal theory of Montesquieu as well as of the “codification movement” which was motivated by the rationalism of the Enlightenment — developments towards vernacular law. First results and at the same time high points

of the attempts to develop a German legal language were the *Allgemeine Landrecht* ('General Land Law') of Prussia (1794) which had been encouraged by Friedrich II, and also the German translation of the *Code Napoleon*, which was used from the Napoleonic time in the Western parts of the German Empire.

Until the eighteenth century, a second domain of Latin were the universities and the language of science. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), for example, had argued for a German scientific language although in many cases he himself still used Latin as the language of his scientific publications. After many unsuccessful attempts Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) was the first to use the German language in university teaching (1687). In 1692 there were, for the first time, more academic texts printed in German than in Latin. However, only towards the end of the eighteenth century was the vernacular established in academic teaching (with certain exceptions such as theology).

As mentioned above, the internal, linguistic elaboration of the emerging German standard variety is primarily visible in those socio-communicative domains which developed from the early modern times: the technical and scientific language, the language of public discourse and the mass media as well as to some extent the literary language. The starting points for the development in the area of technical, professional and scientific language were, on the one hand, Latin and translations from Latin (which are already attested for the sixteenth century); on the other hand, the traditional professional language as used, for example, by artisans. The latter, however, provided the basis for the elaboration of the German standard only in limited ways. The artisan trades were characterized by guild structures in which the "arts" or trades and the manufacturing methods were kept secret. This secrecy was supported by dialectal fragmentation as well as extensive metaphor use without any systematic and theoretical basis. As far as there existed early scientific languages, these were not standardized. A dominant feature were loan translations but also Latin-German doublets which were used to clarify and secure word meaning. Starting points for a modern, rational development of the technical and scientific language are visible as early as the second half of the seventeenth century. From the mid-eighteenth century the foundations were developed in numerous popular advice books of the type of the *Hausväterliteratur* as well as in a large number of so-called *Kunstlehren* ('teachings of the arts/trades') and collections of *Kunstwörtern* ('words of the arts/trades'). These were similar to dictionaries, e.g. the *Theatrum Machinarum* of Jakob Leupold (seven volumes, Leipzig 1724–1727).

Central cornerstones in this discourse are the positions of Leibniz and the justification of a Germanic scientific language by Christian Wolff (1679–1754). Leibniz demanded as early as 1670 (*De optima philosophi dictione*) a well-defined, systematic terminology with fixed meanings, and he argued for a continuation of

the existing technical and scientific German terminological basis in those cases where this was sensible. True innovations should, according to Leibniz, be used only rarely. The actual founder of the German theoretical and scientific language was, however, the Enlightenment philosopher Christian Wolff who systematically asserted the reform goals of rationalism and Enlightenment in this domain. Wolff concentrated not only on the development of terminologies of individual disciplines but also on the terminological machinery which was common to all sciences, e.g. *Begriff* for *notio* ('notion, concept') or *Gattung* for *genus* ('genre, genus'), that is, the general educated lexicon which even today still makes use of these early terms.

The natural and technical sciences which were at that time emancipating themselves from the classical tradition, were affected by these developments from the 1770s. Of central importance was the philosophy professor Johann Beckmann (1739–1811) from Göttingen with his text *Anleitung zur Technologie oder zur Kenntniss der Handwerke, Fabriken und Manufakturen ...* ('Instructions for technology or for knowledge of trades, factories and manufactories', 1777).⁴ The climax of this development, which characterized the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth century, were efforts directed at the creation of artificial languages (e.g. the formulaic languages of mathematics or chemistry), and the publication of complex nomenclatures. The most significant work of this type is the German translation of the Latin terminology of the Swedish botanist Carl von Linné (*Genera planorum*; 1737). The German translation appeared in 1773 and created, based on the Aristotelian classification system, a complex series of interconnected meanings. The extension of the German standard language into technological and scientific communication, which began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, continued in the nineteenth and in particular the twentieth century. One can assume that literature of this type was widely known and frequently read. Nevertheless, the significance of this development for the cultivation and differentiation of the German written language is probably, even today, not fully recognized.

The second domain into which the German standard variety advanced from the seventeenth century was the political public. The political public as a space for social action and communication existed — if one excludes the early developments during the time of the Reformation — only to that extent that the absolutist royal state allowed such liberties. The early German middle classes were incorporated into cabinet politics as a *Staatsdiener* ('state's servant'), i.e. civil servants. Political debates in diverse organizations and societies created first opportunities for the exercise of political action in public spaces. The newly emerging genre of the newspaper played an important role in these developments from the mid-seventeenth century onwards (Fritz 1990). The *Aviso* from Wolffenbüttel (1609) is the first weekly paper which survived in the historical record. Towards the end of the seventeenth century about 100 newspapers were available in Germany; at the

beginning of the French Revolution there were about 200 papers. The first regular daily, which appeared over a longer stretch of time, was the *Einkommenden Nachrichten* ('Arriving News') in Leipzig (from 1660). It is generally assumed that newspapers formed the main text genre for the emerging middle-class political public until the end of the eighteenth century. They were of central importance for the development of the political language. From early on this language was also the object of reflection. Thus in the seventeenth century, the *Publizist* ('publicist'; a commentator on political and social affairs) Kasper Stieler (1632–1707), who had also published an early German dictionary (see above on the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*), included in his study *Zeitungs Lust und Nutz* ('Newspaper's Enjoyment and Utility') a *Erklärung Derer in den Zeitungen gemeiniglich vorkommenden fremden und dunklen Wörter* ('Explication of those foreign and obscure words generally occurring in the newspapers'), inclusive suggestions for paraphrases and German replacements (Wilke 1985). Stieler thus reacted to the heavy infiltration of German newspaper language with foreign and also technical words. The genre of 'newspaper dictionaries' (*Zeitungslexika*) developed further and constituted an early type of popular encyclopaedias (so-called *Konversationslexika*).

Other communicative domains which were developed and transformed from the early modern period in the context of the standardization and cultivation of German will not be discussed in detail in this paper. One could name the development of administrative language and the development of the language of the *belles lettres*.

5. Acceptance of the norm

The fifth process which we would like to distinguish in the context of the standardization of German is the acceptance of the norm. This refers to the language-historical development towards general validity and use of the standard norm within the speech community, in other words, a situation where the standard language is used by all members of the speech community in a wide range of functions.

In the context of Coseriu's aforementioned notion of the "architecture of language", the assertion and generalization of the standard language within the German speech community concerns primarily the "diatopic" and "diastratic" dimensions, that is, the generalization of the validity and use of the standard language throughout the German-speaking territories and across different social groups. Moreover, it will be important to include the "diaphasic" aspect, i.e. the diffusion of the standard language across (written and spoken) registers.

The starting point for the development was the situation around 1800. A relatively clear conception of an exemplary German standard had begun to emerge

as a result of the codification work of grammarians such as Gottsched and Adelung, and was further supported by the great literary period of the classical literature (i.e. the *Klassiker*, e.g. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Friedrich von Schiller and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe). In the beginning this exemplary German was only used by a small group within the German speech community, mostly as a written language by members of the educated middle classes. One of the most significant language-historical developments of the nineteenth century is the diffusion of the norms of educated German throughout the entire speech community (Mattheier 2000a).

The geographical pattern of this generalization process can be conceptualized as proceeding from the centres of education in the German language territory. Small towns and in particular the rural areas were not affected by the process for a considerable period of time. Literacy rates showed a similar structure. However, there also existed clear differences regarding the social and cultural development in the various regions of the Empire. One could mention, for example, highly modernized regions such as Saxony or the Rhineland, and less developed regions such as the eastern provinces of Prussia.

For the nineteenth century we can thus assume that both literacy rates as well as the diffusion of the German standard language differed from region to region. Moreover, after the *Reichsgründung* (as well as before) there were a number of regions in which the written standard language competed with other national languages. These included the Polish eastern provinces of Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine and eastern Belgium as well as the controversial German-Danish transition area in Schleswig. In these areas we can see a targeted language policy in favour of German which went hand in hand with measures directed at suppressing the respective linguistic competitor.

A special problem with regard to the regional diffusion and use of the German standard language emerged in the context of the *Reichsgründung*, i.e. the decision for the *kleindeutsche Lösung* ('small-German solution') without Austria. Admittedly, the concepts of the 'language of the classics' (*Klassikersprache*) and the 'language of education' (*Bildungssprache*) as models for "correct", "beautiful" and "good" German were implicitly valid for all German-speaking territories, including Austria and the German-speaking part of Switzerland. However, soon there stirred resistance in these countries. Although both states agreed to the main codification steps of German orthography and orthoepy around 1900, they were careful to maintain a distinct standard language identity by preserving a number of linguistic peculiarities, in particular in the area of the lexicon. Here one can see the starting point of the current polycentric structure of the German language with three full centres of the standard as well as a number of marginal centres (Ammon 1995).

More important than the "diatopic" dimension was the "diastratic" dimension for the generalization of the German standard variety, that is, the establishment of

the standard written (and spoken) language across different social groups. The first pillar of the German standard variety was the numerically relatively small group of the educated middle classes which emerged in the eighteenth century in the context of the absolutist royal state. This group defined itself as a specific class not only socially, but in terms of education as well as competence and interest in a cultivated German language. The humanist grammar school (*Gymnasium*) was since the early nineteenth century the *Kaderschmiede* ('elite school') of the educated middle classes (*Bildungsbürgertum*). This group also included e.g. university professors, secondary school teachers and higher civil servants as well as notaries, advocates and pharmacists. The active contribution to the development of a cultivated standard language was an identity symbol for members of this social group, and went hand in hand with their interest in the literature of the classical writers.

The expansion of this linguistic and cultural norm (cf. Mattheier 1991) involved two processes which Peter von Polenz termed "popularization" and "pedagogicalization" (*Pädagogisierung*). Use and prestige of the cultivated, educated standard variety as well as the *Klassikersprache* increased within the middle classes, including parts of the *Besitzbürgertum* (the propertied middle class) and, after the *Reichsgründung*, also the petty bourgeoisie (*Kleinbürgertum*). This development took place, for example, (a) via popular literature (*Trivial- und Konsumliteratur*) which contributed to the popularization of the *Klassikersprache* soon after the death of Goethe; (b) via the increasingly important mass media; as well as (c) via the fast expanding networks of clubs and societies. The second multiplication process for the diffusion of the language culture within the middle classes was "pedagogicalization", i.e. the teaching of Standard German. Important were the grammar schools (*Gymnasien*) and higher secondary schools (*Oberrealschulen*) which developed after the mid-nineteenth century. Primary schools (*Volksschulen*) were excluded from this process up until the twentieth century, and were only granted limited access to the cultivated standard language. Little is known about the integration of the rural population and the just emerging "fourth estate" (i.e. the working classes). With regard to the aristocracy an anti-intellectual tendency can be observed in the rural aristocracy (*Landadel*) and also in the military up until the second half of the nineteenth century. This anti-intellectualism is accompanied by a rejection of the *Bildungsjargon* ("the jargon of education"). It can nevertheless be maintained for around 1900 that the German written standard language was accepted in the entire German speech community as a model norm, and also that the standard variety was actively known by large segments of the population. In addition, the standard now had a symbolic function. From the 1840s but more intensely after the *Reichsgründung*, the cultivated German written language emerged as a unifying bond of everything that is German.

Next to the German of the educated middle classes, one notices in the eigh-

teenth and in particular in the nineteenth century historical record a written variety — especially in texts of everyday-life produced by less experienced writers — which diverges considerably from the written language norm. Both contemporaries and linguists discussed this variety primarily in terms of deviation from the standard and linguistic defectiveness. However, the pervasiveness of these forms in most of the (so far neglected) ordinary, everyday texts (e.g. private letters, diaries, travelogues, etc; Schikorski 1990) suggests that it is appropriate to interpret this evidence as reflecting a special linguistic variety. This is supported by the fact that during the nineteenth century members of the educated middle classes indeed perceived this variety and assessed it as a marker of social demotion. This “proto-standard” — how one might term this variety — is based on a rudimentary knowledge of the written norm to precisely that extent to which it is taught in the primary school classroom. In addition, one frequently finds formalized reminiscences of middle-class writing culture, in particular at the beginning and the end of texts. However, this “proto-standard” acquired its special character through the clear spoken-language imprint, in particular from the dialect but also from the professional technical jargon as well as through the use of *Versatzstücke* (‘set pieces’) from religious texts (Klenk 1997). As a variety the “proto-standard” was shaped by its transitional character. It developed in the context of a not yet entirely stabilized and institutionalized standard language and dissolved when — via a sustained “pedagogicalization” process — the written standard norm reached the primary schools.

A supra-regionally used spoken standard language developed next to the written language from the early eighteenth century. Up until the early twentieth century this variety was only present in theatres as a norm requirement, or as a stylistic obligation for middle-class language behaviour. In the linguistic reality of the time the north German standard in particular — which was spoken *nach der Schrift* (‘according to the letters’) — complied, according to the beliefs of the contemporaries, with the idea of the norm of “good German”. Throughout the nineteenth century the dominant language variety of most members of the German speech community was the respective local dialect. The language varieties spoken in the urban centres were possibly also influenced by the main regional language. For the entire nineteenth century there is evidence that the spoken language of even the great writers and philosophers was shaped by their original dialect, sometimes leading to complete (spoken language) incomprehensibility (Naumann 1989). However, there is also evidence from the mid-nineteenth century that *lautreines Sprechen* (“sound-pure [i.e. correct] speaking”) was a central educational goal in families belonging to the educated middle classes. This development was probably the starting point for the emergence of a group of speakers within the German speech community whose members no longer acquired the dialect in their youth, and who only spoke the standard language. Today this group of speakers comprises about twenty percent of

the speech community. On the one hand, the acceptance of the standard variety was thus supported in the nineteenth century by the “pedagogicalization” of German which established the educational goal of correct pronunciation in all school types. On the other hand, we also observe in the nineteenth century the development of socio-cultural contexts which required a supra-regional, uniform spoken language. A central aspect of these developments was the formation of a social and political public which was no longer writing-oriented, but speaking-oriented. The national clubs and societies and in particular the constitution of a parliamentary system were important aspects of this development. In addition, there was a language-patriotic or nationalistic aspect. That a uniformly spoken standard language was an important symbol of a unified nation had been illustrated in other areas in Western Europe.

The generalization of the spoken standard language began under these conditions, but gained momentum in the twentieth century with the establishment and extension of electronic media. However, even today a more or less regionally accented variety is commonly used next to a supra-regional spoken language in public situations, and in recent years such forms have become increasingly accepted. Indeed, it does not appear that the group of speakers who make use of a regional accent in public contexts is decreasing. There is only a small group of speakers who do not use a regional accent in private speech situations. As a general rule, private communication situations in the entire German language area take place in a more or less pronounced regional language or even in the traditional dialect.

6. Recent developments

One can assume that a linguistically and sociolinguistically stable standard language existed in the first decades of the twentieth century with regard to structure, status and attitudes. At the same time, the first half of the twentieth century was characterized by fundamental historical-political upheavals and changes which were connected to the two World Wars, and which fundamentally changed the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic structures of the German language. Some aspects of these developments are discussed here.

(a) The status of German as a trans-national and international language decreased after the First World War; a process which intensified after the Second World War. German now takes second place to English in the areas of business, political life and science. Even within the German speech community there is increasing use of English in the sciences and the business sector. German has thus lost (cf. Kloss’ 1967 model of the different levels of linguistic *Ausbau*) its position as a fully

developed standard language. Technical terminologies, for example, are no longer developed in many scientific areas. In addition there is increasing influence from English in the media and entertainment industries. Although these have not led to the displacement of German, they have supported the development of a German-English mixed jargon. These developments have supported a revival of language purism and led to the foundation of the *Verein für deutsche Sprache* ('Society for the German Language'). After only a short time the society had over 15 000 members.

(b) Until the 1970s the German standard norm was shaped by codification activities in Germany which established what was considered the "normal type" of the standard norm. Peculiarities of other German-speaking countries and areas were seen as "deviations". The discussion of the pluricentricity of the standard was triggered by the debate about an independent standard norm in the GDR. After the fall of the Berlin wall the discussion concentrated on the three centres of German: Switzerland, Austria and Germany. The first outcome of this debate will be a dictionary which describes the pluricentric structures of these three varieties of Standard German (Ammon 1995).

(c) Significant changes occurred also in the "diatopic" (i.e. language-geographical) variety system of German. In the German speech community there are today two dominant varieties: the regional language (*Regionalsprache*) and the regional standard (*Regionalstandard*; cf. Huesmann 1998). The regional language has developed as a result of a generally observable dialect loss which is based primarily on inter-dialect convergence and levelling (i.e. takes places without participation of the standard language). The regional standard, on the other hand, is a standard variety which contains and accepts few regional markers. Next to these two varieties there are some dialect relics. The fourth variety in the spectrum of the German language is the supra-regional standard language which contains no noticeable regional influences. As mentioned above, about twenty percent of the population use only the supra-regional standard language. The remaining eighty percent of speakers are either monolingual (i.e. they speak *either* the regional language *or* the regional standard), or they are diglossic (i.e. they switch between the two varieties depending of the formality of the situation).

(d) The probably most important development, which has been noticed in the last few decades with regard to the function and structure of Standard German, is a process which can be called "destandardization". This development (which has also been reported for other European standard languages, cf. Mattheier 1997) is probably the result of a number of sociolinguistic as well as general social processes which can ultimately be traced back to the changed role which social norms and authorities play in complex industrial societies. The destandardization process is, for example,

indicated by the relativization of linguistic and stylistic norms, i.e. the acceptance or rejection of certain varieties in some text genres. It is also visible in the general questioning of codified norms which happened, for example, in the debate surrounding the orthography reform in the 1990s. Moreover, the formulation of standard language norms is increasingly oriented towards the more variable spoken language (rather than the written language). This suggests a general decrease of the degree of standardization (i.e. understood as linguistic uniformity and normativity). One could mention, for example, the loosening of syntactic structures and the laments about the loss of the idea of a “cultivated language” as a social value.

Von Polenz (1999: 229–232), however, interprets destandardization as a more fundamental process of language change. The basis of every process of language change — with the exception of intentional language change — is the everyday linguistic behaviour which generates linguistic variants (motivated, for example, by language contact or articulatory ease). These variants carry cognitive-communicative meaning, and function furthermore as social symbols. This social evaluation of language variants (i.e. “good” vs. “bad”, “norm-conforming” vs. “deviant”) is central to the context discussed here. A language whose evolution is significantly affected by the everyday (re-)formation of variants as well as the replacement of variants, shows strong tendencies towards decentralization. From this language change perspective linguistic cultivation as the central process of standard language formation is primarily characterized by variant reduction. Authorities emerge in a complex process of social and linguistic change and prescribe — via model texts, model authors and language experts as well as norm codices — certain choices within the variation space. Other variants are classified as “wrong” or “inappropriate”. The result of this process is the formation of a socially stable language norm which is partially codified but also based on subsistent usage norms. However, why does such a process of variant reduction begin in a society? Why do relatively uniform standard languages emerge? To answer these questions the general socio-historical and political development of the German-speaking states and the German nation will need to be taken into account. Standard language norms everywhere in Europe developed in the context of the formation of nation states. As a national language the standard is a central symbol for the constitution of a national identity and certainly formed one of the foundations for nation building.

Destandardization processes become visible wherever this national identificatory function is reduced. This can mean that the nation is dissolving or that the nation has stabilized to such an extent that the additional symbolization through a uniform standard language is no longer required. It can also mean that the idea of the “nation” as a socio-historical ideal has fallen into disrepute. The latter scenario can be argued for the German speech community after the Second World War. Language has largely lost its potential to symbolize a national German identity. The

very concept of the “nation” has become problematical in German from the mid-twentieth century. This is certainly a result of the existence of two German states until 1990. Today, there are no longer uncontested norm authorities, model texts or model authors which provide guidelines for linguistic behaviour, and even the large standard grammars of German increasingly propagate opposing variants as acceptable. An abstract principle has taken the place of the great writers, the language models and the national symbols: language norms are “sensible” if they can maximally fulfil the purposes for which they are employed. Similarly youth language is “correct” if it fulfils its function, e.g. social differentiation and within-group distinction; and also the purpose or function of professional technical jargon is not maximal comprehensibility among laypeople but among specialists. For Standard German this means strong decentralization and considerable *Ausbau* of the multitude of variants and varieties. However, for the German language in its social, regional and stylistic complexity this also means an increase of functional efficiency (*funktionale Leistungsfähigkeit*).

Notes

* This article was translated by Ana Deumert, Monash University, Australia. The translation closely follows the original German text.

1. The German term *Schreiblandschaft* (literally ‘writing region’) refers to areas with show common *written* (but not necessarily spoken) linguistic features (editors’ comment).
2. Meißen is a city in Saxony which, at the time, was under the rule of the powerful Wettin dynasty (editors’ comment).
3. The law of *cuius regio, eius religio* established that in the secular territories of the German Empire rulers had the right to determine the religion of their subjects (editors’ comment).
4. In German the term *Manufaktur* refers to production carried out by hand in workshops or by home workers. The work is not carried out by independent artisans. *Manufaktur* is a largely traditional mode of production located between guild production (artisan trade) and the factories of modern capitalism (editors’ comment).

References

- Adelung, J. Ch. 1774–1786. *Versuch eines vollständigen grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuches der Hochdeutschen Mundart mit beständiger Vergleichung der übrigen Mundarten, besonders aber der Oberdeutschen*. Five Volumes. Leipzig: Breitkopf.
- Adelung, J. Ch. 1782. *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der Deutschen Sprache zur Erläuterung der Deutschen Sprachlehre für Schulen*. Leipzig: Breitkopf.

- Adelung, J. Ch. 1788. *Vollständige Anweisung zur Deutschen Orthographie, nebst einem kleinen Wörterbuch für die Aussprache, Orthographie, Biegung und Ableitung*. Leipzig: Breitkopf.
- Albertus, L. 1573. *Teutsch Grammatick oder SprachKunst*. Augsburg.
- Albrecht, J. 1990. "‘Substandard’ und ‘Subnorm’. Die nicht-exemplarischen Ausprägungen der ‘Historischen Sprache’ aus varietätenlinguistischer Sicht." In *Sprachlicher Substandard III. Standard, Substandard und Varietätenlinguistik*. G. Holtus, E. Radtke (eds), 44–127. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Ammon, U. 1995. *Die deutsche Sprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Das Problem der nationalen Varietäten*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Antesperg(er), von J. B. 1747. *Die Kayserliche Deutsche Grammatick, Oder die Kunst, die deutsche Sprache recht zu reden, Und ohne Fehler zu schreiben (...)* Wien.
- Besch, W., Reichmann, O., Sonderegger, S. (eds). 1984/1985. *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*. Two volumes. Berlin: de Gruyter. (=Sprachgeschichte 1984/1985).
- Besch, W., Betten, A., Reichmann, O., Sonderegger, S. (eds). 1998, 2000. *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*. Second edition. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter. (=Sprachgeschichte 1998/2000).
- Bödiker, J. 1690. *Grundsätze der deutschen Sprache*. Cölln an der Spree; reprint Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat 1977.
- (Braun, H.) 1765. *Anleitung zur deutschen Sprachkunst. Zum Gebrauche der Schulen, in denen Churlanden zu Baiern. (...)* München (anonymous), improved and expanded edition 1775.
- Clajius, J. 1578. *Grammatica Germanicae lingvae (...)* ex bibliis Lytheri Germanicis et aliis eius libris collecta. Leipzig.
- Duden, K. 1872. *Die deutsche Rechtschreibung. Abhandlung, Regeln und Wörterverzeichnis mit etymologischen Angaben. Für die oberen Klassen höherer Lehranstalten und zur Selbstbelehrung für Gebildete*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Duden, K. 1880. *Vollständiges orthographisches Wörterbuch für die Schule. Nach den amtlichen Regeln der neuen Orthographie*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut
- Duden, K. 1902. *Die deutsche Rechtschreibung nebst Interpunktionslehre und ausführlichem Wörterverzeichnis nach dem für Deutschland, Österreich und die Schweiz gültigen Regeln zum Gebrauch für die Schulen und zur Selbstbelehrung neu bearbeitet*. Seventh edition. München: Beck.
- Erben, J. 1974. "Luther und die neuhochdeutsche Schriftsprache". In *Deutsche Wortgeschichte*. F. Maurer, H. Rupp (eds), Volume 1, 509–581. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Frangk, F. 1531. *Ein Cantzley vnd Titelbuechlin (...)*. *Orthographia Deutsch/ Lernst recht buchstaebig schreiben*. Wittenberg.
- Freyer, H. 1722. *Anweisung zur Teutschen Orthographie*. Halle.
- Fritz, G. 1990. "Zur Sprache der ersten periodischen Zeitungen". In *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte. Grundlagen, Methoden, Perspektiven. Festschrift für Johannes Erben zum 65. Geburtstag*. W. Besch et al. (eds), 281–288. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Gottsched, J. Ch. 1748. *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst. Nach den Mustern der besten Schriftsteller des vorigen und jetzigen Jahrhunderts abgefasst*. Leipzig; reprint of

- the edition of 1762 Hildesheim: Olms 1970.
- Gueinz, Ch. 1645. *Die Deutsche Rechtschreibung/ Auf sonderbares gut befinden/ Durch den Ordnenenden verfasst/ Von den Fruchtbringenden Gesellschafts übersehen/ und zur nachricht an den tag gegeben.* Halle.
- Henne, H. 1968. "Das Problem des Meissnischen Deutsch oder 'Was ist Hochdeutsch?'" *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundartforschung* 35: 109–129.
- Huesmann, A. 1998. *Zwischen Dialekt und Standard. Empirische Untersuchung zur Soziolinguistik des Varietätenspektrums im Deutschen.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Ickelsamer, V. *Ein Teutsche Grammatica/ Darauß einer von jm selbs mag lesen lernen/ mit allem dem so zum Teutschen lesen vnd desselben Orthographia mangel vnd ueberfluß (...)* zuo wissen gehoert (Augsburg) 1534.
- Josten, D. 1976. *Sprachvorbild und Sprachnorm im Urteil des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts.* Frankfurt: Lang.
- Klenk, M. 1997. *Sprache im Kontext sozialer Lebenswelt. Eine Untersuchung zur Arbeiterschriftsprache im 19. Jahrhundert.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Kloss, H. 1969. "'Abstand Languages' and 'Ausbau Languages'" *Anthropological Linguistics* 9 (7): 29–41.
- Krech, H. et al. 1964. (eds) *Wörterbuch der deutschen Aussprache.* Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut.
- Kurka, E. 1980. "Die deutsche Aussprachenorm im 19. Jahrhundert". In *Studien zur deutschen Sprachgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (= Linguistische Studien A 66/1), G. Kettmann et al. (eds), 1–67. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Maas, U. 1987. "Der kulturalanalytische Zugang zur Sprachgeschichte". *Wirkendes Wort* 33: 87–104.
- Mattheier, K. J. 1991. "Standardsprache als Sozialsymbol". In *Das 19. Jahrhundert. Sprachhistorische Wurzeln des heutigen Deutsch.* R. Wimmer (ed.), 41–72. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Mattheier, K. J. 1991. "'Gemeines Deutsch' — ein Sinnbild der sprachlichen Einigung" In *Begegnungen mit dem 'Fremden'. Grenzen — Traditionen — Vergleiche. Akten des VIII. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses Tokyo 1990*, E. Iwasaki (ed.), 39–48. München: Iudicium.
- Mattheier, K. J. 1997. "Über Destandardisierung, Umstandardisierung und Standardisierung in modernen europäischen Standardsprachen". In *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen.* K. J. Mattheier, E. Radtke (eds), 1–9. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Mattheier, K. J. 2000a. "Die Durchsetzung der deutschen Hochsprache im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert: sprachgeographisch, sprachsoziologisch". In *Sprachgeschichte.* W. Besch et al. (eds), 1951–1966. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Mattheier, K. J. 2000b. "Die Herausbildung neuzeitlicher Schriftsprachen". In *Sprachgeschichte.* W. Besch et al. (eds), 1085–1107. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Möller, R. 2000. "Rheinische Sprachgeschichte von 1300 bis 1500". In *Rheinisch-Westfälische Sprachgeschichte.* Macha, J., Neuss, E., Peters, R. (eds), 51–76. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau.
- Naumann, B. 1989. "Die Differenzierung gesprochener und geschriebener Sprachformen des Deutschen in sprachwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten vor und nach 1800". In *Vorausset-*

- zungen und Grundlagen der Gegenwartssprache. Sprach- und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum 19. Jahrhundert. D. Cherubim, K. J. Mattheier (eds), 73–91. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.
- Opitz, M. 1624. *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*. Breslau: Müller; ed. by W. Braune, rev. R. Alewey 1966. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Ölinger, A. 1573. *Vnderricht der Hoch Teutschen Spraach: Grammatica sev Institutio Verae Germanicae linguae (...) in vsum ivventutis maxime Gallicae*. Graßburg.
- Polenz, von, P. 1994. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Volume II. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.
- Polenz, von, P. 1999. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Volume III. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.
- Polenz, von, P. 2000. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Einführung, Grundbegriffe, 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert. Volume I, second edition. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.
- Reichmann, O. 1988. “Zur Vertikalisierung des Varietätenspektrums in der jüngeren Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen”. In *Deutscher Wortschatz. Lexikologische Studien*. H. H. Munske et al. (eds), 151–180. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Reiffenstein, I. 1984/1985. “Metasprachliche Äußerungen über das Deutsche und seine Subsysteme bis 1800 in historischer Sicht”. In *Sprachgeschichte*. W. Besch, O. Reichmann, S. Sonderegger (eds), 1727–1750. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- Reiffenstein, I. 1989. “Gottsched und die Bayern. Der Parnassus Boicus, die Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften und die Pflege der deutschen Sprache im 18. Jahrhundert”. In *Soziokulturelle Kontexte der Sprach- und Kulturentwicklung. Festschrift für R. Große*, S. Heinmann et al. (eds), 177–186. Stuttgart.
- Schikorski, I. 1990. *Private Schriftlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des alltäglichen Sprachverhaltens ‘kleiner Leute’*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Schottel, J. G. 1663. *Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen HauptSprache/(...)*. Baunschweig. repr.; Tübingen: Niemeyer 1967.
- Siebs, Th. 1898. *Deutsche Bühnenaussprache*. Berlin, Köln, Leipzig: Ahn; eight edition *Deutsche Hochsprache. Bühnenaussprache*, H. de Boor, P. Diels (eds); nineteenth edition *Deutsche Aussprache. Reine und gemäßigte Hochlautung mit Aussprachewörterbuch*, H. de Boor, H. Moser, Ch. Winkler (eds) Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Stieler, K. [1691] 1968–9. *Der Teutschen Sprache Stammbaum und Fortwachs Oder Teutscher Sprachschatz (...)* gesammelt von dem Spaten. Three volumes. Nuremberg: Hoffmann; repr. G. Ising. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Weithase, I. 1949. *Goethe als Sprecher und Sprecherzieher*. Weimar: Böhlau.
- Wells, C. J. 1985. *German: A linguistic history to 1945*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Wiesinger, P. 1993. “Die Einführung der allgemeinen deutschen Schriftsprache in Österreich in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts”. In *Im Zeichen der ungeteilten Philologie*. Festschrift für K. Mollay, P. Bassola et al. (eds), 393–410. Budapest: ELTE, Germanistisches Institut.
- Wilke, J. 1985. “Zeitungssprache und Zeitungslexika im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert”. In *Mehrsprachigkeit in der deutschen Aufklärung*. D. Kimpel (ed.), 69–84. Hamburg: Meiner.

Icelandic

Kristján Árnason
University of Iceland

1. The sociohistorical background

In the history of Icelandic three processes are intrinsically connected: (a) the emergence of the Icelandic language following the settlement of Iceland, (b) the development of the Old Icelandic literary standard, and (c) the actual standardization of Icelandic in the present day sense of the word. As a consequence, much of the discussion in this paper on the standardization of Icelandic will focus on the development of Old Icelandic literature, and on the origin and significance of the Old Icelandic literary standard which developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Iceland was settled in the years 870–930. Most of the settlers (*landnámsmenn*) came from the Western and South Western parts of Norway or from Nordic colonies, such as the Faroe or the Scottish Isles. Little is known about the dialect situation in the area at the time of emigration, but for some reason Iceland became a cultural centre where the tradition brought from Norway reached new heights in the medieval literature, both in prose and poetry. The Icelandic craftsmanship in the production of books thrived in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when a number of historical works were produced, partly sponsored by the Norwegian court. By the end of the fourteenth century, this sponsorship came to an end and Iceland's role in the intellectual and cultural development of Scandinavia became insignificant.

However, the literary standard lived on in Iceland and with the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the Bible was translated into Icelandic and printed at the northern bishopric of Hólar in 1584. The church went even further in its publishing efforts, and under the leadership of bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson, the press was used for printing profane literature as well. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and into the nineteenth century, foreign influence on the written language and speech increased. For a while many written texts were heavily influenced by Danish and German, and in some trading places and village communities by the

seashore, Danish was used along with Icelandic. Also Danish was used in administration and government, since many officials were Danish, and Iceland was a part of the Danish kingdom. Purism prevailed, however, and the late eighteenth century learned society *Lærdómslistafélagið*, which was inspired by the Enlightenment, saw it as one of its duties to preserve the old language. In the nineteenth century, purism and linguistic reforms were supported by a nationalist movement. The language was to be purified of Danish influence in lexicon and syntax; it moved closer to the older norm and at the same time to the natural spoken language of the people.

Iceland's isolation was broken in the twentieth century, and the basic problem in language planning has been making Icelandic fit to cope with the modern world. The main focus of the language planning and cultivation efforts has been on the development of terminologies in specialist areas, science and technology. Most of the planning in the twentieth century has therefore been corpus planning. The goal of the official policy is to maintain the Icelandic standard language and to "hold the thread" between the modern language and the Old Icelandic literary standard. In a report from a commission sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Education in 1986 the content of the official policy is stated as follows:

Íslendingar hafa sett sér það mark að varðveita tungu sína og efla hana. Með varðveislunni íslenskrar tungu er átt við að halda órofnu samhengi í máli frá kynslóð til kynslóðar, einkum að gæta þess að ekki fari forgörðum þau tengsl sem verið hafa og eru enn milli máls og bókmennta allt frá upphafi ritaldar. ('The people of Iceland have set themselves the goal of preserving their language and strengthening it. Preserving the Icelandic tongue means keeping up the linguistic tradition from one generation to another, particularly taking care that the relation that has prevailed, and continues to do so, between language and literature from the beginning of writing, will not be jeopardized'; Gíslason et al. 1988: 53; translation K. Árnason)

2. The selection of norm

Vernacular writing

Vernacular writing in Europe in the Middle Ages called for the adaptation of the Latin alphabet to the native tongues. This must in each case have involved some sort of planning, or at least semi-conscious linguistic analysis on behalf of the early scribes (i.e. a type of analysis which was based on a view of language as an object).

In the case of Iceland, we have the privilege of being able to consult the early grammatical literature in the vernacular, where we find instances of conscious learned deliberations about linguistic matters. Here, the grammatical treatises in

the Codex Wormianus edition of Snorri Sturluson's Edda are of special value. Snorri's Edda was written in the thirteenth century as a normative handbook on poetry, but in the Codex Wormianus (from about 1350) and some other manuscripts, further scholarly work is included in four so-called grammatical treatises. The "First Grammatical Treatise" (*Fyrsta málfræðiritgerðin*), from the middle of the twelfth century, is the most interesting in this context. The purpose of the work, as expressed by the anonymous author, is to devise a spelling norm for Icelanders when using the Latin alphabet in their writings.

It is remarkable that the historical sources give no indication that the problem of norm selection caused any difficulties at the beginning of writing in Iceland. The author of the First Grammatical Treatise — simply called the First Grammarian (*Fyrsti málfræðingurinn*, see below) — makes no mention of variant forms. This is in fact all the more interesting since the phonetic detail and theoretical clarity of his analysis is considerable, and given his astuteness, one would expect him to have been aware of linguistic variation in the language.

The language of the settlers: the mixture theory

The settlement of Iceland is reported in two historical works from the twelfth century, the *Landnámabók* ('Book of Settlements') and Ari Þorgilsson's *Íslendingabók* ('Book of Icelanders', see *Íslendingabók – Landnámabók* 1968). According to these sources, most of the settlers came from Western Norway, more specifically Hardanger and Sogn. Several of the settlers, however, are said to have come from the area of Þrændalög, farther north around Niðarós, the modern Trondhjem, which was later to become the religious centre of Norway. Other parts of Norway and Scandinavia were also represented by the settlers, including a number of Norsemen who had spent time on the Scottish Isles. These settlers are often reported to have brought with them Irishmen, partly as slaves. This has led anthropologists to look for genetic relations between the population of Iceland and Ireland. According to a recent study by Helgason et al. (2000 a,b) the genetic makeup of the present day population indicates that a significant percentage of the women who settled in Iceland came from Ireland.

Linguists have assumed that, after the settlement, the language spoken in Iceland was a "mixture" of Norwegian dialects (Guðmundsson 1977: 316–17; Benediktsson 1964: 26). Exactly how this mixture developed is, however, not clear. Little is known about dialect variation in Norway at the time of the Icelandic settlement, and there is no indication in the written records of such variation. In the sagas little or no mention is made of dialect differences or of communication problems between people from different areas.

However, it is unlikely that a geographically complex area like western Norway, with its deep fjords and high mountains, was ever without dialects, and the picture given by the sources is most probably not realistic. So, even though sagas, written in Iceland in the thirteenth century, do not mention this variation, it seems reasonable to assume that dialect differences existed at the time of settlement, no less than in recorded times.

Problems with the mixture theory

Even though dialect differences most probably prevailed in Norway and the rest of Scandinavia at the time of Iceland's settlement, and although it is more than likely that people from different areas, speaking different dialects, became neighbours in Iceland, there are serious problems with the mixture theory.

One possible effect of the contact situation between different dialects and even different languages — like Nordic and Gaelic — might have been koinéization, or even a hint of pidginization, resulting in typological simplification. When two different linguistic systems meet, there is likely to be accommodation, either resulting in one system adapting to the other with perhaps some substratal effects on the resulting norm, or in a mixture or hybrid with subsequent “nativization”, i.e. the acquisition of the mixed language as a first language by a new generation. The possible effects of such levelling are, however, not very clear in our case. The Scandinavian dialects that are thought to have been mixed were perhaps so similar that only minor mechanisms of accommodation were necessary. So, the possible effects of a mixture of Norwegian dialects would probably not have been great. Still, one would have expected at least some, if minor, effects of levelling or koinéization, leading to noticeable differences between Norwegian and Icelandic.

An even stronger reason, given the mixture theory, to expect some kind of pidginization is the possibility of influence from the language of the Celts, in particular if a significant percentage of women spoke Gaelic to their children. It is also well known that cultural contact must have taken place between the Celts and the Norsemen. Marstrander (1915: 4ff) has investigated Irish-Nordic relations and, based on records of what he sees as a mixed group of people called *Gall-Gáidel* (‘North-Gails’), came to the conclusion that this cultural contact started quite early. Marstrander also lists a number of Nordic loanwords in Gaelic. Many literary historians have argued that the Celtic influence was essential in the development of the Icelandic literature. However, there are very few signs of direct substratal effects due to Gaelic. There are some interesting phonological similarities between Scottish Gaelic and Icelandic (and Faroese), such as pre-aspiration, but it is more likely

that the influence went the other way and that pre-aspiration spread from Old Norse to Gaelic.

According to Guðmundsson (1997: 120–68), a fair number of Gaelic loanwords are to be found in Icelandic, but these are clearly to be seen as borrowings from one language into another without any deeper structural effects, much in the same way as Celtic influence on Old English mostly came in the form of place names and loanwords (cf. Baugh 1959: 83–6). The fact is, then, that the structure of Earliest Icelandic shows no signs of pidginization. On the contrary, it contains, as we shall see, structural complexities that may look like the result of a long history.

A paradox

A more serious problem for the mixture theory derives from the following paradox: the earliest written texts in Norway and in Iceland (the oldest extant ones are from the twelfth century) are written in practically the same idiom, and the written texts are clearly, apart from minor differences in scribal practice, based on the same norm. Differences between Icelandic and Norwegian documents become clear only with time. The paradox is that if the written standard in Iceland was an Icelandic mixture of Norwegian dialects (perhaps with some Irish thrown in), and there was little or no difference between the earliest Icelandic and earliest Norwegian written prose, we would have to assume that the Norwegians adopted the new Icelandic norm, i.e. that the language was transported back across the Atlantic in the mixed and then standardised form. This, however, is highly unlikely in the light of the political and economic conditions at the time. Although culturally, it might be said that Iceland was self-supporting so to speak, economically and politically it was dependent on Norway and in the treaty of 1262 (*Gamli sáttmáli*), after bitter internal strife, Iceland pledged allegiance to the Norwegian king.

In fact, the only “evidence” for the mixture theory is the assumption that to some extent people from different dialect areas in Norway probably became neighbours in the new country. In view of the linguistic observations noted above it seems to be safe to abandon the mixture theory for the much more promising assumption that one variety, spoken by a special group or elite, was adopted as the basis for the Icelandic standard. This will be the hypothesis defended here. It will be argued that the idiom that would become the basis for the Icelandic literary language was based on a norm that already had a history in Norway and the Scottish Isles.

3. The roots of the norm

The runic tradition

Several centuries before Christianity and the advent of Latin writing, runic writing had been used in Scandinavia, and the oldest runic inscriptions from the area date back to the second century AD. The oldest inscriptions are classified as Proto-Nordic, but from about 800 onwards, inscriptions in the younger *Futhork* (i.e. runic alphabet), show linguistic forms very similar in structure to those of the oldest Norwegian and Icelandic texts in the Latin alphabet (cf. Olsen 1941–60). Jónsson (1921: 201ff.) presents detailed arguments to show that the younger runic inscriptions represent practically the same idiom as the classical Old Icelandic texts. This suggests that the norm that formed the basis for the Old Norse standard was already several centuries old when it was put down on parchment.

Oral norms and poetry

Another place to look for norm emergence before the advent of Latin writing is in oral poetry. According to the written sources, the sagas of kings and Icelanders and the thirteenth century grammatical literature, a strong poetic tradition dating back to the ninth century already existed before the age of writing. The picture given is that this tradition had developed and was preserved orally for centuries, in part under the sponsorship of kings and chieftains in Norway and in the Scottish Isles.

The poetry is classified into two subgenres, as skaldic or eddic. Skaldic poetry is the poetry of the skalds, who are known by name, often as semiprofessional poets at the courts of the Norwegian kings. The authors of eddic poetry on the other hand are anonymous. There is also a difference in the subject matter in that the eddic poems typically contain Germanic mythological and heroic legends from prehistoric times, whereas skaldic poetry deals with contemporary events and persons. This is sometimes taken as an indication that eddic poetry is older than skaldic poetry, although there is really nothing to prove that the eddic poems, in the form they are brought down to us, were composed earlier than the older skaldic poetry (see e.g. Kristjánsson 1988).

There is also a stylistic difference between eddic and skaldic poetry. The eddic poems show a great formal resemblance to old English and German poetry, and the rhythm is a freer, word based one, whereas the dróttkvætt rhythm is a more stringent foot based or syllabic rhythm (cf. Árnason 1991, 2002a,b). Another characteristic of skaldic poetry is the abundant use of the peculiar kind of metaphor, the *kenningar*, and the great freedom in the word order, along with the rhythmic stringency. (See e.g. Frank 1978 and Turville-Petre 1976 for surveys of

skaldic poetry). Both skaldic and eddic poetry is cited in the metrical and grammatical literature.

The oldest skaldic poet, Bragi inn gamli Boddason, a Norwegian, is supposed to have composed skaldic verse in the ninth century which is still preserved, mostly in Snorri Sturluson's *Edda*. In the *Edda* and other grammatical literature as well as in the sagas, a considerable corpus of skaldic verse is ascribed to pre-literary figures, said to have lived in the tenth or eleventh centuries. Among these are the Norwegians Þorbjörn hornklofi and Þjóðólfr úr Hvini and Icelanders like Egill Skallagrímsson, Gísli Súrsson, and Hallfreðr Óttarsson. Poets from Orkney are also named, and the earliest *clavis metrica*, *Háttalykill inn forni* (a poem illustrating the various metrical forms) was composed in the twelfth century by earl Rögnvaldr (Ronald) of Orkney and an Icelander named Hallr Þórarinsson (*Háttalykill inn forni* 1941).

The eddic poems, are preserved chiefly in the *Poetic Edda*, a thirteenth century collection, about mythology and prehistoric heroes and legends. This type of poetry developed as a separate genre most probably at the same time as skaldic verse, or even a bit later. It is suggested in Árnason (2002b) that the stanzaic character of the eddic poems *vis-à-vis* the non-stanzaic structure of the West Germanic alliterative poems (such as *Beowulf* and *Hildebrandslied*) was a step toward more literary stylization. The division of the eddic poems into regular stanzas, basically quatrains, made them more lyrical in form and function (cf. Jakobson 1935/1987a,b) than the older West Germanic forms. This probably went hand in hand with the development of the dróttkvætt and other skaldic metres. The highly stylized dróttkvætt form was a test of skaldic craftsmanship, proper for panegyric poems and lyric interludes in narratives of heroic and historic events, whereas the eddic forms were appropriate for mythological and prehistoric material.

The picture that emerges is that there was indeed a very lively literary culture in Iceland, Norway and the Scottish Isles in the tenth and eleventh centuries, all the way to Greenland, and that these regions were in contact in the centuries and decades before writing started. One could say that there actually was a cultural and communicative continuum between these societies. The literary ingredients present in this atmosphere later flourished in Iceland in the sagas, in the recording of older poetry and in the production of new poetry.

The details of this development are of course difficult to trace, but the written sources give ample testimony of a lively literary culture in the tenth and eleventh centuries. One particularly poetically minded Norwegian king was Haraldr harðráði ('Harold the hard-ruler') who died in 1066 at Stamford Bridge (cf. Turville-Petre 1966). He kept several skalds, and the accounts of the life at his court, chiefly in the *Morkinskinna* collection of kings' sagas, testify to a lively atmosphere where there was competition between the Icelandic poets, and the king — who actually was a

respectable poet himself — participated in the creative process. Among his work is a series of verses called *Gamanvísur* (‘humorous stanzas’) which he composed in Hólmgarður (Novgorod).

The importance of the poetic tradition for the cultural development in Iceland is shown, among other things, by the role this legacy plays in the grammatical literature. It is clear that the poetry functioned as a model for the correct use of language. In his argumentation for a particular spelling convention, the First Grammarian cites a half strophe from a poem about king Ólafr Haraldsson by Óttarr Svarti, an Icelandic poet from the eleventh century and he succumbs to the authority of the poets in his statement: ‘The poets are the authors (or authorities) of all writing (runic wisdom) or distinctions of language, like craftsmen are of their craft or the lawyers of laws’ (“*Skáld eru höfundar allrar rýni eða máls greinar sem smiðir smiðar eða lögmenn laga*”).

There are also records to show that the oral presentation of literature prevailed after writing set in. Thus, in the *Sturlunga saga* which tells the history of the twelfth and thirteenth century in Iceland, there is an account of a wedding feast in the summer of 1119 at Reykjahólar by Breiðafjörður. This wedding was sponsored by one Ingimundur Einarsson: a priest and ‘a good poet, an exuberant character ... and a great one for entertainment’ (“*it mesta göfugmenni, skáld gott, ofláti mikill ... og fekk margt til skemmtunar*”; *Sturlunga Saga* I: 23), who had taken up with the mother of the bride. In this party, which is said to have lasted for seven nights, the guests were entertained with stories about prehistoric heroes “accompanied by many verses”. It is further said that one of the stories told there had been used to entertain king Sverrir of Norway (1177–1202), and that such ‘fictitious tales’ (*lygisögur*) were his favourites (*Sturlunga saga* I: 23–7).

Legal texts

Among the earliest prose written in Icelandic were legal texts, which also had an oral prehistory. Before writing set in, sources like the *Book of Icelanders* and the *Book of Settlement* tell us that the law was preserved orally, and it was recited at the Parliament (Alþingi) by the “law speaker”.

According to the *Book of Icelanders*, the original law was brought to Iceland by a Norwegian, called Úlfljótr, and the text was based mostly on the model of the law of Gulapíng (*Gulapíngslög*) in the west of Norway, going back to the eighth century (Knudsen 1960). It is likely that the family of Ingólfr Arnarson, the first settler, who lived in Reykjavík was among the most influential in the first decades of Parliament. His grandson, for example, was one of the first to hold the post of law-speaker. In the *Book of Icelanders* we are only told that Ingólfr was Norwegian and different versions of the *Book of Settlement* disagree about his genealogy —

even about the name of his father — but it seems certain that he was from Hörðaland in the west (*Íslendingabók* — *Landnáma* 1968: LXXI-LXXIV). This, of course, fits well with the idea that the first Icelandic law was based on that of Gulapting, which is in the same area.

The other possible model that the new Parliament might have used for the text of the law was that of the law of Frostapting (*Frostapingslög*), which was the legal institution (thought to have developed in the tenth century) in the Prændalög (modern Trondelag). As already mentioned, some of the settlers came from that area. Among them was Ketilbjörn Ketilsson, who settled in the south, coming from Naumudalr in Prændalög, not far from Niðarós. He was the ancestor of the first bishop of Skálholt, which suggests that he and his kinsmen were influential in the first decades. Another influential settler from Naumudalr was Ketill hængur, who settled in the south, and whose son was the first law speaker according to the *Book of Settlements* (*Íslendingabók* – *Landnáma* 1968: 347). Naumudalr is in the area of Frostapting.

There might have been some doubt or even dispute about which law tradition to follow, but the choice was *Gulapingslög*, and it is possible that, by way of compensation, the first law speaker was the son of Ketill hængur who was from the area of Frostapting, and the place of the Parliament was not far from Ketilbjörn's settlement. The whole development may therefore look like a compromise between the most influential settlers in the south of Iceland. There is no indication that other settlers mentioned by Ari were involved in determining the law.

The conclusion to be drawn from the discussion above is that the development of Old Icelandic was unlike that of Old English or Old (High) German (cf. Baugh 1959: 59–60; Bach 1965) in that in Iceland the norm that came to form the basis of the standard had in a sense been selected before Latin writing set in. The three foundations of this emerging norm were the runic tradition, the poetic tradition and the legal tradition. These were all coded in essentially the same idiom in both Norway and Iceland.

4. The earliest writing

Religious texts

It is thought that Latin texts were studied and some also written in the eleventh century, the first century of Christendom in Iceland. Vernacular writing developed around 1100 at about the same time in Iceland and Norway. In many respects the conditions seem to have been similar. The earliest texts were most likely the legal texts, but Christian writing in the vernacular soon developed.

Two *Hómiljubækur* ('Books of Homilies'), containing collections of religious sermons, have been preserved, one from Norway and one from Iceland. Both books are from around 1200, and they both include older material, which is dated to the twelfth century. The textual history of these books seems to be intertwined and they are partly copies of older texts, but it cannot be shown by philological means whether these older texts were chiefly Norwegian or Icelandic. The general picture seems to be that translation of religious material took place in both countries in the same idiom, and that the same texts were used on both sides of the ocean. According to Knudsen (1961), the Norwegian *Book of Homilies* was probably written around Bergen, again in the area of Gulapting, where most of the Icelandic settlers came from.

Legal texts

According to the *Book of Icelanders* (*Íslendingabók – Landnáma* 1968), the first legal text was written in Iceland during the winter 1117–18. This earliest chapter of written law, *Vígslóði*, dealing with homicide, was later incorporated into the main codex, the *Grágás*, which was gradually compiled and took its form in the twelfth century. The text of the law of Gulapting was similarly preserved in Norway with revisions instigated by the church and later Norwegian kings. It is thought that the earliest texts stemming from the Gulapting law were written down in Norway before 1100. The old law of Frostapting is also preserved with revisions (see *Norges gamle Love* 1846). No significant difference is to be seen between the idiom of the two Norwegian law-books, and there is also close similarity to the Icelandic legal texts. It is possible, however, that earlier linguistic differences stemming from the different traditions of Frostapting and Gulapting were lost in later transcriptions and revisions. There might, in other words, have been more significant differences between the texts at earlier stages.

The general picture that is given is thus that oral transmission of the law by the law-speakers had prevailed for some considerable time at all of the legal gatherings, and that these legal texts were codified in basically the same norm in the twelfth century, perhaps a bit earlier in Norway. Generally speaking, there is no reason to doubt the testimony of the written sources about the existence of the pre-literary law speakers or other oral traditions. The picture given is quite complete and coherent about this as it is about other historical events. And the story told in the literature is confirmed by archaeological evidence, as far as it goes, both from Norway and Iceland, and also by finds from Greenland, and even as far as North America (cf. e.g. Sigurðsson 2002).

Script and palaeography

Although the norm used in the earliest texts was the same in Norway and Iceland, the writing itself seems to have developed independently, as shown by writing conventions and palaeography. According to Benediktsson (1965: 19):

[t]he fundamental problem ... in the prehistory of Icelandic writing — which in its earliest preserved state is predominantly Caroline, and only later receives insular features — is whether its background is to be sought on the continent or in England, and to what extent in each.

According to him, there are significant differences between Icelandic and Norwegian writing, even though the earliest writing in Iceland is more like that of documents from western Norway than from eastern Norway. In spite of its Caroline features, the earliest Icelandic script has certain characteristics which indicate a connection with English writing. Benediktsson (1965: 35) concludes that “it is likely that the ancestry of Icelandic writing is to be traced back not only to the Latin minuscule in England, but also to the continental minuscule ... a confluence of two currents, one from the continent, the other from England. Such twofold provenance would account best for the great difference between the earliest Icelandic script and the Norwegian, a difference which would be hard to comprehend if both were descendants, in the same sense, from English writing.”

Another fact suggesting that there only was a loose connection or cooperation between Iceland and Norway as far as the import of writing skills is concerned is the fact that the First Grammmarian makes no mention of Norway in his deliberations and arguments. He only mentions English as a model for applying the Latin alphabet to vernacular writing, and specifically sets himself the goal of creating an alphabet for ‘us Icelanders’ (*oss Íslendingum*), “as it is now customary to write in this country, both laws and genealogies or holy translations, or also the sagacious lore (‘wise learning’, *spaklegu fræði*) of Ari the learned” (cf. Benediktsson (ed.) 1972: 208). Another difference between Iceland and Norway concerns the maintenance of the runic writing tradition: there is little evidence that this was preserved in Iceland with the persistence shown in Norway and Sweden (see e.g. Jansson 1969).

Conclusion

Although Icelanders acquired writing independently and not directly through Norway, the Norwegian and Icelandic written standards represented the same oral norm on both sides of the Ocean. This was the norm that had developed in the skaldic and eddic poetry and in the legal institutions in Norway and the new

parliament in Iceland. This is also the norm found in the texts of the younger runic inscriptions. We thus have the same oral norm, with independent (but similar) applications of Latin writing in Norway and in Iceland. This idiom, as represented in the later literature written in the Latin alphabet, is commonly referred to as Old Norse.

5. The structures of the standard

Phonology and morphophonemics

The vowel system of Old Norse (or Icelandic), as illustrated by the First Grammarian and described in present day handbooks, is characterized by “polysystemicity”. The distinctions in lexically stressed vowels greatly outnumber those allowed in lexically unstressed syllables. Roughly speaking, it can be said that the multiplication of the vowel distinctions is due to the Proto-Nordic umlauts and the syncope. The result was, in part, a massive shift of information towards the stem vocalism. The number of distinctions available in the stressed vowel system varied according to time and geographic area, but the First Grammarian argues for nine different vowel qualities, doubled to eighteen due to the long-short opposition (there is no reason to believe that the correlation of nasalization was as productive as he assumes, cf. Benediktsson (ed.) 1972: 130–7). The number of possible oppositions in the unstressed vowels was, conversely, reduced as a result of the syncope. There were only three vowel qualities and no length distinction in unstressed syllables. But the reduction in the number of vowel qualities had not reached its “logical” conclusion of total neutralization to schwa or further loss of unstressed vowels, as later happened in some Norwegian dialects.

The phonological distinctions in the stressed syllables are made ample use of in the morphophonemics of inflection and word formation, and the regularities deriving from the umlauts are still transparent to some extent. In spite of this concentration of information in the stressed syllable, remnants of agglutination prevail, since inflectional endings are used. Also, the distribution of different declensional ending types is derived from, and to some extent reflects, Proto-Nordic or Proto-Germanic forms with a more transparent agglutinative structure of stem suffixes followed by endings. From the typological point of view there is thus at least a certain amount of “impurity” in the morphology, since many paradigms are characterized by a mixture of umlaut, ablaut and endings. Furthermore, the classification of nouns into inflectional classes is far less clear-cut than is implied by the historically based distinctions according to Proto-Nordic stem-suffixes. This is particularly evident in the strong feminine nouns, where

i-stems have taken *u*-umlaut alternation from the *ō*-stems, and many original *ō*-stems have taken up *ir*-endings from the *i*-stems. The result is that it is often difficult to determine whether individual words originally belonged to the *i*-stem or *ō*-stem category.

At the same time, there seems to be little doubt about the inflectional pattern of individual words. Thus, for example, words like *jörð* ‘earth’ and *öld* ‘age’ have an *ō*-stem inflection with *u*-umlaut alternations in the singular, but *i*-stem endings in the plural (*jarðir*, *aldir*). There are very few instances of words following one pattern in one manuscript and another pattern in another manuscript, as might have been the case if there was some dialectal or social variation.

The conclusion to be drawn from this seems to be that we are dealing with an idiom which is structurally unstable in that many conflicting structural forces are at work, but socially stable in that there is little vacillation regarding the form of each individual lexical item.

As a footnote, it may be added that it is only to be expected that the evidence presented by Old Norse about such historical phenomena as *i*-umlaut is unsystematic, if the patterns shown by the corpus have been subjected to arbitrary choices concerning the inflection of individual forms. Thus idiosyncrasies like the fact that the short stem verbs *telja* ‘to count’ and *velja* ‘to choose’ have different paradigms, the former with the *lautgesetzlich* past *taldi* but the latter with the ‘analogical’ past *seldi* can be expected to appear more frequently in an idiom with a history and a conception of right or wrong usage, making choices which from the structural point of view look idiosyncratic.

Syntax

We have seen that the orally transmitted poetic tradition was important for determining the development of the standard. The poetic language was a highly elaborated medium before the time of writing, and the different styles of eddic and skaldic genres probably had coexisted for some time. These styles were less useful, however, for determining the standard for the syntax of the written prose. Skaldic syntax was, of course, something very special, and there is no reason to assume that this style had any direct influence on the syntax of written prose. And although eddic syntax is more like ordinary written syntax, there are still some noticeable differences, and the written prose norm must have been based primarily on ordinary speech and the style of the legal texts. But it is also possible that a tradition of storytelling had developed before the age of writing, and that this helped to form the foundations of the written style of the sagas (cf. Árnason 2002a; Sigurðsson 2002).

Syntacticians disagree about some fundamental issues in Old Icelandic or Old Norse syntax. According to some scholars, Old Icelandic is “configurational” in that there is a fixed word order, whereas others maintain that the language was “non-configurational”, meaning that the word order was not set in deep syntax (Rögnvaldsson 1994–5 and 1995; Faarlund 1990). Whatever the “deep” syntactic relations, it is clear that in the Old Icelandic literary standard the most typical word order was SVO. But SOV order is also common in non-finite clauses and in the so-called “Stylistic Fronting”, which can occur under certain conditions in subordinate clauses, as in (1) (cf. Nygaard 1906/1966: 256):

- (1) Höfðingi sá er Óðinn var kallaðr (also: *er kallaðr var Óðinn*, cf. more normal: *var kallaðr Óðinn*)
 Chieftain the one who Óðinn was called
 ‘The chieftain that they called Óðinn’

On the whole there is considerable freedom in word order in Old Icelandic. Noun Phrases, for example, can be either head initial or head final, as shown in (2) (both *Egils saga*: 78):

- (2) a. Skalla-Grímr var [járnsmiðr] mikill ok hafði [rauðablastr] mikinn
 Skalla-Grím was [blacksmith] great and had [iron-smelting] great
 ‘Skallagrím was a great blacksmith and had great iron-smelting’
 b. Eru þar smáir [sandar] (R) allt með sæ
 Are there small [sands] all along sea
 ‘There are small sands along the seaside’

The syntactic variability was not due to any problems of norm selection, but was tolerated within the same norm.

Like many other related languages, Old Icelandic is a V2 language in that the finite verb occurs after the first syntactic constituent. This constraint is valid in main clauses, as well as in finite subordinate clauses, as shown in (3) (*Njáls saga*: 45):

- (3) [En er boði var lokit], fór Hallgerðr suðr með þeim
 But when party was finished, went Hallgerðr south with them
 ‘But after the party, Hallgerðr went with them to the south’

But under certain conditions, the verb is in first position (V1). This is for example the case in the so-called “Narrative Inversion”, as in (4) (*Egils saga*: 5):

- (4) Var Þórólfr manna vænstr ok gjörviligastr
 Was Þórólfr men-GEN handsome and athletic
 ‘Þórólfr was the most handsome and athletic of men’

An interesting fact to note about Narrative Inversion is that it cannot be used at the beginning of a text. So, a sentence like (4) can only occur after some introduction or orientation, within an episode or chapter. It is suggested in Árnason (2002a) that this is no coincidence, since there is originally a phonological reason for this constraint: the verbal forms were phonologically weak and it was unnatural to start a narrative with a weak constituent. This phonological conditioning was then carried over into the written norm.

These syntactic conditions, like the phonological and morphological ones, suggest that historical complications and a mixture of tradition and innovation worked together to create a flexible code for literary and stylistic elaboration. But there is no more reason than in the case of morpho-phonemics to assume that Old Icelandic written syntax shows signs of competition between different dialectal or sociolectal variants.

Similarities to neighbour-dialects and languages

Some similarities and common innovations, in the comparative-historical sense, are to be found in Icelandic, Faeroese, and some West-Norwegian dialects. This comparative evidence tallies with the idea that the language which the Icelandic community adopted was that of the West-Norwegian settlers, some of whom had connections in the Scottish Isles and the Faroe Islands.

Among the most noticeable of these common features are some developments in postvocalic clusters involving sonorants. An illustrative example is the Modern Icelandic pronunciation [eitn] for *einn* 'one', and [itlyŋ] *illur* 'bad', which, as suggested by the spelling, had long sonorants in Old Norse. Similar developments of stops before postvocalic sonorants can be found in Norwegian dialects, chiefly in Western Norway (the area of Gulaping, cf. e.g. Chapman 1962: 63–71), and the same goes for Faeroese (cf. Lockwood 1955/1977: 18–20). According to Chapman these are Norwegian innovations, which spread to Icelandic (and presumably Faeroese) through socio-culturally determined channels, but Benediktsson (1963) expresses doubt about this conclusion on chronological grounds.

The similarity between these West-Norwegian phonological characteristics and those of Icelandic and Faeroese is obviously not coincidental and would seem to imply a common innovation. Since there are no signs of these stops in the earliest written texts, either from Norway or Iceland, it is unlikely that this was already present in pre-literary Old Norse. It is still possible, however, to assume that what happened in each dialect was somehow structurally conditioned and 'inherent' in the phonological system, or that some phonetic characteristic of the West-Nordic idiom later led to similar changes in different areas.

In some cases these phonological similarities are shared with different Norwegian dialect areas but not with Western Norway. Thus pre-aspiration, which can be found in Icelandic and Faeroese is also to be found in South Western Norway around the modern town of Stavanger (cf. Chapman 1962: 61). There is, of course, no reason to expect total overlap of isoglosses, since, for example, pre-aspiration is also found in Gaelic, which might suggest that this feature had a different centre of origin.

But we may also note that pre-aspiration, which developed in the colonies, may be taken as supporting the mixture theory, if this phonological feature belonged to a limited area in Norway and then spread throughout Icelandic. It may well be, though, that pre-aspiration was geographically more widespread in Scandinavia at earlier stages than it later turned out to be (cf. Hansson 1997).

6. Norm codification: The creation of grammatical reference works

Snorri Sturluson's Edda

We have seen that one of the genres that developed in Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the grammatical and metrical literature, mostly preserved in association with Snorri Sturluson's *Edda*. We have already mentioned the First Grammarian and his attempt at standardizing the orthography. Central to these grammatical works is the *Edda* itself, which was compiled or written by Snorri (1179–1241) who also was the author of *Heimskringla*, the major collection of kings' sagas. The *Edda* is a sort of handbook of poetry, presenting the tradition behind the eddic and skaldic poetry, perhaps meant to serve as a model for following generations; a textbook emphasizing the significance of traditional mythology for the art of poetry. The *Edda* itself has three main parts, starting with the *Gylfaginning* ('the Deception of Gylfi'), which presents mythological tales illustrating the pagan religion. The *Skáldskaparmál* ('the Language (or Learning) of Poetics'), which also contains mythological material, first explains the origin of poetry, and then moves on to explain the distinctions (*greinir*) of the poetic language. For the diction and poetic language, which is the main theme of this part of the *Edda*, these distinctions are threefold. First, one should be able to name each thing by its rightful name, *heiti*, then, second, by its poetic name, the *fornafn*, and third by the *kenning*, a metaphorical expression often referring to mythological events and persons. The use of the language is illustrated with examples from the principal poets (*höfuðskáld*; cf. Halldórsson 1975).

According to Nordal (2001), the *Skáldskaparmál* is an attempt to systematize the poetic language according to subject categories, a sort of Thesaurus, but its

rendering in the manuscripts shows that it originated and continued to be perceived as a *compilatio* (in the mediaeval sense) within the framework of *Snorra Edda*, which meant that there were considerable differences between different versions in different codexes. *Skáldskaparmál* (and the poem *Háttatal*) were, in Nordal's words, written as "guidelines for aspiring skalds and were intended to have an influence on the composition of skaldic verse in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" (op. cit.: 43).

The last part of Snorri's *Edda* is a *Clavis Metrica*, *Háttatal*, a poem about king Hákon of Norway and earl Skúli. This is a poem of 102 strophes, illustrating the various metres that can and have been used in the poetry. Although in principle each strophe should represent a different metrical variant and the poem exemplifies the greatest number of metrical variants of the old poetry, some of these variants are not different metres in the strict sense, but rather illustrations of the use of various stylistic devices, such as contradiction and special use of *kennings*.

The *Snorra-Edda* is basically a product of the native culture, but some influence from traditional Latin grammar can be seen. Thus, in the introduction to the *Háttatal* the *hættir* ('the modes, metres') of poetry are described as three: *setning* 'setting', *leyfi* 'permission' and *fyrirboðning* 'prohibition', and this corresponds exactly to the distinction between *pars praeceptiva*, *pars permissiva* and *pars prohibitiva* in medieval grammatical works (see Faulkes 1999: 48).

The grammatical treatises

As mentioned above, one of the manuscripts of Snorri's *Edda* (*Codex Wormianus*, from the fourteenth century), contains besides the *Edda* itself, four grammatical treatises, which have simply been named the First, Second, Third and Fourth, according to their order in the manuscript. Each of these four works has characteristics of its own and they were clearly not all written by the same author, nor have they been ascribed to Snorri himself. It is likely that they were appended to his *Edda* by the compiler of the *Codex*. As a matter of fact, he was not the only compiler to connect the grammatical treatises with the *Edda*, since one other manuscript, the *Codex Upsaliensis* (from about 1300–25) also contains the *Second Grammatical Treatise*, and two other manuscripts of parts of *Snorra Edda* contain the *Third Grammatical Treatise*. The authors of the treatises remain unknown, except for the third one which was written by Ólafr Þórðarson, Snorri's nephew. Despite the differences, all treatises may be classified as scholarly, touching on some fundamental questions in linguistics and often referring to international scholarship and contemporary theoretical foundations in the Middle Ages.

The most interesting is the *First Grammatical Treatise* which deals with phonological analysis for the purposes of orthography. The First Grammarian is in fact

proposing a spelling standard for the writing of Icelandic and he describes the motivation for his work towards normalizing Icelandic orthography in the following way:

I have composed an alphabet (*stafróf*) for us Icelanders as well [i.e. like the English], both of all those Latin letters that seemed to me to fit our language well — in such a way that they could retain their proper pronunciation — and of those others that seemed to me to be needed in the alphabet, but those were left out that do not suit the sounds of our language. (Cf. Benediktsson (ed.) 1972: 209)

The First Grammarian is thus proposing a spelling standard for the writing of Icelandic. The methodology he uses to determine the phonological distinctions present in the language has been the object of admiration by present day linguists for its theoretical clarity. We can, as already mentioned, draw some interesting conclusions about the socio-historical conditions at the time of its writing. It is clear that the First Grammarian does not look on himself as the first “codifier”. As we have seen, he presumes that the norm had already been selected. This norm, which was based on the oral literature, had already been documented in legal, religious and historical texts, and the First Grammarian’s purpose was only to propose rules for a spelling system. In fact, the practical effects of his work were limited, since many of the suggested spelling conventions were not generally adopted by the scribes of his time or later, which shows that the established tradition went its own way.

The other grammatical treatises give the same picture of the sociolinguistic status of the norm and its reference points. The standard referred to is the poetic tradition. To varying degrees these grammatical works are influenced by classical and medieval scholarship and show that these Icelandic scholars were well versed in the mainstream linguistic theories of the time, simultaneously making independent contributions to the study of the Nordic heritage, in particular of the poetry and its metrics. The *Second Grammatical Treatise* (cf. Rascellà 1982 for an edition and commentary) is perhaps the most original of the treatises, dealing with syllabic structure, phonotactics and phonology. The author does not mention or imply any practical purpose for its writing; it might, therefore, be classified as purely theoretical, although there is a connection between the author’s interest in syllabic structure and the function of syllabic structure in rhyme and alliteration.

Ólafur Þórðarson hvítaskáld (1210–1269), the author of the *Third Grammatical Treatise* applies the theory of Donat and Priscian to Icelandic material for educational purposes, demonstrating the various distinctions in the classical theory with Icelandic examples. The difference between Ólafur and Snorri, his uncle, is that the former can be classified as a linguist, his treatise starting with an introduction about the nature of sounds and letters. It is obvious that the question of right or wrong did

not concern him too much and he is unambiguous as to which he considers the correct form of language, since the poetic texts supply the norm. He says, indirectly quoting Donat: “*Barbarismus* is called a sinful part of popular speech, but it is called *metaplasmus* in poetry” (Ólafr Þórðarson: *Málhljóða- og málskrúðsrit*, 1927: 40). He then goes on to illustrate the various instances of permissions and prohibitions in poetry, using examples from the corpus of Icelandic skaldic and eddic poetry. The *Fourth Grammatical Treatise* has the same purpose, only going deeper into the international distinctions and showing less independence in methodology than the other works.

The poetic heritage and Icelandic learning

In a recent study, Guðrún Nordal (2001) argues that the grammatical treatises show that the indigenous poetry served the same purpose in Icelandic scholarship as classical authors like Virgil, Horace, and Ovid in Latin learning. In her view, the fact that the originally pagan skaldic verse was reconciled with the Christian textual culture was “testimony to the strength of the literary community” (op. cit.: 22). Thus, in addition to playing an important role in the codification of the norm, it testifies to its acceptance by the Church. As a matter of fact, a number of the poets in the twelfth century were learned and ordained as priests, as Nordal points out (op. cit.: 39–40).

But we must note that although these learned works in the Middle Ages can be seen as instrumental in the codification of the language (in a broad sociolinguistic sense), these works do not qualify as reference works of the type produced in conscious, goal directed, language planning. Dictionaries and grammars in the modern sense were not written until later. In fact the first systematic reference grammar which had an influence on language use can be said to have been that of Rasmus Kristian Rask in 1811 (Rask 1811), and the first modern dictionary was published in 1814 (see below).

7. Norm elaboration

If the interpretation presented above is correct, the norm that later became written standard Icelandic had been developed and “elaborated” orally for some time before being written down in the Latin alphabet. Different styles had been used in poetry and legal texts, and very likely in some prose narratives and anecdotes that had been handed down orally for some generations. Soon after the introduction of Latin script a written literature flourished and new genres developed. Besides laws, religious translations, and genealogical works, the writing of sagas of kings and

Icelanders started, and the different types or genres to some extent developed their own styles.

The genres of Old Icelandic prose literature

Several sub-genres have been identified for the Old Icelandic prose literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Such classes as *konungasögur* ('Kings' Sagas'), *Íslendingasögur* ('Sagas of Icelanders'), *Fornaldar sögur* ('Sagas of Ancient Heroes'), *Postula sögur* ('Sagas of Apostles') and *Heilagra manna sögur* ('Sagas of Saints') have been named. Literary historians have used different approaches to classify these genres, but the classification is always partly based on the identification of different styles. For our purposes, three main classes can be roughly described as follows.

First we have historical writings, in a way keeping up the tradition started by Ari Þorgilsson in his *Book of Icelanders* and by the compilers of the *Book of Settlement*. On the one hand these writings deal with the history of Iceland; here the *Sturlunga* collection, compiled by Sturla Þórðarson, another of Snorri's nephews, and Ólafr's brother, is the most important work, describing in considerable detail the political struggle of the thirteenth century. The so-called *Bishops' Sagas* also contribute to the writing of the ecclesiastical and political history of Iceland. But perhaps the most important texts for the development of the norm are the *konungasögur*, the sagas of Norwegian kings. This is probably the oldest class of sagas, and it is often thought that the *Íslendingasögur* ('Sagas of Icelanders') were a sort of an outgrowth of these historical works.

A second important part of the literary activity was the writing of Christian literature, which included many direct translations or rewritings of Latin originals. These are the sagas of saints and apostles, but some of the sagas of Norwegian kings and Icelandic bishops have been classified as religious or hagiographic as well, particularly when they tell about martyrdom and miracles of such personages as king Ólafr Haraldsson who became a saint in Norway, or bishop Þorlákr who also was canonized by the Icelandic church.

The third class of literature concerns what might be called "artistic stories". These are typically the famous *Íslendingasögur* ('Sagas of Icelanders'), such as *Njáls saga*, *Gísla saga* and *Egils saga*, to name but three. These are more or less historical stories or narratives about heroes and their destinies. What is most striking about these tales is their artistic sophistication. The narrative is interspersed with direct speech and dramatic scenes, and the character sketches are often extremely skilful. The so-called *fornaldarsögur* which deal with prehistoric Nordic or Germanic heroes, such as the *Völsungs* and *Ragnar loðbrók* may also be classified as artistic, even though the quality varies, and the same goes for later romances, which are more often than not translated from foreign languages. For a

discussion of the classification of saga literature, see e.g. S. Nordal (1968) and Ólason et al. (1992).

The new challenges

To start with the elaboration of the code in legal texts, we are of course not in a position to evaluate the difference between the pre-literary spoken norm and the written prose of the extant codices, since the written texts are the only ones we have. At a glance, the text of Grágás, the Icelandic legal codex, shows no special signs of oral origins, but it is maintained by Lárusson (1960) that corresponding Norwegian texts of the Gulapíng and Frostapíng show more signs of this oral provenance. We may well assume that in the process of recording the law on parchment, significant changes took place in the code and that innovations emerged in later versions as time passed on (for a discussion of the style of the earliest legal texts, cf. Hauksson and Óskarsson 1994: 224–35).

In terms of Haugen's concept of elaboration of norm, the really new challenge the vernacular was faced with at the advent of the Latin alphabet and Christianity was the translation of the Christian literature. There was certainly nothing in the tradition handed down from Nordic antiquity that could be applied directly in the translation of the Bible and other religious texts. This involved, among other things, developing an Icelandic terminology for Christian concepts and terms. This was done, on the one hand, by the adaptation of loanwords such as *biskup* ('bishop') and *prestr* ('priest'), and, on the other, by coining neologisms and loan translations as *sam-viztka*, which is a literal translation of *con-scientia* ('conscience'; see e.g. Halldórsson 1964).

Different styles

Scholars have contemplated the historical and formal relation between the religious texts and the saga texts. According to Turville-Petre (1953/1975: 142; cf. also Kristjánsson 1981: 264–5) it is unlikely that the writing of the *Sagas of Kings* and of *Icelanders* would have developed as it did “unless several generations of Icelanders had first been trained in hagiographic narrative”. Turville-Petre thus sees the sagas as clearly younger than the Christian texts.

Since the early religious translations were from Latin, we might have expected to see some Latin influence in these texts. The fact is, however, that these earliest texts seem to show less influence from Latin than some later hagiographic writings, and the picture that literary historians seem to agree on is that the earliest style was what has sometimes been termed “popular style”. This is particularly true of the earliest religious texts, and according to Turville-Petre (op. cit.: 129):

The translators who made the older Icelandic versions of the *Postola sögur* [sagas of apostles] have striven for linguistic purity, while adhering closely to their originals.

We may note that the use of the term “linguistic purity” presupposes that there existed a standard with respect to which the purity could be defined.

The first attempt at classifying the styles used for different prose genres was made by Nygaard (1896, 1906/1966: 1–2). He distinguishes between two style types that are used in written prose: *folkelig stil* (‘popular style’) and *lærd stil* (‘learned style’). In addition to this, he refers to poetic style as the style of eddic and skaldic poetry. Of these, the learned style supposedly shows the greater influence from Latin, for example in the use of the present participle ending in *-andi*, which is based on the model of Latin texts. Later research has shed doubt on this simple classification.

Thus, according to Kristjánsson (1981), the formal differences between the earliest religious translations and the saga style of e.g. Snorri Sturluson’s *Héimskringla* is not nearly as clear as assumed by Nygaard. To the extent that different style types can be identified, the earliest “holy translations” were written in the “popular style”. This style, according to Kristjánsson, developed through the merger of Icelandic spoken language and Latin writing. Later this developed into the Saga style, which could be used for more than one type of text. Thus Hofman (1988: 437) has shown that in translations from Latin, indirect speech may be used where the Latin original uses direct speech in reporting conversation. The most likely source of this style is, according to Hofman, indigenous storytelling. Similarly, J. Benediktsson (1990, 1992) has shown that the Icelandic translations of *Rómverja saga* (‘History of the Romans’) mix past and present tense, although the original does not contain this mixture. This shows that the style of the translations, far from slavishly following the original, has traits that may be considered to have been derived from the oral norms.

Later, though, some noticeable stylistic differences develop between different prose genres. The use of the interrogative pronoun *hver* ‘who’ to translate or correspond to the Latin relative *quis*, for example, appears in certain texts but not in others, as noted by Nygaard. This usage, which is structurally different from the traditional rules for the formation of relative clauses, is only to be found in relatively young works (Kristjánsson 1981: 282), and thus shows that, at the beginning of the Icelandic literary tradition, the native norm was more independent from Latin originals than was the case later.

In addition to the (in fact somewhat unclear) distinction between popular style and learned style, scholars have used such terms as *Hofprosa* ‘court style’ and ‘florid style’ (*skróðstill* in Icelandic) to describe some works from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The court style has been associated with *riddarasögur*,

romances translated for the Norwegian court in the thirteenth century, whereas the florid style has been associated with younger Icelandic hagiographic literature.

The general picture that emerges of the elaboration of the code as a medium for literary prose in the very productive atmosphere of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is that Icelandic prose first developed in the holy translations and the Law Books, and that soon afterwards saga writing started. Most of the earliest literature is in a style which has been characterized as a merger of traditional oral form and Latin writing, with the former as the formative structure. Later some learned stylistic varieties developed, as the literature flourished with different sub-genres in the thirteenth century (Hauksson and Óskarsson 1994: 182). This later development was partly due to increased foreign influence, as indicated by the ample evidence of familiarity with international culture and learning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

8. Norm acceptance

As is evident from the above, there does not seem to have been, from the very beginning, any competition between different norms in Iceland as models for the written code. The standard was defined by the oral heritage, and this was then codified by the thirteenth century grammarians.

Perhaps the most important event for the linguistic development was the acceptance of the norm by the church. The Christian literature in the vernacular is thought to have been an important step in the development of written prose, but, more importantly, the religious discourse now also took place in Icelandic, based on the Homilies and translations of Bible texts and commentaries. One such work is the so-called *Stjórn*, in which parts of the Bible appear in translation. According to some scholars the translation was made in Iceland, but others say it was made in Norway. In any case, it seems to have been used in both countries.

The fact that Icelandic was put to use in this way in the religious discourse prevented the development of the diglossic situation that arose in some other countries, where religious and learned discourse took place in Latin. As we have seen, many of the poets, more often than not belonging to one of the ruling families, were ordained. This was also true of many of the known authors of sagas of kings and bishops. The culture was indigenous, but with added inspiration from the Greek and Latin classical culture that came with Christianity.

Since the form of the standard must have been based on the speech of the elite, we cannot exclude the possibility that the speech of the lower strata of society was different from what the written sources imply. Although it is likely that sociolinguistic differences of this kind existed, there is not a lot to be said about it; as with

geographic variation, there is little evidence to be found in the historical records to suggest sociolectal variation. True, Ólafur Þórðarson distinguishes between common speech (*alþýðlig ræða*, *alþýðlegt orðtak*) and verbal virtuosity of the court (*hirðleg málsnilld*) e.g. in explaining the *tropus* of *antismos* (1927: 87), but this distinction derives from classical learning. This is also shown by the fact that the phrase *alþýðleg ræða* is used when explaining the concept of *barbarismus*: “*Barbarismus er kallaðr einn lastafullr hlutr máls-greinar í alþýðligri ræðu*” (*Barbarismus* is called a vile part of linguistic distinctions in common speech’; op. cit.: 40). The distinction is thus a borrowed one, a part of literary theory, and need not be taken as an indication of sociolectal differences in Iceland at the time.

The name of the language and Nordic identities

The term most commonly used for the Old Norse language (comprising the language spoken in Iceland, Norway and the rest of Scandinavia) in the medieval literature was *Dönsk tunga* ‘the Danish tongue’. It is likely (see e.g. Karker 1977: 481) that the Danish label is due to foreigners, mostly southern neighbours, who made contact with Norsemen through Denmark. One should further take into account that for most of the time Denmark and the Danish kings were the most powerful actors in the region. It is clear, however, that the term was used to refer to the language of all Norsemen, and the term *á danska tungu* as it was used in the literature actually signified “belonging to the Nordic linguistic area, or linguistic community” (cf. Haugen 1976).

This shows that a general Nordic identity, most clearly based on language and culture, prevailed after the rise of the Icelandic literature and may have developed well before the advent of writing. Within this identity there was room for variation. The Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (writing about 1200) is, for example, aware of differences between Danish and Norwegian. One of his tales, which is about a Norwegian captain who sent two people who were eloquent in Danish (*Danice facundos*) ashore in Denmark, shows that Saxo assumed that there were noticeable differences between Norwegian and Danish speech. At the same time, though, he considers the Norwegians and the Swedes to speak similar idioms, in accordance with their geographic proximity: “*regio hæc Suetiam Norvagamque tam vocis quam situs affinitate complectitur*” (cf. Karker 1977: 484).

This affinity, however, did not prevent dialect differences, and they were noticed. For example, in a Papal letter from 1376, mention is made of a certain Johannes Alfuerj, who knows how to speak with the pronunciation of Niðarós (i.e. Trondhjem), and is also able to understand the idiom spoken in Oslo (Karker 1977: 483). In the *Third Grammatical Treatise*, Ólafur Þórðarson illustrates his view that the speech of Danes and Germans differs from that of Icelanders and Norwe-

gians with a detailed discussion of dialect differences between these languages. He describes the preservation of a *v*-sound before *r* in German and Danish, which was lost in Icelandic and Norwegian. Thus, Icelandic *reiðr* ‘angry’ corresponds to Danish *vred* (cf. English *wrath*). In a discussion of a word form which may correspond to the German verb *wringen* (‘to wring’), he writes:

Þýðerskir menn ok danskir hafa *v* fyrir *r* í þessu nafni ok mörgum öðrum, ok þat hyggjum vér fornt mál vera. (‘Germans and Danes have *v* before *i* in this word and many others, and we think that this is an old variant’; Ólafur Þórðarson 1927: 62; translation K. Árnason)

The term *norræn tunga* (‘Nordic tongue’) gradually replaces *dönsk tunga* in thirteenth century written sources, sometimes used in the same way as the latter original term to refer to the area where (some form of) Nordic is spoken, but also to refer to the literary standard language. The term *íslenska* or *íslensk tunga* (‘Icelandic tongue’) does not seem to appear before 1500. In the sixteenth century printed literature the terms *íslenska* and *norræna* are used interchangeably, and this remained the custom up until the eighteenth century at least.

The export of books in the fourteenth century

Up until the end of the fourteenth century, there was lively communication between Iceland and Norway. As we have seen, an important motivation for the saga writing, apart from the high standard of education and the productive intellectual atmosphere in Iceland, was the service supplied by Icelanders to the Norwegian kings, first as court poets, then as historians and later as publishers of books. As shown by Karlsson (1979/2000), the majority of preserved manuscripts that are known or likely to have been located in Norway in the Middle Ages, were written by Icelanders. Thus, Icelanders either worked in Norway as scribes, or books written in Iceland were exported to Norway. This, as well as the Norwegian influence on spelling conventions in Icelandic manuscripts from the fourteenth century, the so-called *norvågisms* (see Karlsson 1978/2000), shows that the chief market for the writing and publication of books was Norway.

Although the economic and political foundation of Icelandic culture was based on Norway’s influence, this sponsorship came to an end by 1400. The first step in this development was the decline of Western Norway, with the movement of the Norwegian Chancery to Oslo in the east. This led to both an increased influence from Sweden, Denmark and Middle and Southern Europe and to the isolation of Iceland where fewer and fewer people were able to use the old Nordic norm. This decline is also due to general economic decline in Iceland and Norway, and a significant factor in the development was probably the influence of Hanse merchants who took over

the trade in places like Bergen (on the Hanse see Langer this volume). For centuries, communication with Iceland had been maintained through Bergen, and Nidaros (Trondhjem), but now German and Danish merchants took over trade in Iceland. And in Norway the final result was that Danish became the standard used by the Norwegian Chancery and thus the language of both religious and political power.

The Reformation and religious works

But the story continued in Iceland. An important event in the history of Icelandic, especially compared to Norway, where Danish became the language of the Lutheran church, is the translation of the Bible and other religious literature into Icelandic in the sixteenth century. The first endeavour was the translation of the New Testament (1540), to be followed by the publication of the whole Bible in 1584 under the editorship of Guðbrandur Þorláksson. As noted by Ottósson (1990: 16–18), Guðbrand's motivation was not only to make the word of God accessible to the Icelandic people but the translation and other publications were also meant to 'honour our mother tongue' (*Modurmale voru til sæmdar*). In the introduction to his psalm-book (1589) he specifically argues that the hymns should follow the Icelandic metrical tradition concerning alliteration (Ottósson 1990: 18; Böðvarsson 1964: 187).

Another authority of this period, or slightly later, was Arngrímur Jónsson the Learned (1568–1648). He is considered to have been the first among latter day scholars in Iceland to promote the idea that the Icelandic of his time was practically the same language as the one that was spoken throughout the North in earlier times (see J. Benediktsson 1953). He speaks for the purity of Icelandic, and considers that its preservation can be ascribed, on the one hand, to the manuscripts, which maintain the purity and the magnificent style of the language, and on the other hand, to geographical isolation. He asks his fellow countrymen to cultivate a third virtue or condition which could further reinforce this preservation: they should refrain from imitating the Danes or Germans in written or spoken language and take the wealth and the brilliance of their mother tongue as a model for their language use. For this purpose Icelanders should resort to their own wisdom and knowledge about Icelandic (Ottósson 1990: 20).

The idea that the old Norse language was a classical code which should set the standard for subsequent usage seems to have prevailed as time went on. The religious poet Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–74), for example, has been quoted as saying:

En hafi þeir gömlu Norsku um þetta diktað, og í sinni gamalli norsku upp skrifað, leiðist eg ekki til að trúa að þeir hafi öðrum tungumálum þar inn blandað, svo sem nú gerum vær með skaða og niðrun vors ágæta og auðuga móðurmáls ('But if the

old Norwegians have composed poetry about [Christianity] and written it up in their old Norwegian tongue, I do not think that they have mixed other languages into it, as we now do with shame and humiliation for our rich mother tongue'; cited in Böðvarsson 1964: 189–90; translation K. Árnason)

The intellectual, political and religious elite thus continued to show concern for the development of the language. The bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605–75) condemns the diphthongal pronunciation [ie] or [je] of the vowel in *fé* ('money, sheep') and *mér* ('me'), saying that this bad habit (*vitiosa consuetudo*) is mainly typical of the Northerners.

The first scholarly grammar of Icelandic was published in 1651 (*Grammaticæ Islandicæ Rudimenta* 1651) under the title *Recentissima Antiquissimæ Linguae Septentrionalis Incunabula, id est Grammaticæ Islandicæ Rudimenta*. ('The most recent incunabula (cradle) of the very old Nordic language, i.e. the rudiments of Icelandic grammar'.) The author was Runólfur Jónsson, rector of the ecclesiastical school at Hólar and later lecturer at Kristiansstad in Scania. It was first published in Copenhagen, but later (1688) in Oxford. As can be seen from the title, the author considered the language he was describing to be the same as that of the classical texts, even though differences from the old norm e.g. in inflectional paradigms, show that the language he is describing is that of his time, most likely his own.

The eighteenth century and the Enlightenment

Value judgments about the form of the language were not limited to the learned classes and the elite. Árni Magnússon (1663–1730), a manuscript collector, reports a conservative variant pronunciation of Old Icelandic /æ/, which has been diphthongized to Modern Icelandic /ai/. He writes (1703) that this monophthongal pronunciation had until recently been the general characteristic of the speech of people in the east, but that it has disappeared through communication with northerners, mostly women, who immigrated to the area. He quotes some ambiguous jokes and anecdotes about speakers from the East, which shows that the dialect difference had been noticed by ordinary people and was most likely stigmatized (see Magnússon 1930: 251–2).

Another scholar, Eggert Ólafsson (1726–68), who was an ideologist on behalf of the Icelandic language and culture, makes several observations about language use, reporting dialect differences and passing judgments, either his own or those of other people, regarding the purity and value of the variants. According to him, the language is purest in the countryside, but mixed with Danish and German at the coast. In his *Réttitabók* ('Book of spelling') from 1762 he condemns innovations like the pronunciation involving a stop, e.g. *tólb* for *tólf* 'twelve' or *orb* for *orf* 'hoe',

i.e. with a fricative. He states that “*Það vita allir að þessi framburður með b kallast nú bögmæli almúgans*” (‘everyone knows that this pronunciation with *b* is now considered to be the deformed speech of the common people’; see Böðvarsson 1951: 171). These examples show clearly that both the general public and the learned classes were conscious of linguistic variation, and it is likely that such value judgments and stigmatization had an effect on the development of Icelandic.

And as time moved on, the prevailing linguistic ideology became even clearer. The first statement of what later became the official goal of Icelandic language policy was the manifesto of *Lærdómslistafélagið* ‘The Society for Learned Arts’ (1779–96), which based its work on ideas from the Enlightenment. The following passage is part of its constitution (1780):

Einnenn skal Felagit geyma ok vardveita norræna Tungu sem eitt fagurt Adalmaal, er laanga Æfi hefir talat vered aa Nordrlaundum, og vidleitaz at hreinsa ena saumu fra utlendum Ordum og Talshaattum, er nu taka henni ad spilla. Skal því ei i Felagsritum bruka utlend Ord um Iþrootter Verkfæri og annat, sva fremi menn finni önnur gaumul edur midaldra norræn heiti.” (‘Also, the Society shall keep and preserve the Nordic tongue as a beautiful major language, which for a long time has been spoken in the Nordic countries, and try to purify it of foreign words and idioms, which now have begun to spoil it. Therefore foreign words should not be used in the Society’s Journal to denote crafts or tools and other things, as long as old or middle aged Nordic terms are to be found’; cited in Ottósson 1990: 42; translation K. Árnason)

In keeping with the ideology of the Enlightenment, the purpose of the society was to educate the masses, which required the precondition that the edifying texts should be written in a language that the population could understand.

The eighteenth century witnessed the first modern attempts at normalizing Icelandic spelling. Among the efforts was Eggert Ólafsson’s *Book of Spelling* mentioned above, which however was never published in print. But handwritten copies were made, and it is thought to have had some influence on the spelling of printed books in the eighteenth century (cf. Jónsson 1959: 76–7). Another work from the eighteenth century which did not reach publication at the time was *Grammatica Islandica*, written in the years 1737–38 by Jón Magnússon (the brother of Árni Magnússon, the manuscript collector). This work, describing the phonology and inflectional morphology in greater detail than previously had been done, is of great scholarly interest. But since the grammar was written in Latin and not published in print until the twentieth century (see Harðarson (ed.) 1997, and Jónsson 1930 for modern editions), it had no effect as a reference grammar.

9. Recent developments: nineteenth and twentieth century purism and language planning

According to Ottósson (1990), the sort of linguistic purism advocated in the manifesto of the *Lærdómslistafélag* did in fact not have a chance to gain public support until the struggle for independence in the nineteenth century. In his words:

public schools and mass media made it much easier to direct the development of the language according to the ideal. A precondition was that there was general agreement to realize the puristic goal. (Ottósson 1990: 13; translation K. Arnason).

The struggle for independence was partly inspired by romantic ideas, most clearly expressed in the periodical *Fjölnir*, which was published in the years 1835–47 by a group of enthusiasts, among them the national poet Jónas Hallgrímsson. Since the object of the struggle was separation from Denmark, the purism was mostly directed against Danish loans and other Danicisms. But inevitably appropriate codification was also a precondition for the success of the education of the masses.

As was mentioned above, the first grammar in the modern sense to be published in print (apart from Runólfur Jónsson's book from 1651 and 1688) was Rask's grammar from 1811. It was originally written in Danish, but it appeared in a Swedish version in 1818 and a shortened Danish form in 1836 (see Rask 1811, 1818, 1836). Rask's work was a grammar of Old Icelandic, which he saw as basically the same idiom as the modern language. But he mentioned some changes that had occurred. Among these was the change of the inflection of the old *ia*-stems like *læknir* 'healer, doctor', which we may use as an example to illustrate the effect of the linguistic reform and puristic endeavours of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Old Icelandic the paradigm had the form shown in (5):

- (5) Sg. (N) *læknir* (A) *lækni* (D) *lækni* (G) *læknis*
 Pl. (N) *læknar* (A) *lækna* (D) *læknum* (G) *lækna*

By 1800 the paradigm for this class of nouns had acquired the form shown in (6), (where the stem form has changed to *læknir*- throughout, cf. e.g. H. Benediktsson 1969: 396ff):

- (6) Sg. (N) *læknir* (A) *læknir* (D) *læknir* (G) *læknirs*
 Pl. (N) *læknirar* (A) *læknira* (D) *læknirum* (G) *læknira*

But the modern standard has reinstated the older paradigm, so that the written language follows entirely the paradigm shown in 5 (cf. Ottósson 1987: 314). This happened gradually through the influence of handbooks and schoolwork.

After Rask, the next grammar, this time in Icelandic, was published in 1861, written by Halldór Kr. Friðriksson, teacher of Icelandic at the Grammar School in

Reykjavík. This book was used as a text book in the school (the only one in Iceland at the time) for many years, and probably had a significant influence on the written standard and official usage. It is said that when he retired, Halldór Kr. Friðriksson had been the teacher of all public servants in Iceland, except one (cf. Kvaran 1996: 139). We note that in the textbook, the paradigm for the *ia*-stems has the classical form (shown in (5)), and no mention is made of the more recent pattern. In a school grammar first published in 1891, Halldór Briem (Briem 1891, 1918, 1932) showed the classical paradigm for the *ia*-stems, but mentioned the modern version. In the last edition, he in fact recommends the modern variant for the spoken language, describing the old paradigm as appropriate for the written standard. So there may have been some doubt in his mind about the old paradigm as a norm.

The most influential school grammar in the twentieth century, that of Björn Guðfinnsson, was first published in 1937 (Guðfinnsson 1937). This grammar, which appeared in a revised version in 1958 and later reprints, was the standard text used in schools throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. It can truly be classified as a codex for the modern norm and still functions as such. To refer once more to the inflection of the *ia*-stems, the old paradigm is the only one given.

Conclusion

There is no doubt about popular support (at least until recently) for the official policy in Iceland of “holding the thread” and of maintaining the tradition that goes back to the beginning of writing. And it can be said that the language used by Snorri Sturluson in the thirteenth century is the same code as the one used by writers such as Halldór Laxness in the twentieth century. And this process continues because there is still a lot of literary activity in Iceland. Films in Icelandic are rare, however, when compared to the massive import from abroad, mostly America.

Much of the language planning and cultivation activity in the last decades has been directed towards developing terminology in specialist areas (e.g. science and technology). The objective has been to elaborate the code into a medium which is able to cope with the demands of the modern world, and the methodology has been to create new terms by using native word-formational patterns, rather than accepting foreign loanwords. Most of the planning activities are directed at the elaboration of the written norm. The spoken language has received less attention, and although loanwords are rare in written texts, which can then be said to be quite “pure” of foreign material, such more or less adapted loans are much more common in spoken styles. And although this has not been investigated in any detail, sociolinguistic variation is likely to be considerable, and generations differ in usage and ideology. For example, a clear generation gap is shown by the results of a recent

poll. This poll shows that about 70% of people aged under thirty said that they would rather use the English *e-mail* than the Icelandic neologism *tölvupóstur* ‘computer mail’, which is recommended by the Icelandic Language Council and printed in the glossary for computer terminology (*Tölvuorðasafn* 1998). Among those 60 years and older, the Icelandic term was preferred; 77% of this age group said that they would rather use the Icelandic term.

It is probably too early to suggest an interpretation or evaluate the significance of this finding. Does it forebode the end of the “perennial purism” in Iceland, or is it just a temporary spree of liberalism among the young, in the age of “globalization”? In any case the massive Anglo-American influence on the culture would seem to be the biggest challenge that faces Icelandic language planning in the near future. This concerns both questions of the corpus and status of the language. There is growing concern that certain domains, such as science and technology, and also parts of more popular culture, music and film, may become bilingual or even purely English.

References

- Árnason, K. 2002a. “Kuhn’s laws in Old Icelandic prose and poetry”. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 14(3): 201–124.
- Árnason, K. 2002b. “Ferhend hrynjandi í fornyrðislagi og ljóðahætti”. *Gripla* XIII: 33–60.
- Bach, A. 1965. *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Eighth, expanded edition. Heidelberg: Quelle Meyer.
- Baugh, A. C. 1959. *A History of the English Language*. Second Edition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Benediktsson, H. 1963. “Review of: Chapman 1962”. *Íslenzk tunga — Lingua Islandica* 4: 152–62.
- Benediktsson, H. 1964. “Upptök íslenzks máls”. In *Þættir um íslenskt mál eftir nokkra íslenska málfræðinga*, Halldór Halldórsson (ed.), 9–46. Reykjavík: Almenna bókafélagið.
- Benediktsson, H. 1965. *Early Icelandic Script as Illustrated in Vernacular Texts from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Reykjavík: The Manuscript Institute of Iceland.
- Benediktsson, H. 1969. “On the inflection of the ia-stems in Icelandic”. In *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar. 30 júní 1969*, 391–402. Reykjavík: Heimskringla.
- Benediktsson, H. (ed.). 1972. *The First Grammatical Treatise: Introduction, text, notes, translation, vocabulary, facsimiles*. Reykjavík: Institute of Nordic Linguistics.
- Benediktsson, J. 1953. “Arngrímur lærði og íslenzk málhreinsun”. In *Afmælistveðja til próf. dr. phil. Alexanders Jóhannessonar háskólarektors 15. júlí 1953 frá samstarfsmönnum og nemendum*, 117–38. Reykjavík: The Authors.
- Benediktsson, J. 1990. “Hugleiðing um textafræði og miðaldabókmenntir”. *Skáldskaparmál* I: 9–16.

- Benediktsson, J. 1992. "To stiltræk í Rómverja saga". In *Eyvindarbók. Festskrift til Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen*, 133–137. Oslo: Institutt for nordistikk og litteraturvitenskap. Universitetet i Oslo.
- Benediktsson, J. (ed). 1968. *Íslendingabók — Landnámabók. Íslensk fornrit I*. Reykjavik: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Böðvarsson, Á. 1951. "Þáttur um málfraeðistörf Eggerts Ólafssonar". *Skírnir* 125: 156–72.
- Böðvarsson, Á. 1964. "Viðhorf Íslendinga til móðurmálsins fyrr og síðar". In *Þættir um íslenskt mál eftir nokkra íslenska málfraeðinga*, Halldór Halldórsson (ed.), 177–200. Reykjavik: Almenna bókafélagið.
- Briem, H. 1891. *Stutt ágríp af íslenskri mállýsingu handa alþýðuskólum*. Reykjavik: The Author.
- Briem, H. 1918. *Ágríp af íslenskri málfraeði*. Reykjavik: Bókaverslun Guðm. Gamalielssonar.
- Briem, H. 1932. *Ágríp af íslenskri málfraeði*. Reykjavik: Bókaverslun Guðm. Gamalielssonar.
- Chapman, K. C. 1962. *Icelandic-Norwegian Linguistic Relationships*. (Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap. Suppl. Bind VIII.) Oslo: Scandinavian University Books. Universitetsforlaget.
- Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*. 1931. Ed. by Finnur Jónsson. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske boghandel — Nordisk forlag.
- Egils saga*. 1933. Ed. by S. Nordal. Reykjavik: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Faarlund, J. T. 1990. *Syntactic Change. Toward a theory of historical syntax*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Faulkes, A. (ed.). 1999. *Snorri Sturluson. Háttatal*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.
- The First Grammatical Treatise*. See Benediktsson H. (ed.) 1972.
- Frank, R. 1978. *Old Norse Court Poetry. The Dróttkvætt Stanza*. *Islandica* XLII. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Friðriksson, H. Kr. 1861. *Íslensk málmyndalýsing*. Copenhagen: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag.
- Gíslason, I., B. Jónsson, G. B. Kristmundsson & H. Þráinsson. 1988. *Mál og samfélag*. Reykjavik: Iðunn.
- Grammatica Islandica*. See Harðarson, J. A. (ed.) 1977.
- Grammaticæ Islandicæ Rudimenta*. 1651. *Recentissima Antiquissimæ Linguae Septentrionalis Incunabula, id est Grammaticæ Islandicæ Rudimenta; Nunc primum adornari cæpta & edita per Runolphum Jonum Islandum*. Copenhagen: [S.n.].
- Guðfinnsson, B. 1937. *Íslensk málfraeði handa skólum og útvarpi*. Reykjavik: Ríkisútvarpið.
- Guðmundsson, H. 1977. "Um ytri aðstæður íslenzkrar málþróunar". In *Sjötíu ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni 20. júlí 1977*, 314–325. Reykjavik: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
- Guðmundsson, H. 1997. *Um haf innan. Vestrænir menn og íslensk menning á miðöldum*. Reykjavik: Háskólaútgáfan.
- Halldórsson, B. 1992. *Orðabók. Íslensk — latnesk — dönsk*. Reykjavik: Orðabók Háskólans.
- Halldórsson, H. 1964. "Nýgervingar í forn máli". *Þættir um íslenskt mál eftir nokkra íslenska málfraeðinga*. Reykjavik: Almenna Bókafélagið.
- Halldórsson, H. 1975. *Old Icelandic heiti in Modern Icelandic*. Reykjavik: Institute of Linguistics.

- Hansson, G. Ó. 1997. Aðblástur. M. A.-thesis. University of Iceland.
- Harðarson, J. A. (ed.) 1997. *Jón Magnússon: Grammatica islandica — Íslensk málfræði*. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun.
- Háttalykill inn forni*. 1941. Ed. by J. Helgason and A. Holtsmark. Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana I. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.
- Haugen, E. 1976. *The Scandinavian Languages. An introduction to their history*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.
- Hauksson, Þ. and Þ. Óskarsson. 1994. *Íslensk stílfraði*. Reykjavík: Styrktarsjóður Þórbergs Þórðarsonar og Margrétar Jónsdóttur — Mál og menning.
- Helgason, A. et al. 2000a. “DNA and the Origin of the Icelanders. Deciphering Signals of Recent Population History”. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 66: 999–1016.
- Helgason, A. et al. 2000b. “Estimating Scandinavian and Gaelic Ancestry in the Male Settlers of Iceland”. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 67: 697–717.
- Hofmann, D. 1988. *Studien zur Nordischen und Germanischen Philologie*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Íslendingabók — Landnámabók*. 1968. Ed. by J. Benediktsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Jakobson, R. 1935/1987a. “Linguistics and Poetics”. In *Language in Literature*, K. Pomorska and S. Rudy (eds), 62–94. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jakobson, R. 1935/1987b. “Marginal notes on the Prose of the Poet Pasternak”. In *Language in Literature*, K. Pomorska and S. Rudy (eds), 301–317. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jansson, S. B. F. 1969. “Runinskrifter”. In *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* XIV, 481–494. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger.
- Jónsson, B. 1998. “Afskipti stjórnvalda af íslenskum framburði 1940–1984”. In *Greinar af sama meði helgaðar Indriða Gíslasyni*, B. Sigurðsson, S. Konráðsson and Ó. Thorsson (eds), 229–245. Reykjavík: Rannsóknarstofnun Kennaraháskóla Íslands.
- Jónsson, F. 1921. *Norks-íslandkse kultur- og sprogforhold i 9. og 10. århundrede*. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser III, 2. København: Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
- Jónsson, F. 1930. *Den islandske grammatiks historie til o. 1800*. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard. [Includes an edition of *Grammatica Islandica* by Jón Magnússon.]
- Jónsson, J. A. 1959. “Ágrip af sögu íslenzkrar stafsetningar”. *Íslensk tunga — Lingua Islandica* 1: 71–119.
- Jónsson, R. See: *Grammaticæ Islandicæ Rudimenta* 1651.
- Karker, A. 1977. “The Disintegration of the Danish Tongue”. In *Sjötíu ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni 20. júlí 1977*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
- Karlsson, S. 1978/2000. “Om norvágismær i íslandske håndskrifter”. In *Stafkrókar. Ritgerðir eftir Stefán Karlsson gefnar út í tilefni af sjötugsafmæli hans 2. desember 1998*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 173–87. [*Maal og minne* 1978]
- Karlsson, S. 1979/2000. “Íslandsk bogekspert til Norge i Middelalderen”. In *Stafkrókar. Ritgerðir eftir Stefán Karlsson gefnar út í tilefni af sjötugsafmæli hans 2. desember 1998*, 188–205. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar. [*Maal og minne* 1979]
- Knudsen, T. 1959. “Frostating; Frostatingsloven”. In *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* IV, 654–61. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger.

- Knudsen, T. 1960. "Gulating; Gulatingsloven". In *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* V, 556–65. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger.
- Knudsen, T. 1961. "Homiliebøger". *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* VI, 657–66. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger.
- Kristjánsson, J. 1972. *Um Fóstbræðrasögu*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
- Kristjánsson, J. 1981. "Learned style or saga style?". In *Speculum Norroenum. Norse Studies in the Memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre*. U. Droenke, G. P. Helgadóttir, G. W. Weber and H. Bekker-Nielsen (eds), 260–92. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Kristjánsson, J. 1988. *Eddas and Sagas: Iceland's Medieval Literature*. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag.
- Kvaran, G. 1996. "Úr sögu íslenskrar málfræðiiðkunar. Beygingarfræði". *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 18: 119–63.
- Lexicon islandico-latino-danicum Björnönis Halldórssonii ... cura R. K. Raskii editum*. 1814. [Reprinted as: Halldórsson 1992.]
- Lockwood, W. B. 1955/1977. *An Introduction to Modern Faroese*. Tórshavn: Føroya Skúlabókgarunnur.
- Marstrander, C. J. S. 1915. *Bidrag til det norske Sprogs Historie i Irland*. Videnskapsselskabet's Skrifter II. His.-Filos. Klasse No. 5. Kristiania: Jakob Dybvad.
- Magnússon, Á. 1930. *Árni Magnússon's levned og skrifter. Udgivet af Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske legat*. II. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske boghandel — Nordisk forlag.
- Njáls saga*. 1954 Ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag.
- Nordal, S. 1968. *Um íslenskar fornsögur*. Reykjavík: Mál og menning.
- Nordal, G. 2001. *Tools of Literacy. The role of Skaldic verse in Icelandic textual culture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Norges gamle Love indtil 1387*. 1846. I. Norges Love ældre end Magnus Haakonssons Regeringstilrædelse 1263. Ed. by R. Keyser and P. A. Munch. Christiania: Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabernes Selskab.
- Nygaard, M. 1896. "Den lærde stil I den norrøne prosa". In *Sproglig-historiske Studier tilegnede Professor C. R. Unger*. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co.
- Nygaard, M. 1906/1966. *Norrøn syntax*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
- Ólafur Þórðarson: Málhljóða- og málskrúðsrit*. 1927. Ed. by Finnur Jónsson. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser XII 2. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
- Ólason, V., Nordal, G. and S. Tómasson (eds). 1992. *Íslensk Bókmenntasaga* I. Reykjavík: Mál og Menning.
- Olsen, M. 1941–1960. *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* I–V. Oslo: Jacob Dybvad — A/S Bokcentralen.
- Ottósson, K. G. 1987. "An archaizing aspect of Icelandic purism: the revival of extinct morphological patterns". In *The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics* 6, P. Lilius and M. Saari (eds), 311–24. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Ottósson, K. G. 1990. *Íslensk málhreinsun. Sögulegt yfirlit*. Reykjavík: Íslensk málnefnd.
- Rascellà, F. D. (ed). 1982. *The So-Called Second Grammatical Treatise*. Edition, Translation and Commentary. (Filologia Germanica Testi e Studi II). Florence: Felice le Monnier.

- Rask, R. K. 1811. *Vejledning til det islandske eller gamle nordiske sprog*. Copenhagen: Schubothe forlag.
- Rask, R. K. 1818. *Anvisning till Isländskan eller Nordiska fornspråket*. Stockholm: Wiborgs förlag.
- Rask, R. K. 1836. *Kortfattat vejledning til det oldnordiske eller gamle islandske sprog*. Copenhagen: Reitzel forlag.
- Rögnvaldsson, E. 1994–95. “Breytileg orðaröð í sagnlið”. *Íslenskt mál* 16–17: 27–66.
- Rögnvaldsson, E. 1995. “Old Icelandic: A Non-Configurational Language?”. *NOWELE* 26: 3–29.
- Sigurðsson, G. 2002. *Túlkun Íslendingasagna í ljósi munnlegrar hefðar: tilgáta um aðferð*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
- Sturlunga Saga* I-II. 1946. J. Jóhannesson, M. Finnbogason and K. Eldjárn (eds). Reykjavík: Sturlunguútgáfan.
- Stjórn*. 1956. *Stjórn: AM 227 fol. A Norwegian version of the Old Testament transcribed in Iceland; with an introduction by Didrik Arup Seip*. Corpus codicum Islandicorum medii ævi. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Turville-Petre, G. 1953/1975. *Origins of Icelandic Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Turville-Petre, G. 1966. *Haraldr the Hard-Ruler and his Poets*. The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies delivered at University College London 1. December 1966. London: Published for the College by H. K. Lewis & Co. Ltd.
- Turville-Petre, G. 1976. *Scaldic Poetry*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Tölvuorðasafn. Íslenskt-enskt, enskt íslenskt*. 1998. 3. útgáfa, aukin og endurbætt. Reykjavík: Íslensk málnefnd.

Low German*

Nils Langer

University of Bristol, United Kingdom

The history of Low German is particularly interesting in a book on standardization processes because of its use in geographical areas outside of its native territory during the Middle Ages. Due to economic reasons the language gained a substantial increase in prestige which supported its use as a medieval *lingua franca* throughout areas around the Baltic Sea from 1300–1500. For our purposes, it is of particular interest to investigate how the language came to be used supra-regionally, whether any tendencies towards standardization can be observed, and why the language lost its prestige and, if applicable, was de-standardized.

1. Low German — past to present

Low German (*Niederdeutsch, Plattdeutsch*) is a West Germanic language or collection of dialects whose textual evidence dates back to the ninth century, and which today survives primarily in spoken form. It is used throughout the north of Germany. Its linguistic borders are with Dutch and Frisian in the west, Danish in the north, Polish in the east, and High German in the south (cf. Stellmacher 2000: 239 for a map).¹ There is some dispute among scholars as to whether Low German can be called a *language*, rather than a dialect, today. Those who argue in favour of Low German as an independent language find justification in its history where Low German has been perceived to be fundamentally different from High German as early as the thirteenth century:

daz die niderlender unde die oberlender gar ungelîch sint an der sprâche ('that the Lowlanders and Uplanders are quite different from each other in their language'; Berthold von Regensburg, as cited in Sanders 1982: 20; translation N. Langer)

As we will see below the history of Low German, especially during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period is rather different from other German dialects.

However, today, its relation to Standard German in function, distribution and use resembles very closely those of Central and Upper German dialects. Low German, like other dialects in Germany, is predominantly spoken by older, rural generations with a severe decrease in the number of native speakers amongst middle-aged and younger generations. Low German is hardly at all present in writing (both private and public) and the media (newspapers, radio, TV). In those regular but rare instances where Low German is used in the public sphere (world news on Radio Bremen, talk shows on regional TV, newspaper columns, amateur theatre productions) it is perceived as “warm” and “friendly” but also “odd” — none of these descriptive labels pertains to the perception of Standard German in these domains, but all are frequently connected elsewhere in Germany with the use of dialects in public domains.² Hence whilst there may be some historical reasons, both system-internal (cf. below) and extralinguistic, for attributing language rather than dialect status to Low German, the perception of its speakers as regards Low German and Standard German does not differ from those of speakers of other dialects and hence there may be some sociolinguistic justification in calling Low German a German *dialect*.

However, recently Low German was “awarded” the official status of *language* by its inclusion in the European Charter for the Protection of Minority or Regional Languages (ratified in Germany in 1998). This charter only extends to the protection of *languages*, not dialects, and therefore it was crucial for the Low German lobby (consisting of politicians, academics and others interested in Low German) to “show” that Low German was indeed a language of its own, rather than a dialect of (High) German. This was accomplished in the form of a commissioned report by an expert witness (Prof. Hubertus Menke, Kiel) and hence Low German is now protected as a regional language by the European Charter. The issue of language vs. dialect status is important for our purposes as the medieval history of Low German is often cited as one of the reasons for a special status of Low German today. And in turn, the special status of Low German today is likely to have had an influence on the intense interest in the history of the language. As shown recently by Durrell (2000) for High German and Milroy (2002) for English, the historiography of a language is often very much dependent on the political motivations of the historians. The same can be applied to the historiography of Low German where the reported prominent status of the language in the Middle Ages is not just due to its actual importance for supra-regional communication — this was undoubtedly the case — but also because of a desire in the nineteenth and twentieth century to show that Low German today is a “proper” language, with its own history and is independent from High German (both from the standard language and its dialects). Sanders (1982: 34) suggested referring to Low German as a language when talking

about the historical stages and as a collection of dialects, presumably of German, when referring to modern times. We will follow his suggestion in this chapter.

2. Systemic distinctions between Low German and High German today

The system-internal analysis of Low German shows that the language's proximity to High German is not noticeably closer than to Dutch, yet Low German is considered to be a dialect of German rather than of Dutch because of its geographical location in Germany. Hence, below we will very briefly compare the most salient systemic differences between Low German and High German. Low German is traditionally defined as the collection of varieties of German which display none of the elements of the Second High German Consonant Shift (*Zweite hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung*; e.g. Glück 2000: 472).³ This collection of changes of consonantal stops, which took place between the fifth and the eighth century, affected, by definition, only High German dialects (although it should be noted that only the southernmost dialects of German display the complete set of changes).⁴

Table 1. Second High German Consonant Shift (LG = Low German, HG = High German).

LG – HG “English”	#_ (word-initial)	V__V (intervocalic)	___# (word-final)
/p/ => /pf/, /f/	pund – Pfund ‘pound’	lopen – laufen ‘to run’	op – auf ‘up’
/t/ => /ts/, /s/	tein – zehn ‘ten’	water – Wasser ‘water’	Holt – Holz ‘wood’
/k/ => /x/, /kx/	korn – kchorn ‘grain’	maken – machen ‘machen’	ik – ich ‘I’

Crucially, this sound shift did not separate High German from Low German only, but from all other Germanic languages. Other differences between High German and Low German phonology include the absence of diphthongization of Low German *min nüwes hus* (High German *mein neues Haus* ‘my new house’), the loss of the nasal in (Low German) *fief* – (High German) *fünf* ‘five’ and (Low German) *us* – (High German) *uns* ‘us’, and the retention of /v/ where HG has /b/ as in (Low German) *leven* – (High German) *leben* ‘live’, (Low German) *doof* – (High German) *taub* ‘deaf’. Morphologically, the primary differences between High German and Low German are due to the preservation and partial reconstitution of synthetic forms in High German where Low German has analytic forms, e.g. the retention of the accusative – dative distinction of pronouns in Standard (High) German (*mich*_{ACC} – *mir*_{DAT}) was lost in Low German (*mi* for both cases). In this, Low German resembles other spoken German dialects. Similarly, High German uses synthetic forms to express possession where Low German uses periphrastic forms.

- (1) (Low German)
de Muur von de Kark
the wall of the church
'the wall of the church'
- (2) (High German)
die Mauer der Kirche
the wall the-GEN church
'the wall of the church'
(cf. Stellmacher 2000: 188f.)

Syntactically, Low German and High German are very similar to each other, with the finite verb in the V2-position in main clauses and in the final position in subordinate clauses. Due to the advanced loss of morphological case marking in the noun phrase, the word order of Low German is relatively restricted and tends to be expressed by a default SVO order, in contrast to High German which allows for word order changes such as object topicalization because of the unique morphological case marking of noun phrases.⁵

Having stated some of the linguistic facts of Low German, let us now move back in time to investigate the sociolinguistic history of the language. The most important period for our purposes is the stage of Middle Low German during which the language developed from a mostly written language to an established written language to become the primary language of the Hanseatic league and was used in international discourse outside the native Low German language area.

3. Historical background

The history of Low German is generally divided into the following stages:

- Old Saxon (800–1100 AD)
- Middle Low German
 - Early Middle Low German (1200⁶-1350)
 - Classical Middle Low German (1350–1550)
 - Late Middle Low German (1550–1650)
- Modern Low German (since 1650)

The oldest evidence of Low German survives in the form of proper nouns in Latin texts from the fifth to the eighth century. In 1927/8, the so-called Weser runes which are engraved on bones, were found and dated to be from the sixth century (Lasch 1931). However ever since they were found, it has been doubted whether the finds were genuine (Stellmacher 2000: 19). The oldest Low German texts date back

from the ninth century and include some longer fragments such as the *Heliand* and *Genesis* which together contain 80% of the surviving Old Saxon lexemes (Sanders 1982: 108). The written language of the Old Saxon period was predominantly Latin and the writing of Old Saxon was largely restricted to monasteries. Unfortunately, most of the medieval monastic libraries did not survive and hence we cannot estimate how widespread the use of Old Saxon as a written language was — though there is little doubt that it was used only in exceptional circumstances. The general level of textual evidence from the Old Saxon is poor and there are no surviving texts from the twelfth century at all so that the Old Saxon and Middle Low German periods are separated by an “empty” century.

The period important to the standardization of Low German is the Middle Low German period.⁷ We can see a change from Latin to Middle Low German from the late thirteenth century and a change from Middle High German to High German in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Middle Low German is often equated with the language of the Hanseatic league (or *Hanse*; e.g. the title of Sanders’ 1982 book), but there have been Middle Low German texts before the Hanse and non-Hanseatic texts continued to be produced during the time of the Hanse. The ready equation of Hanseatic Low German and Middle Low German may account for the fact that the importance of Middle Low German has been somewhat exaggerated in the historiography of the language.

A further and graver objection to the direct linking of both the political development of the Hanseatic league and the linguistic development of Middle Low German is the fact that firstly, the Hanse, as exemplified by its most powerful member, the city of Lübeck, changed from Latin to Middle Low German much later than other institutions, and that secondly, the peak period of the language was at a time (1450–1500) when the political power of the Hanse had already been in decline.

4. The Hanseatic League

The Hanseatic League was the dominant commercial union in northern Europe from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The beginnings of the Hanse lie in the formation of associations between German merchants to provide protection against robbers and pirates. Using Lübeck as their base, Westphalian and Saxon merchants expanded northwards and eastwards across the Baltic to trade with cities in Scandinavia, Russia and what are now the Baltic states, supporting the foundation of cities such as Riga, Tallinn, Gdansk, and establishing permanent trading enclaves (*Kontore*) in, for example, Brugge, Bergen, Novgorod and London. In the fourteenth century, about one hundred towns and cities were members of the Hanseatic league (Friedland 1991: 203ff.). The organization was always commercial

rather than political in nature, and had no permanent army, navy or government. However, there were periodic assemblies (*Hansetage*, the last one in 1669) and an authoritative Court of Laws in Lübeck as the city grew to become the second-largest city in Germany (after Cologne) with 25,000 inhabitants. The prominent position of Lübeck was further strengthened by its central geographic location on the crossroads between Sweden and the Alps, Russia and England. The League declined when towns started to act out of individual rather than Hanseatic interests in the early fifteenth century, with a simultaneous strengthening of the territorial states (the merger of Lithuania and Poland in 1386, the Union of Denmark, Sweden and Norway in 1397, the increase of Dutch and later also English powers in controlling the sea trade, the strengthening of German territorial states such as Brandenburg). The League was never dissolved but had lost much of its power by the sixteenth century.

5. Middle Low German

Middle Low German refers to the collection of Low German dialects spoken and written from c. 1200 to 1550. Its geographical range is vastly bigger than in Old Saxon times, mainly due to the eastward expansion, especially along the Baltic coast where Hanseatic merchants established trading enclaves and founded cities. During this period, Middle Low German existed in the form of several written varieties which were used as regional written languages of particular chanceries, cities and traders. We can identify Westphalian (*Westfälisch*), Eastphalian (*Ostfälisch*) and South-Markian (*Südmärkisch*) in the South, and Northern Low Saxon (*Nordniedersächsisch*) in the North as separate written language varieties of Middle Low German (Peters 1995: 199). In this way, Middle Low German resembled Early New High German (Härd 1980: 585; see also Mattheier in this volume) which also existed in the forms of several written dialects, which were used in commercial communication, and which were aligned horizontally rather than vertically with regard to prestige (Reichmann 1988). However, in contrast to the Early New High German of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, Middle Low German included a variety which was clearly more prestigious than its fellow written dialects, namely Lübeck Middle Low German. In the following sections, we will be investigating to what extent Lübeck Middle Low German was used in different ways than other Middle Low German dialects, how Middle Low German was used as an international language in written discourse, and whether Middle Low German functioned as an oral *lingua franca*.

Lübeck Middle Low German as a prestige variety

The city of Lübeck had a prominent presence in the Hanseatic league as it was not only the geographic centre and hence very important as a trading place for long-distance trade, but it was also the location for the annual *Hansetage* where Hanseatic business was discussed. Lübeck also housed the Hanseatic Court of Laws, including the Court of Appeal to which Hanseatic cities and merchants turned for legal help and, in contemporary times, Lübeck was referred to as the Queen of the Baltic, the capital of the Hanseatic League (cf. Sanders 1982, Friedland 1990).

The ethnic set-up of Lübeck was somewhat mixed from the beginning when in 1159 the town was captured by Henry the Lion (1129/31–1195) and re-founded as a city and trading post on Slavic territory. A substantial number of Westphalians and Eastphalians moved north to settle in the city. Thus, right from the beginning, the local Northern Lower Saxon variety was confronted not only with Slavic speakers, but also with speakers from south-western (c. 25%) and southern (c. 10%) varieties of Low German (Peters 2000b: 1496). Despite the mixed population and resulting processes of dialect levelling, Lübeck Middle Low German retained its Northern Low Saxon identity. This variety of Middle Low German gained further importance during the process of eastward expansion of the Hanseatic league, and the foundation of new Hanseatic cities along the Baltic coast (i.e. of what is now northern Germany, Poland, Russia and the Baltic States) was generally heavily influenced and directed by Lübeck families and settlers. The new cities often had a strong connection with Lübeck and many adopted the “law of Lübeck” as their town charter — hence the written variety of Lübeck Middle Low German spread outside of Lübeck. It should be noted, however, that the new cities were often founded on or near existing Slavic settlements. The German merchants and settlers tended to be bourgeois or noblemen (Peters 1983: 67), whilst the lower classes consisted of local Slavs. From the beginning, the new Hanseatic cities on the Baltic coast were thus multilingual with Middle Low German being restricted to the upper classes. Due to the fact that these upper classes used Lübeck Middle Low German, this language variety received a higher prestige. Apart from this, Lübeck Middle Low German became known outside the city walls through its use by the Hanseatic Court of Laws.

From the mid-fourteenth century, Lübeck developed its own written norm, based on Northern Low Saxon, and regional variants elsewhere in northern Germany are used decreasingly in favour of the forms favoured by Lübeck Middle low German, e.g. the Westphalian adoption of the uniform verbal plural *-en* rather than *-et*, or the use of the Lübeck pronoun variant *uns* rather than *us* ‘us’. In Eastphalian texts, the regional *mik* ‘me’, *dik* ‘you’ (acc.) is dispreferred in favour of Lübeck Middle Low German *mi* and *di*. Similarly, the dual pronouns (*g)it* ‘you’ (pl. nom.)

and *ink* 'you' (pl. dat.) found in south-western Westphalia in Old Saxon and modern Low German are missing in the written texts of the Low Middle German period — suggesting that they never disappeared from the spoken language but were merely not included in writing, presumably to avoid regional features and to imitate the prestige language Lübeck Middle Low German (Sanders 1983: 996f.). This difference between spoken and written Middle Low German is also attested in writer's slips where exceptionally spoken forms are used rather than the more prestigious written form (cf. Bischoff 1983 and Stellmacher 2000: 45f. for examples).

Lübeck Middle Low German was used as a prestige variety in the Northern Low Saxon areas, as well as in the Hanseatic enclaves around the Baltic Sea. However, the Hanseatic Middle Low German of the western enclaves in Bruges and London displayed Westphalian rather than Lübeck influence (Peters 2000: 1501). Furthermore, Peters (1995) has argued, based on the evidence of recent studies of the writing traditions of individual cities, that Westphalian Middle Low German was not heavily influenced by Lübeck Middle Low German. Although city chanceries reduced the number of variants, this was part of general local or regional levelling and not due to a perceived higher prestige of Lübeck Middle Low German. Instead, Peters (*ibid.*) argues, the claim that Westphalian levelling processes were part of an adoption of Lübeck norms is part of a historiographical myth originating in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Nevertheless, as a result of the political and economic dominance of Lübeck, the language of its administration gained in prestige and was adopted by chanceries in the regions around Lübeck as well as Hanseatic cities founded by Lübeck families and trading enclaves outside of Germany which were occupied to a substantial extent by Lübeck citizens.

Middle Low German as a written and oral lingua franca

In previous section we saw that Middle Low German existed in the form of various regional written languages of which Lübeck Middle Low German achieved a somewhat higher degree of supra-regional use and influence than others, due to the economic and political power of the city of Lübeck. In this section, we will be addressing the question to what extent Middle Low German, be it Lübeck Middle Low German or another variety, was used outside the Middle Low German speaking areas.

The official written language of the Hanseatic league was Latin up until 1370. Latin was used in writing up reports, in written correspondence between merchants, chanceries and *Kontoren* (business offices), and merchants used Latin for their private book-keeping as late as the fifteenth century (Tophinke 1999: 32). The change from Latin to Middle Low German started in the late thirteenth century and it occurred in stages, depending on the location, text type and recipient of a

document. From the thirteenth century onwards, documents written in Middle Low German e.g. legal and administrative texts appeared in Hildesheim (1272), Lübeck (1267), Stade (1279), Wismar (1250) (Peters 2000a: 1412). By 1303, the City of Lübeck (not the *Hanse*) produced and received documents in Middle Low German and from 1327, all contracts and treaties between Lübeck and noblemen were in Middle Low German. Other early texts include the first German town charter (*Stadtrecht*) in Braunschweig (1227) and Eike von Repgow's Code of Laws, the *Sachsenspiegel* (1225). Interestingly, Low German was not used in written poetry or as a literary language. Northern poets would by and large use the southern High German literary standard (on the southern German 'poets' language' see Mattheier this volume). The Hanseatic league proved to be relatively slow in the change to Middle Low German and Latin remained its official language until c.1370/80. From 1352, Gotland was using Middle Low German to write to Lübeck, from 1370, the protocols of the annual *Hansetage* were written in Middle Low German but the Lübeck administration used Latin, not Middle Low German, to write to Reval as late as 1379, to Riga in 1383 and to Stralsund in 1387 (Peters 1987: 72).

In the thirteenth century we witness therefore the use of Middle Low German rather than Latin as the language of formal and public written discourse and thereby the elevation of Middle Low German from a purely spoken to an acceptable and therefore prestigious written language. But did this prestige extend to areas outside the Middle Low German native lands? What did the Hanseatic merchants use when conducting their trade abroad?

If Middle Low German was perceived to be the language of powerful and rich merchants, one would expect that the local non-German merchants in e.g. Bergen, London and Novgorod would aim to please the Hanseates by learning their tongue. According to Peters (2000b: 1501), Middle Low German functioned as a supra-national trade and business language throughout the Hanseatic areas. Since the adoption of accountancy and book-keeping, most business was conducted on paper rather than in person and hence a working knowledge of Middle Low German was crucial on both sides for successful trade.

Russia is a particularly interesting case as it lies outside the boundaries of the "Latin world" and Latin could thus not be used in either written or spoken discourse. Communication had to be either conducted in Middle Low German, Russian or a trade pidgin. Ferdinand (2000) showed for Novgorod that it was the Hanseatic merchants who conversed in the local vernacular, i.e. Russian, rather than the locals aspiring to learn and use Middle Low German. This is all the more surprising since the Hanseatic merchants would only ever stay in Novgorod for six months before being replaced (Ferdinand 2000: 37), and hence it must have been some effort to learn enough Russian to be able to conduct business. Yet, there are plenty of references to Hanseatic apprentice merchants who learnt Russian from native

speakers, Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians in Pskov and Novgorod (Ferdinand 2000: 39). On the other hand, there is no evidence that Russian merchants ever acquired a knowledge of Middle Low German or that they used their own interpreters to translate from Middle Low German (Ferdinand 2000: 38). In Novgorod, the potential problem of successful communication was resolved by Hanseatic merchants learning the local vernacular — clearly this suggests that here the prestige of Middle Low German (or the merchants) was not such that the locals felt a need to learn the language.

In other countries, too, the Hanseatic merchants went beyond Latin and Middle Low German (Peters 2000b: 1502), and acquired some knowledge of Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, French, English etc., depending on their most frequent trading partner. In 1375 two traders from Bruges were advised to ensure the services of a French speaking interpreter when they came to London (Peters 1987: 79). In Scandinavia, many people were bilingual due to the existence of larger Middle Low German speaking communities which, over the years merged with the Scandinavians, e.g., in Visby or Stockholm in the fourteenth century (Peters 2000b: 1501). The fact that about 30 to 50% of all Modern Swedish vocabulary are loanwords from Low German shows how intensive the contact between the Swedes and the Middle Low German Hanseatic communities must have been. Braunmüller (1995) favours a model of semi-communication to describe the language contact between the Scandinavian languages and Middle Low German.

There is no evidence about what kind of language merchants were using in spoken discourse, e.g. on their week-long travels to far away trading enclaves or during the months they spent there. There is the suggestion that merchants would have used the most prestigious language, i.e. Lübeck Middle Low German but in the light of the fact that this language variety was not explicitly taught, it is difficult to imagine how a non-native could speak this language, especially when semi-communication or pidgins between related languages seem a more practical and hence plausible prospect.

We can summarize that the use of Middle Low German as a supra-regional and supra-national language was restricted to areas where the local language was very similar to Middle Low German, i.e. the Dutch and Scandinavian speaking countries. In writing, Latin retained its important position as a language of record keeping and accountancy until the fifteenth century. As a spoken language, Middle Low German was used “abroad” in communications between Hanseatic trading enclaves and Hanseatic cities though this is not surprising since the occupants of the trading enclaves were, on the whole, native speakers of Middle Low German. In England, the Hanseatic merchants needed to know English and French, in Bruges, it was very helpful to know Dutch, in Reval a knowledge of Estonian was important and in Novgorod, trade was conducted through Russian (Peters 2000b: 1502) — Middle Low German was not helpful in these places.

Middle Low German after the Hanseatic League

The Hanseatic league went into decline from the fifteenth century when new markets and products were found in the New World, when southern trading families such as the Fuggers of Augsburg expanded into northern Europe and when Hanseatic cities increasingly worked towards their own interests rather than those of the Hanseatic League. In addition, the rise of territorial powers such as the Scandinavian countries and Holland as well as the establishment of a direct sea-route from England to Russia resulted in the eventual disappearance of the Hanseatic League.

Middle Low German was not directly affected by the political and economic decline of the Hanseatic League. Lübeck retained its central economic role until the Reformation (1520/30s) and became the most important printing centre in northern Europe with nine printing presses, producing books that were both sold in Lübeck itself and exported to international trading partners (Sodmann 1987: 93). In fact, Middle Low German continued to thrive for another century, with books, including narrative literature such as the *Narrenschyp*, *Reynke de Vos*, etc., as well as the Lübecker Bible and the Lutheran Bugenhagen Bible being published in Middle Low German. Furthermore in its beginnings, the Reformation took place through Middle Low German in northern Germany.

However, eventually Middle Low German ceased to be used as a public written language and just as with the change from Latin to Middle Low German, the change from Middle Low German to High German occurred in stages, depending on location, text type and time. Nonetheless, the decline and eventual disappearance of the Hanseatic League is the most frequently cited reason for the “downfall” of Middle Low German as a written language — a historic event that is still visible in the fact that today Low German is a “mere” dialect of German, rather than a “proper” language of its own.

The change from Low German to High German took place from the sixteenth century onwards and was more or less completed by 1650. It took place in stages, changing at different speeds depending on text types and regions. Chanceries in Berlin changed to High German as early as 1504 and in Emden (East Frisia) as late as 1640 (Stellmacher 2000: 70). The first High German document was written by the Lübeck council and addressed to the (High German speaking) imperial court in Speyer in 1498. Increasingly, correspondence with non-Low German speakers was carried out in High German, e.g. from 1529/30 in letters to Frankfurt and Nuremberg, from 1533 in letters to Sweden. From 1548/49 Lübeck corresponded in High German with cities which formerly used Middle Low German (Braunschweig, Hamburg) and after this the correspondence with cities abroad, such as Reval (in Estonia) was changed (1558) (Heinsohn 1933: 180ff., as cited in Stellmacher

2000: 69). Low German had virtually disappeared from the official documents of the Lübeck council administration by 1615.

The Bible had existed in various Middle Low German versions (e.g. Cologne 1478; Lübeck 1494; Halberstadt 1522; cf. Stellmacher 2000: 72) prior to Martin Luther's (1483–1546) High German translation (1535). Whilst these translations were not considered heretic by the established church, Middle Low German Bibles were nonetheless not promoted and the language remained excluded from major clerical functions (Holtz 1980: 32ff.). Ironically, the Reformation proved to be another nail in the coffin of Middle Low German as a written language. Luther's primary intention for the translation of the Bible was to make Biblical writing directly accessible to the common people. The existing Middle Low German Bibles were, just like the Pre-Reformation High German counterparts, of low quality as regards their readability and consequently, a new Middle Low German Bible, a translation from Luther's High German Bible, was written by one of Luther's students (Johannes Bugenhagen, 1483–1558) in 1534 (cf. Schröder 1991). However, there is some controversy as to whether Bugenhagen's translation was merely a Low German "sounding" copy of the High German version or whether the translation was indeed sufficiently independent from the Luther-text to reflect Low German grammar and lexis (Francis 2001). Luther was highly revered as *the* authority in theological matters and his High German texts were considered almost untouchable in Protestant Germany (Stellmacher 2000: 73). Likewise, many of the new Protestant vicars in northern Germany were not natives of the Low German territory, or they had studied in High German areas (e.g. Wittenberg, Leipzig) and on their return did not use their first language in church because of the prestige attached to Luther's words in the "original" High German dialect (on the role of Luther in German language history see Mattheier this volume).

A final domain to be considered here is the use of Low German in schools. Just as in other areas, the transition from Low German to High German took place slowly and in stages, varying with regard to regions, types of school and individual subjects (Gabrielsson 1932/33: 78). Often the shift to High German was initiated or driven by High German speaking teachers. The general geographical direction of the transition process in schools resembles closely the developments in other domains, with the earliest changeover in the south-eastern areas (Brandenburg, Magdeburg by c. 1580), moving north and westwards to the central areas (Braunschweig, Westphalia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania by c. 1640) before arriving in the far north (Hamburg and Lübeck by c. 1650), and the far north-west (East Frisia by 1680; Gabrielsson 1932/3: 78f.). The transition was completed by the mid- or late seventeenth century when Low German had virtually disappeared from writing and acquired a stigma of ridicule as can be seen e.g. in Baroque drama when the person who uses Low German is usually a "stupid peasant" or "servant" (Stellmacher 2000: 82f.).

To summarize, the research literature has produced some detailed observations on *how* High German replaced Middle Low German from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century, with different histories applying to different domains and types of text. The transition took place in stages: Low German was gradually replaced in various linguistic domains, the production of Low German books decreased and there was a changeover at schools and in the church. Accounts of the *reasons* behind this transition that led to the exclusion of Low German from the public written domain are far less satisfactory, however, and rarely go beyond the very plausible suggestion that the decline of the Hanseatic league and the shift of political and economic powers led to a loss of importance of the northern German area and, subsequently, its language.

6. Middle Low German and Haugen's model of standardization

In this section, Haugen's theory of standardization will be applied to the history of Middle Low German. Haugen's model has been outlined in the introduction of this volume and therefore no explicit explanation will be given here. Nonetheless, some preliminary comments may be appropriate. Haugen (1994: 4340) defines the standardization of a language as follows:

Any vernacular (language or dialect) may be 'standardized' by being given a uniform and consistent form of writing that is widely accepted by its speakers.

As we saw above, there are two processes in the history of Low German that could be interpreted as reflecting "standardization": on the one hand the general development of regional written language norm; and on the other hand, the special case of the *Lübecker Norm* as a regional written language that was also used outside its native region. In principle, both cases fall under the definition above since the Middle Low German *Schreibsprachen* ('written languages') were (a) made increasingly uniform by a successive reduction of local variants, and (b) accepted by its speakers as the written form to be used in public discourse. As regards the type of speaker group using the standard language, Haugen's (ibid.) definition also applies to Middle Low German:

In its initial phase the users of a standard are usually a tight knit group of elite members and are only gradually extended to include a whole people or a nation.

In our case, the users were scribes and secretaries in the chanceries, as well as the merchants and upper classes of the Hanseatic cities which conducted and supervised the trade, hence a probable "tight knit group" as regards professional identity and social status. In the newly founded Hanseatic cities along the Baltic coast,

Lübeck Middle Low German was the native language of the upper classes and this would probably have continued for some time, with communication between the classes based on various contact varieties (including L2 versions of the local language), possibly also including trade pidgins although there are no records for this. Thus initially, the restriction of Lübeck Middle Low German to the upper classes of Lübeck and the new cities was not due to a higher perceived prestige of the language but simply because it was the native tongue of the upper classes in these cities, and consequently it was also used in written documents. On the other hand, Lübeck Middle Low German was used as the language of Hanseatic business due to the leading role of Lübeck in the Hanseatic league, and its documents were dispatched throughout the member cities and trading enclaves. Thus Lübeck Middle Low German expanded geographically and subsequently the language itself was seen to be connected with the importance of the Hanseatic documents. Lübeck Middle Low German was seen as the language of the capital and gained some sort of social prestige (Peters 2000b: 1501), which can be witnessed by the fact that writers of other regional written languages preferred to use Lübeck Middle Low German variants in place of the variants of their own language.

As for the principal reasons for the standardization of languages, Haugen (*ibid.*) cites “military conquests, immigration, or commercial contact”. The Middle Low German case matches Haugen’s assessment, since the rise and fall of a powerful Middle Low German was primarily dependent on the existence of the economic and political success of the Hanseatic league. Finally, Haugen (*ibid.*) claims that “standard languages arose during the Renaissance in Europe”. The relevant chapters in the history of Middle Low German started, however, much earlier. In his description of standardization processes Haugen presupposes the existence of metalinguistic comments on the standardized language, such as grammars and dictionaries; however, for vernacular languages, these did not come into being prior to the Renaissance.⁸

Norm selection

The geographical expansion of the Hanseatic League coincided with the increasing use of written documents to record trade transactions. This general development towards proper book-keeping allowed for a type of trade where the merchant stayed in his office (*scribekamere*) rather than having to travel himself, and thus facilitated intensive trading over large distances. From the mid-thirteenth century, accountancy, reading and writing skills were taught in a newly founded type of schools (*dudesche scryffschole* ‘German writing schools’) aimed at apprentice merchants. Since these schools did not teach Latin, we can deduce that by this time Latin was no longer considered to be crucial for successful trade. The explicit

teaching of the reading and writing of Low German supported the reduction of idiosyncratic, local or even regional variants in favour of the institutionalized language taught by the teacher. Sanders (1982: 142) describes Lübeck Middle Low German as preserving older grammatical forms such as the nasal in *uns* 'us', and as displaying a fairly uniform spelling system. The teaching of Middle Low German in schools may well have promoted this, though there is no direct evidence for this.

The sizeable geographic area of Low German, the existence of a powerful economic union relying on Low German and the existence of a clear prestigious centre (Lübeck) within both this language area and this union, are conditions that could have favoured the emergence of a standard language with Lübeck Low German as the first candidate. However, we saw above that not all chanceries (esp. in Westphalia) and trading enclaves (e.g. Bruges, London, Bergen) readily adopted this variety.

Norm codification

In general, medieval vernacular languages were not explicitly taught as foreign languages but rather learnt by practical application (Lüdtke 1998: 12); this was illustrated above with regard to the situation in Novgorod. Thus we have no foreign language grammars of Middle Low German in which we could have checked which variety of Middle Low German was taught to foreign learners, and hence could have inferred from this which variety was considered most prestigious.

Although teachers at the *scryffscholen* most likely used some kind of written material, probably including writing manuals, none of these have survived. The *Münstersche Grammatik* (Peters 1994), which was written in Münster (Westphalia) in 1451 and which survives in one copy printed (c. 1488) in Stendal (in today's Saxony-Anhalt), is a grammar of Latin, albeit written in Lübeck Middle Low German. It shows that in the late fifteenth century the *Lübecker Norm* extended as far south as Stendal. The *Münstersche Grammatik* thus provides further evidence for the prestige of Lübeck Middle Low German. The main text of the grammar is in Middle Low German and all Latin examples are translated. The author of the grammar argues that Latin teaching in schools should use the pupil's mother tongue as a basis; it is clear that the writer considered Middle Low German to be a proper and acceptable language to be used in educational discourse.

In the absence of any normative grammar of Middle Low German, we can only speculate how Lübeck Middle Low German was perceived and indeed how its features became known among scribes so that they could use these forms. Was it a conscious process of looking up a mental (or possibly written) list of Lübeck Middle Low German features, or were certain constructions (e.g. *uns* instead of *us*, verbal plural on *-en*, not *-et*) simply so well-known among professional writers that

they were used “automatically” — just as much as we know through exposure which features are British English and which are American English (‘theatre’ vs. ‘theater’, ‘city centre’ vs. ‘downtown’)?

For a successful language standardization process it is crucial that there is an ideological framework which convinces the language user that the vernacular language is of exceptional quality and hence fit to be used in H domains. This never happened in Middle Low German. According to the historical record a real discussion about the status of vernacular languages did not occur. The prominence of Lübeck Middle Low German was primarily due to communicative ease: using the language with the widest range of geographical and social comprehensibility.

Norm elaboration

Elaboration refers to the extension of the sociolinguistic functions of the language, typically after it has been codified. We saw above that Middle Low German was actually never codified. However, is there evidence for linguistic elaboration? Old Saxon was originally the spoken language of an ethnic group of people in north-western Germany. With the increase in trade, Old Saxon started to be used as a written language for language everyday business, administrative and legal documents and functioned as a medium of supra-local and supra-regional communication. Certain writing conventions developed which no longer corresponded to how the people actually spoke; in other words, relatively uniform scribal languages were formed. The functional extension from spoken language to “conventionalized” business language underwent a further modification with the advent of a dominant scribal language (Lübeck Middle Low German) as we saw above. However, strictly speaking, these extensions are still restricted to a narrow range of text types, i.e. business and legal texts. A further extension developed towards the end of the fifteenth century when literary and religious texts were printed in Middle Low German (see above). This is in noticeable contrast to the previous two centuries when northern poets would use the southern standard of High German, presumably because of its higher prestige and comprehensibility amongst the literary elite which was based in the south (Sanders 1982: 123ff.). Church services continued to be conducted in Latin until the Reformation. In northern Germany churches switched to High German after a brief spell of Low German services. In schools, Middle Low German was certainly used in the *dudesche scryffscholen* from the thirteenth century. However, it is not known to what extent a language *norm*, e.g. Lübeck Middle Low German, rather than the local variety was used and taught.

We can attest some incipient elaboration of the functional domains of Low German over the centuries but this had no lasting effect. Whether this lack of success was due to the lack of a properly codified Middle Low German variety

seems somewhat improbable. Even a fully fledged, codified Low German would have had little chance to maintain its importance in the face of the decline of the Hanseatic League, the lack of a clear political and/or socio-cultural identity in northern Germany and the aforementioned political and economical changes in the neighbouring countries.

Norm adoption

It is likely that on their trips to non-German trading posts some of those seafarers who were not native speakers of Middle Low German might have used Middle Low German as the *lingua franca*, rather than Latin or their native tongue. To what extent they would have been aware of regional differences between varieties of Low German is difficult to assess in the absence of any evidence. They probably used the language that they knew from previous encounters with Hanseatic traders rather than deliberately communicating in the most prestigious variety.

As regards the acceptance of the *Lübecker Norm*, the evidence does not suggest that its prestige was acknowledged so widely as to be used throughout the Hanseatic league. There is evidence that particular features of Lübeck Middle Low German were used by scribes elsewhere, both in northern Germany and the Baltic coast. However, since the *norm* was not the result of conscious codification (Stellmacher 2000: 13), we cannot easily compare the case of Middle Low German with those of properly standardized languages.

To summarize, the history of Middle Low German in general and Lübeck Middle Low German in particular is only partially compatible with the Haugen model of standardization. There was no standardized Middle Low German in the technical sense at any given point in time because it was never codified or monitored. However, it was used supra-regionally and internationally across the Hanseatic League and included a prestige variety based on the language of the economic and political centre — ideal conditions for a standard language to emerge. That this did not happen was a historical development almost entirely due to political and economic events, i.e. the decline of the status of Lübeck and the importance of the Hanse, rather than linguistic events *per se*.

7. Conclusion

The topic of standardization touches rather early on the history of Low German, compared to other Germanic languages. In the Middle Ages, the initial conditions for a uniform language were given due to the presence of a very strong economic power which used Middle Low German in supra-regional and even international

contexts. There was no serious competition from other languages. There was a clear geographical and political centre (Lübeck) and thus a strong candidate for a prestige variety that could subsequently be standardized. Lübeck Middle Low German was used as a supra-regional variety throughout the Middle Low German areas, albeit with limitations in Westphalia. Supra-nationally, Lübeck Middle Low German was the written language in Hanseatic enclaves across the Baltic Sea. As regards international communication, Lübeck Middle Low German was used in correspondence with Scandinavians, both in formal correspondence with bilingual Scandinavians and, we presume, as the Low German part of oral semi-communication between Low Germans and Scandinavians. Thus the conditions were favourable for *norm selection*. *Norm codification*, however, never took place. The most probable reason for this lies in the fact that in the Middle Ages, vernacular languages were not yet codified in normative grammars, dictionaries, etc. Nonetheless, there seems to have been a general agreement as to what features were typical for Lübeck Middle Low German and the question arises as to how this knowledge was transmitted, if not by some form of norm codification. There is no evidence in the records and we will refrain from speculating on this topic.

The most prominent reason for the ultimate failure in creating a Middle Low German standard language is found in the economic and political decline of northern Germany, with the failure of the Hanseatic league in the fifteenth century. Without a national identity of northern Germany and without any formal and prestigious institutions (royal families, church, etc.) that would continue with the use of Middle Low German in official written and spoken discourse, the language lost its prestige. By 1600 it had vanished from public written documents virtually everywhere and became stigmatized as an undesirable language of the lower strata of society.

The application of Haugen's model of standardization to Middle Low German shows that a crucial stage of the process is missing in the history of "standard" Middle Low German. However, the question remains how important the missing normative grammars were in the failure of the standardization of Middle Low German.

Notes

* My gratitude goes to Ulf-Thomas Lesle (Bremen), Robert Peters (Münster), Ingrid Schröder (Greifswald/Hamburg), Dieter Stellmacher (Göttingen), Ulrich Weber (Kiel) who kindly and patiently replied to my enquiries and enabled me to see things clearer. Also a big thank you to the editors, Wim Vandenbussche and Ana Deumert for their encouragement and valuable comments on the draft version. All remaining mistakes and errors of judgement remain, of course, my own.

1. There are also linguistic enclaves outside of Europe, e.g. in America, Africa, Asia and Australia, due to emigration from Northern Germany (Sanders 1982: 64ff.; Stellmacher 2000: 247).
2. Cf. Wölck 1986 for a case study of language attitudes among teenagers re. Low German.
3. This set of changes is even mentioned in phrasebooks aimed at the general public, e.g. Cyriacks and Nissen (1997: 12) and Fründt and Fründt (2001: 21).
4. This table is for the purpose of a basic illustration only. The reader should consult any history of the German language for a detailed description of the Second Consonant Shift, including those changes involving voiced consonantal stops.
5. These few examples will of course not do justice to the differences between Low German and High German. The reader is advised to consult Lindow et al. (1998) or Stellmacher (2000) for a proper grammatical sketch of Low German.
6. There are no texts from the twelfth century, hence the gap between Old Saxon and Middle High German. The first evidence of Middle High German is in the form of Middle High German words in a Latin document, the *Mescheder Urkunde* from 1207 (Stellmacher 2000: 41).
7. Cf. Stellmacher (2000: 46–66) for samples of Middle High German texts (including Hanseatic ones) and an overview of Middle High German phonology, grammar and lexis.
8. Peters (2002, p.c.) states that there is a number of word lists, phrase books and dictionaries from the MLG period. However, it seems that there are no metalinguistic comments on the status of the language which is described in these texts.

References

- Bischoff, K. 1983. "Reflexe gesprochener Sprache im Mittelniederdeutschen". In *BRS*, 1263–1268.
- BBRS = Besch, W., Betten, A., Reichmann, O. and Sonderegger, S. (eds). 1998–2001. *HSK Sprachgeschichte*. Berlin: De Gruyter (second edition).
- BRS = Besch, W., Reichmann, O. and Sonderegger, S. (eds). 1984/85. *HSK Sprachgeschichte*. Berlin: De Gruyter (first edition).
- Cyriacks, H. and Nissen, P. 1997. *Sprachführer Plattdüütsch. Ein Lehr- und Lernbuch*. Hamburg: Quickborn.
- Durrell, M. 2000. "Standard Language and the creation of national myths in nineteenth century Germany". In *Das schwierige neunzehnte Jahrhundert*, G. Carr and J. Barkhoff (eds), 15–26. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Francis, T. 2001. "'Schy van worde tho worde' or 'Reynesprake'? How 'pure' was the 1534 'Bugenhagen' translation of Luther's Bible into Low German?". In *Proper Words in Proper Places. Studies in Lexicology and Lexicography*, M. Davies et al., 60–81. Stuttgart: Heinz.
- Friedland, K. 1991. *Die Hanse*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

- Fründt, H. and Fründt, H.-J. 2001. *Plattdüütsch. Das echte Norddeutsch*. Bielefeld: Reise Know-How.
- Gabrielsson, A. 1932/33. "Das Eindringen der hochdeutschen Sprache in die Schulen Niederdeutschlands im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert". *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 58/59: 1–79.
- Glück, H. 2000. *Metzler Lexikon Sprache*. Stuttgart: Metzler. Second Edition.
- Härd, J. E. 1980. "Mittelniederdeutsch". In *Lexikon der Germanistischen Linguistik*, H. P. Althaus et al. (eds), 585–588. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Haugen, E. 1987/8. "Language Planning". In *Sociolinguistics. An international handbook*, U. Ammon, N. Dittmar and K. Mattheier (eds), 626–637. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Haugen, E. 1994. "Standardization". In *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, R. E. Asher (ed.), 4340–4342. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Haugen, E. [1966] 1997. "Language Standardization". In *Sociolinguistics. A reader and coursebook*, N. Coupland and A. Jaworski (eds), 341–352. London: Macmillan.
- Heinsohn, Wilhelm. 1933. *Das Eindringen der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache in Lübeck während des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild.
- Holtz, G. 1980. "Niederdeutsch als Kirchensprache". In *Niederdeutsch als Kirchensprache. Festgabe für Gottfried Holtz*, D. Andersen et al. (eds), 15–88. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lasch, A. 1931. "Voraltsächsische Runenschriften aus der Unterweser". In *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 56/57: 163–179.
- Lindow, W. et al. (eds). 1998. *Niederdeutsche Grammatik*. Leer: Schuster.
- Milroy, J. 2002. "The legitimate language: Giving a history to English". In *Alternative Histories of English*, R. Watts and P. Trudgill (eds), 7–25. London: Routledge.
- Peters, R. 1987. "Das Mittelniederdeutsche als Sprache der Hanse". In *Sprachkontakt in der Hanse — Aspekte des Sprachausgleichs im Ostsee- und Nordseeraum* (= Linguistische Arbeiten 191), P. S. Ureland (ed.), 65–88. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Peters, R. 1994. "Zur Sprache des sogenannten Münsterschen Grammatik". In *Granatapfel*, B. D. Bauer (ed.), 45–65. Göttingen: Kümmerle.
- Peters, R. 1995. "Die angebliche Geltung der sog. mittelniederdeutschen Schriftsprache in Westfalen. Zur Geschichte eines Mythos". In *Lingua Theodisca. Beiträge zur Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, J. Cajot et al. (eds), 199–213. Münster: ZNS.
- Peters, R. 2000a. "Soziokulturelle Voraussetzungen und Sprachraum des Mittel-niederdeutschen". In *BBRS*, 1409–1422.
- Peters, R. 2000b. "Die Rolle der Hanse und Lübecks in der mittelniederdeutschen Sprachgeschichte". In *BBRS*, 1496–1505.
- Reichmann, O. 1998. "Zur Vertikalisierung des Varietätenspektrums in der jüngeren Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen". In: *Deutscher Wortschatz*, H. H. Munske et al. (eds), 151–180. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Sanders, W. 1982. *Sachsensprache, Hansesprache, Plattdeutsch. Sprachgeschichtliche Grundzüge des Niederdeutschen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Sanders, W. 1983. "Die Sprache der Hanse". In *BRS*, 991–1002.
- Schröder, I. 1991. *Die Bugenhagenbibel*. Köln: Böhlau.
- Sodmann, T. 1987. "Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Sprachkontakt im hansischen Raum". In *Sprachkontakt in der Hanse — Aspekte des Sprachausgleichs im Ostsee- und Nordseeraum*

- (= Linguistische Arbeiten 191), P. S. Ureland (ed.), 89–105. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Sodmann, T. 2000. “Die Verdrängung des Mittelniederdeutschen als Schreib- und Druckersprache Norddeutschland”. In *BBS*, 1505–1512.
- Stellmacher, D. 2000. *Niederdeutsche Sprache*. Berlin: Weidler (second edition).
- Tophinke, D. 1999. “Das kaufmännische Rechnungsbuch im Kontext städtisch-amtlicher Schriftlichkeit”. *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 122: 25–43.
- Wölck, W. 1986. “Language use and attitudes among teenagers in diglossic Northern Germany”. In *Language contact in Europe*, P. Nelde and P. Ureland (eds), 97–109. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Luxembourgish*

Peter Gilles and Claudine Moulin

University of Freiburg, Germany

Centre Universitaire de Luxembourg, Luxembourg

1. Introduction

Luxembourgish (*Lëtzebuergesch*) is the national language of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.¹ In order to describe and understand the history of the standardization of Luxembourgish it is necessary to take two aspects into consideration:

- a. the historical origin of the nation-state “Luxembourg” and the role Luxembourgish has played in this process.
- b. Luxembourg’s multilingual language situation. In the long historical process of becoming a nation, Luxembourg developed a trilingual language policy, involving German, French, and Luxembourgish.

Within this context, a specific form of language standardization is currently taking place. The development supports on-going processes of dialect levelling and contributes to the re-shaping of the status, functions and linguistic form of Luxembourgish in relation to the other two languages. Compared to the high level of standardization of e.g. (Standard) German or English, Luxembourgish is today still at a relatively early stage of the standardization process (cf. Kramer 1994).

After a summary of the sociohistorical background of Luxembourg’s multilingual speech community in section one, section two deals with the process of norm selection, focusing mainly on macro-sociolinguistic developments such as the emancipation of Luxembourgish as a language in its own right, dialect levelling and the increased use of Luxembourgish as a written language. Section three concentrates on aspects of the current process of codification, and finally, in section four issues of norm elaboration and acceptance will be discussed.

2. Sociohistorical background

Throughout history the territory of the present day Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg was subject to constant influences from the Romance and the Germanic languages, their cultures and politics (for a detailed history of Luxembourg, cf. Trausch 1981, 1989, 2002; Calmes 1989). Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries the Luxembourg area alternately belonged to four different countries (Austria, Spain, France, The Netherlands) and was divided several times (1659, 1815, 1839). As a consequence, parts of the original territory now belong to Germany, France and Belgium. Following the decisions of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Luxembourg's present-day borders were defined in the Treaty of London (1839). After having gained political autonomy, the self-confidence of the people of "Luxembourg" increased. In this process the language variety common to all Luxembourgers was used increasingly as an identity marker, both to strengthen internal cohesion and to make external distinctions, i.e. to distinguish oneself from other nations. Thus, during the nineteenth century and especially after the First and Second World Wars, the regional language Luxembourgish was the most important factor of national identification and continues to be regarded as a national symbol today (Newton 1996).

The current Grand Duchy of Luxembourg covers an area of 2586 km² and has a population of c. 440,000. The country is densely populated in the central region around the capital city of Luxembourg and in the south around the city of Esch-sur-Alzette. About one-third of the population are foreign nationals (approx. 162,000), making Luxembourg the country with the highest proportion of foreigners within Europe. The majority of foreign residents are from Italy and Portugal. Additionally there are approximately 100,000 daily commuters from the border areas of France, Belgium, and Germany, who work in Luxembourg. Obviously, this situation leads to a high degree of language contact (Hoffmann 1996). Up until the mid-nineteenth century agriculture constituted the economic basis of Luxembourg's economy. From the 1890s onwards an important and influential heavy industry with mines and steel works was established in the south. After the steel industry crisis in the 1970s, Luxembourg successfully changed into a modern service society with influential financial services. The rate of unemployment is low (2001: 2.6 %).²

Dating back to mediaeval times, the linguistic substrate of Luxembourg consists predominantly of a Germanic variety (or rather Germanic varieties) with considerable influence from French. Varieties of French and German, and later also Standard German were used mainly in administration, educational and cultural institutions, thus forming a bi- or trilingual situation. Today the language situation is characterized by "medial diglossia" with a distinction between written and spoken language varieties. Luxembourgish is the only means of oral communica-

tion between native Luxembourgophone speakers; it is unusual for these speakers to use French or German, e.g., at home, with friends, at work (for details, cf. Berg 1993: 18–85). It is only in encounters with non-Luxembourgophones that one of the other languages is spoken. On the other hand, French or German are used mainly as written languages (for descriptions of the multilingual situation, cf. Berg 1993; Davis 1992, 1994; Weber 1994, 2000, 2001). It will be illustrated in section two that this situation has been changing for the last twenty years and the use of Luxembourgish as a written language has increased significantly. As a result, German and to a lesser extent French are beginning to lose some of their presence in written language domains. One important consequence of medial diglossia is that there is almost no (situational) code-switching between the three languages (an in-depth analysis of code-switching in Luxembourg has yet to be undertaken, cf. Krier 1990, 1992). On the other hand, lexical borrowing from French, German, and English is quite frequent (Weber 1994).

Although Luxembourgish is the language used predominantly in oral communication and is associated with a high national-symbolic value, this sociolinguistic status is not reflected in the education system. For native Luxembourgers, Luxembourgish is learned as a first language; during early childhood, French or German are neither acquired nor used. While the language used in kindergarten is still restricted to Luxembourgish, the situation changes at primary school. Here, school children are confronted with German and French and a substantial part of the curriculum is consequently devoted to the teaching of these languages. Except in sports, music and arts classes, the designated languages of instruction are German and French (starting in the second grade). Nevertheless, it is common practice and inevitable that teachers and pupils use Luxembourgish in class. However, the mother tongue Luxembourgish does not form a central part of the curriculum and only a few hours are designated to Luxembourgish; this time is used mainly for reading, story telling, singing and local history. Luxembourgish grammar and orthography are not taught systematically because of possible interference problems with German for the Luxembourgophone children, as well as possible difficulties for the children with a foreign (in most cases: Romance) language background. As a result of the heavy work load, especially in the language subjects, the lessons dedicated to Luxembourgish are often used for other purposes. Additionally, teachers are not trained systematically in teaching Luxembourgish as a first language nor (with regard to the large number of non-Luxembourgish, mostly Romano-phone, children) in teaching Luxembourgish as a foreign language. The compilation of teaching materials and suitable grammatical descriptions is only in its early stages. A new syllabus and teaching materials are currently being developed. In the future these might lead to a modification of the status of Luxembourgish in the education system (for a description of Luxembourg's school system, cf. Kraemer

1993). Within the last several years, Luxembourgish has also gained importance as a foreign language. Over the last ten years, teaching programs have been developed for adult learners from different countries and also for commuters from France, Belgium, and Germany working in the service sector.³ The lack of descriptive and/or normative grammars is especially felt in this field. From a linguistic as well as from a didactic point of view, this augments the need for “Standard Luxembourgish”. With regard to the school system a remarkable discrepancy thus exists: Luxembourgish as the first language of many children and as the national language of the country is only rudimentarily taught in school. Nevertheless, Luxembourgish plays an important, though unofficial, role on the spoken level and in the everyday life of all children.

3. Norm selection

In this section, norm selection will be analyzed from two different angles: first an overview of the sociolinguistic history of Luxembourgish will be presented, focusing on aspects of language use, domains and attitudes/prestige. The following section will discuss the more strictly linguistic aspects of norm selection.

From 1839 to the beginning of the twentieth century

The language history of Luxembourgish as a national language begins with the foundation of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg on 19 April 1839, when Luxembourg reached almost complete independence under complicated historical circumstances (cf. Trausch 2002: 208–214). Luxembourg, however, remained the personal property of the king of The Netherlands until 1890. Although Luxembourg was *de facto* trilingual (German, French, Luxembourgish) during the nineteenth century, the language situation was generally regarded as bilingual: only the “true” languages German and French (in their perceived standardized forms) were accepted as legitimate languages and were used both in writing and speaking. Luxembourgish, on the other hand, was considered to be only a dialect. Two main arguments supported this view:

- a. Luxembourgish was seen as a vernacular, a spoken variety used in everyday life that was hardly ever used as a written language. Accordingly, Luxembourgish was not considered as a language in its own right in the multilingual setting.
- b. There was no doubt that the origin of Luxembourgish had to be interpreted within the general language and dialect history of German. Luxembourgish was considered a dialect of German and thus part of a larger dialect region,

comprising areas in Luxembourg and Germany (and also, to a lesser extent, in Belgium and France).

In terms of German dialectology, the Luxembourgish-speaking region belongs to the so-called Central Franconian dialect area (more specifically to the western part of Moselle Franconian; cf. Gilles 1999). As a matter of fact, the dialects spoken on both sides of the Luxembourg-German border exhibit a great deal of similarity and were regarded as being part of the same (German) system.⁴ Thus, Luxembourgish was clearly seen as being directly dependent on and dominated by the German standard language. As a consequence, it didn't seem justified to label Luxembourgish a language of its own. This view is clearly illustrated in the first available descriptions of Luxembourgish. In Hardt's (1843) description Luxembourgish is regarded as dialect — or more specifically, Luxembourgish was described as consisting of three major dialects: *luxemburgische mundarten* ('Luxembourg dialects'). Edmond de la Fontaine (1855), one of the first poets to use Luxembourgish in writing, stressed the dependence of Luxembourgish on German by using the label *Luxemburger deutsche Mundart* ('Luxembourg German dialect'). In the same vein, Klein (1855: 50) used the term *unsere mundart* ('our dialect') and noted that the relationship between German and Luxembourgish is too close as to describe Luxembourgish as a language in its own right. Up until the beginning of the twentieth century, the close relationship between standard German and Luxembourgish was articulated among Luxembourgers by using the distinguishing language names *Däitsch* ('German', here with the meaning 'Luxembourgish') and *Houdäitsch* ('High German', here with the meaning 'Standard German'; cf. Hoffmann 1996c).

Although the linguistic form of Luxembourgish was seen as being part of the German language throughout the nineteenth century, language attitudes pointed in another direction. Right from the foundation of the nation-state in 1839, Luxembourgish was considered an important factor in defining and maintaining the national identity of Luxembourg. In contrast to the pluricentric languages of their German and French neighbours, Luxembourgish was a "language" that was unique to Luxembourg. It is characteristic of nineteenth century descriptions to recognize the dependence of Luxembourgish on German and, on the other hand, to emphasize that Luxembourgish has developed into an important factor of national identification and integration. For example, Klein (1855) uses the term *unsere mundart* ('our dialect') in parallel with the term *unsere sprache* ('our language') which is indicative of the incipient changes in the self-consciousness of Luxembourg as a nation.

It seems justified to interpret the developments within the nineteenth century as prerequisites for language standardization: during this time, the creation of the

nation-state was directly linked to an increase of positive emotional attitudes towards Luxembourgish. Luxembourgish became (and continues to be) a national symbol. From then onwards Luxembourgish was not longer regarded as a “worthless” dialect/vernacular but rather as a “worthy” language, and subsequent efforts with regard to the standardization of form and functions of Luxembourgish began to take place. The first tentative steps towards language standardization were tightly linked with the evolution of a national literary tradition. The poets and novelists of the nineteenth century created the first spelling systems for Luxembourgish and sometimes also brief grammatical sketches. First descriptions of Luxembourgish were also published (see below). However, as a written language Luxembourgish was used predominantly in literature and only occasionally in newspaper articles. These nineteenth century language descriptions can be interpreted as signs of a linguistic interest that was, however, restricted to the cultural elite of Luxembourg. The impact of these first standardization attempts on the language behaviour of the larger population was rather minute.

Beginning of the twentieth century to 1945

The strengthened national identity supported the use of Luxembourgish — which had by now become the accepted name for the language — as the general spoken language among Luxembourgers from no later than 1900. More specifically, a situation characterized by medial diglossia emerged: Luxembourgish functioned as the main spoken variety and commanded high national-symbolic value and high social prestige, whereas German and French remained the main languages of the written domains. At the same time tendencies towards linguistic purism can be noted. The young national language was viewed as being under pressure from German and French. Lexical borrowing from these influential languages — which was frequent — seemed to threaten the integrity and “purity” of Luxembourgish. Lists containing words which were regarded as not being part of the Luxembourgish system were published to help reduce the influence of the neighbouring languages (e.g. Comes 1932). During World War I and World War II strong anti-German feelings existed in Luxembourg, and everything connected with Germany and German was emphatically rejected. Luxembourg suffered heavily under the occupation of Nazi-Germany (cf. Newton 1996: 186ff.). In 1941, the German government initiated a census on nationality and language in Luxembourg. The census was conducted to confirm the common view that Luxembourgish was a German dialect and that Luxembourg should thus be incorporated into the German speaking territories. Crucial for this were the three questions concerning the nationality, the ethnic identity and the “mother tongue” (see Weber 1946; Trausch 1989; Trausch 2002: 248–250). The instructions indicated that Luxembourgers should not

answer with *Lëtzebuergesch*; they were told that a dialect could not be regarded as a first language and examples of dialects were given (among them, of course, Luxembourgish). These controversial census questions led to a national movement among the population and the slogan “dräimol Lëtzebuergesch” (‘three times Lëtzebuergesch’; i.e. to give the answer *Lëtzebuergesch* to all three questions) reflects the strong feelings of national identity and unity which existed among the population. The census was cancelled in the last minute by the Germans when it became clear that it would not lead to the expected results. The debate which surrounded the census clearly illustrates the symbolic power of Luxembourgish.

1945 to today

After World War II the rejection of anything connected with the German language and Germany in general was still manifest. Words and syntactic constructions that were too closely connected to Standard German were avoided or excluded from the Luxembourgish norm. With regard to the vocabulary of Luxembourgish this tendency led to a decrease in lexical borrowing from Standard German while borrowing from French increased. Although it was still accepted that Luxembourgish shared a common linguistic origin with German and the German dialects on the other side of the border, any kind of sociolinguistic dependence on or subordination under the neighbouring language was rejected.

The multilingual language situation was officially recognized by the language law of 24 February, 1984 (*loi sur le régime des langues*). In this law all three languages received recognition as administrative languages, and French was recognized as the language of legislation. Furthermore, Luxembourgish was now officially given the status of a “national language”. This was formulated in article one: “*La langue nationale des Luxembourgeois est le luxembourgeois*” (‘The national language of Luxembourg is Luxembourgish’). From that point, Luxembourgish could be used in nearly all (oral and written) official contexts. It was one of the aims of the language law to strengthen the sociolinguistic status of Luxembourgish *vis à vis* German and French in order to facilitate the development of a written form of Luxembourgish. The passing of the law was, however, neither combined with specific goals to change the current situation of language use, nor was there an explicit attempt to create normative grammars, dictionaries or teaching materials. However, the language law was used by pressure groups to support the development of language planning and to actively encourage the increased use of Luxembourgish in writing. One of the most influential pressure groups is *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch* founded in the 1970s. The main interest of this group is to promote the extensive use of Luxembourgish in writing, to limit the integration of loan-words and to provide instructions and templates for various types of text; these

templates are published in the journal *Eis Sprooch* ('Our language') and are also available on the internet (<http://www.eis-sprooch.lu>). According to Weber (2000, 2002), the language law initiated a clear appreciation of Luxembourgish. This is reflected in the increasing demand for language courses, language materials for language teaching and learning, as well as general information about the language.

During the post-war years the necessary prerequisite steps for the standardization of Luxembourgish were finally accomplished. Only after the autonomous sociolinguistic status of the language had been recognized (especially with reference to Standard German), could the issue of standardization (in a narrower sense) of the linguistic form of Luxembourgish be addressed. Compared to some of the long lasting standardization histories of many of the other Germanic languages, the standardization of Luxembourgish has started only recently.

4. Norm selection of the linguistic form

Two main processes, initiated at the beginning of the twentieth century and gaining more and more ground after World War II, are currently taking place in Luxembourg. These two processes interact with the on-going standardization efforts:

- a. a process of dialect levelling is leading to the development of a supra-regional variety that may become a standard variety in the spoken domain,
- b. the use of Luxembourgish as a written language is noticeably increasing.

Dialect levelling

As a language originally restricted to spoken domains, Luxembourgish continues to show extensive regional variation. This is documented by various descriptions of individual dialects as well as the comprehensive dialect survey published in the *Luxemburgischer Sprachatlas* ('Linguistic Atlas of Luxembourg'; Bruch and Goossens 1963). The material provided by the dialect atlas is, however, today largely outdated.

Although Luxembourg constitutes a rather small geographical area, at least four smaller dialect areas can be distinguished on the basis of the dialect atlas:

- a. the eastern area on the Luxembourg/German border has dialect features resembling those of the Moselle Franconian varieties spoken in Germany around the city of Trier;
- b. the large, but sparsely populated northern area shows features of the varieties spoken around the German cities Bitburg and Cologne;
- c. the features of the southern area resemble the Moselle Franconian varieties found in the Lorraine area of northern France;

- d. finally, a central area comprises the largest part of the country; this area is densely populated, and it is here that the capital city of Luxembourg and most of the economic, political, cultural and educational facilities and institutions are located (cf. Bruch 1953a, 1954; Gilles 1999).

Although the phonetic/phonological differences between the four dialects can be quite vast, they are nevertheless mutually intelligible. Examples of regional variation are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Examples of words in their official spelling and their phonetic representations in the four sub-dialects of Luxembourgish.

		Centre	South	East	North
<i>Nuecht</i>	'night'	nuəçt	nuət	nɔ:xt	naɪt/na:çt
<i>fueren</i>	'to drive'	fuərən	fuərən	fuərən	f ^u ərən /fa:rən
<i>Leit</i>	'people'	lɔɪt	lɛt	lɔɪt	lɛkt
<i>haut</i>	'today'	həʊt	hot	həʊt	hɔkt/həkt
<i>midd</i>	'tired'	mɪt	mɪt	meɪt	mikt
<i>Brout</i>	'bread'	brout	broot	brut	brukt
<i>Téi</i>	'tea'	tei	tei	ti:	ti:
<i>mir</i>	'me/we'	mi:ɐ	mɛ:ɐ	mi:ɐ	mɛ:ɐ

The fourfold division of dialects was probably stable until the beginning of the twentieth century. Since then, and with an increased speed for the last fifty years, modifications of the dialect division and of the dialects themselves have been noted. With regard to phonetics/phonology a process of dialect levelling — which had already been noted in its initial stage by Engelmann (1910) — continues. This development was thought to threaten the structure of three of the four dialect regions as it leads to an increased level of structural homogeneity across the different dialect regions. Originally this process was interpreted as reflecting the formation of a new variety, a koiné, which supposedly emerged from a mixing of the various sub-dialects of Luxembourgish (Engelmann 1910; Bruch 1954; Hoffmann 1996c). Instead of replacing the older sub-dialects, this new variety was thought to serve as an overarching variety and as a means of supra-regional, national communication. Furthermore, it has been claimed that this Luxembourg koiné was characterized by simplification and reduction of structural features and was thus less complex than the sub-dialects, making it a kind of “compromise variety”. This interesting concept was developed rather impressionistically without any empirical proof. Nevertheless, the earlier notion of a supra-regional variety dominating local and regional dialects can be interpreted in terms of language standardization: the newly emerging koiné serves as a standard variety for spoken language use at the national level. The hypothesis of koiné development was, however, not based on empirical linguistic

studies and relied mostly on anecdotal observations. Rather, it reflects a specific ideological strategy in the context of language standardization. Discussions among Luxembourg linguists show strong ties to a standard language ideology (Milroy 2001) which is driven by an attitudinal rejection of (mainly regional) variation and a general longing for a common language. The idea of a Luxembourg koiné should be interpreted as a deliberate attempt by linguists to establish the foundations of a standard language for Luxembourgish based on spoken (dialectal) varieties (Gilles 2000). Instead of koinéization in its proper sense (i.e. including both dialect levelling and simplification; cf. Siegel 1985; Trudgill 1986), only dialect levelling is taking place. Gilles (1999) has shown that the variety spoken in the large central area is spreading into the surrounding southern, eastern, and northern areas. Due to this development, older dialectal features in the affected areas are being replaced by central Luxembourgish variants. As a consequence, regional phonetic/phonological variation is being reduced and homogeneity is increasing.

The levelling process is, however, far from complete. It probably started at the end of the nineteenth century and has accelerated dramatically since World War II, with increased social and regional mobility as supporting factors. Today, older dialect features are being replaced by newer central Luxembourgish ones, especially in the speech of younger speakers. Nevertheless, the older dialect features are still present and, as a result, most varieties contain a mixture of old and new forms. Varieties of Luxembourgish speech will vary quantitatively with regard to this mixture and their use of variants from the central varieties. Compared to the peripheral dialects, the expanding central variety is characterized by an increased level of phonological complexity (exceptions, syncretism, lexicalization). The dominant variety in this levelling process is thus not characterized by simplification and/or reduction of structural complexity, which are seen as characteristic and necessary aspects of koiné development. In the context of this levelling process the phonetic/phonological system of French and German have no substantial effect on the Luxembourgish system. Obviously, dialect levelling has implications for language standardization: regional variation is reduced and the variety with the largest geographical coverage which, more importantly, constitutes the basis of most cultural, economical, educational institutions, is spreading throughout the country. The on-going process can thus be described as standardization of the spoken form of Luxembourgish, which is far from complete.

Use of Luxembourgish as a written language

As mentioned before, the production of written texts in Luxembourgish began in the nineteenth century with poems, plays and novels by Anton Meyer (1801–1857), Edmond de la Fontaine (1823–1891), Michel Lentz (1820–1893), and Michel

Rodange (1827–1876). Luxembourgish was used as a written variety in literary text production to assert national identity. Although this led to the development of early spelling systems, the overall impact of this movement on the production of written texts has to be regarded as fairly limited. Compared with the usage of German or French in literary prose, Luxembourgish played only a minor role up until the first half of the twentieth century. The low level of text production is linked to the difficulties of many Luxembourgers in reading Luxembourgish; mainly because of the complicated and non-intuitive spelling systems which were at this stage not taught systematically.

Nevertheless, written Luxembourgish gained ground after World War II. Today, many authors in the field of fictional literature publish in Luxembourgish and their books (i.e. novels, plays, poems as well as comics) have become popular; a few of them became national bestsellers, showing that the former aversion to reading Luxembourgish is decreasing (for an overview of the literary production in Luxemburg and sales figures, cf. Berg forthcoming). However, reading competence in Luxembourgish is far higher than writing competence, a phenomenon which has not yet been subject to in-depth research. Besides literary texts, Luxembourgish is used predominantly and almost exclusively in the private domain, e.g. in private letters or notes. Although the main languages of newspaper articles are either French or German, announcements of public events, births, weddings or deaths as well as letters to the editor are written predominantly in Luxembourgish (the main newspapers are *Luxemburger Wort/ La voix du Luxembourg* and *Tageblatt*). Commercial advertisements can combine the use of all three languages (cf. Hoffmann 1996b: 129). Starting in the 1990s, Luxembourgish has also been used tentatively in non-fictional texts. According to Berg (1993: 108ff), the use of Luxembourgish, particularly in the domain of non-fictional texts, is an important step in establishing Luxembourgish as an independent and fully developed language. Since 1994, the rapid development of the electronic media (internet, e-mail, chat) has led to a significant increase in the use of written Luxembourgish. Many internet websites are written in Luxembourgish or offer the user the possibility to choose between languages. One of the largest internet sites using Luxembourgish consistently is that of the main TV and radio station RTL (www.rtl.lu) which offers various news and entertainment channels.⁵ Furthermore, the use of Luxembourgish to send SMS (Short Message System) over mobile phones is quite frequent.

To conclude, compared with the spoken domains, it is true that Luxembourgish only has limited relevance within the domain of writing. The situation has, however, been changing constantly since the end of World War II due to the increased number of Luxembourgish texts — most of these changes were at the expense of German. It is important to add that nearly all of these written domains

belong to or are connected with private life; they show features of a ‘language of closeness’ (*Nähesprache*; cf. Koch and Österreicher 1984).

5. Norm codification

The following section gives an overview of the overt attempts to standardize and codify Luxembourgish. Norm codification of a language is best understood as a complex process which Auroux refers to as “grammatization” (Auroux 1992, 1994), i.e. establishing orthographical, grammatical and lexicographical norms. The codification process started with the gradual emancipation of Luxembourgish from the original structure of the West Germanic viz. Moselle-Franconian dialects which took place in the context of the emerging national independence and sovereignty of the Grand-Duchy (cf. Auroux 1994; Haarmann 1988). The efforts to codify Luxembourgish are linked to attitudes towards Luxembourgish as a national symbol, as well as to the continuous expansion of its use in spoken and written domains. The latter domain contributed most significantly to the codification process: the beginning of the tradition of Luxembourgish literature falls in the same time period as the early linguistic codification developments, i.e. the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It is not surprising that the first authors who wrote (and published) in Luxembourgish also attached short spelling guidelines or grammatical notes to their works (cf. Moulin forthcoming). The codification of Luxembourgish thus began in parallel to the rise of the vernacular literary tradition. Furthermore, there is a long tradition of linguistic research on Luxembourgish in various fields, including a number of language-geographical as well as historical and language-systematic studies. Since the beginning of the twentieth century there has been intense research in the field of dialect geography (cf. Gilles 1999: 59–63 for an overview), including the aforementioned linguistic atlas (Bruch and Goossens 1963). The publications of the Luxembourgish linguist Robert Bruch (1920–1959; cf. e.g. Bruch 1953a, 1954, 1969) are considered to be a linguistic milestone.

Orthography

As in many other European languages, the area first affected by standardization was orthography. Spelling standardization set, to some extent, the stage for the codification on the grammatical, morphosyntactic and lexical level. The early orthographies were generally modelled on the spelling system of Standard German (cf. Newton 2000; Moulin forthcoming). Inadequacies of the system with regard to the rendering of specific Luxembourgish sounds were compensated by diacritics that

were largely taken from the French, German and other spelling systems, resulting in rather complex combinations of letters and diacritics (e.g. superscript \checkmark for long vowels as in *wôr* [vo:r] ‘was’ or *sôen* [zo:ən] ‘to say’; superscript \imath in the up-gliding diphthongs \check{e} [ei] and \check{o} [ou], superscript \tilde for long nasals; \acute{e} for a central-rounded vowel; \grave{e} for an open *e*-like vowel [ɛ]. The early spelling systems were individualistic. They were complicated to write, set into print, and also to decipher, and the need for a standardized codification was soon felt. An early example of a spelling system can be found in an appendix of Meyers *E’ Schrek ob de’ Lezeburger Parnassus* (‘A step towards the Luxembourgish Parnassus’, 1829), a collection of poems and fables which also marks the beginning of the Luxembourgish literature.

With the exception of brief spelling notes attached to literary works that were primarily intended to help the reader, more systematic attempts to codify the orthography were made from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, mostly by authors of literary prose and poetry. These spelling systems were partly based on the orthography of Standard German but first steps towards the elaboration of an independent orthography were undertaken. An early, comprehensive codification guide was written by Edmond de la Fontaine (commonly called “Dicks”) in his *Versuch über die Orthographie der luxemburger deutschen Mundart* (‘Essay on the orthography of the Luxembourgish-German dialect’, 1855), intended both as an incentive and as a device for increasing the production of literature in Luxembourgish. Dicks, one of the best-known Luxembourgish authors of the nineteenth century, pointed out that not all Luxembourgish words have German cognates, and that not all segments of the population have sufficient linguistic knowledge of Standard German in order for it to serve as a basis for the orthography of Luxembourgish. This view has parallels with the present situation as many foreigners are learning Luxembourgish without previous knowledge of German. The implication and interaction between spelling codification and literary work is an aspect typical of the early codification stages of many languages (cf. Moulin 1994–1997, 2000); for Luxembourgish it can be said that this phase still is going on today (cf. the author Josy Braun who also publishes grammatical descriptions for Luxembourgish as a foreign language and orthographical guidelines). Early efforts were also directed at the spelling of place names (Hardt 1855).

None of the early spelling systems, which were quite heterogeneous with respect to the representation of individual phonemes, were adopted by a large audience. Official efforts led to the establishment of the *Commission zur Fixierung der Orthographie des Luxemburger Dialekts* (‘Commission for the fixation of the orthography of the Luxembourg dialect’) in 1897, in the context of the compilation of a *Wörterbuch der luxemburgischen Mundart* (‘Dictionary of the Luxembourg Dialect’; published 1906). The system developed by the commission was, like its predecessors, intended to capture the peculiarities of the Luxembourgish sound

system. It thus contained many diacritics, especially for the vowel system, and soon turned out to be unsuitable for practical use and teaching. With the introduction of Luxembourgish as a (minor) subject in schools in 1912, the need grew for a standardized spelling system which was suitable for use in educational textbooks, and which was also easy to write and to read. A new system was initiated by Nikolaus Welter (1871–1951) and was elaborated by the linguist René Engelmann (1880–1915). Engelmann developed a system, based on German, that was not overloaded with diacritics but nevertheless tried to acknowledge specific Luxembourgish features (cf. Welter 1914; Engelmann 1916). This system seemed to be more practical in school as children were alphabetized in German (cf. also Welter 1929: 381f.). Although this system, known as the “Welter-Engelmann System”, never achieved official status, it was widely used in Welter’s school textbooks and continued to be used in schools even after newer and official systems had been introduced.

In 1939, when Nazi Germany was articulating strong pan-Germanic, expansionist ideas, a new commission was set up by the Minister of Education, Nicolas Margue (1888–1976), to develop a new orthographical system. In this historical context the development of a new system that was as far as possible removed from the German orthography seemed desirable. The new spelling system was created by the phonetician Jean Feltes (1885–1959). It was based on phonetic principles and eliminated all features that were reminiscent of German (and French as well). The Feltes-Margue system received official status in 1946 (cf. Arrêté 1946).

Because of the lack of resemblance with the well-known systems of German and French orthography, the Feltes-Margue system required pupils to learn the Luxembourgish spelling rules as an independent system. From a pedagogical perspective this proved to be unrealistic, not only because German soon returned as the language of alphabetization, but also because the teaching of Luxembourgish itself only played a marginal role in school. After the war, the commission for a Luxembourgish dictionary (first commissioned in 1935) was reinstated and found itself confronted with an official spelling system (Feltes-Margue) which was neither practical, nor based on actual language use. The commission took on the task of developing a system which was suitable for lexicographical means as well as for general readability. The decision was taken in favour of a “user-friendly” spelling system, orientated towards the well-known systems of German and French. Conscious of the problems of basing a Luxembourgish system on foreign spelling models on the one side, and aware of the difficulties of the phonetic Feltes-Margue system on the other side, the commission attempted to keep the balance between the two fundamental functions of writing systems: text encrypting and text deciphering. The aim was to create a practical, “popular” system that would allow for the encrypting of the *basic luxemburgish de la koiné vivante* (‘basic Luxembourgish in

form of the contemporary koiné', i.e. with consideration of the specific aspects of Luxembourgish; the discussion of a "basic Luxembourgish" has a long tradition and is still being held today; cf. Gilles 2000; Moulin forthcoming). Moreover, the system should be constructed in such a way "qu'on n'a pas besoin de connaître pour savoir le déchiffrer" ('that one doesn't have to know in order to decipher it'; Bruch 1953b: 25).

In autumn 1975, a new spelling system — based on the one developed by the dictionary commission and the guidelines published in the *Luxemburger Wörterbuch* — became official (cf. Arrêté 1975). This system forms the basis of the present one which was reformed in 1999 (Règlement Grand-Ducal 1999). Today's spelling system (like the Welter-Engelmann system) depends to a large extent on the German system (though this is not always reflected adequately). It reflects, for example, the German capitalization rules for nouns as well as punctuation rules. On the other hand, specific modifications have been made to correspond with the linguistic peculiarities of Luxembourgish. In particular, the representation of the vocalic system allows the quantitative and qualitative marking of the vowels (as noted before). The high amount of French loanwords and their different (morphological and phonetic) integration into Luxembourgish are also reflected in the current spelling system, which, in this respect, can be interpreted as an open system.

On the whole, it has to be noted that overt codification only exists with regard to spelling in Luxembourgish, and that there is a great need for further codification today (lexicon, grammar, syntax, pronunciation) — not only for the Luxembourgish-speaking population but also for the teaching of Luxembourgish as a foreign language. Currently, an electronic spellchecker is being developed which might help to reduce writing inhibitions to some extent (the spell checker is available at <http://www.crpgl.lu/Welcome.html>). However, such a regulative instrument is not unproblematic at this stage and, for example, the ranking of graphical variants accepted by the spell checker (e.g. standard realization, local realization, unusual realization) has not yet been assessed methodologically.

Dictionaries

The close interaction of orthography and lexicography has already been referred to in the previous section. The codification of a standardized spelling system builds the foundation for lexicographical work and has often been part of this work. The lexicographical tradition of Luxembourgish is almost as old as the orthographical tradition and the first books published in Luxembourgish often contained short glossaries (cf. Gloden in Meyer 1845). The first dictionary of Luxembourgish was published in fascicules between 1841 and 1847. It was the result of the collecting and translating work done by Jean-François Gangler. His *Lexikon der Luxemburger*

Umgangssprache ('Lexicon of the Luxembourg Vernacular') contains mostly the vocabulary of the capital city of Luxembourg, and includes grammatical explanations and translations into other languages, mostly German and French. The lexicon articles also contain examples in form of sentences, along with proverbs, small poems, text passages, maxims and linguistic explanations. As its aim was to include "everything worth knowing" (not only on behalf of Luxembourgish) it can be considered as a (for the time typical) popular encyclopaedia (i.e. 'Konversationslexikon'), adapted to the Luxembourgish language.

Almost fifty years later an official commission (set up 1897) published the *Wörterbuch der luxemburgischen Mundart* ('Dictionary of the Luxembourg dialect', 1906). The dictionary is based on older lexicographical material (i.e. Gangler 1847; De la Fontaine 1857–1858; Weber 1898) and on further empirical data collections carried out by the editorial staff of the *Wörterbuch*. This one volume dictionary was conceived as a first step towards a more complete form of lexicographical documentation and concentrated for practical reasons on the vocabulary of the capital city and the lower Alzette valley. It was not only problematical with regard to the spelling system (see above) but also on the level of linguistic and etymological explanation (cf. Engelmann 1907). In spite of these shortcomings, it remained the only existing reference work for almost half a century.

A new dictionary commission was established in 1935. The commission based its work primarily on what the Luxembourg linguistic society had prepared in the mid 1920s.⁶ The commission was re-established after World War II. Besides restructuring and updating the lexicographical work, it developed a widely accepted spelling system that would become the basis of the system legalized in 1975 (see above). The *Luxemburger Wörterbuch* ('Dictionary of Luxembourgish') was published in fascicules between 1950 and 1977 and remains the most thorough documentation of Luxembourgish. Typologically it can be situated in the tradition of existing regional dictionaries (e.g. the *Rheinisches Wörterbuch* 'Dictionary of the Rhineland dialects'). At the same time it provides lexicographic documentation of a national language. In contrast to its predecessors the *Luxemburger Wörterbuch* was based on a large corpus which not only included the older lexicographical collections, but which was also based on newly collected material (e.g. questionnaires and other empirical data) as well as on the systematic documentation of nineteenth century literature. This larger corpus was compiled by those working on the dictionary and includes extensive notes based on the older material. Furthermore, the articles provide a "diatopic" documentation of the lexicographic material. The system for the creation of the lemmas was based on what Bruch considered the Luxembourgish "koiné". However, when the last fascicule was published in 1977, the dictionary was already considered to be out of date (e.g. with regard to the underlying (partly archaic) vocabulary). Nevertheless, the *Luxemburger Wörter-*

buch is the main reference work in the linguistic community. Shortly after the publication of the last volume of the *Luxemburger Wörterbuch*, and in the context of the ratification of the language law of 1984, the need for further lexicographical work was emphasized, especially through additions to the existing dictionary and the documentation of the vocabulary of modern Luxembourgish. A new commission was founded in the early nineties to carry out the necessary work (cf. Reisdoerfer 1997).

In 1996, one year after the publication of a new edition of the existing *Luxemburger Wörterbuch*, heated public discussions emerged and several entries were criticized, not only for the claimed absence of systematic “diastratic” markers, but also for their alleged anti-clerical, misogynous or xenophobic character. As a consequence, the Ministry of Culture withdrew the publication from the open market and only allowed its distribution for research purposes (cf. Forum 1997). This official intervention can be considered as a political interference in the autonomy of academic work. However, the dictionary was outdated in many ways by that time: it neither documented the vocabulary of modern Luxembourgish nor was it based on modern methods of lexicography. Due to the absence of other materials, the dictionary remains an important reference work for dialect geography and historical lexicography.

As a result of the dictionary controversy in 1996, the formation of a new dictionary group was initiated by the *Conseil Permanent de la Langue Luxembourgeoise* (an official counsel for the Luxembourgish language founded in 1998). This new group focuses on the documentation of modern Luxembourgish. At the moment, a one-volume *Lëtzebuurger Handwierderbuch* (‘Concise Dictionary of modern Luxembourgish’) is in preparation. The *Handwierderbuch* is based on substantial electronic corpora and is adapted to the multilingual context of Luxembourg society as well as to the wider use of Luxembourgish as a written language.

Furthermore, there is also a bilingual and multilingual lexicographical tradition, including specialized glossaries (e.g. Weber 1888; Klees 1972, 1981; *Ministère de la condition féminine* 2001), smaller dictionaries with word-for-word equivalents (e.g. Rinnen and Reuland 1974; Christophory 1980, 1982; Rinnen 1980; Zimmer 1993/2000) as well as larger bilingual publications (Rinnen 1988/1996). Currently, an etymological dictionary of French elements in the Luxembourgish language is also in preparation and is published in fascicules (Bender-Berland et al. 2003).

Grammars

The grammatical tradition of Luxembourgish is less pronounced than the orthographical or lexical one. Though the beginnings of grammar writing fall together with the beginnings of the metalinguistic reflexions on Luxembourgish, it had

never really been dealt with systematically. Even today an exhaustive, descriptive grammar of Luxembourgish that could serve as a basis for the development of a standardized linguistic form is still missing. The first grammatical remarks on Luxembourgish were published in the first half of the nineteenth century; they were attached to Meyers collection of poems in 1845 (*Luxemburgische Gedichte und Fabeln*), and like the early spelling guidelines, they were considered to be an aid to the readers' understanding of the vernacular literature (cf. Gloden in Meyer 1845).

A scientific milestone is Robert Bruch's bilingual *Précis populaire de grammaire luxembourgeoise* ('A grammatical sketch of Luxembourgish'). The *Précis* is a descriptive work which does not aim to serve a systematic grammatical or pragmatic didactical purpose. Bruch's *Précis* was republished several times until 1973 and remained the main reference book for several decades. Thereafter a few shorter grammatical descriptions of Luxembourgish have been published, partially integrating new methodological approaches (e.g. Schanen 1984; Russ 1996).

The need for an exhaustive grammar of the modern Luxembourgish language has regained importance in the last decade as the language community feels a strong need for such a resource. This must be seen in the context of the functional expansion of Luxembourgish into the written domain, the linguistic promotion by governmental programmes, and also in connection with the efforts and developments made in the teaching of Luxembourgish (particularly as a foreign language). Strongly linked to this need is the question of defining an underlying standard (a metasystem) for grammatical norms and integrating it into a general approach to linguistic culture and practical linguistic issues (cf. Scharnhorst and Ising 1976), a challenge that has not yet been undertaken. The idea of establishing grammatical norms has also encountered resistance from Luxembourg linguists, some of whom have suggested that the standardization of Luxembourgish may endanger the language itself — an aspect that is often related to the idea of the linguistic decline on the lexical level (cf. Bruch 1953c: 40; Hoffmann 1987).

To summarize, compared to many of the other Germanic languages, Luxembourgish is thus still in a phase of transition with regards to the emerging standard. But in recent years, many new projects on the orthographical, lexicological and grammatical level have been initiated (with and without official support) and Luxembourg's language planners are beginning to focus their attention on questions of elaboration and norm diffusion.

Publication of schoolbooks and other educational material

Despite the lack of a comprehensive grammar of modern Luxembourgish, textbooks for school purposes have been developed since the introduction of Luxem-

bourgish as a school subject at the beginning of the twentieth century. These textbooks mostly contain the traditional literary canon and are, therefore, partly outdated (new textbooks and learning materials are currently being developed by the Ministry of Education). A significant effort has been undertaken with regard to the development of educational materials for foreign language teaching: several textbooks and workbooks have been published (e.g. Christophory 1974; Braun, Hoscheit and Losch 1999–2000; Bentner et al. 2000–2001). However, due to the lack of descriptive grammatical reference books based on empirical data collection, these publications are mainly based on the intuition and introspection of the authors.

6. Norm elaboration and norm acceptance

The preceding sections have shown that the standardization of Luxembourgish is currently in progress. Compared with the long lasting history of the standardization of English or German, Luxembourgish is at a relatively early stage. For that reason, norm elaboration has not been a central issue yet. With the increasing demand for Luxembourgish classes, especially in pre-schools and among the adult non-Luxembourgophone residents and commuters, as well as the demand for suitable reference works for literary text production, issues of standardization are increasingly becoming part of public and political discussions within Luxembourg. These demands receive more and more official recognition and have led to the formation of the *Conseil Permanent de la Langue Luxembourgeoise* ('Permanent council for the Luxembourgish language') in 1998 (for information about the *Conseil Permanent de la Langue Luxembourgeoise*, see <http://www.cpll.lu>).

At this point in time, the highest degree of codification has taken place at the orthographic level. In the current version of 1999, the orthography is official by law and is compulsory for schools. This new spelling is generally accepted; however, it is not known at the moment to what extent this spelling is systematically employed. The norms for the remaining linguistic levels (i.e. pronunciation, lexicon, grammar) are generally less stable and explicit for Luxembourgish. Therefore, issues of norm acceptance play (at this point in time) only a minor role. However, there are on-going debates among the Luxembourgophone community about the "best" or the most appropriate linguistic forms of Luxembourgish; these discussions focus mainly on the lexicon and only to a lesser extent on phonetic, morphological and/or syntactic features.

7. Conclusion

Although the main focus of this article was on the standardization of Luxembourgish, it must be noted that the sociolinguistic status and the linguistic form of Luxembourgish is strongly interwoven with the multilingual setting. The embedding of Luxembourgish in a triglossic environment supported the development of a complex sociolinguistic situation which is characterized by a relatively stable diglossic compartmentalization of language domains and functions. This situation, in turn, has consequences for standardization. Due to the stable compartmentalization, Luxembourgish is not present in all possible language domains. Language contact, mainly with French, German and English, generates a high amount of synchronic variation in Luxembourgish. This is above all true for the vocabulary. Here, the Luxembourgish writer/speaker often has the possibility of choosing from two or more lexical variants or languages.⁷ Hence, in the present multilingual and multidialectal situation comprehensive standardization is probably neither possible nor intended. There are many language domains that are not covered by Luxembourgish alone or that are characterized by variable mixtures of German, French and/or Luxembourgish. It is suggested here that “small languages”, such as Luxembourgish, that are part of multilingual speech communities and exist in a diglossic relationship with a closely related fully-fledged standard language, cannot reach the same degree of standardization as “world languages” like English, French or Spanish.

To summarize, then, the history of standardization in the Luxembourg speech community is characterized by two subsequent phases: the first phase entailed the standardization of status and prestige (via a process of legitimization through constitutional recognition). In the course of the building of the nation-state of Luxembourg in the nineteenth century, Luxembourgish has become an important symbol of national identity and self-consciousness. Luxembourgish acquired this status

- a. by being raised from the status of a spoken, low-prestige Germanic dialect to national language, and
- b. by gradually taking over language domains from German and French, and by its continuing, nearly exclusive use (among the Luxembourgophone population) in the private domain of the *language of closeness*.

During the second phase — which is still in progress — standardization of linguistic form is likely to develop. It has been illustrated that dialect levelling has contributed to the homogenization of regional, phonetic/phonological variation within Luxembourg via the diffusion of the influential variety of the central Luxembourg area into the surrounding regions. This process continues and although regional variation is still observable to various degrees, a tendency towards dialect levelling is

discernible. The increase of written text production, especially after 1945, supported the development of an official orthography and dictionaries. Smaller grammatical descriptions are available but no comprehensive grammars have been published.

Future standardization efforts will have to focus on the publications of more comprehensive dictionaries and grammatical descriptions. Since Luxembourgish is part of a multilingual setting and characterized by extensive lexical borrowing, new dictionaries will have to incorporate some lexical information (at least) of German and French, too. New grammatical descriptions are especially needed for an improvement in the quality of the teaching of Luxembourgish as a school subject and, equally important, as a foreign language.

At present, it cannot be decided whether the *status quo* is a transitional step on the way to a more elaborated standard, or whether the current situation represents the end-point of a process of partial standardization. It seems that an advanced level of standardization will only be conceivable if the status of Luxembourgish as a written language is strengthened by language planning measures.

Notes

* We would like to thank the editors, Ana Deumert and Wim Vandenbussche, for their extensive and valuable comments; all remaining errors are the authors' responsibility. We also thank Kristine Horner, Luxembourg, for kindly helping us with the English version of our text.

1. The language name *Lëtzebuergesch* derives from the mediaeval phrase *Lucilinburhuc* (*lützel* 'small' + *burg* 'castle') and is first mentioned in a manuscript of 963. The official spelling of the language name is <Lëtzebuergesch>, pronounced as [ˈlətsəbuəʒə]; additionally the unauthorized variants <Letzebuergisch>, <Letzeburgisch> or <Lëtzeburhisch> can be found.
2. Statistical information is provided on the website of STATEC (*Service central de la statistique et des études économiques*) under <http://www.statec.lu/>.
3. *Lëtzebuergesch* classes for adults are conducted, for example, by the *Centre des Langues* ('Luxemburg Language Centre'): <http://www.restena.lu/centredelangues/>.
4. Today, the situation has changed: there is evidence that the linguistic systems on both sides of the political border are diverging (cf. Gilles 1998; Girnth forthcoming).
5. The role of the radio stations in the process of standardization would be worth studying; there is, e.g., a cultural radio station (*honnert,7 de soziokulturelle radio* '100,7 the socio-cultural radio') broadcasting in *Lëtzebuergesch* on a high linguistic level and with high-levelled cultural and scientific content (cf. www.100komma7.lu).
6. The 'Luxembourg linguistic society' (*Luxemburgische Sprachgesellschaft*, also called

Société luxembourgeoise d'études linguistiques et dialectologiques) was founded 1924; in 1935 it became a section of the *Institut Grand-Ducal* (the Luxembourg equivalent of the traditional academies founded in the nineteenth century), today the name of the section is *Institut Grand-Ducal. Section de linguistique, d'ethnologie et d'onomastique* (www.igd-leo.lu).

7. This lexical choice can be observed, e.g., in vocabulary of information technology. For 'printer' the variants *Drëcker*, *Drucker*, *Imprimante* or *Printer* are available; this holds also true at the phonetic level: the company name "HP" can be pronounced [ha'pe:] (=Lëtzebuergesch or German) or [a'pɛ:] (=French). On lexical choice and creativity, cf. Weber (1994).

References

- Arrêté 1946. "Arrêté ministériel du 5 juin 1946 portant fixation d'un système d'orthographe luxembourgeoise". *Mémorial du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg. Memorial des Großherzogtums Luxemburg*, Nr. 40, 7 septembre 1946: 637–641.
- Arrêté 1975. "Arrêté ministériel du 10 octobre 1975 portant réforme d'un système officiel d'orthographe luxembourgeoise". *Mémorial — Journal Officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg. Amtsblatt des Großherzogtums Luxemburg. Recueil Administratif et Économique*, B-Nr.68, 16 novembre 1976: 1365–1390.
- Auroux, S. 1992. "Introduction. Le processus de grammatisation et ses enjeux". In *Histoire des idées linguistiques*. Sous la direction de S. Auroux, II. Le développement de la grammaire occidentale, 11–64. Liège: Mardaga.
- Auroux, S. 1994. *La révolution technologique de la grammatisation. Introduction à l'histoire des sciences du langage*. Liège: Mardaga.
- Bender-Berland, G., Kramer, J. and Reisdorfer J. 2003f. *Dictionnaire étymologique des éléments français du luxembourgeois*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Bentner, G., Funk, M., Marson, P., Quaring, I., Werné, A. and Zahlen, B. 2000–2001. *Lëtzebuergesch fir all Dag*. Luxembourg: Imprimerie Centrale.
- Berg, G. 1993. "Mir wëlle bleiwen, wat mir sin": *Soziolinguistische und sprachtypologische Betrachtungen zur luxemburgischen Mehrsprachigkeit*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Berg, G. Forthcoming. "Abschied vom Dialekt. Zur lëtzebuergeschsprachigen belletristischen Gegenwartsliteratur". In *Systemlinguistische Studien zum Luxemburgischen und zum Moselfränkischen. Tagungsbeiträge zum Workshop "Luxemburgisch" vom 29.08.2001 in Leuven* (*Studia Linguistica Luxemburgensia* 1), C. Moulin and D. Nübling (eds). Heidelberg: Winter.
- Braun, J., Hoscheit, Jh. and Losch, H. 1999–2000. *Da Lass: Land Leit a Sprooch*. I-III, Luxembourg: Guy Binsfeld.
- Bruch, R. 1953a. *Grundlegung einer Geschichte des Luxemburgischen*. Luxembourg: Linden.
- Bruch, R. 1953b. "Les travaux de la Commission de rédaction du Dictionnaire Luxembourgeois". *Bulletin linguistique et ethnologique. Institut Grand-Ducal. Section de Linguistique, de Folklore et de Toponymie* 1: 23–28.
- Bruch, R. 1953c. "Luxemburger Linguistik". *Les cahiers luxembourgeois* 1: 39–50.
- Bruch, R. 1954. *Das Luxemburgische im westfränkischen Kreis*. Luxembourg: Linden.

- Bruch, R. 1955. *Précis populaire de grammaire luxembourgeoise. Luxemburger Grammatik in volkstümlichem Abriss*. (Third edition Luxembourg: Linden 1973). Luxembourg: Linden.
- Bruch, R. 1969. *Gesammelte Aufsätze. Mit einem Geleitwort von Walther Mitzka*. Luxembourg: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- Bruch, R. and Goossens, J. 1963. *Luxemburgischer Sprachatlas: Laut- und Formenatlas*. Marburg: Elwert.
- Calmes, C. 1989. *The Making of a Nation: From 1815 to the present day*. Luxembourg: Imprimerie Saint-Paul.
- Christophory, J. 1974. *Mir schwätze Lëtzebuergesch. Nous parlons luxembourgeois. We Speak Luxembourgish*. Luxembourg: Imprimerie Saint-Paul.
- Christophory, J. 1980. *Portugiesesch-Lëtzebuergesch Dictionnaire*. Luxembourg: Bourg-Bourger.
- Christophory, J. 1982. *English-Luxembourgish Dictionary. Englesch-Lëtzebuergesch Dictionnaire*. Lycée Michel Rodange, directed by J. Christophory. Luxembourg: Bourg-Bourger.
- Comes, I. 1932. "Meenongen a Rotschle'i. Löscht vun onletzeburjesche Wirder". *Jong-Hémecht* 7: 6–8, 46–51.
- Davis, K. A. 1992. "Socioeconomic transition and language status change: The case of Luxembourg". In *Status Change of Languages*, U. Ammon and M. Hellinger (eds), 140–163. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.
- Davis, K. A. 1994. *Language Planning in Multilingual Contexts: Policies, communities and schools in Luxembourg*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- De la Fontaine, E. 1855. *Versuch über die Orthographie der luxemburger deutschen Mundart*. Luxembourg: Bück.
- De la Fontaine, E. 1857–1858. *Die Luxemburger Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, gesammelt von E. Dicks*. I-II. Luxembourg: Bück.
- Engelmann, R. 1907. "Ein Luxemburgisches Wörterbuch". *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten*: 377–80.
- Engelmann, R. 1910. "Der Vokalismus der Viandener Mundart". In *Programm herausgegeben am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1909–1910 Grossherzogliches Gymnasium zu Diekirch*: 1–45.
- Engelmann, R. 1916. "Vorschläge zur Regelung der Luxemburgischen Rechtschreibung". In *Aufheimlichen Pfaden. Novellen und Anderes aus dem Nachlass von René Engelmann, veröffentlicht von seinen Freunden*, R. Engelmann (ed.), 65–98. Diekirch: P. Schroell.
- Forum 1997. "Lëtzebuerg Dixionär". *Forum fir kritesch Informatioun iwer Politik, Kultur a Relioun*, 27–51.
- Gangler, J. F. 1847. *Lexicon der Luxemburger Umgangssprache (wie sie in und um Luxemburg gesprochen wird)*. (reprint Sändig 2001). Luxembourg: Hoffman.
- Gilles, P. 1998. "Die Emanzipation des Lëtzebuergesch aus dem Gefüge der deutschen Mundarten". *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 117: 20–35.
- Gilles, P. 1999. *Dialektausgleich im Lëtzebuergesch: Zur phonetisch-phonologischen Fokussierung einer Nationalsprache*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Gilles, P. 2000. "Die Konstruktion einer Standardsprache. Zur Koinédebatte in der luxemburgischen Linguistik". In *Dialektologie zwischen Tradition und Neuansätzen. Beiträge*

- der Internationalen Dialektologentagung*, Göttingen, 19.-21. Oktober 1998 [ZDL-Beiheft 109], D. Stellmacher (ed.), 200–212. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Girnth, H. Forthcoming. "Entwicklungstendenzen der "Eifler Regel" im Moselfränkischen". In *Systemlinguistische Studien zum Luxemburgischen und zum Moselfränkischen. Tagungsbeiträge zum Workshop "Luxemburgisch" vom 29.08.2001 in Leuven* (=Studia Linguistica Luxemburgensia 1), C. Moulin and D. Nübling (eds). Heidelberg: Winter.
- Haarmann, H. 1988. "Allgemeine Strukturen europäischer Standardsprachenentwicklung". *Sociolinguistica* 2: 10–51.
- Hardt, M. 1843. "Vocalismus der Sauer-mundart". In *Königlich-Großherzogliches Progymnasium zu Echternach. Programm herausgegeben beim Schlusse des Schuljahres 1842–1843*, 1–29. Trier.
- Hardt, M. 1855. "Bericht über die zweckmäßigkeit der feststellung einer officiellen schreibung der ortsnamen des Großherzogthums und über die dabei anzunehmenden Grundlagen". *Publications de la Societé pour la Recherche et la Conservation des Monuments Historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* 10: 247–250.
- Hoffmann, F. 1987. "Lëtzebuergesch: Mundart und Nationalsprache. Sprachenpolitische und sprachensoziologische Überlegungen zum luxemburgischen Triglossie-Problem und zum Sprachengesetz von 1984". In *Probleme von Grenzregionen: Das Beispiel SAAR-LOR-LUX-Raum. Beiträge zum Forschungsschwerpunkt der Philologischen Fakultät des Saarlandes*, W. Brücher and R. P. Franke (eds), 49–65. Saarbrücken: SDV.
- Hoffmann, F. 1996a. "Lëtzebuergesch, spoken and written, developments and desirabilities". In *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and communication at the crossroads of Europe*, G. Newton (ed.), 109–122. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hoffmann, F. 1996b. "The domains of Lëtzebuergesch". In *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and communication at the crossroads of Europe*, G. Newton (ed.), 123–141. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hoffmann, F. 1996c. "Linguistic variation and varieties in the grand duchy of Luxembourg". In *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and communication at the crossroads of Europe*, G. Newton (ed.), 143–156. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hoffmann, J.-P. 1996. "Lëtzebuergesch and its Competitors: Language Contact in Luxembourg today". In *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and communication at the crossroads of Europe*, G. Newton (ed.), 97–108. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Klees, H. 1972. *Luxemburger Pflanzennamen* (Beiträge zur luxemburgischen Sprach- und Volkskunde VIII). (third edition 1994). Luxembourg: Linden.
- Klees, H. 1981. *Luxemburger Tiernamen* (Beiträge zur luxemburgischen Sprach- und Volkskunde XIV). Luxembourg: Linden.
- Klein, P. 1855. *Die Sprache der Luxemburger*. Luxembourg: Bück.
- Koch, P. and Österreicher, W. 1986. "Sprache der Nähe — Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte". *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 36 (1985): 15–43.
- Koenig, L. 1928. *Auf dem Wege zu einer Grammatik der Luxemburger Mundart. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Lux. Dialektliteratur*. Luxembourg: Worré-Mertens.
- Kraemer, J.-P. 1993. "Luxembourg (L)". *Sociolinguistica* 7: 162–173.
- Kramer, J. 1994. "Lëtzebuergesch — Eine Nationalsprache ohne Norm". In *Sprachreform*.

- Geschichte und Zukunft*. Volume IV, I. Fodor and C. Hagège (eds), 391–405. Hamburg: Buske.
- Krier, F. 1990. "Empirische Daten zu einer Typologie der Kodeumschaltungsphänomene". In *Language Conflict and Minorities*, P. H. Nelde (ed.), 213–222. Bonn: Dümmler.
- Krier, F. 1992. "L'alternance langagière comme stratégie discursive dans une situation plurilingue". *Bulletin de la société linguistique de Paris* 87 (1): 53–70.
- Loi 1984. "Loi du 24 février 1984 portant sur le régime des langues". *Mémorial — Journal Officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*. *Memorial — Amtsblatt des Großherzogtums Luxemburg*, Recueil de législation A-Nr.16, 27 février 1984: 196–197.
- Luxemburger Wörterbuch 1950–1977*. Im Auftrage der Großherzoglich Luxemburgischen Regierung herausgegeben von der Wörterbuchkommission, I–V. (reprint 1995, two volumes). Luxembourg: Linden.
- Meyer, A. 1829. *E' Schrek ob de' Lezeburger Parnassus*. Luxembourg: J. Lamort.
- Meyer, A. 1845. *Luxemburgische Gedichte und Fabeln. Nebst einer grammatischen Einleitung und einer Wörterklärung der dem Dialekt mehr oder weniger eigenartigen Ausdrücke von Gloden*. Brüssel: Delevingne und Callewaert.
- Meyer, A. 1854. *Règelbüchelchen vum Lezeburger Orthœgraf. En Uress, als Pröv, d' Fraëchen aus dem Há, a Versen*. Liège: Dessain.
- Ministère de la condition féminine (ed.). 2001. *Weiblech-männlech. Beruffer, Titelen a Fonktiounen*. Luxembourg.
- Milroy, J. 2001. "Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(4): 530–555.
- Moulin, C. 1994–1997. *Bibliographie der deutschen Grammatiken und Orthographielehren. I. Von den Anfängen der Überlieferung bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, II. Das 17. Jahrhundert*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Moulin, C. 2000. "Deutsche Grammatikschreibung vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert". In *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung* (= Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 2.2; second edition), W. Besch et al. (eds), 1903–1911. Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter.
- Moulin, C. Forthcoming. "Grammatisierung und Standardisierung des Lëtzebuergesch. Eine grammatikographisch-sprachhistorische Annäherung". In *Systemlinguistische Studien zum Luxemburgischen und zum Moselfränkischen. Tagungsbeiträge zum Workshop "Luxemburgisch" vom 29.08.2001 in Leuven* (Studia Linguistica Luxemburgensia 1), C. Moulin and D. Nübling (eds). Heidelberg: Winter.
- Newton, G. 1996. "Lëtzebuergesch and the establishment of national identity". In *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and communication at the crossroads of Europe*, G. Newton (ed.), 181–215. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Newton, G. 2000. "The spelling of Luxembourgish. Systems and developments since 1824". In *Essays on Politics, Language and Society in Luxembourg*, G. Newton (ed.), 135–161. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Règlement Grand-Ducal 1999. "Règlement Grand-Ducal du 30 juillet 1999 portant réforme du système officiel d'orthographe luxembourgeoise". *Mémorial – Journal officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*. *Amtsblatt des Großherzogtums Luxemburg*, Recueil de législation A-Nr.112, 11 août 1999: 2039–2048.

- Reisdoerfer, J. 1997. "Lexicographia revisited: Pour un nouveau dictionnaire du luxembourgeois moderne". *Forum fir kritesch Informatioun iwer Politik, Kultur a Relioun*. 175: 42–47.
- Rheinisches Wörterbuch 1928–1971*. I–IX. Berlin: Klopp.
- Rinnen, H. 1980. *Petit dictionnaire français-luxembourgeois*. Luxembourg: Imprimerie St. Paul.
- Rinnen, H. 1988. *Dictionnaire Français-Luxembourgeois*. (Second edition 1996). Luxembourg: Editions Saint-Paul.
- Rinnen, H. and Reuland, W. 1974. *Kleines Deutsch-Luxemburgisches Wörterbuch*. (Sixth edition 1986). Luxembourg: Sankt-Paulus-Druckerei.
- Russ, C. V. J. 1996. "Lëtzebuergesch. A linguistic description". In *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and communication at the crossroads of Europe*, G. Newton (ed.), 67–95. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Schanen, F. 1984. "D'Lëtzebuurger Platt". In *Vergleichende Grammatik Französisch — Deutsch. Teil 2. L'économie de la langue et le jeu de la parole* (Duden-Sonderreihe vergleichende Grammatiken 1), J.-M. Zemb (ed.), 355–383. Mannheim/Wien: Bibliographisches Institut.
- Scharnhorst, J. and Ising, E. (eds) 1976. *Grundlagen der Sprachkultur. Beiträge der Prager Linguistik zur Sprachtheorie und Sprachpflege*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Siegel, J. 1985. "Koinés and koineization". *Language in Society* 14: 357–378.
- Trausch, G. 1981. *Le Luxembourg à l'époque contemporaine* (= Manuel d'histoire luxembourgeoise 4). Luxembourg: Bourg-Bourger.
- Trausch, G. 1989. *Le Luxembourg. Émergence d'un état et d'une nation*. Anvers: Fonds Mercator.
- Trausch, G. (ed.). 2002. *Histoire du Luxembourg. Le destin européen d'un "petit pays"*. Toulouse: Editions Privat.
- Trudgill, P. 1986. *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Weber, J. 1888. "Lëtzeburjesch-latein-fransesch-deitsch Dixionèr fun de Planzen". *Recueil des mémoires et des travaux oubliées par la Société botanique du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* 12 : 43–144.
- Weber, J. 1898. *Verzeichnis der hauptsächlichsten Wörter des Luxemburger Dialektes*. Luxembourg: Worré-Mertens.
- Weber, N. 1994. "Sprachen und ihre Funktionen in Luxemburg". *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 66(2): 129–169.
- Weber, N. 2000. "Multilingualism and Language Policy in Luxembourg". In *Multilingualism and Government. Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Former Yugoslavia, South Africa*, K. Deprez and T. du Plessis (eds), 82–91. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Weber, N. 2001. "The Universe under the Microscope: The complex linguistic situation of Luxembourg". In *Institutional Status and Use of Languages in Europe*, C. de Bot, S. Kroon, P. H. Nelde, and H. van de Velde (eds), 179–194. Sankt Augustin: Asgard.
- Weber, N. 2002. "Lëtzebuergesch". In *Sprachkulturen in Europa. Ein internationales Handbuch*, N. Janich and A. Greule (eds), 154–159. Tübingen: Narr.
- Weber, P. 1946. *Geschichte Luxemburgs im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. (second edition 1948). Luxembourg: V. Buck.

- Welter, N. 1914. *Das Luxemburgische und sein Schrifttum*. (tenth edition 1938; revised edition 1947). Luxembourg: G. Soupert.
- Welter, N. 1929. *Mundartliche und Hochdeutsche Dichtung in Luxemburg. Ein Beitrag zur Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte des Großherzogtums*. Luxembourg: St.-Paulus-Gesellschaft.
- Wörterbuch der luxemburgischen Mundart* 1906. Luxembourg: Huss.
- Zimmer, J. 1993. *6000 Wierder op Lëtzebuergesch (français, deutsch, english, español, portugês)*. (second edition 2000). Luxembourg: Imprimerie Saint-Paul.

Norwegian

Ernst Håkon Jahr

Agder University College, Kristiansand, Norway

1. Historical background

In the Middle Ages, Norway had a highly developed written language, Old Norse. During the decline of the Norwegian kingdom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the language, however, disintegrated. During a long Dano-Norwegian Union (1380–1814), Danish was practically the only written language in Norway. Norwegian and Danish are actually not very dissimilar to each other; as a matter of fact, Norwegian, Danish and Swedish form a linguistic Scandinavian continuum with mutual intelligibility between almost all dialects.

In 1814, Norway was separated from Denmark, and the Norwegians formed their own independent state — although they continued to share a king and foreign policy with Sweden until 1905. The Norwegians now had their own constitution, their own parliament, and their own university (founded 1811). They began to regard themselves as a separate Nordic nation. However, the linguistic situation created a serious problem: Danish, the written medium of the former Dano-Norwegian Union, was in general use. Despite their democratic self-government and their national institutions, there was no proper linguistic basis for a Norwegian national consciousness. Due to improvements in the elementary school system, Norwegians now learnt to write Danish even better than had been the case before 1814. Yet, many people felt that it was unworthy of an independent nation that its written standard was a foreign one (i.e. Danish).

2. Norm selection

The sociolinguistic situation around 1814 indicated two possible routes for developing a specific national standard: one involved the elite, or the upper classes in particular, and excluded the lower classes; the other involved only the language of

the lower classes, and excluded the spoken variety of the elite.¹ The high school headmaster and linguist Knud Knudsen (1812–95) argued in favour of the first solution, which represented, according to him, the only realistic approach; the second solution was initiated by the linguist and author Ivar Aasen (1813–96). Knud Knudsen's solution indicated a step-by-step or gradual Norwegianization of the inherited Danish norm by replacing typically Danish features with elements from spoken upper-class Norwegian, and thus, by degrees, changing the written standard from being basically Danish to being predominantly Norwegian. This plan was sketched out loosely in the 1830s by the national bard Henrik Wergeland (1808–1845), and then elaborated in greater detail by Knud Knudsen.

The variety of spoken Dano-Norwegian which developed during the eighteenth century, and which was used by officials and the upper-middle classes, was an interesting result of language contact. Colloquial Norwegian and written Danish were mixed, yielding a new linguistic variety (cf. Jahr 1994: 36f). This new idiom could be termed a *creoloid* or a *koiné*, following Trudgill (1986). Creoloids are mixed languages, and — like creoles — they are mother-tongue languages, but, unlike creoles, they have no prior history as pidgins. The Dano-Norwegian spoken idiom has no pidgin past; it was grammatically simplified with regard to written Danish and the Norwegian dialects, and should be considered as a first language since the earliest written attestations. Finally, it had not lost contact with Danish. Judging by these features, it would be justified to term this Dano-Norwegian variety a creoloid. It is a fact, however, that Danish and Norwegian are linguistically very close. Therefore, it would probably be more appropriate to refer to the contact process in question as dialect contact, i.e. between the Scandinavian dialects Danish and Norwegian, rather than language contact proper. Consequently, the Dano-Norwegian mixed spoken variety should be regarded as a new Scandinavian dialect, an outcome of dialect contact. Trudgill (1986) calls such a new dialect a *koiné* variety.

The second solution to the linguistic situation after 1814 indicated a different answer to a possible question of who the “real” Norwegians were, i.e. who represented the “true” national values in language. Ivar Aasen (1909[1836]) gave this answer: the real Norwegians were not the upper-middle classes with their Danish-influenced speech, but the dialect-speaking peasants who at that time made up more than 95% of the total population and spoke a range of dialects which had developed from Old Norse. Ivar Aasen successfully demonstrated the connection between Old Norse and the modern peasant dialects of the countryside (Aasen 1848, 1850). He did this by employing the comparative historical method developed by Rask, Grimm, Bopp and others, and through a thorough survey of the rural dialects of major parts of the country during the 1840s. However, he disregarded all overt influences caused by the centuries of language contact, especially lexical influences from Low German and Danish.

Aasen's idea was to create a completely new literary standard on the basis of these popular rural dialects. He argued that, in spite of their diversity, they had certain fundamental structural traits in common that distinguished them from Danish and Swedish as being clearly *Norwegian*. The upper-middle classes, on the other hand, could not deny that their idiom was an obvious result of language contact — spoken Norwegian and written Danish — albeit developed entirely within Norway, and found only in Norway. However, regardless of its high social status in society, it had to be disregarded as a candidate for a national language in Aasen's view because of its origins and history. To Aasen it represented Danish more than Norwegian, and was as such totally unsuitable as a national linguistic symbol.

3. Norm codification

The first aim of Knudsen's program was to change the written Danish norm so as to obtain a close correspondence between the written idiom and the speech of the upper middle classes of the Norwegian society. A consequence of this view was that the culture and language tradition of the upper classes, which had strong ties with Danish culture and values and which had originated and developed during the time of the union, were defined and understood as "Norwegian"; that is, they could fill the necessary national symbolic function of a linguistic idiom — despite the obvious ties with Danish. Knudsen, however, did not argue much along the nationalist line. He was primarily occupied with the idea of developing a written Norwegian standard reflecting a closer correspondence between writing and speech than the Danish norm. Since the spoken variety he wanted to use as the norm was used exclusively in Norway, in his view, this solution would also mean that the written standard would be, consequently, "Norwegian".

Knudsen spelled out his solution and viewpoints in a series of publications and books from 1845 onwards (see, e.g., Knudsen 1887). Together they give us a detailed description of the spoken norm he had selected and which he termed 'educated daily speech' (*dannet dagligtale*). Knudsen argued convincingly that this spoken variety was the only one in the country that was understood everywhere and that it also had the greatest number of speakers of all the various spoken varieties in the country. Moreover, it was also the variety that commanded the highest social prestige. Knudsen's idea, then, was to change slowly the written standard step by step through language reforms, using this spoken variety as the guide for the changes. The final outcome would be a written Norwegian standard closely mirroring the educated spoken variety he had selected as the desired norm. Knudsen thus, in his own words, prescribed an evolution, a gradual development, not a revolu-

tion. This emerging standard was called Dano-Norwegian and, later (by the end of the nineteenth century), *Riksmål* ('language of the realm').

Had Knudsen's solution and view been the only one pursued, the sociolinguistic situation in Norway would — most probably — have turned out to be very much the same as we find today in Sweden and Denmark. Norway would have had a strong and generally accepted written and spoken standard variety, closely connected with the spoken idiom of the upper and educated classes, whereas the lower classes would have used more or less low-status dialects, which in the course of time would retreat to more remote rural areas, leaving larger geographical areas to an expanding standard variety. However, this solution, as already stated, was not the only one to be put forward. Ivar Aasen had a totally different view on the situation and what it required of language planning. Unlike Knud Knudsen, Ivar Aasen prescribed a linguistic as well as sociolinguistic revolution.

Aasen created Nynorsk in the early 1850s, basing it on the more archaic rural and western dialects, the dialects least influenced by foreign contacts, in particular by Danish and Low German (Aasen 1853, see Haugen 1965). He glossed his suggested standard *Landsmaal* ('language of the country', also 'language of the countryside'; in 1929 this standard was renamed *Nynorsk* by a decision by Parliament, this term is used throughout this paper). The tradition of purism with regard to loanwords from Low German and Danish, which is still today characteristic of Nynorsk, was instigated by Aasen. It has a more profound ideological importance than mere romanticism since it stresses the ties between Nynorsk and Old Norse via the "unpolluted" peasant dialects (i.e. uncorrupted by results of language contact). In that way, the ideological basis of the standard was emphasized: the dialects of the peasants were the only true representations of a language that could be called "Norwegian". Since the time of the Old Norse standard this language had been in shambles, but it was in Aasen's view possible to piece it together again in a modern shape. Aasen claimed that his suggested standard represented such a resurrection. His ideas turned out to be very appealing in the ideological climate at the time, and this secured a flying start for the new standard as far as political support was concerned. The idea of Nynorsk had a double function: firstly it was a means of developing a new cultural and social self-esteem among the rural population upon whose dialects it was built, and stimulated cultural and literary activities in the countryside; and secondly, it proved to be a means of attacking the ruling classes on nationalist grounds.

It has often been claimed by Norwegian linguists with a definite Nynorsk inclination that Aasen "discovered" and "demonstrated" the unity of the Norwegian popular dialects (an important premise in order to reject Knudsen's claim that his selected norm had the most speakers), and on this basis formulated his proposal for a Nynorsk standard, building it — in principle — on *all* the popular rural

dialects. All the peasant dialects put together represented an overwhelming majority of the population, 90–95% of the total inhabitants of Norway, at the time. But it can also be claimed that Aasen — through this standard — created an apparent unity among the many diverse Norwegian dialects in order for them to serve his linguistic and nationalist purpose. As a result of Ivar Aasen’s thorough investigations of the linguistic situation and his language planning work (most important are Aasen 1848, 1850, 1853, 1864, 1873) Norwegian — as he defined it — was by 1875 one of the best described languages in the world, according to Einar Haugen (1965).

4. Norm elaboration

In 1884, the majority in Parliament forced the King’s cabinet to resign in a bloodless parliamentary revolution, and in 1885, Parliament gave Aasen’s Nynorsk recognition as an official standard. Accordingly, both written standards were recognized as official from 1885 onwards, since Danish (or better: Knudsen’s Dano-Norwegian) was already the language of government. The 1885 decision by Parliament implied that the political authorities had accepted the view that there were two competing linguistic cultures in Norway — an inherent and truly national one represented by the class of peasants (with Aasen’s Nynorsk reflecting their linguistic culture), and an imported, non-national one represented by the upper-middle classes (with Dano-Norwegian as their standard).

The two now competing linguistic standards served as symbolic expressions of “the two cultures”, a concept introduced by the journalist, poet and author Arne Garborg (1851–1924; Garborg 1877). The sociolinguistic differences between the standards were salient, and to this was added the implication of nationalism on the part of Nynorsk and non-nationalism on the part of Dano-Norwegian (a view obviously not shared by most users of Dano-Norwegian). However, as the lexicon of the Aasen standard had not been developed yet for all areas and fields, it was still unable to serve as a fully-fledged language standard in society, and the decision by Parliament in 1885 should thus be regarded as an act with the intention of exploiting the symbolic value of Aasen’s standard (“the peasant’s language”) and by this attacking the cultural and sociolinguistic superiority of the still (culturally) dominant elite. It was as late as 1901 that the first official Nynorsk standard decreed to be used in the schools (with rules for orthography, phonology and morphology) was issued by the authorities (cf. Jahr 1989a). It represented a minor adjustment of the original Aasen standard published in 1864 (grammar) and 1873 (dictionary).

The decision to place both written standards on an equal footing was included in an amendment to the School Act (of 1888) in 1892. It laid down the rule that municipalities were free to choose which of the two standards pupils should learn

to write and in which standard their school books should be written. An additional clause stated that they should learn to read both standards. In 1892, Nynorsk thus acquired the necessary basis in law to set out on its conquest of school districts. The advance of Nynorsk reached its peak during World War II in the year 1944, when about 34% of all school children in the country had Nynorsk as their primary written standard. Between 1944 and 1956, however, there was a reduction of about one per cent every year. From then on the decline slowed down, but it was continuous and did not cease until 1977. The proportion had by then fallen to 16.4% (Jahr 1989a). From then on there was a small increase (Jahr 1995).

When Knud Knudsen started propagating his solution to the language problem from around the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, influential representatives of the ruling upper-middle classes turned it down immediately. Even though they were heavily influenced in their ideas and thinking by the national romantic philosophy of the period, they saw no reason whatsoever to change the Danish written standard they were used to consider their own, regardless of the fact that Knudsen's suggestion implied changes in the direction of their own spoken variety. This was because members of the upper-middle classes at the time did not perceive Ivar Aasen's language project as a threat to their linguistic superiority. When, later, they began to do so, Knudsen's program was more readily accepted, leading eventually to the first major language reform of Dano-Norwegian, which took place in 1907. This reform represented the principle break with written Danish in Norway, introducing specific word forms as well as morphological features from upper-middle class speech into the standard (for details, see Haugen 1966; Jahr 1989a).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the peasants' radical party (*Venstre*) pushed for a policy of complete independence from Sweden, while the representatives of the elite and upper-middle classes, in most cases, were more reluctant.² This attitude gave rise to accusations that they were as unpatriotic in politics as they were — in the eyes of the peasants' party — in culture and language. However, in 1905, all ties between Norway and Sweden were severed, and in the following years accusations of lack of patriotism were exclusively based on linguistic preference.

The 1885 decision by Parliament to put the two written standards on a par laid the ground for a struggle between the two standards up until 1917. This struggle was based primarily on nationalistic rather than social arguments. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the struggle created a lot of resentment on both sides, especially when Parliament in 1907 decided that in order to graduate from high school, which gave access to university studies, all students had to pass an exam in both standards. To most students of high schools, Nynorsk was totally alien, and this decision by Parliament created hostility on the part of the supporters of Dano-Norwegian, who saw the decision as an open provocation from

Nynorsk supporters. The number of schools that changed their standard from Dano-Norwegian to Nynorsk increased every year. In this situation, the two major organizations of the language struggle were established: *Noregs Mållag* — for Nynorsk (1906) — and *Riksmålsforbundet* — for Dano-Norwegian (1908). The Nobel laureate in literature (1903), Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832–1910), became the first chairman of *Riksmålsforbundet*.

In view of the bitter and irreconcilable tone of the language conflict during the first decade of the twentieth century, it hardly comes as a surprise that solutions were proposed other than the solution favoured by the two major groups of antagonists: full victory to one of the two written standards, and the complete defeat of the opposing standard. Would it not, some concerned people began to ask, be possible to find a way out which does not imply the defeat of one of the two parties involved? Could a unified, amalgamated, all-Norwegian solution be found, perhaps in a fused standard on the basis of Nynorsk and Dano-Norwegian? In particular, Moltke Moe (1859–1914), a professor of folk traditions, argued passionately and eloquently (e.g. Moe 1909) in favour of the development of a written *Samnorsk* ('unified, amalgamated, pan-Norwegian') standard. The idea of developing Samnorsk obviously had a strong appeal. To many people, the severe language conflict between Bokmål (from 1929, Riksmål was officially referred to as Bokmål) and Nynorsk represented a major threat to national unity. Was the nation, so soon after total national independence had been obtained (as mentioned earlier, Norway shared king and foreign policy with Sweden between 1814 and 1905), to be divided into two entirely opposite camps in terms of language? It was, however, one thing to suggest that a reconciliation, a Samnorsk solution, had to be found, but quite a different matter to find a concrete method of language standardization and planning to achieve such a goal.

One possible approach was suggested by the organization *Østlandsk reising* ('Eastern Norwegian Uprising'), which operated between 1916 and 1926. Its program was to further the use of the rural dialects of the south-eastern part of the country — in their view, Ivar Aasen had neglected these dialects in his Nynorsk standard — and to argue for the inclusion of features from these dialects into the written standard. From the very beginning the *Østlandsk reising* defined itself as a Samnorsk organization. Its leaders maintained that the dialects of the south-eastern part of the country had a historic role to play and would furnish the two written standards with sufficient language material to bridge the division between the "western-oriented" Nynorsk standard and "urban-oriented" Bokmål standard (for an account of *Østlandsk reising*, see Jahr 1978). Didrik Arup Seip (1884–1963), professor of Dano-Norwegian at the University of Oslo, who was one of the leading figures in *Østlandsk reising*, argued that it would now be possible to resolve the Norwegian language conflict once and for all. Provided the right choices were made, it would be possible to overcome the deadlock in which language policy found itself,

involving the irreconcilable struggle between Nynorsk and Dano-Norwegian. If the rural dialects of the eastern counties (which were less archaic, and therefore closer to Dano-Norwegian than the rural western dialects) were to form the basis for language reform, the result would have to be that the archaic Nynorsk standard would be modernized, and Dano-Norwegian would be further “Norwegianized”. This way the linguistic distance between the two varieties could be reduced decisively. Provided that these decisions were made (by the authorities) and the direction of change established, Seip thought that the development was later bound to move in a Samnorsk direction by virtue of its own momentum (Seip 1917).

Many people shared Seip’s and *Østlandsk reising*’s views on this, but there were also many who disagreed, doubting that it would be practically and politically possible to plan the merging of the two written standards in this manner. It was clear that Seip’s main arguments were based on the relatively trivial linguistic differences between the two standards, not realizing that the sociolinguistic difference was far more important and much more difficult to bridge through a planned, fused Samnorsk standard “suitable for all Norwegians”, as one of Seip’s slogans of that time stated.

When Parliament decided in 1913 to appoint a committee to prepare language reforms for both standards, the desire to further the development towards linguistic unification was present in the discussions. Then, between 1915 and 1917, a breakthrough occurred among the representatives in Parliament in favour of Samnorsk. Frequent debates on the question concerning which varieties of language to use in oral instruction in the schools, and especially debates on the spoken language to be used in urban schools, played a most important role. Johan Gjøstein (1866–1935), a Labour Member of Parliament, agitated vigorously in those years to give the use of urban working-class dialects in city schools a status protected by law. These spoken varieties — in his view — possessed the linguistic capacity to bridge the gap between Nynorsk and Dano-Norwegian, and therefore their speakers, the students in schools, needed to be supported by their teachers and protected by law to speak their varieties freely (on the discussion concerning the use of spoken varieties in the schools, see Jahr 1984). In other words, while the organization *Østlandsk reising* argued that the country dialects in the eastern rural districts constituted the only linguistic basis on which to build a Samnorsk standard, Johan Gjøstein was rather more inclined towards the popular urban dialects, the dialects of the urban workers. What is important in this context, however, is not so much the difference between these two positions, but the fact that spoken (urban and/or rural) varieties other than upper-middle-class Dano-Norwegian (i.e. the Dano-Norwegian creoloid/koiné) were postulated as bases for a future reconciliation, and finally for a merging of written Nynorsk and Dano-Norwegian. That Johan Gjøstein’s suggestion implied a total sociolinguistic revolution is obvious today — after several decades of

sociolinguistic research — but was not at all clear to the language planners of that time.

In 1917, the Parliament agreed upon a major language reform which initiated a new phase in the process of Norwegian language standardization and planning: the Samnorsk period (1917–1964). This reform consisted of thorough changes in both Dano-Norwegian and Nynorsk, with respect to the sociolinguistic bases and the introduction of Samnorsk elements.

The language planning measures taken during the first main period in Norwegian language policy (1814–1917, discussed above) had produced two competing written standards. After the 1917 reform, both Nynorsk and Dano-Norwegian had unquestionably become quite different from both Danish and Swedish. With the reforms of 1907 and 1917, language standardization and planning had succeeded in changing written Danish by degrees into a Dano-Norwegian standard which now reflected the spoken variety of the educated and upper-middle classes of Oslo, the spoken variety that enjoyed by far the highest status in society. The language reform of 1917 thus completed the program formulated by Knud Knudsen in the middle of the nineteenth century.

However, the 1917 reform also constituted the first major step in a Samnorsk direction. The standard Dano-Norwegian resulting from the 1917 reform was structured in such a way that it now consisted of two quite separate varieties — one more conservative, mirroring upper-middle-class speech and with no popular forms, and one sociolinguistically radical with frequent use of eastern popular dialectal forms as well as forms which coincided with those of Nynorsk (Nynorsk, too, was divided into a more traditional and a more eastern variety, but in the case of Nynorsk this was to be of little consequence in the short term). The Samnorsk innovations were introduced into both standards as optional word forms. In Dano-Norwegian, they included local and traditional low-status morphological features and dialect forms. In Nynorsk, they included eastern rural and urban dialect elements. The steps taken in the Samnorsk direction in Dano-Norwegian inspired much turmoil in the years following the reform (Jahr 1978). One major problem was that the language planners of that time, heavily influenced in their thinking by the nationalist ideology of the previous period, were totally insensitive to the Norwegian sociolinguistic reality. They were therefore not prepared for the massive social protest from the upper-middle classes against the introduction into standard Dano-Norwegian of stigmatized, lower-class (south-eastern or urban) dialect forms (introduced by the language planners who considered these word-forms to be more typically “Norwegian” than the corresponding Dano-Norwegian ones). The language planners had failed to realize that the social distance between Nynorsk and Dano-Norwegian was far greater than the linguistic distance between the two varieties. When, in 1917, written Dano-Norwegian received specific linguistic fea-

tures and word forms from the eastern rural and urban dialects, this standard had in fact crossed a major sociolinguistic divide. This explains the strong reactions on the part of concerned Dano-Norwegian speakers who felt that the authorities had vulgarized their written language. The total rejection of the optional (Samnorsk) changes by large and influential groups of users of Dano-Norwegian strongly suggests that, in 1917, Norwegian language planning had reached the limits of its capacity to modify standard Dano-Norwegian within the framework of nationalist arguments. It was clearly necessary to develop a language planning ideology based on a fundamental sociolinguistic understanding of the contemporary Norwegian language community in order to be able to promote a method for a planned development towards one amalgamated written standard. Such an analysis had to include an understanding of the sociolinguistic attributes and features of the two established standards.

5. Norm acceptance

From that time (1917) until 1981, the main question in the further standardization and planning of standard Dano-Norwegian was of a sociolinguistic rather than a nationalist nature, even if much of the rhetoric on the part of the Nynorsk supporters continued to be nationalistic until World War II. From the reform of 1917 onwards, standard Dano-Norwegian has been divided, as we have seen, into two sociolinguistically quite different varieties. One reflected high-status upper-middle-class speech (“conservative Bokmål”); the other had lower-class urban and south-eastern rural dialects as its main basis (“radical Bokmål”). Even though they both belonged technically, i.e. by definition, to standard written Bokmål, the latter variety was sociolinguistically closer to the Nynorsk camp. It is therefore possible to argue that the original social dimension of the conflict between Dano-Norwegian and Nynorsk was, from 1917, also present inside standard Dano-Norwegian itself and was given expression in the different possibilities of variation within that standard.

In the period from 1917 until 1925/26, there was strong competition in about 4000 local school districts about which of the two Dano-Norwegian varieties to use: the more conservative variety, reflecting educated upper-middle-class speech, or the radical one, replete with popular dialectal forms. During the years immediately after 1917, the radical variety of Dano-Norwegian was introduced into as many as 64% of all the non-urban schools which had Dano-Norwegian (and not Nynorsk) as their principal standard (Jahr 1978: 153). However, during the 1920s, the conservative variety regained ground. An important drawback for the radical variety was the fact that, outside of the schools, the conservative written variety dominated

almost completely. In the long run, this imbalance had to have consequences for the schools as well.

The 1907 reform of Dano-Norwegian constituted, as already mentioned, the principal break with written Danish in Norway. The 1917 reform was partly a completion of the effort to make the written standard reflect educated upper-middle-class speech, but partly also an opening of standard Dano-Norwegian towards the (south-eastern and urban working-class) dialects. The “optional” new forms of Dano-Norwegian represented the beginning of a program which aimed at unifying the written standards. To pursue a language planning policy which would foster a development towards a single amalgamated written standard, one had to accept and argue that the two existing standards should be adjusted towards each other through several new language reforms. Because speakers of the upper-middle-class Oslo variety — which was widely perceived in the 1920s to be standard spoken Norwegian — found their spoken variety reflected almost completely in the conservative written Bokmål/Dano-Norwegian standard of the 1917 reform, they saw no reason whatsoever to accept new alterations to this written standard. This has in the whole period after 1917 been the view held by the *Riksmålsforbundet*, the organization fighting — since 1908 — for Dano-Norwegian/conservative Bokmål interests in the Norwegian language struggle. The nationalist ideology clearly provided insufficient support for a policy of developing one amalgamated written Norwegian standard, which had by then become the expressed goal of a clear majority in Parliament. What was needed was a model of language planning aimed at crossing the major sociolinguistic borderline between popular and upper-middle-class speech, i.e. defining the popular dialects in general as the linguistic foundation on which Bokmål/Dano-Norwegian as well as Nynorsk should be based (Jahr 1989b).

The required ideology was provided by socialist theory as applied to Norwegian language planning by the growing social-democratic Labour Party after a period of discussion in the 1920s and early 1930s. The Labour Party had up until the 1920s declared itself neutral in the language struggle, claiming that this struggle did not concern working-class interests. The new analysis of the situation, which aimed at involving the labour movement in the language struggle, was presented by Halvdan Koht (1873–1965), a professor of history and Foreign Minister in a Labour government from 1935. He developed an analysis in which the language situation and the question of language and social class were seen as an integrated part of Norwegian history. He and, later, the Labour Party focused on promoting what they called the ‘People’s Language’ (*folkemål*). This vague concept was claimed to refer to a linguistic reality, an existing, systematic and unifying core of the popular urban and rural dialects. In this core, it was claimed, a Samnorsk standard could be founded. Samnorsk, then, was understood to represent the common linguistic system believed to unite all varieties of spoken popular Norwegian. To Halvdan

Koht, this view represented a modification of Ivar Aasen's nineteenth-century program. Aasen had deliberately excluded the urban dialectal varieties and also, to a large extent, the rural, south-eastern dialects. Moreover, Aasen did his main fieldwork in the 1840s, before clearly defined urban working-class dialects had developed in the main cities.

In this analysis, then, a sociolinguistic understanding of the situation is once again fundamental. Koht argued that the only solution to the linguistic question was a socio-political one in which the lower classes of workers and peasants should co-opt both of the written standards simultaneously by introducing increasing amounts of present-day popular speech (reflecting popular phonology, morphology and lexis) into both of them. The standards would thus, by degrees, move towards a fusion and, in the same process, demote and devalue the spoken variety of the upper-middle classes. This demotion of upper-middle class speech was absolutely necessary in order for an amalgamated written standard to emerge and gain the required social status in society, being as it would be, full of linguistic word forms and morphology usually considered vulgar and of low status by the upper-middle classes. Koht viewed contemporary standard Nynorsk as too archaic, too removed from present-day popular speech, and standard Bokmål as too dependent on upper-middle-class speech as well as (still) on written Danish. By making Nynorsk linguistically more modern and, at the same time — by the same linguistic means — making Bokmål more democratic, one could develop a Samnorsk standard. Koht's conclusion was that the Labour Party program should include a passage of support for a language standardization and planning policy that would further the development of 'People's Language' in both standard Nynorsk and standard Bokmål. He wrote: "The struggle to advance the People's Language is the cultural side of the rise of the workers" (on Koht, see Jahr 1992a). The result of this process was that the Labour Party agreed with the principal view expressed by Koht on the development of the language: a Samnorsk standard was to be achieved by opening up both the written standards to the same popular forms and features from the dialects. The formula "a wider space for the People's Language" entered into the Labour Party's program in 1936 (on the Labour Party and the language question, see Jahr 1992b).

A language planning policy of such radical sociolinguistic nature could only be implemented successfully by a strong political movement, consolidated and in agreement about the analysis, the means and the aims of the policy. Even though such a total agreement was never reached within the Labour Party, the party did adopt Koht's analysis and introduced a profound language reform in 1938. This reform had the effect of dramatically reducing the importance of upper-middle-class speech as the basis for standard Bokmål. This devaluation of the overall social

status of upper-middle-class speech was an absolutely necessary prerequisite for the success of the Samnorsk program.

In the reform of 1938, then, many rural and urban dialect word-forms and features from the “People’s Language” were made obligatory in standard written Bokmål. The equivalent forms in upper-middle-class speech, which had been part of standard written Bokmål up until 1938, were in many cases taken out of the written standard. These upper-middle-class speech forms were now officially defined as non-standard. Important new areas of the written Bokmål standard were, through this reform, pushed across the salient sociolinguistic borderline between upper-middle-class speech and the popular rural and urban dialects. The language reform of 1938 was thus a step consistent with the ideology and sociolinguistic analysis of the now ruling Labour Party, which had been in power since 1935, and with the declared aim of Parliament to pursue the development of Samnorsk. From this perspective, the reform of 1938 was a unique language standardization experiment. The most prestigious spoken variety in the country was assigned a considerably less important role in relation to the written standard by the changes in this reform. Those who spoke Dano-Norwegian could no longer rely on their own spoken variety if they were to write standard Bokmål correctly. The fact that the same applied to any dialect speaker was an entirely different matter. Dano-Norwegian supporters considered the whole 1938 reform to be an outrage against what they reckoned to be “correct”, “nice” and “proper” language, and some years after World War II, when the 1938 standard Bokmål began to appear in schoolbooks, the language conflict flared up once again.

In 1939, the Oslo School Board voted that word-forms which were common to both Bokmål and Nynorsk were to be included in the textbooks used in Oslo schools. This so-called “Oslo decision” had the consequence that the textbooks in the Oslo schools after World War II appeared in a quite radical form of standard Bokmål, which thus deviated considerably from upper-middle-class speech. The Oslo market was important for the publishing houses. Therefore, schoolbooks in general appeared in a standard Bokmål variety branded as “Samnorsk” by the many who were utterly dismayed at the language of the textbooks. To defend politically and follow up the sociolinguistically radical 1938 reform with further necessary Samnorsk reforms, one had to depend on the presence of a strong political ideology in which the sociolinguistic and socio-political principles of the reform were made implicit. Without the support of such an ideology, the 1938 language standardization experiment had to fail in the long run.

A fierce language feud took place in the 1950s. It originated among the upper-middle classes and was motivated by the important shift in the sociolinguistic basis of standard Bokmål. As a consequence, an unofficial Dano-Norwegian variety came

into use. It reflected upper-middle-class Oslo speech, and was in principle identical to the conservative 1917 Dano-Norwegian standard, only with a few, mainly orthographic, changes in accordance with the 1938 reform. This unofficial standard competed successfully with official standard Bokmål from the early 1950s onwards, especially in the media and private enterprise. Several of the most prominent contemporary authors and poets used and defended actively this unofficial standard. The two standards, the unofficial and the official one, were referred to as Riksmål and Bokmål respectively. The name Riksmål referred back to the stage of Dano-Norwegian/Bokmål prior to the introduction of lower-class dialect features.³ The post-war picture is actually even more complicated, since official standard Bokmål was itself divided into two competing varieties, called “moderate” and “radical”. Thus, a standard with three variants could be identified, depending on the degree of incorporation of working-class dialectal forms:

- a. *conservative* (without working class forms, reflecting upper-middle-class Oslo speech, but unofficial since important features were outside the Bokmål standard of 1938);
- b. *moderate* (with as few working-class forms as possible, but still within the official standard of 1938); and
- c. *radical* (with as many working-class (Samnorsk) forms as possible within the official Bokmål standard, approaching — linguistically — standard Nynorsk).

These different varieties reflected different sociolinguistic bases: the upper-middle-class speech variety and, in the rhetoric of Norwegian language standardization and planning policy, the “People’s Language” which existed in a moderate and a radical form.

The opponents of the authorities’ attempt to change the sociolinguistic basis for standard Bokmål and thereby to further the development of Samnorsk were, shortly after World War II, able to organize extensive resistance. They argued effectively that the State authorities were actually destroying the main variety of Norwegian, which they used to consider “their” language. When writing the official Bokmål standard they could no longer follow what they had been taught to look upon as “correct”, “educated” and “proper” language. In their opinion the new written standard, the official standard Bokmål, forced them to write word-forms and morphological endings which they had always regarded as “sloppy” forms, or “ugly” or “vulgar” ones. The fact that this view could very well signify the social denigration of those people who used these “vulgar” forms in their speech was something they either did not see, or, rather, would not accept as relevant. To them the whole affair had to do with fighting against the State’s policy of dictating the form of the language and in favour of what they termed and used as a slogan: ‘Free language development!’ (*Fri sprogutvikling!*). “Free” in this context meant “free of

all interference from the State (Government and Parliament) and from all state bodies of language planning and cultivation” (cf. Skirbekk 1967: 113).

The opposition to using the radical Bokmål variety in schoolbooks was formidable and appeared in many guises. The “Parents’ Campaign Against Samnorsk” (from 1951) was organized from the western part of Oslo but received support from a large proportion of the country. The forms of action were of many kinds: posters and newspaper ads, petitions and demonstrations. In 1953 they initiated and organized the “correcting” of schoolbooks. This mostly concerned pupils in the western parts of Oslo. In some classes nearly all the pupils had books which had been corrected in pen and brought into line with the unofficial, conservative Bokmål norm. The Oslo School Board in the end yielded to the pressure from the Parents’ Campaign and changed its “Oslo decision” in 1954. Moderate Bokmål forms from the 1938 reform were re-introduced into the Oslo schools, and this gradually influenced schoolbooks all over the country (for a more detailed account of the feud in the 1950s, see Haugen 1966).

Much of the conflict in the 1950s was centred around ‘The Norwegian Language Committee’ (*Norsk språknemnd*), which was established in 1952 following a decision by Parliament the year before. The conservative Dano-Norwegian movement was completely opposed to the mandate given to the Committee. It had a “restricted” or “bound” mandate, it was argued, because the Committee’s brief was to continue the work towards a Samnorsk standard — “on the basis of the people’s language” — which had commenced with the reform of 1917 and was continued with the reform of 1938. The main rationale behind the decision by Parliament to establish the Language Committee was clearly to try to delegate the difficult language problem to a board of experts. However, this attempt was not successful. The politicians still had to fight several more rounds.

The most important assignment given to the Language Committee was to prepare a new schoolbook standard. The Committee was to suggest which of the many optional forms introduced into standard Bokmål and standard Nynorsk in the 1938 reform should be selected for use in schoolbooks. The intention was that textbooks, thanks to a more narrow standard, would appear with a linguistic norm that was “in the middle”, i.e. neither conservative nor radical, and therefore would render parallel editions of schoolbooks with “moderate” and “radical” forms superfluous. The ‘New Schoolbook Standard’ (*Ny læreboknormal*) was proposed by the Language Committee in 1957. Faced with vigorous protests from both conservative Dano-Norwegian and conservative Nynorsk supporters, Parliament in 1959 accepted a slightly revised proposal.

Only when the battle over the Samnorsk policy had been lost (see below), the first Samnorsk organization since *Østlandsk reising* (see above) was founded in 1959: the ‘National League for Language Unification’ (*Landslaget for språklig*

samling). This organization gained quite a substantial following in its first years, but then rapidly dwindled away. The league was not sufficiently powerful to counter the dismantling of the Samnorsk policy which started in the early 1960s. The organization was also perceived as favouring a more technical or “unpolitical” solution to the two-standard situation: the construction of a standard Samnorsk as a linguistic compromise between the already existing standard Nynorsk and standard Bokmål. Only in the mid 1970s, when it no longer had any influence — except for two seats in the Language Council from 1972 onwards (see below) — did this organization begin to argue along the ideological lines of the 1920s and 1930s, i.e., it adopted the ideas associated with *Østlandsk reising* and Koht (Vannebo 1979; Vikør and Wiggen 1979).

The Dano-Norwegian/conservative Bokmål advocates were reasonably successful in their cause, even though it was difficult at the time to realize that the authorities were slowly giving in. With the exception of the decision in 1954 by the Oslo School Board to abandon radical forms of Bokmål in school textbooks, there were not many concrete Dano-Norwegian victories to celebrate during the period of contention in the 1950s. However, the high level of activity and the resources employed paid off in the long run. The repeated and lasting attacks against the authorities in the language question caused the party of government, the Labour Party, gradually to view its close identification with the Samnorsk policy as a negative factor. One important element in ensuring the change in language planning policy was probably the fact that the Dano-Norwegian movement was to a large extent allowed to dominate the public scene. Moreover, the 1950s was a time when political and social considerations in the language question were not so much in the forefront of the debate. Thus, arguments in support of the official Samnorsk policy were restricted to the practical and the economic: it was too costly and problematic to have two standards for Norwegian. This line of argument was far from sufficient to withstand the much more varied and emotional arguments offered by the Dano-Norwegian movement: they defended the written tradition dating from the great poets and authors of the nineteenth century like Henrik Wergeland, the playwright Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, and they launched harsh attacks on the popular forms in the radical Bokmål variety as being “vulgar”, pointing to the fact that these radical forms were often left standing stylistically alone as imported alien elements in the old standard. They could offer striking examples of this from school textbooks and readers. They also emerged as defenders of the individual’s freedom to choose his or her language, a right they argued the State was depriving them of.

The arguments presented by Dano-Norwegian supporters did not encounter sufficient counter-arguments during most of the 1950s. The Nynorsk movement was occupied with its own affairs during these years (see above on the decline of

Nynorsk in the schools during this period), and the supporters of Samnorsk did not assemble their forces into an effective organisation. The reason for this was probably that they put too much faith in the political realization of the Samnorsk project. They thought it would continue inevitably by its sheer weight alone, and they also believed that the government and Parliament were firmly determined to pursue this policy to its conclusion.

The Schoolbook Standard of 1959 apparently signalled that the policy of developing Samnorsk would continue. At that time, however, the battle for the firmly controlled development of Samnorsk had already effectively been lost. What counted most was the fact that the Labour Party now wished to get out of a commitment to Samnorsk. The Labour Party leaders no longer wanted to expose the party to the burden of being in charge of continuing the policy of Samnorsk unification. The political Right as well as private enterprise headed by the shipping industry and ship owners, supported the Dano-Norwegian movement economically, hoping that the Samnorsk policy, which was by now rather unpopular, would contribute to the dismantling and fall of the Labour government. The Labour Party therefore wanted to remove the language question from the political scene. Without active support from the Labour Party, the Samnorsk plan was in the long run doomed to come to a halt.

The development which had been initiated in the 1950s led to the formation of a 'Committee for Language Peace' (*Språkfredskomiteen*) in the 1960s and to the establishment of a 'Norwegian Language Council' (*Norsk språkråd*) in the 1970s, and finally resulted in the reform of Bokmål which was unanimously approved by Parliament in the spring of 1981. With this resolution the much weakened (cf. below about the 1970s) Dano-Norwegian movement gained a victory which the supporters of Dano-Norwegian in the 1950s could only have dreamed of. Nonetheless, it was the work and struggles of the 1950s that finally paid off and led to the outcome of 1981.

The long delay can be attributed to several causes. The problem concerning the language conflict as a whole was first to be surveyed by the Committee for Language Peace, which was appointed by the Labour government in 1964. The commission was also called "the Vogt Committee" (after its chairman, the linguist Hans Vogt (1903–86), professor and rector of the University of Oslo) and had the mandate to suggest proposals concerning mechanisms that were to serve as basis for "language peace", meaning the peaceful coexistence of two standards. After the period of bitter conflict in the preceding decade, the 1960s were characterized by a desire for reconciliation concerning the language question. In the early 1970s, however, the very concept of "language peace" was being discussed and problematized and questions such as the following were asked: "Language peace for whom?", "On what basis?", "Who will gain a sociolinguistic advantage through language peace?" Such

language-political questions, which only rarely surfaced during the 1950s and early 1960s, made many perceive the language plan which had resulted in the reforms of 1917 and, in particular, the reforms of 1938 as part of a more general political program with a clear social and even socialist inclination. From such a perspective, the 1959 Schoolbook Standard constituted a step backwards, and so the Vogt Committee was seen as reactionary (Wiggen 1973). During these years, the conservative Dano-Norwegian movement lost much ground, compared to its impressive support and strength during the 1950s and 1960s. Most important for this development was probably the change in the general political climate from the 1950s and 1960s to the more radical 1970s.

In its recommendation, the Vogt Committee suggested that the controversial Language Committee, with its “restricted” mandate, should be replaced by a Language Council. This council, which was established in 1972, had 42 members, consisting not only of linguists and specialist language users (teachers, authors, etc.), as had been the case with the Language Committee, but also of representatives of the three main parties in the language struggle: the Dano-Norwegian movement, the Nynorsk movement and Samnorsk adherents. Parliament was also represented and appointed as many as eight members. According to the mandate, the Language Council was to contribute to linguistic tolerance among users of all varieties of spoken and written Norwegian. The Dano-Norwegian movement rightfully regarded this mandate as an important victory, since it also meant recognition of their own unofficial written standard in addition to the official ones. The council’s responsibility to monitor the ongoing development of spoken and written Norwegian and to stimulate tendencies contributing to bringing the written standards closer together was clearly considered to be of secondary nature. The latter aspect of the mandate soon proved to have little impact on the actual language standardization and planning undertaken by the council. Immediately after its establishment, the council began the preparations for a new reform of standard Bokmål, something the Vogt Committee had particularly singled out as a necessary step in a “peace process”. It was understood that this reform would represent a conservative change, a step backward compared to the aims of the 1938 reform.

Due to the struggle concerning the referendum on entering the European Community in 1972 (with the result that Norway did not become a member of the EC), the emergence of “green” and environmental policies, and a strong dialect movement that contributed considerably to more success for Nynorsk in the 1970s, the preparations for changing standard Bokmål in a more conservative direction progressed only slowly.⁴ The evolution of standard written Bokmål during the Samnorsk policy period (1917–1964) was now appreciated by many young people who were interested in the language question in a far more positive way than had been the case in the 1950s and 1960s. Proposals to change written standard Bokmål

were actively opposed, and this opposition contributed to postponing the conservative reform of Bokmål for several years.

In 1981, however, changes which reintroduced a considerable amount of pre-1938 Dano-Norwegian word-forms and features into standard written Bokmål were nevertheless accepted by Parliament. In this reform, the distance between standard Bokmål and standard Nynorsk was widened considerably. However, the way this was done made it possible to refer to the reform as a kind of “liberation”. It made many “non-standard” Dano-Norwegian word-forms “standard” again. Yet, at the same time, none of the word-forms or features from working-class dialects which had become part of standard Bokmål in 1938 were removed from the standard. This, however, was done in the late 1990s, when “lesser used” Bokmål forms (i.e. Bokmål forms listed in the dictionaries but almost never used in actual writing by anyone) were evicted from the written standard. The older Dano-Norwegian forms — regarded officially as non-standard since 1938 — were re-introduced in the 1981 reform. This, of course, had the effect that standard Bokmål after 1981 contained — for the individual writer — the possibility of much more variation than before. But everybody expected that the generally high social status of the Dano-Norwegian forms would ensure their frequent use. To what extent this really happened has not yet been thoroughly investigated but the general impression is that the “re-introduced” 1981 forms are being widely used, for example in schoolbooks, albeit not to the extent feared by those who opposed the 1981 reform. It is quite clear that standard Bokmål has in effect moved away from standard Nynorsk as a result of the 1981 reform.

For Nynorsk, also, several smaller changes made by the Language Council during the 1980s and 1990s indicate a departure from the earlier plan to move towards Samnorsk.

6. Recent developments

The fierce post-war struggle over standard Bokmål, culminating in the early 1960s and ending finally with the reform of 1981, was clearly motivated by the sociolinguistic consequences of the 1938 reform. Adherents of traditional, pre-1938 standard Dano-Norwegian, which closely reflected upper-middle-class speech, launched a massive campaign aimed at repairing, or better — reversing, the sociolinguistic impact of the radical 1938 reform. The leaders of this campaign were also able to mobilize substantial support for their view outside the rather restricted group of upper-middle-class sociolectal speakers, and the conservative leaders of business and commerce saw this language campaign as a means of fighting the overwhelming

Labour majority in Parliament. Thus, the conservative language campaign never lacked financial support. Eventually it achieved its goals, first in the 1960s, when the Labour government gave in and appointed a language commission aimed at pursuing a so-called “language peace” (it was not surprising to anyone that the only route suggested by this commission was to reverse the sociolinguistic experiment of the 1938 reform). Then, with the 1981 reform, many word-forms and features from upper-middle-class speech which had been removed and made non-standard by the reform of 1938 were once again included and made part of standard Bokmål. The main development after 1981 has been a consolidation of the two standards as separate linguistic entities. In 2001, the government declared in a report to Parliament that the Samnorsk policy had failed and that it should no longer be pursued politically. This report marks the end of the language planning struggle associated with the concept Samnorsk which had lasted for almost a century.

The question remains, however, whether upper-middle-class *speech*, as a consequence of the 1981 reform, has regained the high social prestige it enjoyed prior to the 1938 reform. This appears not to be the case. From being more or less accepted by many, perhaps a majority of Norwegians, as standard spoken Norwegian, it is now perceived as just one of the many spoken varieties of Norwegian, albeit one of the more prestigious ones. To many people today, upper-middle-class Oslo speech may sound a bit old-fashioned. It is not perceived any longer, as was previously the case, as a neutral, unmarked spoken standard variety; this function has been taken over by a variety reflecting official written standard moderate Bokmål, especially with regard to morphology and the root forms of some frequently used words. Ever since 1938, official written standard Bokmål in its most frequently used form (i.e. the moderate form) has gradually gained prestige, and is now used as a target norm for those who aspire to use a spoken standard. While upper-middle-class speech between 1917 and 1938 served as the main target variety for the spoken standard language — especially since upper-middle-class Oslo speech corresponded so closely to the written standard during that period — this is no longer the case. Therefore, while the *written* Bokmål standard can be claimed to have been restored to its pre-1938 position by the language reform of 1981 as well as by successive changes introduced by the Language Council throughout the 1980s and 1990s (reintroducing many word-forms that were defined as non-standard in 1938), the status of upper-middle-class Oslo *speech* as “Standard Spoken Norwegian” seems to have been definitively lost as a long-term effect of the 1938 reform. (Jahr and Janicki 1995; Jahr 1996). This change and devaluation of the social status of upper-middle-class Oslo speech is an important and probably lasting sociolinguistic result of the standardization and language planning policy connected with the 1938 reform and Koht’s and the Labour Party’s analysis and language planning program.

In conclusion, the first period of Norwegian language planning, up until 1917, must in most respects be viewed as successful. The main aim during this period was to develop a national standard different from the other Scandinavian languages. By 1917, however, Norwegians had not only one standard, but could choose between two written standards, both of which were clearly distinguishable from Danish and Swedish. The second period (1917–1964), on the other hand, in which the expressed intention was to solve the language question by replacing the two standards with one single Samnorsk standard, cannot be said to have been successful. There are still today two standards for Norwegian, linguistically very close, but sociolinguistically clearly different. This difference goes back to the two opposed social bases on which Ivar Aasen and Knud Knudsen relied when they developed their programs and language planning policies in the nineteenth century. Today (cf. Jahr 1995) the difference between these two bases is still very salient, even though the sociolinguistic impact of the 1938 reform has reduced the overall status of upper-middle-class Oslo speech compared with the status it enjoyed prior to the 1938 reform.

Notes

1. In 1814, the upper-middle classes (less than 5% of the total population at the time) consisted mainly of a very small group of extremely rich merchants and of the educated elite which included civil servants as well as many priests. This was not an urban group in principle and its members were scattered around the country. The lower classes (more than 95% of the population) were mainly peasants, fishermen and workers. The composition of these classes changed during the nineteenth and twentieth century: the number of upper-middle class members increased through the rise of industry and trade; the same process led to a growing number of “workers”, recruited from the group of “peasants”.
2. *Venstre* was a cooperation/party consisting of peasants (from small and large farms), local school teachers and other intellectuals who supported the peasants’ cause because they considered them as the “real” Norwegians and, consequently, Nynorsk as the only “real” Norwegian language.
3. Knudsen had never used this term, however. He mostly referred to *Dansk-norsk* ‘Danish-Norwegian’ and *Den dannede dagligtale* ‘the educated daily/casual speech’.
4. In the 1970s “green” policy indicated an important centre-periphery parameter, where the centre represented power in all respects. Conservative Bokmål with its historic ties and direct links to spoken urban upper-middle class speech was then associated exclusively with the centre. Local dialects and Bokmål with more dialect and urban working-class traits, on the other hand, were evaluated more positively from the viewpoint of the green political movement. Nynorsk, being based exclusively on local dialects, benefited especially from this policy.

References

- Aasen, I. [1836] 1909. "Om vort skriftsprog". *Syn og Segn* 17.
- Aasen, I. 1848. *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik*. Kristiania [Oslo]: Feilberg & Landmark.
- Aasen, I. 1850. *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog*. Kristiania [Oslo]: Feilberg & Landmark.
- Aasen, I. 1853. *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge*. Christiania [Oslo].
- Aasen, I. 1864. *Norsk Grammatik*. Christiania [Oslo]: Malling.
- Aasen, I. 1873. *Norsk Ordbog*. Christiania [Oslo]: Malling.
- Garborg, A. 1877. *Den nynorske Sprog- og Nationalitetsbevægelse*. Kristiania [Oslo]: Alb. Cammermeyer.
- Haugen, E. 1965. "Construction and reconstruction in language planning: Ivar Aasen's grammar". *Word* 21: 188–207.
- Haugen, E. 1966. *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The case of modern Norwegian*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Jahr, E. H. 1978. *Østlandsmåla fram! Ei bok om rørsla Østlandsk reising*. Tromsø — Oslo — Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.
- Jahr, E. H. 1984. *Talemålet i skolen. En studie av drøftinger og bestemmelser om muntlig språkbruk i folkeskolen (fra 1974 til 1925)*. Oslo: Novus.
- Jahr, E. H. 1989a. *Utsyn over norsk språkhistorie etter 1814* [Second revised edition 1994]. Oslo: Novus.
- Jahr, E. H. 1989b. "Limits of language planning? Norwegian language planning revisited". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 80: 33–39. (A slightly different version In *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Linguists. Vol. II*, W. Bahner, J. Schildt and D. Viehweger (eds), 1630–1633. Berlin 1990: Akademie-Verlag.)
- Jahr, E. H. 1992a. "Halvdan Koht og språkstriden". In *Innhogg i nyare norsk språkhistorie*, E. H. Jahr, 69–81. Oslo: Novus.
- Jahr, E. H. 1992b. "DNA og samnorskpolitikken". In *Innhogg i nyare norsk språkhistorie*, E. H. Jahr, 114–124. Oslo: Novus.
- Jahr, E. H. 1994. See Jahr 1989a.
- Jahr, E. H. (ed.) 1995. *Sociolinguistics in Norway. International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 115. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jahr, E. H. 1996. "Språkstrid og språkplanlegging i Norge på 1970- og 1980-tallet — bakgrunn og innhold". In *Samspel & variation. Språklige studier tillagnade Bengt Nordberg på 60-årsdagen*, L. Elmevik et al. (eds), 167–183. Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala University.
- Jahr, E. H. and Janicki, K. 1995. "The function of the standard variety. A comparison of Norwegian and Polish". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 115: 25–45.
- Knudsen, K. 1887. *Kortfattet redegjørelse for det dansk-norske målstræv*. Kristiania [Oslo].
- Moe, M. 1909. "Nationalitet og kultur". *Samtiden* 20: 17–28.
- Seip, D. A. 1917. *Ett mål i Norge. Målstriden avgjort av denne generation?* Kristiania [Oslo].
- Skirbekk, S. 1967. "Ideologier i språkstriden". *Kontrast* 8: 106–117.
- Trudgill, P. 1986. *Dialects in contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vannebo, K. I. 1979. "Omgrepet "Samnorsk"". In *Språklig samling på folkemåls grunn*. L. S. Vikør and G. Wiggen (eds), 220–34. Oslo: Novus.

- Vikør, L. S. and Wiggen, G. (eds). 1979. *Språklig samling på folkemåls grunn*. Oslo: Novus.
- Wiggen, G. (ed.) 1973. *Ny målstrid. Artikler og innlegg om språk, samfunn og ideologi* [Second expanded edition 1974]. Oslo: Novus.

Pacific Pidgins and Creoles

Peter Mühlhäusler

University of Adelaide, Australia

1. Introduction

The question of Pidgins and Creoles as standard languages first gained prominence among sociolinguists when Hall contributed an original paper on this topic to the widely read sociolinguistics reader edited by Pride and Holmes (1972). Hall correctly identified the matter as a political question. At the time of his writing only a small number of Pacific Pidgins and Creoles had undergone any kind of standardization. The number of candidates for this process has increased greatly since, though the conditions for effective standardization are less favourable now than what Hall had optimistically hoped in the 1970s.

The writer of this section, unlike other contributors to this volume, has the unenviable task of commenting on a very large number of Germanic derived languages, many of them having little in common other than being lexically based on English. A full account of these languages can be found in Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Tryon (1996) and useful details on language planning in Baldauf and Luke (1990). This historical relationship between the various English-based Pidgins has been discussed by Mühlhäusler (1997).

Given that most of them are used as second languages and given the variation in proficiency, details about speaker numbers are difficult to establish, though it can be assumed that in Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, Hawai'i and Vanuatu, the majority of the population are proficient in the local Pidgin/Creole. Here follows a list (Table 1) of the most important Pidgins and Creoles and an indication of whether they are or were subject to standardization. Languages followed by a cross are either extinct or moribund.

Table 1. Pacific Pidgin and Creole Languages

Name of Language	Location	Lifespan	Standardization
Chinese Pidgin English †	Canton, Macau, Hong Kong, Mainland China	1743–1950s	Yes
Australian Pidgin English †	Australia	1790s–1950s	No
Kriol	Northern Australia	1890s to present	Yes
Torres Straits Kriol	Torres Strait Islands, Queensland	1890s to present	Yes
Kanaka English †	Queensland	1860s–1930s	Yes
Tok Pisin	Papua New Guinea	1880s to present	Yes
Papuan Pidgin English †	Papua New Guinea	1880s — 1940s	No
Solomon Pijin	Solomon Islands	1870s to present	No
Bislama	Vanuatu	1870s to present	Yes
Hawai'ian Pidgin/Creole	Hawai'i	1860s to present	No
Bonin Creole English †	Bonin Islands	1820s–1920s	No
Pitcairn — Norfolk	Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands	1790s to present	Yes
Palmerston Creole	Palmerston Island	1860s to present	No
Unserdeutsch †	Rabaul, Papua New Guinea	1900 to present	No
Petjo (Creole Dutch) †	Batavia	1890s to 1950	No
Pidgin German (Australia) †	Melbourne	1970s to ?	No

The overwhelming impression one gains from this table is that standardization has not been a major characteristic in the life cycle of Pacific Pidgins and Creoles. However, my seven tentative “yeses” outnumber the two languages (Tok Pisin and Bislama) listed by Kloss as new *Germanische Kultursprachen* in 1978. Kloss at the time used as his criterion *Ausbau* (lexical and grammatical modernization) rather than standardization, but since the two processes go hand in hand the result would have been similar. Standardization is typically a post-independence phenomenon in Melanesia and a phenomenon that post-dates 1972 in Australia, that is, the year when multiculturalism became official policy.

The principal reason for the lack of standardization is the low status that Pidgins and Creoles have suffered from and which has made them ineligible, in a number of countries, for any status planning other than a negative one. Prejudice against Pidgins and Creoles has been documented in detail, e.g., by Hall (1972), Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1979) for Tok Pisin, Keesing (1990) for Solomon Pijin and for Pidgins and Creoles in general by Mühlhäusler (1997: 224ff). In a small number of cases, more positive status planning occurred, though mostly of a quite restricted type. By this I mean, the planning was carried out by small local bodies such as schools or missions rather than at governmental level.

Records of the activities of non-government organizations, however, are difficult to come by and much research is needed before full assessment of their policies

becomes possible. The most comprehensive account available is for Tok Pisin, in a collection of articles edited by Wurm (1977). Deliberate attempts to replace local English-derived Pidgins and Creoles by Standard English were encountered with virtually all of the above languages and these attempts, to some extent, still continue.

Standardization is not a technical matter to be carried out by linguistically trained experts, but an ecological one. It can be sustained only if a range of social institutions exist, foremost among them authoritative bodies which can commission experts, advise on competing proposals and suggest and implement policies. In virtually all instances, such official bodies are missing in the Pacific area and effective standardization remains rare. The cultural conditions that promote acceptance of linguistic standards, in particular, are not widely encountered in the Pacific.

The vast majority of speakers of Pacific Pidgins and Creoles are Melanesians for whom the idea of central planning is a 'foreign concept' and the traditional Melanesian attitude to language, which is *laissez faire*, has remained dominant in spite of numerous (mainly expatriate) attempts to set up language planning bodies (see Crowley 2000: 100 for further comments). Language planning, it is noted, is not a concern for the rural masses and the English educated elites do not necessarily feel comfortable with the introduction of a Pidgin or Creole. In addition, the economic resources of most Pacific countries are very limited and a long term financial commitment to a language planning body is not felt to be a priority.

Language planning, and in particular standardization, is subject to a more general principle of management, i.e., that one can only manage what one knows. Knowledge of most of the Pidgins and Creoles of the area remains, however, incomplete and thus there is no sufficient basis for proper management.

2. Status planning

According to current theorizing about language planning (e.g., Kaplan and Baldauf 1997), the decision to standardize presupposes status planning, i.e., policies as to the role of a language or language variety in society. Unless there is agreement on fundamental matters such as that one is dealing with a distinct language, that it has a recognized name and a recognized role in society, status planning is not going to succeed. The fact that the language has a writing system or standard grammar does not have language-political consequences unless this is given official recognition. Languages and shared standards typically come into being as more or less spontaneous acts of identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). For the Pidgins and Creoles of Australia and the Pacific it was acts of authority (by linguists, missionaries and individuals) which have dominated the creation of standard languages, and it remains to be seen whether these authoritative acts will become acceptable to

speech communities. To gain insights into this issue, let us briefly consider some instances of status planning.

Broken (Torres Strait Creole)

As pointed out by Kale (1990: 110ff), Torres Strait Creole (Broken) has shared the disdain from both speakers of English and speakers of local Indigenous languages that other Australian Pidgins and Creoles also experienced. Kale, who is a lecturer in linguistics at James Cook University, North Queensland, presents a case for using Broken as a language of instruction, especially for children who speak it natively. It is probably due to her efforts that Broken became recognized as a language of education (about 100 years after it became the dominant language of school children), and it is now used in bilingual programs. From 1985, Broken was also used in programs of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation transmitting from Thursday Island. Like Kriol, it has been recognized as a language in Australia's national languages policy (Lo Bianco 1987).

Shnukal (1991: 193) observes that past negative views of Indigenous Torres Strait Islanders toward Broken have changed:

Torres Strait Creole today is being rediscovered and revalued by younger Islanders as a marker of identity, ethnicity and separateness from white Australians. Ironically, this is occurring in the context of decreolization. Many Islander children who are fully bilingual in both English and Torres Strait Creole know very well the differences between the two. For them the Creole is an addition to their linguistic repertoire, which is not available to non-Islanders. Moreover, they cannot be made to feel ashamed of their competence in English since they speak it well.

Positive attitudes appear to be more common in the communities in mainland Queensland, whereas on the Torres Strait Islands not all communities are ready to embrace Broken as a language of education, as this is perceived as further threatening the already weak status of the two Indigenous languages of the Straits (Kala Lagaw Ya and Meriam Mir).

Norfolk

About 50% of the population of Norfolk Island are descendants of the Pitcairners (a mixed British - Tahitian - West Indian community established on Pitcairn Island after the mutiny of the *Bounty* in 1792) who were resettled on Norfolk in 1856. They have a strong sense of identity and Norfolk is increasingly felt to be a core component of this identity. The language combines elements of English, Tahitian, St. Kitts Creole with independent development possibly due to partial creolization

(see Mühlhäusler 1998). Until 1980, Norfolk was a spoken language only and it was regarded by many of its speakers as a variety of English. The linguistic assimilation policies of Australia were extended to Norfolk, particularly after 1914 and a deliberate attempt was made to eradicate the language mainly through the education system where children speaking Norfolk were either ridiculed or punished by teachers recruited from the Australian mainland. This policy continued into the 1970s by which time English had become the dominant language of most community members. There was no debate about giving Norfolk any official status until the late 1980s when a number of individuals, in particular Buffett (cf. Buffett and Laycock 1988), advocated that Norfolk should be used as a written language and should be given official recognition. This has happened in a number of stages, e.g., by making the language part of Norfolk Island Studies syllabus of the Norfolk Central School, by allowing it to be spoken and minuted in parliament and by using it in some official documents (e.g., for landing and departure cards). However, as in the case of Broken, there has been no concerted effort to plan for a clear status of Norfolk, such as, for example, a decision on its use as a co-official language, Indigenous language or heritage language. Mühlhäusler, after numerous discussions with community members, prepared a draft policy document aimed at reversing the decline of the Norfolk language (Mühlhäusler 2002), and a number of informal meetings of Norfolk islanders have taken place in recent years to develop a formal policy. Suzanne Evans who has studied language maintenance and applied linguistics at the University of Adelaide in 2002, has developed a syllabus for Norfolk language teaching. It is hoped that a properly constituted formal meeting will address the question of declaring Norfolk as an official language in late 2002.

Hawai'ian Pidgin /Creole

Hawai'ian Pidgin English became the lingua franca of a large population of plantation workers after 1880,

comprising speakers of Portuguese, Japanese, Korean and many languages from the Philippines and mainland China. The dealings most of these temporary or permanent migrants had were with English-speaking haoles [Caucasians] or mixed race Hawaiians rather than the remaining pure Hawaiians. Under pressure of finding a means of communication on the plantation, Pidgin English emerged and became the principal lingua franca of the entire Island group (Mühlhäusler 1989: 87).

Unlike the indentured Kanaka labourers of Queensland, the workers were permanent immigrants and Reinecke (1969: 190) observes that the Pidgin variety became creolized

chiefly in school ground surroundings among a very youthful population, and has been perpetuated as elder children have passed it on to younger children, whose parents could not speak Standard English and who, in my view, did not pass on their own language.

Soon, however, Hawai'ian Pidgin/Creole was seen by educationalists and politicians as a dangerous development which threatened the status of English on the island.¹ It is not surprising that Hawai'ian Creole became seen by educationalists and politicians as parasitic, possessing all the negative attributes that in the common view distinguish parasites from useful plants or animals.

One result of the official attempts to deny Hawai'ian Pidgin any status has been that the negative official attitude is shared by a large proportion of the speakers of the language. This is confirmed by Romaine (1999) who comments on public policies as follows:

The 'pidgin problem', as it is often called in educational circles, erupted in a very forceful way in 1987 when the State of Hawai'i Board of Education drafted a policy which would officially ban pidgin from the classroom, and sanctioned the use of Standard English only. A heated debate broke out and was carried out in newspapers, radio, TV, as well as Board of Education meetings. The original policy statement declared that 'Standard English will be the mode of oral communication for students and staff in the classroom setting and all other school related settings except when the objectives cover native Hawaiian or foreign language instruction and practice'. (Romaine 1999: 296).

Although a strong version of this policy was not adopted and Hawai'ian Pidgin/Creole English was recognized as an independent language, this recognition had little effect on negative public attitudes. A survey done by the Hawai'ian Democracy Forum in 1994 reported the following responses to the question of whether Standard English should be the sole language of instruction:

65% said yes, although 503 respondents were almost evenly split on whether pidgin should be forbidden: 47% said it should be forbidden, but 44% said that no rules about pidgin should be made. Only 3% said teaching in pidgin ought to be promoted in schools (Romaine 1999: 298).

Notwithstanding such general negative attitudes, a visit to websites dealing with Hawai'ian Pidgin/Creole (or *Da Kine* as it is also called) shows that there are continuing attempts by individuals and organizations to elevate the status of the language and some schools use it as an unofficial medium of education. However, in spite of much informed advice by professional linguists, no official status elevation has occurred. In some ways the position of Hawai'ian Pidgin/Creole is comparable to that of Ebonics in mainland U. S. A.

Solomon Island Pijin

Solomon Pijin developed in the context of the Pacific labour trade in the late nineteenth century. An important factor in its development was the return of large numbers of sugar plantation labourers from Queensland, who had not only acquired a knowledge of Pidgin English but who, through the efforts of the Kanaka Mission, had learned to read and write a simple form of English. The policy of the Kanaka Mission was to use Pidgin English as the spoken language for missionary work and to transform this language into simple English by formal instruction. The adoption of Pidgin English by the Kanaka Mission gave the language considerable status which led to the decline of other *lingua francas* such as Mission Mota (Mühlhäusler forthcoming) and Pidgin Fijian. From the 1930s official government policies forced the Kanaka Mission to accelerate the shift to English.

As in Hawai'i, a substantial proportion of the population of the Solomon Islands speaks Pidgin English as their everyday language, but such demographic majorities have not been translated into political action. As Keesing (1990: 149ff) has outlined, colonial ideologies regarding the superiority of English remain dominant even after political independence:

Despite the emergence of a substantial counter-ideology, nationalist and populist, supporting the legitimation of Pijin and its codification as a medium of grass-roots communication and national political life, the institutions of education and government remain squarely predicated on the replacement of Pijin by English. The dominant ideology continues to denigrate Pijin as a bastardized form of English created by Europeans as a form of domination and to be replaced as soon and as efficiently as possible by a language less demeaning and vulgar with which it is in direct competition for the minds and habits of the young — 'proper' English. (Keesing 1990: 163–4).

Meanwhile, the island community is disintegrating through internal strife, economic and ecological problems, and there seems to be little chance that any formal support will be given to Pijin. Some support for an improved status has come from a number of other missions and from aid organizations such as the Peace Corps.

Papuan Pidgin English (PPE)

Pidgin English became the major *lingua franca* of the British colony of Papua in the 1890s and was used in the plantation industry, mining and some missions. It had begun to creolize in some areas in the 1920s (see Mühlhäusler 1996: 13ff). Around the same time missions shifted to local languages such as Dobu and the government adopted an active policy of replacing Pidgin English with Motu.

The choice of Motu by the government is largely due to the fact that the centre of the colony's administration was located in Motu-speaking Port Moresby and that the prejudices against Pidgin English of a few important administrators prompted them to adopt a form of Motu as the preferred language of day-to-day administration. It is not true (as present-day ideology has it) that this Pidgin Motu is the continuation of an ancient Indigenous trade language (Hiri Motu of the Hiri trade expeditions), nor is there much evidence for the administrator's view that one was dealing with a slightly simplified version of the local Motu language.² Rather, Hiri Motu exhibits many signs of relexification of the pre-existing Pidgin English. Among the practices the government adopted to spread Motu was the use of the prison system as a language school:

it was the practice to teach all new prisoners 'Motu' by placing them 'both at work and in the cell with prisoners who use that dialect, and thus they soon pick it up' (AR, 1894/5:28). In general, all prisoners who served a few months in Port Moresby spoke 'Motuan more or less'. (Dutton 1985: 77).

Whilst in neighbouring German New Guinea prisoners were taught Tok Pisin and employed as village interpreters after their release, the prison system played an important role in the process of language spread in Papua:

The prison system was a major source of recruitment for the Armed Native Constabulary and Village Constable systems. Consequently, many policemen and village constables learned their 'Motu' in prison and took it back to their villages with them when they left prison or when they left the police force if they had joined it after leaving prison. (Dutton 1985: 78).

The effect of such policies was the eventual disappearance of PPE after WWII.

Kanaka English

The establishment of a large-scale sugar plantation industry in Queensland resulted in the employment of large numbers of indentured labourers (the so-called Kanakas, around 100,000 in total) from many parts of Melanesia. By 1870 a form of Pidgin English had become the working language of the industry (Dutton 1980; Dutton and Mühlhäusler 1983). This Kanaka English was used as the language of labour recruiting and it was recognized as a language in which court evidence could be taken. A very large body of court proceedings were written down in Kanaka English (see *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas*; Wurm et al. 1996). The ones dealing with irregularities in the labour trade tended to be printed in the proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly, the most comprehensive example being the Royal Commission enquiry of 1885 (Royal

Commission 1885). Recognition as a language of the courts did not lead to recognition in other domains such as state education. However, the language received a considerable boost of its status when it was adopted in the late 1870s as the language of the Kanaka Mission (Young 1892; Mühlhäusler forthcoming), the largest organization concerned with the conversion of the Kanakas to Christianity. The policy of the Kanaka Mission was to use Kanaka English as a transitional means of promoting a simplified Standard English. The abolition of the labour trade in 1904 led to a dramatic decline in the number of Kanakas in Queensland. Those who were given permission to remain merged with mainstream English-speaking communities.

Kanaka English, like its speakers had no status whatsoever after 1904 and it is only from the 1980s onward that the Queensland Kanakas realized the importance of the language as a means of identity and as a means of staying in contact with their relatives in the Melanesian Islands. Attempts to get government recognition have failed, however, and Indigenous Australians are reluctant to see it treated like Torres Strait, Broken or Kriol.

Kriol

A Pidgin English that had developed in the cattle industry of Northern Australia began to creolize as Aboriginal people were resettled, educated in boarding schools and cut off from traditional forms of life (cf. Harris 1986 for further details). The status of pidginized and creolized English in Australia has tended to be very low, and its Aboriginal users, according to Rhydwen (1993), tend not to accord it the status of a language in the sense of a traditional way of speaking. Status elevation has typically been the concern of outsiders such as Sandefur (1991), who suggested that Kriol was a uniform linguistic phenomenon rather than a diversity of ways of speaking or simply a variety of English. Kriol has been recognized as a language in Australia's National Language Policy (Lo Bianco 1987), and according to Eades and Siegel (1999: 268) this official decision has influenced community attitudes:

Every year the 'Aboriginal Languages Fortnight' is an important part of the course of studies for some of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students at Batchelor College in the Northern Territory. During this time students do work on a language of their choice, usually their own traditional languages. In 1995, for the first time, nine urban students from the town of Katherine who speak English as their mother tongue decided to focus on Kriol for their language studies. This is a significant change, as attitudes of Aboriginal speakers of English towards Kriol have typically been quite negative. No doubt this decision to include Kriol in the 'Aboriginal Languages Fortnight' was influenced by the incorporation of Kriol as one of the languages being 'taken care of' by the KRALC [Katherine Regional Aboriginal Language Centre].

Eades and Siegel also list a number of official contexts, schooling, interpreter training, legal cases where Kriol is now used. However, problems with the status of Kriol and indeed Torres Strait Broken remain. Their speakers continue to see attempts to use these languages more widely as either a plan to condemn the Indigenous community to permanent underclass status (Eades and Siegel 1999: 266), or as giving strength to a dangerous competitor which threatens the traditional Indigenous languages.

Pidgins and Creoles elsewhere in the Pacific

A common denominator in the lack of status of the languages just mentioned is that they are spoken in countries where English has been the official language since the beginning of colonization. The situation is quite different in Papua New Guinea (particularly in former German New Guinea) and the British French co-dominion of Vanuatu, formerly New Hebrides.

Both the Germans and the French took Melanesian Pidgin English to be a foreign language separate from English. They were keen to keep or even increase the differences between English and Pidgin English to avoid a situation where the presence of Pidgin English could lead to a take-over by the British or Australian government. Tolerance towards Pidgin English thus can be taken as a kind of indirect status planning: the language was tolerated because it was not English. At the same time both the French and German colonizers tried to restrict access to acrolectal English (mainly by controlling missions and government schools) for the Indigenous population. There was thus little opportunity for the development of a post Pidgin or post Creole continuum.

Note, that German tolerance of Pidgin English contrasts with mainly negative attitudes towards Pidgin German and Creole German (*Unserdeutsch*) during German colonial administration. The negative status of these two languages was upheld by both governments and churches, and neither language was used in any official business. *Unserdeutsch* and the various Pidgin varieties of German did not receive any recognition during Australia's administration of former New Guinea. Similarly, a Pidgin German documented by Clyne (1975) amongst southern European migrants who had previously worked in Germany never attained any status.

Whilst the Germans found the use of Tok Pisin in the courts, public proclamations and village administration essential, explicit status planning for Tok Pisin occurred only after the end of German control. The main impetus both for raising the status of Tok Pisin and for instigating corpus planning came from the Catholic Church (a policy accepted by the other main mission body, the Lutheran Church only in the 1960s). The status of Tok Pisin, as the title of Höltker's article of 1945

suggests, was that of a *sprachliches Missionsmittel*, a linguistic means for missionary work, but not a *Missionssprache*, a mission language.

Like Unserdeutsch, the Petjo language or Creole Dutch developed in an orphanage and never gained any official recognition or support. After Indonesia's independence it lost what little unofficial status it had in the community (see van Rheedeen 1995).

The fact that the plantation economy in Vanuatu was dominated by the French promoted isolation of Bislama from English. Unlike the extensive borrowing from German into Tok Pisin (probably a deliberate policy), in the case of Bislama borrowing occurred mainly from substratum languages.

Status elevation of Bislama involved first the church, from about 1960, and subsequently the state (excluding the education system). The Presbyterian Church, which had informally used Bislama for a long time, began to use it for taking minutes and for publishing the Four Gospels. The Anglican Church, which had engaged in a strict anti-Bislama policy since the 1860s became part of the New Testament translation which appeared in 1980, the year Bislama was declared the national language of the National Republic of Vanuatu.

3. Corpus planning

Corpus planning involves the following activities:

- standardization – creating a unified linguistic model
- modernization – introduction of Western (i.e., non-traditional) concepts
- graphization – systematic ways of writing the language

It is true that individuals from time to time have suggested lexical additions and ways of developing a writing system. However, in the absence of a clear status for a language, these efforts have remained largely irrelevant, and the history of Pacific Pidgins and Creoles is full of proposals that never achieved more than a very limited local acceptance.

Standardization has three facets:

- a. naming and locating languages in the geographical and political space,
- b. the selection of a standard variety, and
- c. codification of grammar and lexicon of a chosen variety.

Forms of contact English are spoken all over the Pacific but (as shown in Wurm *et al.* 1996) until recently very few of them were recognized by either linguists or their speakers as languages, and very few of them were named. Of course the very nature

of Pidgin languages is that they are unbounded phenomena used across cultures and boundaries. They are liable to diffuse and shrink as communicative requirements change.

Language planning and standardization, on the other hand, are often predicated on the assumption that language boundaries coincide with political boundaries, and it is interesting to note that status elevation of a Pidgin typically involves locating it within the political boundaries of a nation state or colony, and naming it. Thus a distinction is made between Torres Strait Broken and Papuan Pidgin English, although Kiwai Island and Daru in Papua were part of a single communication area where Pidgin English has been widely used. As yet, no transnational standards have been recognized and even where there are excellent linguistic and sociohistorical reasons, such as in the case of Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands, political boundaries have remained the factor determining the number of standards chosen.

As regards naming, one can note a progression from Hall's earlier formula, "location (Pidgin, Creole) lexifier language" (e.g., Chinese Pidgin English, Rabaul Creole German) to the use of proper names such as Kriol, Broken, Unserdeutsch, Bislama etc. Having proper names further reifies ways of speaking into distinct languages. Finding a name for a language can be a long drawn out process as one can see from the example of Tok Pisin: the language was known as Pidgin English or New Guinea Pidgin English to linguists, as Tok Boi (the language of Indigenous people in European employment) by the expatriate community, and it was labelled Neo-Melanesian by Hall in an attempt to enhance the status of the language. A lively debate as to an appropriate name took place at the first Tok Pisin Language Congress in 1973 (with suggestions such as New Guinean or Kumula; the latter derived from Kumul, bird of paradise), but eventually the name Tok Pisin was adopted by the Government of independent Papua New Guinea as its official designation. Naming and locating languages is a necessary but not sufficient condition for standardization. The selection of a standard variety or, in the absence of a suitable existing form of speech, the creation of such a standard variety is needed. In many instances standards developed by default, such as when the variety prevalent at a certain mission station was promoted as the standard for a whole area. In more recent times, standards have been selected deliberately by language planners to signal the *Abstand* of a Pidgin or Creole from its lexifier language. It is rural, conservative and traditional forms of Pidgins and Creoles rather than the urban, superstrate-influenced ones that are currently favoured.

Standardization is seen as an instrument to achieve both the objectives of a means of signalling identity, and that of performing a range of practical tasks in teaching and writing the language. Again, I shall consider how the corpus planning dimension of standardization manifests itself in a number of individual languages.

It is in the nature of Pidgin and Creole languages to be highly variable in pronunciation and grammar, though such variability rarely affects mutual intelligibility. In the traditional context of plantation labour, mining and village administration, the absence was rarely felt to be a problem. The driving force for standardization tended to be Christian missions who needed agreed on doctrinal terminology and a uniform way of representing the language in their numerous publications. Standardization of the spoken varieties occurred when local speakers began to see these languages as markers of identity. From the 1920s onwards one can observe signs that a distinction is made by Solomon Islanders and Papua New Guineans between their own form of Pidgin English and the Broken English (Tok Masta) of the European colonizers. From that time Pidgin English changed from a means of vertical communication between Europeans and local people to a means of horizontal communication used predominantly by among locals.

Here follow some observations about the development of standards in a selection of these languages.

Chinese Pidgin English

Chinese Pidgin English is unique among the Pidgins and Creoles of the area in that it was learnt typically from written documents, sometimes called “chapbooks”. A representative text is the edition of c. 1835 (anon. *Hung maou tung yang hwa*; no place of publication or publisher known). This book represents Pidgin English entirely in Chinese characters which indicated how Pidgin English words are to be pronounced. Thus three characters represent Cantonese *ts' oī* (‘cut a pattern’), *fūng* (‘sew’) and *kwaí* (‘devil’), interpretable collectively as ‘tailor’. This semantic explication is followed by three characters which represent Cantonese *te* (‘father’), *lè*, (‘emphasis’) and *man* (‘coin’). It is, however, their combined pronunciation which approximates to the Chinese Pidgin English word *tailorman* ‘tailor’ (see Baker and Mühlhäusler 1990).

The fact that the author of this book was Cantonese promoted the variety spoken in southern China as the basis for a standard written Chinese Pidgin English. By the same token, Chinese characters are pronounced differently by different groups which led to pronunciation changes such as that from *me* to *my* for the first person pronoun.

Kriol

The development of a standard Kriol is to a large extent due to the work of John Sandefur (see Sandefur 1986) and other S.I.L. (Summer Institute of Linguistics) missionaries, and it was very much their efforts that created the conception that

varieties of Pidgin English and Creole spoken all over northern Australia were really part of the same language. The standard variety chosen for the Bible translation is possibly closest to the language spoken around Roper River (Ngukurr) in the Northern Territory but also involves a number of planning decisions as to how to bring about a coherent language.

The use of language in education required a certain amount of modernization, in the sense of introducing non-traditional concepts to be used in school and church. Some of these suggested concepts can be found in J. R. and J. Sandefur (1979); such as, for example: *daboltok* 'reduplicated word', *hambeige* 'hamburger', *megajin* 'magazine', *mesika* 'massacre', *perashut* 'parachute', *priskul* 'preschool', *sebra* 'zebra'. These examples also illustrate the writing system for Creole, adopted by S.I.L. in 1976. It is a quasi-phonemic representation and emphasizes the distance between Kriol and English. In spite of very considerable church support neither standardization nor modernization, nor the writing system chosen enjoy support in the speech community as planning activities for Kriol constitute, as Rhydwen (1993) has put it, an instance of "writing on the back of the blacks", i.e., of making decisions about Indigenous literacy without properly consulting the communities affected by such decisions.

Tok Pisin

Of all the Pidgin and Creole languages in the Pacific, Tok Pisin has both the longest history of language planning and the widest range of involvement in the process. Standardization proceeded in a number of stages, beginning with the development of a number of varieties for mission purposes from the 1920s. Initially, there was no wish to develop a single standard, as the missions competed against one another and the policy to use a variety that differed in grammar, lexicon and spelling from other varieties was upheld into the 1980s by the South Seas Evangelical Mission. The various written standards published by different missions (Alexishafen, Vunapope and Rabaul) in the 1930s and 1940s are illustrated in Baker (1976: 330–332) with translations of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments.

Whilst the missions could not agree on a single standard, the Australian administration of the U. N. mandate of New Guinea tried to develop its own standards following the gradual elevation of Tok Pisin to a language of administration and education in post-war years. Their attempts were initially blocked by a U. N. decision of 1953 which was framed in the following words (quoted from Hall 1955b: 101):

Melanesian Pidgin is not only not suitable as a medium of instruction, but has characteristics derived from the circumstances in which it was invented which

reflect now outmoded concepts of relationship between indigenous inhabitants and immigrant groups.

Two years later this objection was conveniently forgotten and the administration decided to take serious official steps towards standardization and the development of a spelling system on the understanding that teaching Tok Pisin was an interim solution towards making English the universal language of the territory. The new orthography was based on Hall's proposals (1955a) and was developed by a number of linguists, including Dietz and Luzbetak. Wurm (1985: 171) reports:

However, Dietz and Luzbetak succeeded in devising a new Tok Pisin orthography which was reflecting essentially the pronunciation of Tok Pisin by indigenous speakers using the variety of Tok Pisin as encountered in northern coastal areas of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea with the form met at Madang given the greatest consideration. The orthography was not entirely based on the phonemic structure of Tok Pisin as represented by its northern coastal variety ...

This proposed orthography and spelling system received approval from the Director of Education and the Administrator of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, and was also approved by the Minister for Territories in Canberra. Subsequently, it was decreed to constitute the standard Tok Pisin orthography in an official publication issued by the Department of Education (Department of Education 1956) and was used, with a few minor changes, in Mihalic's Tok Pisin grammar and dictionary which was published a year later (Mihalic 1957).

Mihalic's reference work became the default standard as regards lexicon and grammar, a situation that remains to date. That the choice of rural Madang as the base of standardization was a felicitous one was confirmed by the first Tok Pisin Congress held at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1973 (a detailed account of which is given in Wurm 1993). The participants of the Congress (academics, church and government representatives) agreed on a number of principles, including:

- a. The need for a standardized written form of Pidgin which will be intelligible in all parts of the country. This would probably begin by drawing heavily on RURAL Pidgin. At the same time, it would be necessary to take into account the developing URBAN Pidgin and the probability that it will become increasingly important.
- b. The need to avoid English as the sole source of innovations into Pidgin and more especially the need to guard against the anglicization of the STRUCTURE of Pidgin (Wurm 1993).

The rural variety selected remained that of the Madang area, one of the oldest Tok Pisin speaking areas and one with a long tradition of education and publication in the language. With the selection of a standard variety and spelling issues having

been decided on, other questions of standardization remained to be addressed, in particular that of lexical modernization. Haugen (1966: 62ff) considered the following criteria for proposing changes and innovations in a standard variety.

- a. Referential adequacy: this refers to “the capacity of the language to meet the needs of its users as an instrument of referential meaning” (Haugen 1966: 62).
- b. Systematic adequacy: this means that the lexicon should be a structured system approaching maximum economy and efficiency. A highly developed derivational lexicon is the principal source of systematic adequacy.
- c. Acceptability: this means that “a form must be adopted or adoptable by the lead of whatever society or sub-society is involved” (Haugen 1966: 64).

Referential adequacy was an important issue, given the rapid expansion of Tok Pisin into new domains and functions. There had been some early missionary attempts to create expressions that make the language suitable as a mission language, for instance, a list of doctrinal terms produced by the missionary Kutscher (no date) in the 1930s for the Catholic Church, many of which made their way into Mihalic (1957). Kutscher’s list shows that agreement on single terms had not been achieved in all instances, e.g., ‘baptism’ *baptismo*, *sakramento bolong vasim*, ‘heaven’ *heven*, *ples-antop*. It also demonstrates the attempt of missionaries to impose their views through language use, for instance, in their choice of *kilim bel* ‘kill belly’ for abortion, instead of the already established more neutral term *rausim bel* ‘remove belly’.

Systematic efforts to increase the referential power of Tok Pisin in the domains of education, medical services, agricultural services and so forth did not take place until much later and their absence caused considerable problems in some areas for instance in agriculture. The agricultural officer Scott (1977) provides an interesting account:

The attitude of expatriates towards the agricultural production methods, product and techniques of the indigenous farmer was one of utility and not education. Except in isolated instances, the expatriates were not concerned with the indigenous viewpoint and therefore limited the development of agricultural terminology to the naming and description of crops, tools etc.
 ...The language of agriculture thus grew around the needs of the expatriates as they saw them, and around the felt needs of the indigene whose horizons were limited by what the expatriates wished to teach him — and this was very little (Scott 1977: 724).

With the arrival of self government and the adoption of Tok Pisin as the language of the House of Assembly in 1967, its chief translator, Hull, was charged with the task of upgrading Tok Pisin’s political vocabulary. He reports:

Last year I translated the Standing Orders of the House into Pidgin. It took a long time and a lot of thought but was not so difficult. I had to introduce about fifty new words or phrases but, with the aid of a short glossary at the beginning of the Orders, these new words cause little problem to the reader (Hull 1968: 23).

Much of the planning was carried out at the University of Papua New Guinea, for instance, in a series of workshops undertaken by Lynch (1975) where new terms for mathematics, environmental matters, grammar and other domains were proposed. Examples from the list of environmental terms include:

environment	<i>nabaut</i>	‘around’
pollute, contaminate	<i>spolim nabaut</i>	‘spoil what is around’
protect environment	<i>lukautim nabout</i>	‘look after’
conservation	<i>holimpas nabaut</i>	‘hold on to the environment’
restore, restoration	<i>stretim bek</i>	‘straight again’
park	<i>bus holimpas</i>	‘forest hold on to’
reserve	<i>animol holimpas</i>	‘animal hold on to’

This list demonstrates some of the difficulties of terminological standardization. The choice of *nabaut* for ‘environment’ perpetuates the expatriate view of the separation between people and their environment around them, and the term *holimpas* pays no attention to the fact that this word is ambiguous in Tok Pisin, meaning both ‘to hold tight’ and ‘to rape’.

Whilst Lynch prepared his proposals in consultation with numerous local speakers, another academic, Bálint (1973), made a much less impressive authoritarian, but hardly authoritative, effort to increase Tok Pisin’s referential power (discussed in Mühlhäusler 1985b: 640ff). Most noticeable about Balint’s proposal was that he did not establish what lexical resources were already in existence. Instead he introduced a number of superfluous duplications such as: *tep* ‘tap’ for *ki bilong wara*, or *pen* ‘pants’ for *pens*, and chess terms such as:

<i>English</i>	<i>Bálint 1969</i>	<i>Terms in general use among chess players</i>
King	<i>king</i>	<i>king, masta</i>
Queen	<i>kuin</i>	<i>kwin, misis</i>
Bishop	<i>bishop</i>	<i>roket</i>
Knight	<i>hos soldia</i>	<i>hos</i>
Castle	<i>kasel</i>	<i>ambrela</i>
Pawn	<i>pon</i>	<i>soldia</i>

Regarding Haugen’s criterion of systematic adequacy the 1973 Congress recorded that internal word formation devices, rather than borrowing, should be used when deciding new terms. A full account of these devices can be found in my Ph.D. of

1976 (published as Mühlhäusler 1979), and Lynch adopted the Congress proposals for his workshops which were held at the University of Papua New Guinea. However, Smith (2002: 105ff) comments on the fact that borrowing from English continues to be more important than the use of internal word formation devices. In the absence of any official language planning agency this will result in a decline in systematic adequacy and the language will become lexically irregular and increasingly closer to English.

Concern for social adequacy initially meant the removal by the missions of obscene and blasphemous expressions, and their replacement by euphemisms. Immediately before independence, the Australian government proscribed the use of a range of expressions that conveyed ideas of racial inequality such as *masta* 'European male', *boi* 'Indigenous male' or *kanaka* 'uneducated native'.³ The main issue, however, remained that of having a language that can be understood by the whole population rather than an educated elite. The decision to base standard Tok Pisin on the rural Madang Province variety was motivated by this wish. Whereas speakers of anglicized urban varieties can understand conservative rural Tok Pisin, the reverse is not necessarily the case, and the increase of borrowing from English continues to sustain the divide between those who have had an English language education and those who did not, though further research is required in this area. It is the absence of any official agency that makes it difficult to maximise the use of this designated national language. As Smith (2002: 21) has remarked:

The predominant attitude of successive governments in independent Papua New Guinea to the development of Tok Pisin has been one of *laissez-faire*. Official government communications in Tok Pisin are notorious for their variable and non-standard form, and no institution such as a national language planning institute is currently on the horizon. The mission standards previously mentioned are likely to be more influential in standardizing the language in the absence of official policy decisions.

One can agree with Smith's conclusions (2002: 214):

The findings are also relevant to the issue of language planning. The question of standardization will need to be addressed sooner or later if Tok Pisin is to have a greater formal role in education and development. The authors of the major standard that have been adopted, such as those of religious publications, have done a careful and conscientious job with planning and standardization, but not all widely disseminated information in Tok Pisin has been so successful or well thought out. A major shortcoming affecting even the better publications is a lack of knowledge about the acceptability of the various linguistic choices to Tok Pisin speakers in different regional locations, and this too, needs further investigation.

Bislama

The situation in Vanuatu is reminiscent of that in Papua New Guinea, though planning and standardization emerged as issues many years later. The translation of the New Testament into Bislama in 1980 demonstrates the feasibility and usefulness of standardized forms, but subsequent governments have been reluctant to address the wider issues, in spite of the availability of Camden's Bislama-English Dictionary (1977), a work comparable in scope and importance for standardization to Mihalic's (1957) Tok Pisin Dictionary. Crowley's (1990) dictionary also features a badly needed English-Bislama section. As Thomas (1990) points out, the two post independence Language Planning conferences were concerned mainly with status planning matters and for a long time the information about regional and social varieties of Bislama needed for an audit and corpus planning was lacking. This gap has gradually been filled by publications such as Crowley's 1990 monograph (dealing with Bislama as an emergent national language) and with a volume of variation by Tryon and Charpentier to appear in 2002. As in Papua New Guinea, corpus planning has been carried out at the university level by academics on whose initiative a *Komiti Belong Bislama* ('Committee for Bislama') was set up in 1986, as were a number of unofficial bodies afterwards. The latest update is that of Crowley (2001: 98):

Although these suggestions and recommendations are not necessarily all along exactly the same lines, it is no exaggeration to state that to date nothing has ever followed from any of these suggestions in terms of legislation, or indeed any kind of government-sanctioned policy statements for implementation, with the exception of recent moves in the direction of setting up a programme of initial vernacular education (as mentioned in Language Spread).

The closest to any *de jure* language policy from government is what follows directly from what is contained in the constitution. The principal languages of education currently are English and French, while English, French and Bislama have a variety of official functions, with Bislama functioning as a kind of pseudo-national language to allow people to avoid making a politically divisive choice between English and French.

Bislama remains the only official language in the world whose use in education is prohibited. Crowley (2001: 99) comments:

Use of Bislama as a medium of initial education is likely not to be accepted by most parents and Charpentier (1999) even goes so far as to predict major public demonstrations if Bislama were to be adopted as a medium of instruction over vernaculars. Siegel (1996b) writes more encouragingly of the potential for Bislama as a language of formal education, but until public attitudes towards the language change significantly it is likely that the role of Bislama as a language of instruction will be primarily in the non-formal sector or in the area of adult literacy.

In the absence of any authority in charge of standardization, spelling varies greatly, the language is heavily dependent on English for modernization and its status remains ambivalent.

Standardization of Melanesian Pidgin: General remarks

One of the central issues facing those in the business of standardizing Tok Pisin and Bislama is that the two languages together with Solomon Pijin, Kanaka English and a range of smaller Pidgins are essentially the same language, in the sense that there is a large degree of mutual intelligibility, shared basic lexicon grammar and numerous historical links. As Kloss (1978) has emphasized throughout his book on neo-Germanic cultural languages, language planners need to consider not only questions of *Ausbau* (elaboration, modernization), but also questions of *Abstand*, i.e. the distance between languages which can be increased by deliberately emphasizing differences between varieties. There have been many calls from linguists for a joint standard Melanesian Pidgin English; an agreement to this effect would help solve the economic costs of any standardization body for small languages and it would promote joint cooperation between the three Melanesian states. The availability of a shared written standard and an official lexicon does not preclude the continuation of dialectal variants in spoken discourse.

Pitcairn/Norfolk

Whereas standardization for Tok Pisin and Bislama is driven by considerations of increasing the communicative efficiency of the three established lingua francas, in the case of Pitcairn and Norfolk the motif is preservation of a highly endangered contact language. The view that standardization can help to empower the language by making it suited to education and government purposes has much to go for it. However, what Smith (2000) has noted for Tok Pisin, i.e. the lack of solid information about the language and its use, is even more in evidence in the case of Pitcairn/Norfolk. As already observed, most planning in the past was entirely negative: the object of educationalists and social planners was to replace Pitcairn/Norfolk with Standard English. This policy was shared by consecutive missions and governments. Recent attempts to raise the status of the language have been the efforts of concerned individuals rather than of official policy makers.

The introduction of a small amount of Norfolk language teaching in the year 2000 is unlikely to have a great impact on the well-being of the language unless there is a proper audit of its current state of health and a resolution of a number of issues outlined in Mühlhäusler (2002). These include:

- a. a decision whether Pitcairn/Norfolk should be treated as one language or two,
- b. a decision regarding the status of the language (co-official, heritage language or whatever) and its name (Norfolk, Pitcairn-Norfolk, Norfolkese, Norfuk),
- c. the setting up of a body concerned with standardization of lexicon, grammar and writing.

In this connection an earlier attempt to develop a spelling system for the language needs to be examined. In the late 1980s, Ms Buffett, an islander, with the help of D. C. Laycock of the Australian National University produced a brochure titled *Speak Norfolk Today* (1988) with the aim of producing a system for writing down the language. The authors deliberately refrained from developing a prescriptive standard system and did not commit themselves as to what form of Norfolk should be the basis of a possible standard spelling system. They write:

The spelling system used in this book was devised by the authors, in consultation with other Norfolk Islanders specifically for the purpose of providing a consistent way of writing Norfolk.

The system is entirely phonetic, and can handle any Norfolk word, or any English word used in Norfolk — especially if it is pronounced in the Norfolk way. However it is not *prescriptive* — that is it does not lay down the exact way any Norfolk word should be spelled. Many words differ in pronunciation among the Islanders, and this system allows people to spell the words as they sound to them. As the spelling system comes to be more widely used, however, it is likely that certain spellings will prevail over others, and become the standard. Until such time, however, this book will serve as a useful model and reference (Buffett and Laycock 1988: 74).

The needs of the education system and other areas of use in the community are not fully served by this, and there has been a sustained debate about the merits of the proposed system. Buffett's new addition (1999) of a lexicon to the original handbook has not solved all of the problems, nor has she proposed any criteria for modernizing the language lexically; at the moment the language has few materials that would make introduction into the schools realistic. The hope that the spelling system would lead to greater writing activity has not been fulfilled and the small number of writings produced in Norfolk continue to employ non-standard spelling.

There appears to be a growing wish among educators and community members to select a form of the language that is maximally different from English. This view is supported by Siegel (1993: 306), and would appear to be a more realistic way of using a language lexically related to English in the classroom side by side with English than previous attempts to encourage transitional bilingualism by fudging the languages.

4. Conclusion

Language planning and standardization is portrayed as a solution to a range of problems. In the case of the Pacific, the exact nature of these problems often remains unclear and this ultimately may be a reason why there have been so many contradictive developments and so many failures. Hall (1972: 144) observed:

The problems connected with the establishment of a standard language are of three kinds: the choice of a variety to be preferred above others; the areas of human activity in which it is to be used; and the achievement of recognition of the new standard.

He adds that “the definitive seal of approval as a fully recognized standard is dependent on the use of a language in two functions: fully official (governmental) and belletristic” (ibid.: 150).

None of the languages surveyed has attained the goals set by Hall: even where official status has been granted, such as in the case of Tok Pisin and Bislama, it does not always mean fully official, that is, as the language of political government as well as of education, and its regular use in important domains and functions. As regards literary production, a small body of writings has emerged in Tok Pisin, Bislama, Norfolk and Hawai‘ian Pidgin, but much of it continues to be written in an orthography that appeals to English speakers (often tourists) and the Indigenous readership remains small. Most written work continues to be Bible translations and religious materials written by expatriates, a phenomenon deplored by Lynch (1979) who refers to it as “baibel, sing sing, no mor”.

A continuing theme of this paper has been the question of the linguistic distance between English and English-derived Pidgins and Creoles. Policy makers have differed in both their assessment and in their recommendations. Traditionally, their recommendations were aimed at narrowing the gap between the systems and at encouraging a transition to Standard English. Mihalic’s (1957) dictionary was originally conceived for this purpose, as were the policies of the Kanaka Mission in Queensland. The belief that a transition to English can be made is powerful in the case of the Northern Australian Creoles and in the Solomons. Planning for *Abstand* is of recent origin and thus far restricted mainly to Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu, though the issue is currently being debated by the speakers of Norfolk.

All of these issues, as Hall (1972: 144) points out, have been debated and resolved in Western Europe where the emergence of standards for national languages took several centuries. By contrast, the development of standard Pidgin and Creole occupies just a few decades. As Hall observes:

In the sudden twentieth-century acceleration of the development of new standards, however, these problems present themselves all at once, calling for immedi-

ate resolution even when, as in some instances, not all the relevant factors are known or have reached a definitive condition. (Hall *ibid.*).

It should not come as a surprise that few of the issues of standardization have been resolved and the availability of official standards does not mean that they are actually employed. Ultimately, we are dealing with a political and economic issue: the political will to accept Pidgins and Creoles as full languages is still not widely encountered, and large international bodies continue to treat Pidgins and Creoles as socially inferior languages by accepting, for instance, that the decline of lots of Pidgins and Creoles is a phenomenon far less serious than the loss of traditional Indigenous vernaculars. Funds to implement development of Pacific Pidgins and Creoles remain very limited, and so do the policies that would induce people to learn Pidgins and Creoles for instrumental reasons. Without standardization the usefulness of varieties such as Bislama or Tok Pisin as languages of modernization and employment is diminished. This could lead to a gradual disintegration and replacement with Standard English, bringing to fruition the linguistic plan of Bishop Selwyn, head of the Melanesian Mission in the 1870s, that English “would some day occupy in the islands a position analogous to Latin in medieval Europe” (Davidson and Scarr 1970: 193).

For more than a century, the Pidgins and Creoles of the region have been held in contempt by those in power and their value as resources for intercommunication, nation building and education has been grossly under-exploited. The negative policies towards most of these languages have frequently been internalized by their speakers. The failure to make them resources has had many negative side effects; not least that it has probably accelerated the loss of local vernaculars. As Bradley and Bradley (2002: xvi) have observed:

While other creoles, like Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin and Kriol of northern Australia, are endangering many indigenous languages in the region, such creoles are themselves in turn threatened by decreolization towards or replacement by English, as is Norfolk creole.

Whether standardization at this late stage can help prevent the decline of Pidgins and Creoles of the area and promote a more positive role for them in maintaining its linguistic diversity remains to be seen.

Notes

1. The distinction between Hawai’ian Pidgin and Hawai’ian Creole is difficult to draw, and the language continues to be referred to as Pidgin generations after it has been creolised. A distinction between Hawai’ian Pidgin English and Creole English is made by scholars such as Bickerton in the discussion technical issues.

2. Hiri trade language was used on annual voyages from the Port Moresby region of Papua to the Elema and Koriki regions in the Papuan Gulf. The trade commodities included pottery and sago. Dutton (1985) provides sketches of the varieties.
3. The word *kanaka* is derived from a Polynesian form for ‘man, human being’. It is first documented for Pidgin English in Hawai’i in 1794 and in Melanesian Pidgin English in New Caledonia in 1864. The first record for its use in Tok Pisin dates to 1884. The word has undergone a number of semantic changes in different varieties. It has experienced pejoration in Tok Pisin where it means ‘uneducated, uncivilized person’; it has remained a neutral descriptor in Queensland Kanaka Pidgin (= person of South Seas origin) and in New Caledonia it has become a label of pride, used by the nationalists of the Canaque liberation. In guestworker German of contemporary Germany it is a racial slur (*die Kanaken*, i.e. Turkish, North African guest workers).

References

- Baker, P. and Mühlhäusler, P. 1990. “From business to Pidgin”. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 1(1): 87–115.
- Baker, S. J. 1976. *The Australian Language*. Melbourne: Sun Books.
- Baldauf, R., B. Jr. and Luke, A. (eds). 1990. *Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bálint, A. 1973. “Towards an encyclopedic dictionary of Nuginian”. *Kivung* 6(1):1–31.
- Bradley, D. and Bradley, M. 2002. *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance*. London: Routledge.
- Bright, W. (ed.) 1966. *Sociolinguistics; Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Buffett, A. and Laycock, D. C. 1988. *Speak Norfolk Today*. Norfolk Island: Himii Publishing Company.
- Buffett, A. I. 1999. *Speak Norfolk Today: An encyclopaedia of the Norfolk Island language*. Norfolk Island: Himii Publishing Company.
- Byrne, F. and Holm, J. (eds) 1993. *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of pidginization and creolization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Camden, W. C. 1977. *A Descriptive Dictionary: Bislama to English*. Vila: Maropa.
- Charpentier, J.-M. and Tryon, D. T. 1982. “Functions of Bislama in the New Hebrides and in Independent Vanuatu”. *English World-Wide* 3: 146–60.
- Charpentier, J.-M. 1997. “Literacy in a pidgin vernacular”. In *Vernacular Literacy: A re-evaluation*, A. Tabouret-Keller, R. B. Le Page, P. Gardner-Chloros and G. Varro (eds), 222–245. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Charpentier, J.-M. 1999. Criticisms and Proposals Concerning the ‘Master Plan’. Unpublished report to the Minister of Education (Republic of Vanuatu).
- Clyne, M. 1975. “German and English working Pidgins”. *Linguistic Communications* 13:1–20.
- Crowley, T. 1990. *Beach-la-Mar to Bislama: The emergence of a national language in Vanuatu*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Crowley, T. 1990. *An Illustrated Bislama-English and English-Bislama Dictionary*. Vila: Pacific Languages Unit, University of the South Pacific.
- Crowley, T. 2000. "The language situation in Vanuatu". *Current Issues in Language Planning* 1(1): 47–132.
- Davidson, S. W. and Scarr, D. (eds). 1970. *Pacific Island Portraits*. Canberra: The Australian National University Press.
- Dutton, T. E., 1980. *Queensland Canefields English in the late Nineteenth Century*. (Pacific Linguistics D-29). Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Dutton, T. E. and Mühlhäusler, P. 1983. "Queensland Kanaka English". *English World Wide* 4 (2): 231–264.
- Dutton, T. E. 1985. *Police Motu: Iena Sivarai (its story)*. University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- Eades, D. and Siegel, J. 1999. "Changing Attitudes towards Australian Creoles and Aboriginal English". In *Creole Genesis, Attitudes and Discourse; Studies Celebrating Charlene J. Sato*, J. R. Rickford and S. Romaine (eds), 265–278. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fishman, J. A. (ed.), 1993. *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The "First Congress" phenomenon*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hall, R. A. Jr. 1955a. *A Standard Orthography and List of Suggested Spellings for Neo-Melanesian*. Port Moresby: Department of Education.
- Hall, R. A. Jr. 1955b. *Hands off Pidgin English!* Sydney: Pacific Publications.
- Hall, R. A. Jr. 1972. "Pidgins and Creoles as standard languages". *Sociolinguistics: Selected readings*, J. B. Pride, and J. Holmes (eds), 142–153. Penguin: Harmondsworth.
- Harris, J. W. 1986. *Northern Territory Pidgins and the Origin of Kriol*. (Pacific Linguistics C-89). Canberra: The Australian University Press.
- Haugen, E. 1966. "Linguistics and language planning". In *Sociolinguistics. Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964*, W. Bright (ed.), 50–71. The Hague: Mouton.
- Hull, B. 1968. "The use of Pidgin in the House of Assembly". *Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society* 2(1): 22–25.
- Höltker, G. 1945. "Das Pidgin-Englisch als sprachliches Missionsmittel in Neuguinea". *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 1: 44–63.
- Kale, J. 1990. "Controllers or victims; language and education in the Torres Strait". In *Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific*, R. B. Baldauf and A. Luke (eds), 106–126. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kaplan, R. B. and Baldauf, R. B. Jr., 1997. *Language Planning From Practice to Theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Keesing, R. M. 1990. "Solomon's pijin; Colonial ideologies". In *Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific*, R. B. Baldauf and A. Luke (eds), 149–165. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kloss, H. 1978. *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800*. Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann.
- Kutscher, P. (no date). *Wörterbuch Deutsch-Pidgin-Englisch*. Vunapope, Rabaul: TS.
- Le Page, R. B. and Tabouret-Keller, A. 1985. *Acts of Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lo Bianco, J. 1987. *National Policy on Languages*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

- Lynch, J. 1975. "Expanding Tok Pisin vocabulary". In *Pidgins and Tok Pisin*, J. Lynch (ed.), 21–26. Waigani: UPNG.
- Lynch, J. 1979. *Church state and Language in Melanesia*. Inaugural lecture, University of Papua New Guinea.
- Mihalic, Rev. F. 1957. *Grammar and Dictionary of Neo-Melanesian*. Westmead, N. S. W.: Mission Press.
- Mihalic, Rev. F. 1990. "Obsolescence in the Tok Pisin vocabulary". In *Melanesian Pidgin and Tok Pisin*, J. W. M. Verhaar (ed.), 263–273. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1979. *Growth and Structure of the Lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin* (Pacific Linguistics: C-52). Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1985a. "External History of Tok Pisin". In *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)* (Pacific Linguistics C-70), S. A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler (eds), 35–64. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1985b. "The scientific study of Tok Pisin: Language planning and the Tok Pisin lexicon". In *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)* (Pacific Linguistics C-70), S. A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler (eds), 595–664. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1990. "Tok Pisin: Model or special case". In *Melanesian Pidgin and Tok Pisin*, J. W. M. Verhaar (ed.), 171–186. Amsterdam: John Benjamins .
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1996. *Linguistic Ecology*. London: Routledge.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1997. *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*. London: University of Westminster Press.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1998. "How Creoloid can you get?". *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 13(2): 355–371.
- Mühlhäusler, P. Forthcoming. "Pidgin English and the Melanesian Mission". *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 17(2).
- Mühlhäusler, P. 2002. "A Language Plan for Norfolk". In *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance*, D. Bradley and M. Bradley (eds), 167–181. London: Routledge.
- Pride, J. B. and Holmes, J. (eds) 1972. *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings*. Penguin: Harmondsworth.
- Reinecke, J. E. 1969. *Language and Dialect in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Rhydwen, M. 1993. Writing on the backs of the blacks; Literacy, Creole and Language change in the Northern Territory of Australia. Ph.D. thesis, University of Sydney.
- Rickford, J. R. and Romaine, S. (eds) 1999. *Creole Genesis, Attitudes and Discourse. Studies Celebrating Charlene J. Sato*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Robins, R. H. and Uhlenbeck, E. M. (eds) 1991. *Endangered Languages*. Oxford: Berg.
- Robinson, O. W. 1943. "The Case Against Pidgin". *Hawaii Educational Review* 31: 169–81.
- Romaine, S. (ed.). 1991. *Language in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Romaine, S. 1992. *Language Education and Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Romaine, S. 1993. "Changing Attitudes to Hawai'i Creole English: Fo' find one good job, you gotta know how fo' talk like one haole". In *Creole Genesis, Attitudes and Discourse; Studies Celebrating Charlene J. Sato*, J. R. Rickford and S. Romaine, (eds), 287–302. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sandefur, J. R. and Sandefur, J. L. 1979. *Beginnings of a Ngukurr-Bamyili Creole Dictionary*.

- Working Papers of SIL — AAB. Series B, volume four. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Sandefur, J. 1986. *Kriol of North Australia: A language coming of age*. Working Papers of SIL-AAB, Series A, volume ten. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Sandefur, J. 1991. "Kriol — The creation of a new language". In *Language in Australia*, S. Romaine (ed.), 204–212. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shnukal, A. 1991. "Torres Strait Creole". In *Language in Australia*, S. Romaine (ed.), 180–194. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scott, R. P. 1977. "New Guinea Pidgin teaching: Agricultural problems and Pidgin". In *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study: Language, Culture, Society, and the Modern World* (Pacific Linguistics C-40), S. A. Wurm (ed.), 723–732. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Siegel, J. 1993. "Pidgins and Creoles in education in Australia and the Southwest Pacific". In *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of Pidginization and Creolization*, F. Byrne and J. Holm (eds), 299–308. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Siegel, J. 1996. "The use of Melanesian Pidgin in education". In *Pacific Languages in Education*, F. Mugler and J. Lynch (eds), 155–174. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.
- Smith, G. P. 2002. *Growing up with Tok Pisin: Contact, creolization, and change in Papua New Guinea's National Language*. London: Battlebridge Publications.
- Sumbuk, K. M., 1993. "Is Tok Pisin a threat to sare?" In *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of Pidginization and Creolization*, F. Byrne and J. Holm (eds), 309–320. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thomas, A. 1990. "Language Planning in Vanuatu". In *Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific*, R. B. Baldauf and A. Luke (eds), 234–258. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Van Rheedem, H. 1995. *Het Petjo van Batavia: Ontstaan en structuur van de taal van de Indo's*. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam.
- Wurm, S. A. (ed.), 1977. *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study: Language, culture, society, and the modern world*. (Pacific Linguistics C-40). Canberra: Australian National University.
- Wurm, S. A. (ed.) 1979. *New Guinea and Neighboring Areas: A sociolinguistic laboratory*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Wurm, S. A. and Mühlhäusler, P. 1979. "Attitudes towards New Guinea Pidgin and English". In *New Guinea and Neighboring Areas: A sociolinguistic laboratory*, S. A. Wurm (ed.), 243–262. The Hague: Mouton.
- Wurm, S. A. 1985. "Writing systems and the Orthography of Tok Pisin". In *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, (Pacific Linguistics C-70), S. A. Wurm and P. Mühlhäusler (eds), 167–176. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Wurm, S. A. 1993. "The First Congress for Tok Pisin in 1973". In *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The "First Congress" Phenomenon*, Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), 257–270. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wurm, S. A., Mühlhäusler, P. and Tryon D. T. (eds.) 1996. *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Scots

Marina Dossena

University of Bergamo, Italy

Discussing the standardization of Scots may prove problematic — especially in non-specialist circles the word “standardization” is often taken to mean “anglicization”, though in fact the two processes are far from equivalent. Scots may be shown to have undergone a standardization process that, mainly owing to language-external factors, was disrupted by an increasingly forceful attempt at anglicization at a certain point in history. The aim of this chapter is to draw an outline of both processes — in particular, we shall try to highlight phases of convergence and divergence between them at different points in time and in different geo-sociological contexts.

1. The anglicization or the standardization of Scots?

Notes on the sociohistorical background

Throughout history Scotland has represented one of the most distinct cases of linguistic co-existence. Though a publication of the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* (Macleod and MacNacail 1995), focusing on Scots and Gaelic, describes Scotland as “a linguistic double helix”, the picture is, in fact, more complex. First of all, since Anglo-Norman times (McClure 1994: 30) a fundamental dichotomy has existed between two broad cultural categories defined by the geographical terms “Highland” and “Lowland”. The former remained Gaelic-speaking till relatively recently and the kind of English that is spoken in that area — usually called “Highland and Island English” (Shuken 1984 and 1985) — is close to Southern English both from the phonological and the morphosyntactic point of view.¹ At the same time, Gaelic has also influenced, to some extent, the vocabulary and syntax of Scots. In the Lowlands, on the other hand, the contact between, at first, Scottish and Northern English dialects across the border, and between more markedly Scots forms and Southern Standard English at a later stage, has been at

the basis of a rich and complex situation in which different varieties have often influenced one another.

It may thus be convenient to adopt a taxonomy of three groups of speakers of non-immigrant languages in Scotland: Scottish Gaelic (a Celtic language), Scots, and Scottish Standard English, considering that most speakers use two, and in some cases all three, of these languages. The issue of terminology is indeed crucial, as a superficial identification of Scots with Scottish Standard English might lead to the assumption that phonological, syntactic or morphological features of one are totally shared by the other, when in fact mutual influences have allowed both languages to develop in a unique way. When sociolinguistic considerations are discussed, however, the concept of a Scots/ Scottish Standard English continuum can be very useful as the use of Scots as opposed to Scottish Standard English may be indexical of local identity and/or social solidarity (see below; also cf. Dossena 1996).

As regards Scots, the first sources date from the seventh century and are based on the Old English of the Kingdom of Bernicia and the Scandinavian-influenced English of immigrants from Northern England. One of the earliest labels for the Scots language was actually *Inglis* (thus making no distinction between the two varieties of Old English that had been developing), as opposed to *Irish*, that designated Gaelic. It was only in 1494 that the use of *Scottis* was recorded for the first time in Adam Loutfut's writings (McClure 1981/1995: 44; Romaine 1982: 57), while Gavin Douglas seems to have been "the first major writer to make a point of insisting on the independent status of "Scottis" as compared to "Inglis" (McClure 1994: 32) some twenty years later.² Indeed, the political overtones of both labels actually emerge in the General Prologue to *Eneados* (1513), in which Douglas stresses the distinction between *Scottis*, "our awin language", and the language of England which he calls *Inglis* or *Sudron*, the latter "having stronger negative connotations" as shown by the fact that "in Hary's *Wallace* the preferred name for the hero's opponents is *Southeron men* or *Southerons*" (McClure 1981/1995: 44, 50).³

In later times the convergence between Scots and English may be said to have gained momentum since the seventeenth century, as 1603, the year of the Union of Crowns, when James VI became James I of England and Scotland, is generally assumed to be one of the turning points in Scotland's linguistic history (the other being 1707, with the Union of Parliaments). In fact, it is always difficult to identify a precise point in time when language features (and the attitudes that speakers have towards their usage) actually change. The process is generally slow, complex and encompasses a period of time, the borders of which are hardly definable. However, in this case the historical incidence of these dates did have inevitable consequences on linguistic issues and the way in which commentators have approached them since then.

2. The standardization of Scots: Norm selection

Recent studies have shed new light on aspects of social and geographical variation within present-day and historical Scots by outlining traits which prove (or proved) distinctive in different areas and among speakers belonging to different strong- and weak-tie social networks (cf. Milroy 1992). To this, we should add that even within Scottish Standard English lexical and morphosyntactic features may vary, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in relation to numerous factors — for instance, Scots lexical items may be employed more or less frequently and/or more or less self-consciously by speakers of Scottish Standard English depending on psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic circumstances like type of interlocutor and/or topic, degree of familiarity conveyed, or indexicality of social identity.

In the following two sections these issues will be discussed separately — in the first we shall outline variation within Scots, while in the second the issue of occurrence and distribution of overt and covert Scotticisms in Scottish Standard English will be discussed, as the issue of norm-selection is settled in different ways in different sociolinguistic contexts.

Variation within Scots

It would be incorrect to assume that Scots is a monolithic entity — in fact, its various registers and dialects (Central Scots, Northeast Scots, and Southern Scots) appear to have developed along slightly different lines over the centuries, with the Northeast varieties maintaining distinctive phonological, lexical and morphosyntactic features for a longer period.

Nowadays, information on dialect distribution is available through the work carried out since the 1950s for the *Linguistic Survey of Scotland* at the University of Edinburgh, the results of which have been published in the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (Mather and Speitel 1975–86). The territory of Central Scots includes the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, thus having the highest number of speakers. The *Concise Scots Dictionary* (Robinson 1985–96) bases its distribution of dialect districts on work carried out for the *Scottish National Dictionary (SND)* (Grant and Murison 1931–76), and presents the following, more detailed, distribution:

- Insular Scots (Shetland and Orkney),
- Northern Scots (Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Inverness),
- North-East Scots (Nairn, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen and Buchan),
- East Mid Scots (Angus, Perthshire, Stirling, Fife and Kinross, Edinburgh, the Lothians, Berwick and Peebles),

- West Mid Scots (Dumbarton, Argyll, Bute, Renfrew, Glasgow, Lanark and north Ayr),
- South Mid Scots (south Ayr, Kirkcudbright, Galloway and west Dumfries),
- Southern Scots (Roxburgh, Selkirk, east and mid Dumfries)
- Ulster Scots.

The great amount of variation in Scots bears witness to its status as a complex supra-regional variety and not just a relatively uniform, local “dialect”. Indeed, all these dialects of Scots display distinctive features, although the broader distinction mentioned above is probably easier to recognize in general investigations. In particular, North-Eastern Scots (occasionally labelled Doric) is frequently discussed as a variety in itself due to its highly distinctive morphophonological traits. Ulster Scots is now gaining attention in scholarly circles as well, not least owing to its increasing socio-political importance.⁴

As regards urban varieties, such as Glaswegian, the issue of diatopic distribution is made more complex by the fact that such urban codes are often better described as sociolects, i.e. a more or less marked class connotation is attributed to them. Varieties in which Scots forms are more clearly identifiable may thus be associated with lower-class, less educated speakers — on the other hand, they may also be perceived to have greater covert prestige, being associated with friendliness, spontaneity, and a sense of local identity. As a result, speakers may (more or less subconsciously) adopt different forms of usage in relation to their interlocutors and the sociological context in which they operate, expressing greater psychological proximity or distance from either by means of their linguistic choices.

Variation within Scottish Standard English: overt and covert Scotticisms

Present-day usage on the part of Scottish speakers and writers might be discussed in terms of whether one code (Scots) or another (Scottish Standard English) is employed. However, this would oversimplify the picture, as specifically Scottish elements in a text or in discourse may and do occur with varying frequency even in cases in which the user appears to employ Southern Standard English.

The features of Scots generally present in Scottish Standard English lexis, syntax and morphology are labelled “Scotticisms” (Algeo 1989: 140–141). In the past this term was seriously pejorative: Aitken (1979) seems to be the first contemporary scholar to use the word without overloading it with the negative connotation it has had since its first appearance.⁵ According to Aitken (1979: 104–110; 1984: 105–108) speakers of Scottish Standard English may choose one item of vocabulary instead of another for stylistic or pragmatic purposes. As a result, Scots lexis and syntax may be employed unselfconsciously (*covert Scotticisms*) or deliberately (*overt Scotticisms*)

“for special stylistic effect”. However, the distinction between one category and the other is not always very clear, and different studies have put forward different views. Indeed, it is the users’ own socio-cultural background that determines how many Scots lexical items may be used (un)self-consciously, and the linguistic awareness deriving from this is employed differently in different contexts. In other words, what is an overt Scotticism for one speaker in a certain situation may easily be an unmarked choice for another speaker.

In general terms, however, at least basic distinctions may be made. First of all, it should be pointed out that lexical items pertaining to the legal system (like *advocate*), to religion (like *minister*) and to education are understandably unique in their cultural specificity, but also the language of folklore, music and popular tradition, as may be expected, provides instances of words (occasionally borrowed from Gaelic) that have no direct equivalent in English; for instance, this is the case of *Hogmanay* (‘New Year’s Eve’), *ceilidh* (‘a social gathering with music and dancing’) or *pibroch* (‘bagpipe music’). All these, though overt Scotticisms, are not normally used to convey any special stylistic effect *per se*. Others, instead, are more markedly “unusual”, and are normally found in contexts that emphasize the fact that they are non-standard, though they may also appear in Northern English. For instance, this is the case of *bonnie* (or *bonny*), often found in collocations that have become almost idiomatic (e.g. *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, Charles Edward Stuart). Among the items listed by Aitken (1979) for each category we find the following, to which McClure (1994: 86–87) added a few other lexical items, some (like *guisin*, i.e. visiting homes in disguise on Halloween) referring to the lore of children.

Covert Scotticisms may include lexical items such as *ashet* ‘large serving plate’, *bramble* ‘blackberry’, *burn* ‘brook’, *haar* ‘thick sea mist’, *pinkie* ‘little finger’, *rowan* ‘mountain ash’, *I doubt* ‘I think’, *don’t let on* ‘reveal by your actions’, *I’m away to my bed, a week on Sunday, the back of* ‘not long after’ *nine*; and phrases such as *and him an elder of the kirk too*, an example of a verbless subordinate clause expressing “surprise or indignation” (cf. Aitken 1992: 896). The category of overt Scotticisms includes lexical items and idiomatic forms like: *a dram* ‘a drink of whisky’, *bairns* ‘children’, *hame, hoose* ‘home, house’, *couthy* ‘homely’, *dreich* ‘dry, tedious’, *orra* ‘odd’, *peelie-wallie* ‘somewhat ill, sickly’, *thrang* ‘busy’, *wersh* ‘bitter or insipid’, *ken* ‘to know’, *aye* ‘yes’, *dinna* ‘don’t’.

In a later study Aitken (1992: 904–905) went beyond the distinction between covert and overt Scotticisms and identified:

1. words of original Scottish provenance used in the language at large for so long that few people think of them as Scottish English (e.g., *croon, eerie, uncanny, weird*);
2. words widely used or known and generally perceived to be Scottish (e.g., *clan, haggis, kilt*);

3. words that have some external currency but are used more in Scotland than elsewhere, many as covert Scotticisms (e.g., *bonnie, burn, Hogmanay*);
4. general words that have uses special to Scottish English and Scots (e.g., *astragal, stair, close* [noun]);
5. Scottish technical usages (e.g., *advocate, provost*);
6. colloquial words used and understood by all manner of Scots and by the middle class as overt Scotticisms (e.g., *braw, glaikit, scunnered*);
7. traditional Scots words occasionally introduced into Standard English contexts in the media and known to minorities (e.g., *bogle, makar, yestreen*).

Among these categories, number 1 seems particularly interesting because it acknowledges the full standardization of items that have maintained their semantic value while losing their diatopic specificity. In fact, this lexical category seems to have been generally neglected in previous studies on the interaction of Scots and English (see, however, Beal 1997 and Tulloch 1997). The same might apply to category number 4, which stresses the role of cultural connotation in lexical choices. In the other categories we find Gaelic items in number 2 and Scots cultural elements in number 5, while categories 3 and 6 recall the previous distinction between overt and covert Scotticisms.

Some elements in these classifications of Scotticisms actually refer to different grammatical patterns, and the most comprehensive account in this respect is offered by Miller (1993) in whose study discourse organization is also considered, for instance, underlining the frequency of cleft sentences such as *Where is it he works again?* (Miller 1993: 134, cf. also Miller and Brown 1982; Miller 1984; Kirk 1987). To the features that have been outlined so far we can add the use of diminutive forms, which, from the point of view of pragmatics, may cause the comparison between English and Scottish Standard English to prove particularly fruitful (cf. Dossena 1998a). So far scholars have pointed out the remarkable lack of diminutive forms in English, as opposed to more frequent occurrences in, for example, Scottish Standard English and Australian English (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994: 113).

In the above-mentioned studies the interaction of Scots and Scottish Standard English is constantly in the foreground, which appropriately emphasizes the close connection between the two languages. This becomes even clearer when samples of authentic speech are investigated and to this end the *Miller-Brown Corpus of Scottish English* is an especially valuable resource. This is a corpus of over 250,000 words collected in the late 1970s at the University of Edinburgh, Department of Linguistics (cf. Brown and Miller 1980). It is made up of dialogues (conversation, short narratives and jokes), and it clearly exemplifies the complex phenomena of

code-switching and code-mixing frequently observed in the usage of Scottish speakers (cf. Dossena 1996, 1998b).

3. The anglicization of Scots: Norm codification

Recent investigations (especially those based on the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* and other corpora, the compilation of some of which is in progress) have shown that the process of language standardization in Scots was not only in the direction of anglicization.⁶ There also were simultaneous trends of divergence (i.e., de-anglicization) between the two varieties, especially in the latter half of the sixteenth century (cf. Agutter 1988; Meurman-Solin 1997a: 12; Kniezsa 1997a, 1997b).⁷ In addition, some developments appear to have been faster in Older Scots than in Southern English, for instance, in the case of the modal auxiliaries *should* and *would* which were employed epistemically in Scots scientific texts at an earlier stage than in English (cf. Dossena 2001).

As regards the conditioning factors that determined a lower or higher number of distinctively Scottish features in non-literary text types, we find that geographical distribution of texts, together with date, sex of the writer, choice of addressee, genre and subject matter are identified as crucial by Meurman-Solin (1997a: 13–18). Indeed, these factors appear to have been even more important than whether the text was printed or not (Meurman-Solin 1997b: 206). These findings may account for the complementary distribution of Scottish and English variants in many texts, thus allowing certain local forms to be maintained longer, as in the case of *kirk* or *bairn* (Meurman-Solin 1997a: 21), while the frequency of other local forms decreased. As a matter of fact, the introduction of printing to Scotland in 1508 did frequently involve the adaptation of Scots texts to English spelling and grammar (cf. Bald 1926, 1927).⁸ However, conscious anglicization, i.e., the conscious employment of English (as opposed to Scots) lexis or orthography, was also a function of the relationship between encoder and addressee in terms of their mutual socio-geographical proximity or distance (Aitken 1997).

While Scots was first “branded” as a language unfit for formal, public and official usage soon after the Union of Crowns (Aitken 1979: 89), scholars seem to agree that the most forceful attempts to anglicize the speech and writing of Scottish users took place in the eighteenth century. In this grand age of prescriptivism innumerable dictionaries, grammar books, lists of Scotticisms and lessons on elocution were published, the most famous example perhaps being Thomas Sheridan’s course, given in Edinburgh in 1761, which was also attended by James Boswell (Rogers 1991: 56–71; Basker 1993: 85–86). However, the view that the model was

not Southern English as such, but an urban variety of educated Lowland Scots has also been put forward (Jones 1991: 101, 1993: 100, 1995: 15–20 and 1997). On the other hand, where syntax and lexis were concerned, the model was in fact a southern one. Even leading figures on the Scottish cultural scene were extraordinarily preoccupied with language “propriety”, and what was possibly the first list of proscribed Scotticisms has often been attributed to the philosopher David Hume. This list proved highly influential, and many subsequent works, even in the following century, repeated many of its items; for instance, in *Scotticisms Corrected* (Anon. 1855), we observe the following items, together with many others that had also been included in Hume’s list (see Table 1).

Table 1. Scotticisms in Hume 1752 and Anon. 1855.

<i>Hume (?) 1752</i>		<i>Anon. 1855*</i>
<i>Scottish form</i>	<i>(Recommended English form)</i>	
– Big coat	– Great coat	– 3. Has the tailor brought my <i>big</i> coat? say, <i>great</i> coat.
– Superplus	– Surplus	– 18. He has handed him over the <i>superplus</i> : say, the <i>surplus</i> , or <i>overplus</i> .
– Discretion	– Civility	– 22. He showed me great <i>discretion</i> : say, <i>civility</i> .
– to be angry at a man	– to be angry with a man	– 44. He was very angry <i>at</i> me: say, <i>with</i> me.
– come in to the fire	– come near the fire	– 66. Come and sit <i>into</i> the fire: say, <i>near</i> the fire.
– Herodot	– Herodotus	– 92. The story may be read in <i>Herodote</i> : say, in <i>Herodotus</i> .
– Think shame	– Asham’d	– 230. I think much shame at him: say, I am much, or, greatly ashamed of him.

(*In this work all items are numbered – the numbers in this list therefore refer to the sequence in which individual items are presented.).

In addition to usage manuals, correspondence is another excellent source of information on language attitudes. If we look, for instance, at the letters received by Robert Burns we see how frequently he was advised to write in “standard” English, instead of Scots (cf. Dossena 1997). At the turn of the century, however, a taste for antiquarianism⁹ which had been favoured by Burns’ own poetry, in addition to the enormous success of the Ossianic sagas, brought about a real “discovery” of Scotland (especially of the Highlands) and of its languages.¹⁰

The extent to which Highland lore and tradition and Lowland linguistic usage could be confused is exemplified by the writings of James Adams, whose *Vindication of the Scottish Dialect* (1799: 157) argues in favour of Scots on the basis of its literary value:

The arguments of general vindication rise powerful before my sight, like Highland Bands in full array. A louder strain of apologetic speech swells my words. What if it should rise high as the unconquered summits of Scotia's hills, and call back, with voice sweet as Caledonian song, the days of ancient Scottish heroes ... Dunbar and Dunkeld, Douglas in *Virgilian* strains, and later poets, Ramsay, Ferguson, and Burns, awake from your graves, you have already immortalised the Scotch dialect in raptured melody!

Other commentators had shared this approach — most notably John Pinkerton, as shown in his Preface to a selection of poetry from the Maitland manuscripts (1786: 1/xvii). Indeed, this attitude would become quite widespread in the nineteenth century: Scots was perceived to be highly suitable for literary expression, but when the aim was “improvement” (both in the sense of moral refinement and, consequently, of upward social mobility), then English was to be employed. Although the loss of “ancient speech” could be regretted as a sign of passing time (cf. Cockburn 1856), remarks like the following are emblematic of an attitude strongly in favour of anglicization:

I cannot help thinking that the grace of oratory is restrained by the Scotch accent. (Spence 1811: 156–157)

The intellect of the country ... required only a fitting vehicle in which to address that extended public to which the Union had taught our countrymen to look; (Miller 1856/1897: 377)

A similar degree of linguistic prejudice also appeared in travelogues in which the linguistic differences between English and Scots were typically presented as a source of puzzlement or amusement for English visitors. Although the Scots language had been made popular by Scott's novels, accurate perception was still lacking, and the language of both Highlanders and Lowlanders was often presented in a very stereotypical way, as if there were no distinctive features in either.

4. On-going codification and norm acceptance: Good or bad Scots?

The persistence of the antiquarian fashion into the nineteenth century was reflected in the continuing search for “pure Saxon” in linguistic matters. James Paterson's *Origin of the Scots and the Scottish Language* (1855) argued in favour of Pictish as the original “Scottish dialect” (1855: 109).¹¹ The author also acknowledged the Scandinavian influence on Scots, but in general his theory challenged a previous one, according to which the Scandinavian influence had been paramount in the development of Scots, and which was subsequently taken up by John Jamieson in the *Introduction* to his *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808/1840: xii–xiii).¹²

The biographical note at the beginning of the 1840 edition of the *Dictionary* emphasizes the fact that Jamieson had at first held the widespread view that Scots was just a corrupt dialect of English; however, his work led to different results. At the outset, Jamieson identified the specificity of Scottish vocabulary in the legal register, but then he also stated that his work would “serve to mark the difference between words which may be called classical, and others merely colloquial; and between both of these, as far as they are proper, and such as belong to a still lower class, being mere corruptions, cant terms, or puerilities” (1808/1840: ii). Jamieson thus identified social varieties in Scots, highlighting the existence of a “proper” standard and of vulgar speech.

Consequently, for the “colloquial” items he included quotations of humble origin and his use of “mean” sources marked a turning point in the history of lexicography. In this sense, because of his inclusion of non-literary sources, Jamieson’s *Dictionary* also has an important encyclopaedic value and many entries provide ethnological information that might otherwise have been lost. Towards the end of the century, however, Jamieson’s apparent lack of systematicity was criticized, especially when his work was compared with Murray and Bradley’s *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Montgomerie-Fleming 1899: iv), which would subsequently become world famous as the *Oxford English Dictionary*. James Murray, its editor, had also been praised as the author of “an illuminating grammar of the [Scots] language, indicating the various dialects of the Lowlands and their geographical areas” (Holmes 1909: 104). Murray’s *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873) was a text which influenced all subsequent studies on the history and the description of Scots. Aitken (1995/96: 29) points out that Murray identified Scots with the northern part of the Northern English dialect thus challenging Jamieson’s (and many others’) view of Scots as a language. He directed his research to the mutual roots of Scots and Northern English, providing valuable insights into the features of Scots phonology, morphology and syntax. In addition to this, Murray was the first to outline a dialect map that was adopted by later commentators, including the editors of the *Scottish National Dictionary*, in which the so-called “Highland Line” marked the limits of the diatopic distribution of Scots dialects and of Highland English.

In the twentieth century one of the earliest studies of Scots was George Gregory Smith’s *Specimens of Middle Scots* (1902), in whose *Introduction* we find a 75-page description of Middle Scots phonology, lexis and syntax and of its relationship with Celtic, Scandinavian, French and Latin. As far as phonology is concerned, in 1912 William Grant published a text which, despite the apparently descriptive title, *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland*, was certainly prescriptive in its aim to be “a Phonetic Manual for the use of students in Scottish Training Colleges and Junior Student Centres, (...) teachers of English of all grades in (...) Scottish schools, to

lawyers and ministers and all those who, in the course of their calling, have to engage in public speaking” (1912/1970: v). Grant’s model was “the speech of the educated middle classes of Scotland” (1912/1970: vi), and although the sociolinguistic attitude is reminiscent of older views, this acknowledgement of the existence of a “Scottish variety of Standard English” and a scientific approach to its description are remarkably modern.

Although in many cases the scholars’ focus was mainly on the peculiarities of specific dialects (cf. Wilson 1915, 1923, 1926 and Watson 1923), a very systematic and thorough study of Scots grammar and syntax was Grant and Dixon’s *Manual of Modern Scots* (1921). Lexicography was dramatically enhanced by the work of W. A. Craigie, the third editor of the *OED* who would subsequently become one of the main editors of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and the *Scottish National Dictionary*. Valuable material was also acquired through the work that produced the *Survey of Scottish Dialects* (McIntosh 1952).

5. Recent developments

The lively debate on spelling standardization that has developed over the last twenty years (cf. McClure 1985, 1997; McClure *et al.* 1985; Macaulay 1991a; Stirling 1994) and the latest developments in Scottish lexicography — discussed by Robinson (1987), Macleod (1992/93, 1993 and 1998) and Dareau (1998) — bear witness to the vitality of Scots as a medium of communication in a wide range of contexts: beyond literary usage, Scots is still employed in everyday conversation within socially and geographically defined social networks. However, Romaine (1994: 118–119) has underlined to what extent even in very recent times schoolchildren’s forms of speech could be “corrected” more or less forcefully, and indeed the issue of “dialect erosion”, especially in urban areas, has been investigated by Macafee (1987, 1994a, 1994b).

In addition, any study of the complex relationship between Scots and Scottish Standard English must necessarily set itself in the context of a wider ongoing debate on the concept of a standard language (on this point cf., among others, Trudgill 1998; McArthur 1998; Davies 1999). While strategies have been suggested to advance the status of Scots at various levels, especially by promoting its usage in schools and in the media, Aitken (1980) and Miller (1998: 56) have warned against the dangers of language planning. On the institutional level, a certain degree of support has already been granted both to Scots and Gaelic, though the latter can certainly count on greater attention.¹³ According to a report published by the *General Register Office* (Scotland), in 1996 the number of Scots speakers was estimated at 1.5 million, but the official census has never included a question on

Scots. Although in recent years there has been increasing pressure to include such a question in the 2001 census (Macafee 1997: 515), the issue has not been taken up institutionally, allegedly due to the difficulty of collecting reliable data.

As for the use of Scots in non-literary written registers, the situation seems to be more advanced in certain genres than in others.¹⁴ The relatively recent publication of Lorimer's translation of the *New Testament* (1983) and the 1987 reprint of Waddell's translation of the *Psalms*, which dates back to 1871, appear to be scholarly achievements, rather than effective means to restore Scots as a religious language. However, Scots is now actively encouraged in schools by the *5–14 Curriculum Guidelines*, which seem to have been received very favourably, as acknowledged by the *Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum* (1999). Niven and Jackson (1998) discuss the extent to which the curriculum nowadays gives greater attention to Scots and indeed new materials are being published to that end (cf. MacGillivray 1997), while Corbett (2002) briefly presents "practical approaches" to examinations and ways in which Scots texts and materials may be employed therein.

Another important set of data derives from the fact that the oldest Scottish universities — Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews — all now teach Scots, and the Scots literary heritage is increasingly prominent within the curriculum. In addition to this, research is favoured by the materials and publications of such institutions as the *Scots Language Resource Centre* in Perth, the *Scottish Text Society*, the *Saltire Society*, and the *Association for Scottish Literary Studies*. Finally, corpus investigation will also become increasingly important both in a diachronic and a synchronic perspective thanks to the projects under way at Edinburgh and Helsinki Universities, and to the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* (SCOTS) which is currently in preparation at Glasgow University (Douglas 2002).

6. Concluding remarks

This article could not claim to be an exhaustive history of the frequently difficult relationship between English and Scots, as our aim was to provide an overview of some key aspects of this relationship. We have briefly discussed the phenomena that have had the greatest impact on the development of the language and of course this can only be an open-ended study; the process of language change that continuously affects and is determined by the speakers' and writers' selections of certain items, their adaptation of existing ones, or indeed their creation of new possibilities certainly provides innumerable opportunities for further investigation. In addition, other issues will prove of considerable importance for greater or lesser maintenance of Scots in everyday usage; for instance, electronic communication might affect a geographically restricted variety, in the sense that this might become even

more restricted both from the geographical and the functional points of view; at the same time, however, the new political situation in which Scotland has regained a Parliament of its own might increase popular awareness of this variety's important history, beyond a literary value that is sometimes taken for granted.¹⁵

Notes

1. As Trudgill (1974/1995: 47) points out, "One can detect lexical and grammatical differences even in the speech of Highlanders who have never spoken Gaelic in their lives". In addition, "Hebridean English" is possibly a more precise label for "Island English" (cf. Sabban 1982, 1984 and 1985), as in Orkney and Shetland the Scandinavian influence was more pervasive. While use of Gaelic had been discouraged since the seventeenth century (cf. Romaine 1989: 217), the number of speakers greatly declined with the nineteenth-century Highland Clearances. This is the label with which historians typically refer to the eviction of crofters on the part of landowners who wanted to secure a higher income thanks to the introduction of sheep — cf. MacKenzie 1883, Prebble 1963.
2. Gavin (or Gawin) Douglas (1475?-1522) was a bishop, a poet and the first British translator of the *Aeneid*. In this work his concern with the technique of translation and the issue of linguistic differences emerges in his comments on the (im)possibility to translate Latin appropriately using either Scots or English — cf. Jack (1997: 243).
3. This is a late fifteenth-century work, ascribed to Henry the Minstrel, or "Blind Harry", on which many of the stories relating to Sir William Wallace are based.
4. For instance, the attention given to these issues in scholarly circles is witnessed by the launch of academic events like the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative (ISAI) Conference (Belfast, 20–22 September, 2002—<www.qub.ac.uk/en/isai2002>), at which devolution and cultural policy (including language policy) are discussed.
5. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) dates the first occurrence of this word to 1717; Aitken (1979: 94–95), however, has traced an earlier source in *Ravillac Redivivus*, of 1678. Possibly starting a *modus operandi* that was to become fashionable in the eighteenth century, in which "improvement" was a crucial aim at various social levels, the encoder of the pamphlet asks his interlocutor to identify Scotticisms in his letters and to inform him, so that he may "improve" his language.
6. Cf. Meurman-Solin (1995); the corpus is expected to be supplemented by a *Corpus of Scottish Correspondence* (Meurman-Solin 1999) and the *Edinburgh Corpus of Older Scots* (cf. Williamson forthcoming).
7. By divergence we mean the phenomenon through which a specifically Scottish regional norm became distinct from the Northern English dialect.
8. This is the year in which the first printed texts in Scotland were published by Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar. Previously, in the second half of the fifteenth century, printed books had been imported from the Continent, especially from France.

9. An interest that was not restricted to language, but which had a broader cultural scope; in this framework, for instance, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was established in 1780.
10. In 1762 the Scottish poet James Macpherson (1736–1796) claimed he had “discovered” and translated the poems of Oisín (or Ossian) from third-century Gaelic originals. In fact, most of this was a literary fabrication, as critics like Samuel Johnson suspected. However, the poems gained wide acclaim throughout Europe, especially in (Pre-)Romantic circles, and it was not until the late nineteenth century that the controversy on their authenticity was finally settled.
11. Pictish seems to have been a P-Celtic language spoken by the Picts in northern Scotland and replaced by Gaelic after the ninth century. As regards external evidence on the language, Pictish is mentioned by Bede and other medieval writers, while internal evidence is provided by place-names and inscriptions.
12. This had been suggested by two eighteenth-century antiquaries, John Pinkerton and James Sibbald, on the basis of Bede’s account of early settlements in Britain.
13. Cf. Fenton and MacDonald (1994: 175–180). As far as Gaelic is concerned, see also the website of the Scottish Executive <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk>>.
14. On uses of Scots in modern and present-day literature see Corbett (1997, 1999), McClure (1995, 2000, 2003) and MacDougall (2001: 101, 140, 155).
15. Within this a cross-party group operates on the Scots Language. Its purpose is: “To promote the cause of Scots, inform members of the culture and heritage of the language and highlight the need for action to support Scots” — cf. <www.scottish.parliament.gov.uk>.

References

- Abercrombie, D. 1979. “The accents of Standard English in Scotland”. In *Languages of Scotland*, A. J. Aitken and T. McArthur (eds), 68–84. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers.
- Adams, J. 1799. *The Pronunciation of the English Language*. [Reprinted in *English Linguistics 1500–1800*, Alston, R. C. (ed.). London: The Scolar Press, 1974].
- Agutter, A. 1988. “Standardisation in Middle Scots”. *Scottish Language* 7: 1–8.
- Aitken, A. J. 1979. “Scottish speech: A historical view with special reference to the Standard English of Scotland”. In *Languages of Scotland*, A. J. Aitken and T. McArthur (eds), 85–118. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers.
- Aitken, A. J. 1980. “New Scots: The problems”. In *The Scots Language: Planning for modern usage*, J. D. McClure, A. J. Aitken and J. T. Low (eds), 45–63. Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press.
- Aitken, A. J. 1981. “The Scottish vowel-length rule”. In *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological essays in Scots and Medieval English presented to Angus McIntosh*, M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels (eds), 131–157. Edinburgh: The Editors.
- Aitken, A. J. 1982. “Bad Scots: Some superstitions about Scots speech”. *Scottish Language* 2: 30–44.
- Aitken, A. J. 1984. “Scottish accents and dialects”. In *Language in the British Isles*, P. Trudgill

- (ed.), 94–114. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aitken, A. J. 1985–96. “Introduction”. In *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, M. Robinson (ed.), ix – xli. Edinburgh: Chambers.
- Aitken, A. J. 1992. “Scottish English”. In *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, T. McArthur (ed.), 903–905. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aitken, A. J. 1995/96. “James Murray, Master of Scots”. *Review of Scottish Culture* 9: 14–34.
- Aitken, A. J. 1997. “The pioneers of anglicised speech in Scotland: A second look”. *Scottish Language* 16: 1–36.
- Algeo, J. 1989. “Americanisms, Briticisms, and the standard: An essay at definition”. In *Standardizing English: Essays in the history of language change*, J. B. Trahern, Jr. (ed.), 139–157. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Anon. 1855. *Scotticisms Corrected*. London: John Farquhar Shaw.
- Bald, M. A. 1926. “The anglicisation of Scottish printing”. *Scottish Historical Review* 23: 107–115.
- Bald, M. A. 1927. “The pioneers of anglicised Speech in Scotland”. *Scottish Historical Review* 24: 179–193.
- Basker, J. G. 1993. “Scotticisms and the problem of cultural identity in eighteenth-century Britain”. In *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, J. Dwyer and R. B. Sher (eds.), 81–95. Edinburgh: The Mercat Press.
- Beal, J. 1996. “The Jocks and the Geordies: Modified standards in eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries”. In *English Historical Linguistics 1994*, D. Britton (ed.), 363–382. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Beal, J. 1997. “Syntax and morphology”. In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 335–377. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Brown, E. K. and Miller, J. E. 1980. *Scottish English*. End of Grant Report to the Social Science Research Council.
- Brown, K. 1991. “Double Modals in Hawick Scots”. In *Dialects of English: Studies in grammatical variation*, P. Trudgill and J. K. Chambers (eds), 74–103. London: Longman.
- Cockburn, H. 1856/1971. *Memorials of His Time*. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black / James Thin.
- Corbett, J. 1997. *Language and Scottish Literature*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Corbett, J. 1999. *Written in the Language of the Scottish Nation: A history of literary translation into Scots*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Corbett, J. 2002. “Scots: Practical approaches”. *Scotlit* 25: 1–5.
- Dareau, M. 1998. “DOST towards the millennium”. *Scottish Language* 17: 1–9.
- Davies, A. 1999. “Standard English: Discordant voices”. *World Englishes* 18 (2): 171–186.
- Devitt, A. J. 1989. *Standardizing Written English: Diffusion in the case of Scotland 1520–1659*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donaldson, W. 1986. *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language, fiction and the press*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Donaldson, W. 1989. *The Language of the People: Scots prose from the Victorian revival*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Dossena M., 1996. “Overt Scotticisms in the vocabulary of Scottish Standard English: A matter of style?”. *Linguistica e Filologia* 2: 5–21.

- Dossena, M. 1997. "Attitudes to Scots in Burns' correspondence". *Linguistica e Filologia* 4: 91–103.
- Dossena, M. 1998a. "Diminutives in Scottish Standard English: A case for comparative linguistics?". *Scottish Language* 17: 22–39.
- Dossena, M. 1998b. "Portraiture and self-portraiture in Scottish Standard English". *Linguistica e Filologia* 6: 27–42.
- Dossena, M. 2001. "For the advancement of the commoun weilth: Hypotheses in Scots scientific discourse of the 16th — 17th centuries. A preliminary investigation". *Scottish Language* 20: 47–65.
- Dossena, M. Forthcoming. "Like runes upon a standin' stane": *The perception of Scotticisms in grammar and vocabulary*. East Linton (Scotland): Tuckwell Press.
- Douglas, F. 2002. "Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech (SCOTS)". *Scotlit* 25: 9.
- Dressler, W. U. and Merlini Barbaresi, L. 1994. *Morphopragmatics: Diminutives and Intensifiers in Italian, German, and other languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fenton, A. and MacDonald, D. A. (eds). 1994. *Studies in Scots and Gaelic*. Edinburgh: Canongate Press.
- Glauser, B. 1974. *The Scottish-English Linguistic Border: Lexical Aspects*. Bern: Francke.
- Görlach, M. 1987. "Lexical loss and lexical survival: The case of Scots and English". *Scottish Language* 6: 1–20.
- Grant, W. 1912/1970. *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland*. College Park, Maryland: McGrath.
- Grant, W. and Dixon, J. M. 1921. *A Manual of Modern Scots*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grant, W. and Murison, D. D. (eds). 1931–76. *The Scottish National Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Scottish National Dictionary Association.
- Häcker, M. 1998. *Adverbial Clauses in Scots: A semantic-syntactic study*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Holmes, D. T. 1909. *Literary Tours in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. Paisley: Alexander Gardner.
- Hughes, A. and P. Trudgill 1996. *English Accents and Dialects: An introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles*. Third edition. London: Arnold.
- Hume, D. 1752. "Scotticisms". In *Political Discourses*. Unnumbered pages. Edinburgh.
- Iacuanillo, F. 1992/93. "Linguistic awareness and attitudes in a sample of Scottish speakers". *Scottish Language* 11/12: 62–71.
- Jack, R. D. S. 1997. "The language of literary materials: Origins to 1700". In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 213–263. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Jamieson, J. 1808/1840. *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language (...) to which is prefixed A Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language* [Second edition edited by J. Johnstone]. Edinburgh: William Tait.
- Johnston, P. A. 1983. "Irregular style variation patterns in Edinburgh speech". *Scottish Language* 2: 1–19.
- Johnston, P. A. 1984. "Variation in the Standard Scottish English of Morningside". *English World-Wide* 4(2): 133–185.

- Jones, C. (ed.). 1991. *A Treatise on the Provincial Dialect of Scotland, by Sylvester Douglas (Lord Glenberrie)*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Jones, C. 1993. "Scottish Standard English in the late eighteenth century". *Transactions of the Philological Society* 91(1): 95–131.
- Jones, C. 1995. *A Language Suppressed: The pronunciation of the Scots language in the Eighteenth Century*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Jones, C. 1997. "Phonology". In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 267–334. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- King, A. 1997. "The inflectional morphology of Older Scots". In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 156–181. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Kirk, J. M. 1987. "The heteronomy of Scots with Standard English". In *The Nuttis Schell: Essays on the Scots Language presented to A. J. Aitken, C. Macafee and I. Macleod* (eds), 166–181. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Knieszka, V. 1997a. "The origins of Scots orthography". In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 24–46. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Knieszka, V. 1997b. "The influence of English upon Scottish writing". In *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, R. Hickey and S. Puppel (eds), 637–653. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Laing, M. 1994. "The linguistic analysis of medieval vernacular texts: Two projects at Edinburgh". In *Corpora Across the Centuries*, M. Kytö, M. Rissanen and S. Wright (eds), 121–141. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Laing, M. and K. Williamson (eds). 1994. *Speaking in Our Tongues – Proceedings of a Colloquium on Medieval Dialectology and Related Disciplines*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Lawrie, S. M. 1991. "A linguistic survey of the use and familiarity of Scottish dialect items in NE Fife". *Scottish Language* 10: 18–29.
- Lorimer, W. L. 1983. *The New Testament in Scots*. London: Penguin.
- Macafee, C. 1987. "Language and modern life: Notes from Glasgow". In *The Nuttis Schell: Essays on the Scots Language presented to A. J. Aitken, C. Macafee and I. Macleod* (eds), 182–194. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Macafee, C. 1992/93. "A short grammar of Older Scots". *Scottish Language* 11/12: 10–36.
- Macafee, C. 1994a. *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World: A Glasgow case study*. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.
- Macafee, C. 1994b. "Dialect erosion, with special reference to Urban Scots". In *Studies in Scots and Gaelic*, A. Fenton and D. A. MacDonald (eds), 69–80. Edinburgh: Canongate Press.
- Macafee, C. 1997. "Ongoing change in Modern Scots – The social dimension". In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 514–548. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Macaulay, R. K. S. 1991a. "'Coz it izny spelt when they say it": Displaying dialect in writing". *American Speech* 66(3): 280–291.
- Macaulay, R. K. S. 1991b. *Locating Dialect in Discourse: The language of honest men and bonnie lasses in Ayr*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Macaulay, R. K. S. 1997. *Standards and Variation in Urban Speech: Examples from Lowland Scots*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- MacDougall, C. 2001. *Painting the Forth Bridge*. London: Aurum Press.
- MacGillivray, A. 1997. *Teaching Scottish Literature: Curriculum and classroom applications*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- MacKenzie, A. 1883/1979. *History of the Highland Clearances*. Edinburgh: The Mercat Press.
- Macleod, I. 1992/93. "Computers and Scots lexicography". *Scottish Language* 11/12: 132–137.
- Macleod, I. 1993. "Research in progress: Some problems of Scottish lexicography". *English World-Wide* 14(1): 115–125.
- Macleod, I. 1998. "Scots dictionaries present and future". *Scottish Language* 17: 10–15.
- Macleod, I. and MacNacail, A. 1995. *Scotland: A linguistic double helix*. European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages.
- Mather, J. Y. and Speitel, H. H. (eds). 1975–86. *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland*. London: Croom Helm.
- McArthur, T. 1998. *The English Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McClure, J. D. 1980. "Western Scottish intonation: A preliminary study". In *The Melody of Language*, L. R. Waugh and C. H. van Schoonefeld (eds), 201–218. Baltimore: University Park Press.
- McClure, J. D. 1981. "Scottis, Inglis, Suddroun: Language labels and language attitudes". *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature, Mediaeval and Renaissance, Stirling 1981*, Stirling and Glasgow, 52–69. [Reprinted in McClure, J. D. 1995. *Scots and its Literature*, 44–56. Amsterdam: John Benjamins].
- McClure, J. D. 1985. "The debate on Scots orthography". In *Focus on Scotland*, M. Görlach (ed.), 203–210. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- McClure, J. D. 1994. "English in Scotland". In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, R. Burchfield (ed.), 5: 23–93. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McClure, J. D. 1995. *Scots and its Literature*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- McClure, J. D. 1997. "The spelling of Scots: A difficulty". In *Englishes Around the World: Studies in Honour of Manfred Görlach*, E. Schneider (ed.), 1: 173–184. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- McClure, J. D. 2000. *Language, Poetry and Nationhood – Scots as a Poetic Language from 1878 to the Present*. East Linton, Tuckwell Press.
- McClure, J. D. 2003. "The language of Modern Scots poetry". In *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, J. Corbett, J. D. McClure and J. Stuart-Smith (eds), 210–232. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- McClure, J. D., J. T. Low, J. K. Annand, A. D. Mackie and J. J. Graham 1985. "Our Ain Leid? The Predicament of a Scots Writer". In *Focus on Scotland*, M. Görlach (ed.), 181–201. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- McIntosh, A. 1952. *An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects*. Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons.
- Melchers, G. 1985. "'Knappin'. 'Proper English'. 'Modified Scottish': Some language attitudes in the Shetland Isles". In *Focus on Scotland*, M. Görlach (ed.), 87–100. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Menzies, J. 1991. "An investigation of attitudes to Scots and Glasgow dialect among secondary school pupils". *Scottish Language* 10: 30–46.

- Meurman-Solin, A. 1992. "On the morphology of verbs in Middle Scots: present and present perfect indicative". In *History of Englishes: New methods and interpretations in historical linguistics*, M. Rissanen, O. Ihalainen, T. Nevalainen and I. Taavitsainen (eds), 611–623. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 1993a. "Periphrastic *Do* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scots". In *Early English in the Computer Age: Explorations through the Helsinki corpus*, M. Rissanen, M. Kytö and M. Palander-Collin (eds), 235–251. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 1993b. *Variation and Change in Early Scots Prose*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 1995. "A new tool: The Helsinki corpus of Older Scots (1450–1700)". *ICAME Journal* 19: 49–62.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 1997a. "Differentiation and standardization in Early Scots". In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 3–23. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 1997b. "Text profiles in the study of language variation and change". In *Tracing the Trail of Time*, R. Hickey, M. Kytö, I. Lancashire and M. Rissanen (eds), 199–214. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 1997c. "A corpus-based study on T/D deletion and insertion in Late Medieval and Renaissance Scottish English". In *To Explain the Present*, T. Nevalainen and L. Kahlas-Tarkka (eds), 111–124. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 1999. "Letters as a source of data for reconstructing early spoken Scots". In *Writing in Non-Standard English*, I. Taavitsainen, G. Melchers and P. Pahta (eds), 305–322. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 2000a. "Change from above or from below? Mapping the loci of linguistic change in the history of Scottish English". In *The Development of Standard English, 1300–1800: Theories, descriptions, conflicts*, L. Wright (ed.), 155–170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 2000b. "On the conditioning of geographical and social distance in language variation and change in Renaissance Scots". In *The History of English in a Social Context. A contribution to historical sociolinguistics*, D. Kastovsky and A. Mettinger (eds), 227–255. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Meurman-Solin, A. 2001. "Genre as a variable in sociohistorical linguistics". *European Journal of English Studies* 5(2): 241–256.
- Miller, H. 1856/1897. "Edinburgh an age ago". In *The English Essayists*, R. Cochrane (ed.), 377–381. Edinburgh: Nimmo, Hay and Mitchell.
- Miller, J. and Brown, K. 1982. "Aspects of Scottish English syntax". *English World-Wide* 3 (1): 3–17.
- Miller, J. 1984. "Discourse patterns in spoken English". *Sheffield Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 1: 10–39.
- Miller, J. 1993. "The grammar of Scottish English". In *Real English: The grammar of English dialects in the British Isles*, J. Milroy and L. Milroy (eds), 99–138. London: Longman.
- Miller, J. 1998. "Scots: A sociolinguistic perspective". In *The Scots Language: Its place in education*, L. Niven and R. Jackson (eds), 45–56. Dumfries: Watergaw.

- Milroy, J. 1982. "Some connections between Galloway and Ulster speech". *Scottish Language* 1: 23–29.
- Milroy, J. 1992. "A social model for the interpretation of language change". In *History of Englishes: New methods and interpretations in historical linguistics*, M. Rissanen, O. Ihalainen, T. Nevalainen and I. Taavitsainen (eds), 72–91. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Moessner, L. 1997. "The syntax of Older Scots". In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 112–155. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Montgomerie-Fleming, J. B. 1899. *Desultory Notes on Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*. Glasgow and Edinburgh: William Hodge and Co.
- Montgomery, M. 1989. "Exploring the roots of Appalachian English". *English World-Wide* 10 (2): 227–278.
- Montgomery, M. 1997. "The rediscovery of the Ulster Scots language". In *Englishes Around the World: Studies in honour of Manfred Görlach*, E. Schneider (ed.), 1: 211–226. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mugglestone, L. 1995. *"Talking Proper": The rise of accent as social symbol*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Murison, D. 1987. "Scottish lexicography". In *The Nuttis Schell: Essays on the Scots Language presented to A. J. Aitken*, C. Macafee and I. Macleod (eds), 17–24. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Murray, J. A. H. 1873. *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*. London: Asher.
- Niven, L. and Jackson, R. (eds) 1998. *The Scots Language: Its place in education*. Dumfries: Watergaw.
- Paterson, J. 1855. *Origin of the Scots and the Scottish Language*. Edinburgh: John Menzies; Glasgow: T. Murray and Son; Paisley: R. Stewart.
- Pinkerton, J. 1786. *Ancient Scottish Poems, Never Before in Print (...) Prefixed are an Essay on the Origin of Scottish Poetry. A List of All the Scottish Poets with Brief Remarks. And (...) an Account of the Contents of the Maitland and Bannatyne MSS.*, London: Printed for Charles Dilly and William Creech at Edinburgh.
- Pollner, C. 1985. *Englisch in Livingston*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.
- Prebble, J. 1963/1982. *The Highland Clearances*. London: Penguin.
- Purves, D. 1997. *A Scots Grammar — Scots Grammar and Usage*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society.
- Riach, W. A. D. 1984. "Galloway schools dialect survey". *Scottish Language* 3: 49–59.
- Robinson, M. 1983. "Language choice in the Reformation: The Scots Confession of 1560". In *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue*, J. D. McClure (ed.), 59–78. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Robinson, M. (ed.). 1985/1996. *The Concise Scots Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Chambers.
- Robinson, M. 1987. "The Concise Scots Dictionary as a tool for linguistic research". In *The Nuttis Schell: Essays on the Scots Language presented to A. J. Aitken*, C. Macafee and I. Macleod (eds), 59–72. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Robinson, P. 1997. *Ulster Scots: A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language*. Newtownards: The Ullans Press.
- Rogers, P. 1991. "Boswell and the Scotticism". In *New Light on Boswell*, G. Clingham (ed.), 56–71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Romaine, S. 1982. "The English language in Scotland". In *English as a World Language*, R. W. Bailey and M. Görlach (eds), 56–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Romaine, S. 1984. "Some historical and social dimensions of syntactic change in Middle Scots relative clauses". In *English Historical Linguistics: Studies in development*, N. F. Blake and C. Jones (eds), 101–122. Sheffield: University of Sheffield, Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language.
- Romaine, S. 1989. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Romaine, S. 1994. *Language in Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sabban, A. 1982. *Gälisch-Englisch Sprachkontakt*. Heidelberg: Julius Groos.
- Sabban, A. 1984. "Investigations into the syntax of Hebridean English". *Scottish Language* 3: 5–32.
- Sabban, A. 1985. "On the variability of Hebridean English syntax: The verbal group". In *Focus on Scotland*, M. Görlach (ed.), 125–144. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sandred, K. I. 1983. *Good or Bad Scots? Attitudes to Optional Lexical and Grammatical Usages in Edinburgh*. Uppsala: Acta Univ. Ups.
- Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum 1999. *The School Curriculum and the Culture of Scotland: A paper for discussion and consultation* (also at <<http://www.sccc.ac.uk/>>).
- Shuken, C. 1984. "Highland and Island English". In *Language in the British Isles*, P. Trudgill (ed.), 152–166. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shuken, C. 1985. "Variation in Hebridean English". In *Focus on Scotland*, M. Görlach (ed.), 145–158. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Smith, G. G. 1902. *Specimens of Middle Scots with Introduction, Notes and Glossary*. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons.
- Speitel, H. H. 1981. "The geographical position of the Scots dialect in relation to the Highlands of Scotland". In *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological essays in Scots and Medieval English presented to Angus McIntosh*, M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels (eds), 107–129. Edinburgh: The Editors.
- Spence, E. I. 1811. *Sketches of the Present Manners, Customs, and Scenery of Scotland, with Incidental Remarks on the Scottish Character*. London: Longman.
- Stirling, A. 1994. "On a standardised spelling for Scots". *Scottish Language* 13: 88–93.
- Trudgill, P. 1974/1995. *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society*. London: Penguin.
- Trudgill, P. 1998. "Standard English: What it isn't". *The European English Messenger* VII(2): 35–39.
- Tulloch, G. 1997. "Lexis". In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, C. Jones (ed.), 378–432. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Waddell, P. Hatley 1871/1987. *The Psalms in Scots* (Introduction and Glossary by G. Tulloch). Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Watson, G. 1923. *The Roxburghshire Word-Book, Being a Record of the Special Vernacular Vocabulary of the County of Roxburgh, with an Appendix of Specimens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williamson, K. 1982. "Lowland Scots in education: An historical survey — Part I". *Scottish Language* 1: 54–77.

- Williamson, K. 1983. "Lowland Scots in education: An historical survey — Part II". *Scottish Language* 2: 52–87.
- Williamson, K. 1992/93. "A computer-aided method for making a linguistic atlas of Older Scots". *Scottish Language* 11/12: 138–173.
- Williamson, K. 2002. "The dialectology of "English" north of the Humber, c. 1380–1500". In *Sounds, Words, Texts and Change*, T. Fanego, B. Méndez-Naya and E. Seoane Posse (eds), 253–286. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Williamson, K. Forthcoming. *ECOS — Edinburgh Corpus of Older Scots*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Institute for Historical Dialectology.
- Wilson, J. 1915. *Lowland Scotch as Spoken in the Lower Strathearn District of Perthshire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, J. 1923. *The Dialect of Robert Burns as Spoken in Central Ayrshire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press / Humphrey Milford.
- Wilson, J. 1926. *The Dialects of Central Scotland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Swedish

Ulf Teleman

Lund University, Sweden

1. Introduction and historical background

The Swedish standard language is based upon dialects spoken in the area of present-day Sweden. From a linguistic point of view, the varieties spoken in the Scandinavia of the Viking Age constituted a coherent system of North Germanic dialects without any distinct internal borders. The conception of Sweden as a defined political territory bordering on Denmark and Norway emerged during the Middle Ages when the country became more or less controlled by one king. The foundation of the monastery of Vadstena in the fourteenth century gave Sweden a cultural centre with an impressive production of widely read manuscripts in Swedish.

It is normally assumed, though, that Sweden as a national state in the modern sense of the word was not established until the sixteenth century with the reign of King Gustavus Vasa. The country was then ruled by a competent and powerful monarch and its borders against surrounding powers were fairly distinct, it had one royal army, one faith with one archbishop, one monetary system and a national taxation which functioned reasonably well. For the fixation of a standard language the translation of the Bible (1541) was a milestone. In the seventeenth century Sweden expanded towards the east and the south, and at the end of the century the country was unified under an effective central political administration. The crown also strove successfully for religious and juridical uniformity. One result of these ambitions was that the entire population was taught to read (but not to write) through the church. The preparation of new canonical texts (Bible, law, hymn-book) at the end of the seventeenth century led to a marked interest in language cultivation. The historical situation was different in the eighteenth century, but linguistic analysis and discussion were stimulated by new institutions and projects.

From the sixteenth century onwards Stockholm was the undisputed capital of Sweden, since the king had his permanent residence there. Its inhabitants outnumbered other Swedish cities by far. A large-scale national administrative elite gathered

around the court. During the eighteenth century the role of Stockholm continued to increase. The parliament was now an important factor. Its members were noblemen, clergy, burghers and farmers from the whole country who came together for some months every third year to discuss legislation, taxation and defence matters. A class of rich merchants played a significant role in the life of Stockholm and the nation. The capital became the centre of political, economical and cultural power, and its elite formed a communicative community, where a prestigious, reasonably homogeneous spoken language took shape (Widmark 1992 and 2000). It is not surprising that such a language was considered by its users and by contemporary language cultivators as “the best language” or as the “real” Swedish.

A proper standard for spoken Swedish had to be freed from its most obvious geographical and social associations with the language of Stockholm and the upper classes around the court. It had to be a “dialect-free” language, a language which — at least in principle — could be used by anyone anywhere. Such a standard emerged during the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries. A decisive factor in this process was the national system of primary and secondary schools that was created in the nineteenth century. The pupils were not only taught to spell and write according to the written language standard, they were also introduced to a reading pronunciation which was to become an important basis for the emerging standard pronunciation of Swedish.

From the middle of the nineteenth century Sweden was being industrialized and urbanized. The rural parts of the country lost many of its inhabitants and the provincial dialects many of its speakers. In the urban environment people who had moved in from the countryside sacrificed the stigmatized regionally marked features of their original speech, and especially the middle-class population of the cities developed speech varieties influenced by written language and probably also by the speech of the national elite — to the extent they were exposed to it. In the new mobile society the middle class began to look upon themselves as citizens of an integrated nation, while farmers and workers still mostly felt bound to the place or region where they were born.

The standardization process of Swedish can be understood to some extent as a function of the general conditions of life and communication of the national community at the time: standardization was a more or less inevitable consequence of the political, economical, demographic and cultural integration of the nation. It has, however, also been influenced by conscious, target-oriented language cultivation (language planning, language politics). We know very little about such activities until the end of the seventeenth century, when the royal chancery tried to establish an orthographical norm and quite a few works on orthography and grammar appeared. During the eighteenth century the linguistic discussion and description of Swedish continued and a fairly correct understanding of its morphology was

developed. Semi-official academies were founded, and especially the Royal Academy of Science (1739–) and the Swedish Academy (1786–) supported language cultivation (cf. below). Many orthographic manuals, grammars and bilingual dictionaries as well as one influential monolingual Swedish dictionary (Sahlstedt 1773) were published. At the turn of the century a Swedish orthographical standard developed which was codified by the Swedish Academy (Leopold 1801).

In the nineteenth century the codified orthographical and morphological standard was effectively implemented by the schools. Many school grammars were written for the new pedagogical market. Towards the end of the century a new group of actors entered the scene, when chairs in Nordic languages were created at the universities. Professors and lecturers began to take part in the debate on standardization in general and on orthography in particular. Some of them were very prominent, e.g. Adolf Noreen (1854–1925) who among other things argued in favour of a more phonemic spelling and Erik Wellander (1884–1977) who wrote a very influential manual on how to write simply and correctly. The Swedish Academy, which according to its statutes should further the “purity, strength and nobility” of the Swedish language, still played an important part, especially through its normative glossary of Swedish (1874–). After the institution of the Nobel Prize the Academy was primarily concerned with fiction and poetry and during World War II, two semi-official institutions were instead set up: *Nämnden för svensk språkvård*, later *Svenska språknämnden* (‘Swedish Language Council’, 1944–) and *Tekniska nomenklaturcentralen* (TNC), later: *Terminologisentrum* (‘Terminology Centre’, 1941–). These professional organizations soon obtained a central position in Swedish language cultivation, while other actors largely retreated from the scene.

In this contribution I shall sketch the main features of the standardization of Swedish. I shall give an outline of the efforts of single actors, institutions and others to establish general guidelines or formulate more specific rules and recommendations, but I shall also to some extent try to point at the role of general historical factors behind the process.

My presentation will be organized according to the plan of the present volume, i.e. it follows Haugen’s schema (1966). The first section analyzes the “selection” of a geographical and social variety of Swedish as a basis for the standard. Under the heading “codification” the second section is devoted to the work of language cultivators to specify the correct rules of orthography, morphology, etc. The following section on “elaboration” treats the efforts to develop and define the domestic vocabulary. The final aspect of Haugen’s schema is the acceptance of the standard by the community. In my contribution I shall concentrate on the ways language cultivators’ proposals were implemented, i.e. by which means or through which circumstances the language users were made aware of the norm and persuaded to use it. In the concluding section some recent developments are noticed:

the standard seems to become weaker or at least broader, and the contemporary language planners tend to be more interested in status planning than in corpus planning.

Standardization and language cultivation in Sweden during the early and late modern periods are dealt with extensively by Teleman (2002 and 2003). Detailed references to sources and secondary literature can be found in these volumes.

2. Selection of the norm

A standard is seldom born out of nothing but is mostly the result of a spontaneous or conscious selection of an existing variety or of linguistic expressions among various possible alternatives. In this section we shall look into how the Swedish standard variety is related to the geographical and social varieties of Swedish when the standard was being established. The standardization of written language and spoken language are separate processes (even if they are also to some extent each other's prerequisites), and they shall be kept apart in this presentation.

Written Swedish

The art of printing came to Sweden at the end of the fifteenth century. The invention had great impact on the formation of standards in many countries. All the copies of a text now became identical and each letter looked the same through the whole text. Printing offices attempted to apply a consistent spelling for a specific word or word form wherever it occurred in the text. In the sixteenth century the number of prints was still rather low and the translation of the Bible (1541) was by far the most important book. It was printed as a whole in many copies; parts of it were also published separately and distributed all over the country. The Bible's linguistic importance depended on its prestige as the central text of the protestant state church. Its language was taken over in other religious texts, a genre which constituted the lion's share of the total production of printed matter in the country. Its orthography was much more uniform than its primary competitor, the spelling of the king's or the duke's chanceries (Zheltukhin 1996).

The spelling of the Bible was rather uniform, but its morphology was not consistent, since it mixed a more conservative system of inflection with contemporary word forms. The translators could hardly rely on any prestigious norm of the capital at the time and the new national university of Uppsala was still too weak an institution to develop its own prestigious language variety. (And besides: the language of the universities was Latin, not Swedish, and was to remain so for at least another two hundred years). The Bible language created by the translators was a

mixture of their own dialects from the provinces to the west of Stockholm and the written tradition of the monastery of Vadstena, based primarily on the dialect of Östergötland, a province further to the south and not adjacent to the capital. It has been disputed to what extent the language of the Bible reflects the dialects of the time and how much is taken over from the Vadstena tradition (e.g. Lindqvist 1929, 1941 and Sjögren 1949; cf. also Ståhle 1970b).

The development of the written language during the seventeenth century has been investigated only partially. The norm was rather stable in religious texts, but since the morphology in the Bible texts was inconsistent and to some extent lacked support in spoken language, it was difficult to maintain. Secular writing, especially in private texts, had a chaotic spelling. When the written language began to stabilize in the course of the eighteenth century, the language of the Bible may still have been important, but the spoken language of the national elite, in or around Stockholm, was certainly also a necessary point of reference. The standard norm was still rather conservative. In the following centuries some changes became generally accepted, most of them based upon the majority of the Swedish dialects.

Even if the written standard included features from previous forms of spoken language, only few language cultivators seriously advocated the choice of an archaizing standard. When this happened, e.g. around 1700 in the recommendations of Jesper Swedberg (morphology) and his opponent Urban Hiärne (orthography), the argumentation was openly ideological. Swedberg regarded the Bible translation of 1541 as a work of God, and Hiärne looked upon the language of King Gustavus II Adolphus (†1632) as blessed by celestial powers. In the eighteenth century only few people had a historicizing inclination, but with the arrival of romanticism and the impressive successes of historic comparative linguistics in the nineteenth century it was only to be expected that someone would advocate a conservative standard. Some debaters thought that the old language mirrored the soul of the nation more genuinely. It was also contended that stability was easier to maintain in the case of a conservative, archaic standard. The solution could even be argued to be just and egalitarian: the choice of a conservative norm implied that no contemporary variety was favoured at the expense of others. J. E. Rydqvist (1800–1877), a famous language historian and member of the Swedish Academy, has often been described as a reactionary cultivator. He defended the established norm, and when it came under attack from people who wanted a higher degree of isomorphy between written standard and contemporary speech, he often protested using historical arguments. Interestingly, he respected the results of sound laws but was more critical against other types of change, e.g. analogy. In Sweden, no linguist tried to construct a common written standard on the basis of different spoken dialects, as was done by Aasen in Norway (see Jahr this volume). Such a move would, however, not have been surprising as the comparative linguists of the time were quite familiar

with that kind of work, i.e. to construct a non-attested language as a common denominator of several actual, interrelated languages or dialects.

Spoken Swedish

There might have existed a supra-regional language of spoken interaction in the sixteenth century or even earlier (Holm 1984; Widmark 1992). Such a language variety could have been based on the written language (among the relatively few people who could read) or on the spoken language of the high nobility, who was more mobile than the rest of the population and who often had property in different parts of the country. It is not unlikely that there also might have existed trade languages between the towns along the Baltic coast. We do not know if there were other regional varieties, e.g. to be used by people from different places when they met at district courts or fairs.

It is probable, however, that a socially layered language emerged in Stockholm as the population of the capital grew in number, importance and wealth during the second half of the seventeenth century and later on. The Stockholm variety must have been based upon the local dialect, slowly being mixed with features from the surrounding dialects but also with features from the rest of Sweden via the speech of the nobility and their staff and others who came to the capital to seek their fortune. Stockholm was definitely a linguistic melting-pot, which gradually developed its own characteristic features. (Urban Hiärne, for example, spoke of the “mixtures” in the Stockholm dialect). In the eighteenth century the members of the Parliament who came from various parts of the country contributed to the complexity of the Stockholm linguistic scene and brought back with them linguistic novelties when they returned home after the sessions.

Most early language cultivators subscribed to Scaliger’s maxim that written language should comply with speech. However, since speech varied so much, they were forced to specify which speech should be mirrored in writing. The most exact definition was given by Hof (1753) who characterized the “good” speech geographically (Stockholm and surrounding provinces), socially (distinguished/noble or learned speakers) and stylistically (careful, public speech). Such a language was proclaimed by Hof as the general form of speech (Sw. *den allmänneliga talarten*, Lat. *dialectus commune*).

In the 1770s King Gustavus III began to support Swedish as a language of the theatre. (He even wrote some plays himself). The kind of Swedish that was developed for drama purposes at the Royal Drama Theatre of Stockholm may have served as a model for a careful form of spoken standard Swedish (cf. Leopold in *Gustavianska brev* 1918). It was probably based on the conversational language at court and the written standard language.

For the concept of a common spoken language the existence of a written standard norm was important and the written language may have served as a model in some respects for this form of speech. Many speakers, particularly those who knew very little about the upper-class language of the capital but could read and write, were able to use reading pronunciation as their form of common dialect in public contexts (e.g. Widmark 1992). Such language was listened to by everybody every Sunday in the church, where the vicar read aloud from the Bible. Even the national law (1734) was recited to the citizens from the pulpits and the royal announcements had to be read aloud to the congregations all over the country. Some cultivators, already in the seventeenth century, interpreted the idea of isomorphy between writing and speech as an invitation or request to adapt their spoken language to the written language.

The role of the written language as a model for the spoken standard was accentuated in the nineteenth century. Many cultivators regarded a dialect-free spoken language as the proper manifestation of a national, patriotic identity. This was the kind of speech that the pupils ought to use when they learnt to read and write in the school. The pedagogical method of “sounding” took over from earlier methods of reading instruction: it was based upon the idea of a complete correspondence between writing and speech, and it became a perfect strategy for introducing a spoken standard modelled upon writing. The influence from writing on speech was particularly strong during the decades around 1900.

The existence of a common standard variety of spoken Swedish was taken for granted at the turn of the century. When the large dictionary of the Swedish Academy began to appear in 1893, the standard pronunciation of each word was rendered in a special notation, and the choice of pronunciation did not seem to have been a problem for those who wrote the entries. Phoneticians and dialectologists like Lundell assured that this standard pronunciation was not the same as any dialect of the country — although it was sometimes described as a polished version of the dialects in Södermanland (in central Sweden adjacent to Stockholm) or even Småland (further to the south in Sweden). It was often declared with some emphasis that the standard pronunciation was not a copy of the Stockholm dialect, and cultivators warned against typical Stockholm mergers of otherwise distinct phonemes in minimal pairs like *murkna* ‘decay’ — *mörkna* ‘darken’, *leka* ‘play’ — *läka* ‘heal’.

As a special form of standardization we might also regard the process of dialect levelling which began at the end of the nineteenth century. Provincial dialects, often different from parish to parish, began to lose their speakers. The new urban dialects were considered by some linguists as intermediaries between the national standard and the rural dialects (Loman 1991). In the towns new types of social varieties emerged. The speech of the lower classes was more dialectal and had more local

innovations than the speech of the urban middle class. It was socially stigmatized and looked upon as vulgar or unpolished, while the language of the middle class was regarded by its own speakers as a national standard.

In the first half of the twentieth century there existed a distinct and rather narrow spoken standard norm. It should be noted, though, that this norm was realized completely only in special contexts and by certain professional speakers: in broadcasting, in films, in careful public speech, etc. Otherwise a certain degree of geographic variation was permitted within the norm, and the official language cultivators declared in the mid-twentieth century that the standard spoken language existed in a number of different regionally coloured forms, implying that the central Swedish norm was only one among these. The surveillance of the standard norm was allowed to slacken as the rural dialects became too weak to threaten the standard.

3. Norm codification

Explicit codification of the norm should be distinguished from “spontaneous” convergence and informal self-regulation within the relevant community, the kind of process which Haugen seems to have had in mind when he spoke of “informal codification”. In this section I shall focus on the explicit discussions and recommendations of the language cultivators.

It is striking that standardization was always presupposed by the Swedish cultivators from the seventeenth century and later on to be valuable in itself, something which did not have to be motivated. This was so regardless of the kind of general ideology that prevailed at the time, whether the *Zeitgeist* was orthodoxy, utilitarianism, nationalism or something else. The cultivators were always worried of chaos and longed for linguistic order. Not until the twentieth century did it become fashionable for linguists and others to maintain that all varieties had equal value. Some liberal circles subscribed to a social Darwinist perspective in the late nineteenth century and afterwards: language cultivation was considered dysfunctional since the “best” language would always be the winner if only the language users were left alone by the cultivators.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cultivators used to mention various guidelines or maxims for language standardization (cf. Teleman 2002 and Weiss 1999). These principles declared that writing should mirror speech, that language usage should be respected, that difference in meaning should correspond to difference in form, etc. (Most of these maxims were taken over from classical rhetoric.) Soon it became obvious that the principal distinction was between usage (*usus, consuetudo*) and reason (*ratio*). Language cultivators could be more or less radical: some were conservative and preferred usage as the only guiding-star, others

were reformists and would let reason rule whenever usage varied, very few were revolutionary, i.e. prepared to exchange well-established irrational expressions for invented, more rational ones. Reason could mean either:

- (a) isomorphy between speech and writing
- (b) isomorphy between content (meaning) and expression (i.e. phonetic/orthographic form)

One problem with (a) was that it did not say if speech should mirror writing or the other way round; (b) implied that homophones should be spelled differently as in modern Swedish *kål* ‘cabbage’ and *kol* ‘coal’, both pronounced /ko:l/. (b) could also be used to support the idea that root morphemes should be spelled uniformly in the paradigm as in *god* /gu:d/ (non-neuter) ‘good’, versus *god-t* /got:/ (neuter). Some even proposed that inflectional suffixes should be spelled uniformly as in *vig-de* /vi:gde/ ‘married’ and **lås-de* /lo:ste/ ‘locked’ (cf. the English spelling of e.g. *begg-ed*, *miss-ed*).

A brilliant advocate of phonemic spelling in the seventeenth century was S. Hof (1753), while e.g. A. af Botin (1777) preferred morphophonemic spelling. Botin referred to other European languages with a perfectly standardized spelling which certainly was not phonemic — obviously, he had French and English in mind. During the second half of the nineteenth century the antagonism between the two forms of reasoning was revived, when a few talented linguists working from a neo-grammarians perspective launched a radical program for phonemic spelling (Noreen 1886). It was defended eloquently and was soon adopted and propagated by teachers’ organizations. Another group of linguists, supported by the Swedish Academy, demonstrated the weakness of the program and advocated morphophonemic spelling (E. Tegnér d.y. 1886). The struggle was brought to a temporary end in 1906 when it was decreed by the minister of education, Fridtjuf Berg (a former school-teacher) that some of the neo-grammarians’ proposals should be used in schools. A few years later a new generation of linguists argued that a civilized written language was a language in its own right, although it had originally been based upon the spoken language. After that Swedish spelling was subjected to no major changes (although the written standard came to adopt some, grammatical and lexical, features from speech in the twentieth century).

Adolf Noreen, one of the “new-spellers”, who advocated phonemic spelling and also one of Sweden’s most famous linguists, formulated a general rationality principle for language cultivation (1885). According to him language was above all a means of communication. Consequently, a language variety was “better” to the extent that it made communication easier and prevented misunderstandings and was easier to learn. The principle was criticized by some of Noreen’s pupils — linguistic students of style like O. Östergren and N. Svanberg — who regarded

language primarily as a means of (self)expression. They did not jeopardize the rationality principle, but a consequence of their opposition was that language cultivation concentrated on the language of non-literary (public) writing and speech, leaving the national novelists and poets to themselves. Noreen's maxim was to become the principal guideline of Swedish language cultivation in the twentieth century.

Orthography

The spelling of secular texts was disorderly in the seventeenth century. Santesson (1988) has shown, however, that conscious cultivation of the Swedish orthography may have been carried out at least on two occasions and resulted in standardization and simplification of the spelling of the v-, d- and g-phonemes. E.g. words with intervocalic /v/ could earlier be spelled in many ways like *haffwa*, *haffua*, *hafwa*, *hafua*, *hawa* 'have' but were afterwards mostly spelled only *hafwa*. The intensive discussion of orthographic norms at the end of the seventeenth century did not bring about any major changes in the spelling of the new hymn-book or the new edition of the Bible.

During the eighteenth century the production of printed texts increased dramatically and the discussion of standardization continued. The language policy of the Royal Academy of Science and other academies supported the development of a more uniform linguistic usage. Lars Salvius' prestigious printing office was also important (Santesson 1986). At the end of the century the Swedish Academy published a treatise on orthography written by one of its members, the well-known author C. G. af Leopold in 1801, where the written usage, which was by then rather uniform, was ably codified and adjusted. Leopold's most important achievement was the standardized spelling of geminated consonants and the spelling of <e> versus <ä> and <o> versus <å> for short vowels, but also his extensive and systematic adaptation of French loanwords was successful. The orthographical norm was implemented in the school textbooks of the nineteenth century and in Dalin's eminent dictionary (1850–53).

During the second half of the nineteenth century the orthographical issue was brought up again, first at a pan-Scandinavian meeting in Stockholm (1869) where it was attempted to create a Danish-Norwegian-Swedish harmonization of spelling, and to make spelling more phonemic. The discussion was intensified some years later when a radical new spelling proposal was put forward by Noreen and his supporters. In 1906, the minister of education realized some of their demands: <dt> for /t/ was exchanged for <t> or <tt> and /v/ was spelled uniformly with <v>.

The authority of the Swedish Academy in orthographical matters was weakened through its partial defeat in the conflict with the supporters of phonemic

spelling, but its normative glossary of Swedish (SAOL) after a few decades regained its position as the main orthographical standard. In every new edition the spelling of some words was revised, mostly in accordance with actual usage, as when *scherry* had to yield for *sherry*, *spontaneitet* for *spontanitet* or when *sebra* and *cigarett* were accepted in addition to *zebra* and *cigarrett*. The spelling of Anglo-American loanwords presented constant problems, which were solved *ad hoc*. No general principles were laid down by the Swedish Language Council or the Academy for their treatment (on orthographic discussions and reform proposals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see Ståhle 1970a).

Pronunciation

When Hof (1753) talked about “the common language” he probably implied the existence of some kind of spoken standard. However, he characterized this standard only in very general terms. Once phonetics became a seriously elaborated scholarly discipline during the second half of the nineteenth century, more precise phonetic descriptions of the language became possible (particularly Lundell 1879). Lyttkens and Wulff (e.g. in 1889) published comprehensive lists of Swedish words with standard pronunciation, and when the grand dictionary of the Swedish Academy began to appear (1893) the (standard) pronunciation of each word was rendered carefully with respect to quality, quantity, stress and tonal accent. Not until the recent turn of the century were new extensive phonetic dictionaries published (Hedelin 1997, Garlén 2003).

During the nineteenth century textbooks in elocution were also composed, and grammars often contained chapters on orthoepy as well as orthography. These books propagated a “dialect-free” language and warned against the sloppy everyday speech with its many reductions. The ambition was that “all letters should be heard”. Lists were presented of dialectal pronunciations to be avoided by the pupils.

For the establishment of a standard spoken language the reading and writing instruction had a significant role. From Germany Swedish teachers imported the method of “sounding” where the pupils were taught to read words by combining the sequence of sounds corresponding to the letters that constituted the word. This method presupposed isomorphy between speech and writing, and since writing was already largely standardized, it favoured reading pronunciations as the standard spoken language in schools. The consequence was that many inflected forms and functional words were pronounced according to their spelling, although their pronunciation in spontaneous speech had developed into a different direction. Some examples: *-or* (plural suffix of some nouns) was pronounced /ur/, not /er/; *-ade* (past suffix of some verbs) was pronounced /ade/, not /a/; *att* (infinitival marker) was pronounced /at:/, not /o/; *vid* (preposition) was pronounced /vi:d/, not /ve/.

The standard spoken norm of the nineteenth century was to remain, although its codification soon was regarded as an idealized point of orientation rather than a fixed norm that must be observed completely in public speech. It was considered a matter of course that the norm allowed for reasonable geographic, social and stylistic variation. The extent to which this variation could be tolerated was sometimes disputed. For a long time e.g. the common velar /r/ of South Sweden (instead of apico-dental /r/ of Central Sweden) was regarded by some cultivators as substandard or even unhealthy. It was suggested by the Swedish Language Council in the late twentieth century that there was no contradiction between a strict norm for standard pronunciation and the allowance of a considerable room for regional, stylistic etc. variation to be handled by the speaker himself. In fact, the strict Norwegian solution with a norm including many but not all possible speech forms could be interpreted as more restrictive than a solution where only one alternative is mentioned — as guidance.

Morphology

Just as the codification of standard pronunciation required phonetic understanding and knowledge, the codification of morphology would have been impossible without a good understanding of morphological structures. A theoretically sophisticated understanding of the Swedish inflectional system developed in the last decades of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century. Although these insights were initially still strongly based on Latin traditional grammar (e.g. concerning the understanding of the Swedish case and mood systems) the Swedish grammarians were also inspired by contemporary vernacular grammars. Already the earliest Swedish grammarians had a fairly correct picture of the specific non-Latin characteristics of Swedish, such as definiteness in the inflection of nouns and adjectives, and the active-passive inflection of verbs.

A serious problem was the conservative nature of the language used in the Swedish Bible translation. Early grammarians, aware of the high prestige of this linguistic usage, hesitated to give up its archaizing inflection in favour of a more contemporary morphology (i.e. J. Swedberg in 1722). Some of them included both paradigms into their grammatical descriptions (i.e. E. Aurivillius in the end of the seventeenth century) but by the middle of the eighteenth century the conservative religious language was finally rejected as a model for contemporary morphology.

During the eighteenth century, morphology (like orthography) was standardized. In this process the new Central Swedish plural suffix *-n* (for neuter nouns ending in a vowel) was included in the standard: *stycke-n* ‘pieces’ (vs. South Swedish *stycke-Ø*). Another new Central Swedish plural paradigm *backa* — *backar* ‘hill(s)’ was, however, not adopted; instead the earlier distinction *backe* — *backar* was kept, or alternatively the noun was inflected according to the paradigm of *gata*

— *gator* ‘streets’, e.g. *skada* — *skador* ‘damage(s)’. A genuine creation by the cultivators (A. Sahlstedt and A. af Botin in the end of the eighteenth century) was the systematic distinction between past participle neuter (used with passive meaning after e.g. the copula) and the “supine” (used with active meaning after the auxiliary *hava* ‘have’), as in weak verbs, e.g. *är måladt* ‘is painted’ versus *hafver målat* ‘has painted’, or in strong verbs, e.g. *är taget* ‘is taken’ versus *hafver tagit* ‘has taken’. This distinction is still valid in modern Swedish for strong verbs.

The nineteenth century with its new senior schools and obligatory primary schools for all boys and girls was an epoch of consolidation: the conservative features of the standard were maintained and taught rather effectively to new generations. The morphological standard was codified not only in school grammars but also in A. F. Dalin’s dictionary (1850–53), where grammatical features like gender, declination and conjugation were specified for the relevant words. The most radical morpho-syntactic change of the standard norm during this century was the abandoning of grammatical gender in masculine and feminine pronouns. Instead of *han/hon* for inanimate referents now *den* ‘it’ (non-neuter) was used while *han/hon* ‘he/she’ were used only for animate male and female referents. Historically inclined cultivators (as J. E. Rydqvist) raised objections, but the new personal pronoun *den* was adopted by most writers at the turn of the century and accepted as standard in the normative glossary of the Swedish Academy (SAOL).

During the twentieth century the pressure increased on the written standard from the spoken language. From the middle of the century onwards, some spoken word forms were more often used in writing and were finally included as unmarked forms in the written standard, as *ska* beside *skall* (‘shall’), and *sa* beside *sade* (‘said’), etc. But in many other cases the written norm prevailed and sometimes even influenced speech (cf. above). One important case was the issue of the traditional written forms *de* ‘the(y)’ vs. *dem* ‘the(m)’, against the new syncretized form *dom*, which had become dominant in spoken language all over the country during the decades after World War II. The old distinction was made only in solemn speech, in reading pronunciation and in some dialects. The supporters of *dom* recommended their choice because the distinction between nominative and accusative was considered to be unnecessary (cf. that the corresponding singular forms *den/det* ‘it’, lack case contrast) but the Swedish Language Council maintained that the change would make older texts unattractive or difficult for new generations. They rejected the assumption that the case contrast was difficult to learn. The truth was, they said, that the children need not learn the contrast at school since they already mastered it in pronouns like *hon* ‘she’ vs. *henne* ‘her’, and others. Standard written language still preserves the distinction between *de* and *dem* today.

The contemporary morphological standard of Swedish was codified in the successive editions of the glossary of the Swedish Academy (SAOL). Its editors were particularly concerned with the inflection of Anglo-American loanwords. Their

ambition was that all foreign words which were accepted as part of the Swedish vocabulary, should also have a Swedish inflection. Nouns were particularly problematic in this respect, since a Swedish plural inflection was often difficult to find for them. It might have been possible to accept *-s* as a Swedish indefinite plural suffix (*hobbies*, *broilers*), but the linguistic intuition of most Swedes rebelled against the addition of the regular non-neuter definite suffix *-na* after *-s*: **hobbies-na*, **broilersna*. There was no attractive general solution to this problem.

Syntax and text

In the eighteenth century, Swedish grammarians developed a good understanding of the morphology of Swedish, and the nineteenth century gave them a deeper understanding of syntax (based on the work of French and German grammarians as S. de Sacy and K. F. Becker). Now the sentence concept became clear, and the grammarians grasped the grammatical distinction between matrix and embedded clauses. Particularly useful was the syntactical concept of subject. The grammarians hurried to use their knowledge to standardize syntax, i.e. to minimize what they perceived as unnecessary chaos in this newly discovered linguistic domain. They tried to organize the order of constituents in various clause types, define the rules of reflexive pronouns, restrict the use of subjectless clauses (which were considered 'sloppy'), distinguish between prepositions and conjunctions, etc. (Teleman 1991 and 2003).

The progress of syntactic knowledge made it possible to formulate rules for grammatical punctuation at the end of the nineteenth century. Basically, there were two opposing schools at the time. Those who preferred grammatically-motivated commas were inspired by the German system which used punctuation to signal the syntactical structure of the sentence. The others advocated so-called pause commas (after a French model) and favoured a punctuation, which corresponded to the prosodical structure of the sentence as read aloud. Some of the people who recommended phonemic spelling at the end of the nineteenth century understandably preferred the pause comma too, but on the whole grammatical punctuation was victorious, at least in the norm as codified by grammarians and others (Ekerot 1991). When the Swedish Language Council started to publish its punctuation rules (in *Skrivregler* 1947–), a compromise was chosen between the two schools. Later on, however, when grammar instruction had become less efficient in the schools, most writers did not know enough grammar to use the grammatical comma systematically.

Norms for syntactic correctness were often included in school grammars, but at the end of the nineteenth century a new genre was introduced, the antibarbarus, i.e. normative manuals of usage and abuse where a selection of syntactic and

other rules of conduct were presented. Linder (1886) was the starting point, but the most influential author of this kind was Wellander (1939). He became very successful thanks to his extensive collection of examples, his reasonable recommendations and his dry humoristic style.

Some aspects of syntax depend on the grammatical features inherent in the lexical items and should be codified in dictionaries. Particularly verbs may have specific syntactic requirements as to their syntactic and semantic context. The complement may be e.g. a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, a nominal clause or an infinitival phrase. If the complement is a prepositional phrase the choice of preposition is normally restricted lexically by the verb. Such information was rare in Swedish dictionaries until the middle of the twentieth century, and even then syntactic information was rather accidental. The *Svensk handordbok* ('Handy dictionary of Swedish'; Johannisson and Ljunggren 1966) had as its main purpose to account for the syntactic properties of lexical items but the presentation was still uneven. An extensive and systematic dictionary of this kind is currently being prepared by the Swedish Language Council (forthcoming 2004).

A radical change of the syntactic standard occurred when plural verb forms and thereby also the agreement between subject and finite verbs were abandoned in writing. In the dialects of Central Sweden plural verb forms had disappeared already in the eighteenth century. The Swedish author Carl Jonas Love Almquist (1793–1866) and Adolf Noreen, the neo-grammarian linguist, had insisted upon the reform in the nineteenth century. They saw number agreement as an unnecessary complication since number was already signalled in the subject. The teaching of the singular/plural verb forms required extra time in the schools since the pupils could not fall back on their spoken language. In the first half of the twentieth century some of the literary authors began to use singular verb forms to mirror spoken language in direct speech and some radical journalists abandoned plural verb forms altogether. Otherwise, the status of plural verb forms and verbal agreement remained undisturbed until the end of World War II. In 1945 the national news agency asked the Swedish Language Council if plural verb forms could be dispensed with. The Council replied that such a change normally would have no negative effects. This was the opening of a flood-gate. The Swedish Academy protested but after less than ten years practically all writers had given up plural verb forms.

4. Norm elaboration

Early political declarations of the seventeenth century stressed the importance of a rich and pure vocabulary. The language user should have access to as many domestic words as possible. The basic ideology at the time was patriotic. The language

should be rich just as the country was wealthy and powerful. It should demonstrate that the country stood on its own legs and did not need to borrow from others. This attitude lived on in the following centuries, although its underlying motivation became more utilitarian: the vocabulary should suffice for all domains where the language users needed to communicate with each other. It should be an effective instrument for the writers and scientists of the country. The domestic character of the vocabulary should make it possible for uneducated men and women to enjoy literary and scientific texts.

Already during the end of the seventeenth century Swedish language cultivators recognized five major ways to elaborate the vocabulary (e.g. Columbus in a ms. edited in 1963):

- (a) import words from other languages
- (b) revive words from old texts
- (c) promote words from dialects
- (d) form new words from existing lexical material
- (e) extend the meaning of existing words

Foreign words have been criticized since the sixteenth century. However, most of the cultivators took a balanced attitude to lexical loans. Words which had already “obtained citizenship”, as they said, ought to be accepted like naturalized immigrants. International terminological fellowship was regarded as desirable. Other loanwords, too, were often necessary and practical, and they could normally be adapted if their pronunciation, spelling or inflection were problematic. What the cultivators disliked most were the so-called unnecessary loans, replacing well-known domestic words with the same meaning. They moralized strongly against people who mixed their language with foreign expressions for what were seen as unacceptable reasons: laziness, vanity, conceit etc. (e.g. G. Stiernhielm in the seventeenth century, S. Hof in the eighteenth century and V. Rydberg in the nineteenth century).

The situation is much the same today, at least among laypeople participating in the language debates. Today’s linguists, however, are more ready to accept that foreign words can have connotations of modernity and an international flavour which cannot easily be expressed with domestic words. It is obvious, too, that to the young generation of the late twentieth century foreign words often are more understandable than domestic innovations, although foreign words may still be a problem for their grandparents.

An interesting detail is the attitude towards lexical borrowing from German, which was frequent from the Middle Ages until World War II. From the beginning such words were not considered to be proper loans, since German was generally regarded as a language very closely related to Swedish. Most German loans were so

easily incorporated that they could not be distinguished from domestic innovations. Some debaters warned that the Swedes should be extra watchful of them because of this close linguistic relationship. A famous (but rather short) anti-German campaign was launched by the author and journalist Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895) against the frequent prefixes *be-* and *för-* in words that had been borrowed from German for centuries.

The ambition to adopt loans from ancient texts was most prominent in the seventeenth century when Sweden was a great power in need of a glorious past. Cultivators pointed at this possibility but the enthusiasm of the language users never was overwhelming. The dialects were regarded by many cultivators as a particularly valuable lexical treasure chest. However, during the second half of the eighteenth century, when French classicism was the dominant ideology of the cultural elite, attitudes were negative towards dialectal speech as well as against older forms of Swedish. But after that rural dialects were favourably looked upon again. This was so especially in the nineteenth century, when the dialects had begun their retreat and the standard language was victorious on all fronts. However, ideology and attitude among cultivators is one thing, actual language use is another, and the number of words borrowed from the dialects was always small. Many specific dialect words concerned rural objects and processes which were rarely referred to in urbanized society; other dialect words were not able to compete with synonym standard expressions which were already firmly established.

Apart from lexical borrowing from foreign languages the creation of neologisms was the most important way to enrich the vocabulary. The use of existing words with new meanings (metaphors, metonyms etc.) was also significant, but this approach remained underexplored by the cultivators who on the whole preferred new words for new meanings.

The creation of new words and meanings was accomplished by the language users themselves to meet specific communicative needs. The need for Swedish words depended on the functional domains where Swedish was the medium of communication, and when Swedish replaced Latin as the language of learning in Sweden in the eighteenth century it needed many new words within old and new scientific domains. Likewise, when the area of public administration became more extensive and complex, new words had to be created. The domestic literature of fiction and poetry which was growing in quantity and became more self-confident, needed new words, too. The modernization of the country gave rise to an explosion of written texts and a constant need for new words. The language users themselves saw to it that these words were created.

The role of the cultivators, the lexicographers in particular, was principally to function as gatekeepers of the standard language. They decided which of the words on the market should be codified as standard. The dictionaries from A. Sahlstedt

(1773) through A. F. Dalin (1850–53) to the large lexical handbooks of the twentieth century selected and listed those words that were considered worthy of belonging the standard non-technical language of the nation. Dictionaries for specific technical domains were published, too. Purist manuals listed domestic substitutes for unnecessary foreign words (e.g. Sahlstedt 1769). From the seventeenth century until today single cultivators have suggested new words to be incorporated into the standard vocabulary, either for entirely new lexical concepts or for meanings otherwise expressed by foreign words. This activity has neither been very extensive nor very successful. One publication which lists many inventive neologisms is B. Collinder (e.g. 1983).

An institution which at the same time functioned as a creator of new terms and as a lexical gate-keeper was *Tekniska nomenklaturcentralen* (1941–; later: *Terminologisentrum, TNC*). TNC worked together with specialists of various domains to establish authorized terminologies and published an impressive series of technical glossaries for many fields of technology and administration.

Language debaters often criticized words for being politically or ideologically loaded in an undesired way. During the second half of the twentieth century the discussion was concerned with e.g. the need for sexually neutral designations (*justerare/justeringsperson* ‘member to check the minutes’, instead of *justeringsman*), and non-negative designations of professions (*lokalvårdare* ‘cleaner’ instead of *städerska*) or ethnical groups (*same* ‘Sami (Lapp)’, instead of *lapp*). Now and then debates arose on so-called *modeord* ‘vogue words’, i.e. words which were considered to be excessively popular and therefore to run the risk of becoming semantically too vague, e.g. the relatively common use of *fascist* as a general insulting word with thin descriptive meaning.

To sum up: Language cultivators (including lexicographers) sometimes acted as inventors of good words but on the whole their attitude was descriptive rather than prescriptive in lexical matters. The Swedish Language Council collected new words and published them in glossaries from (1986 and 2000) but the words were not evaluated or authorized.

5. Norm acceptance

The effect of language cultivation upon actual usage is difficult to assess. Only its failures can be verified with certainty. If its recommendations were in accordance with general trends, the outcome would perhaps have been the same without the support of the language cultivators.

One important condition for success was the message itself: its reasonable and realistic character, the format in which it was published, its pedagogical aspects, etc.

Some of the language cultivators made sensible recommendations and presented them in a lucid persuasive style, while others were poor writers or too radical to have a chance, and still others failed to finish their books and have them printed.

Other conditions may have been even more significant, though. The implementation of the recommendations was in some cases promoted by governmental decisions in legislation, censorship and administration. One effective instrument for implementing a standard norm was the general school system. Prestigious institutions could strengthen the acceptance of the standard and linguistic control which could be integrated into the production of books by printers and publishers. Significant and/or popular authors influenced the linguistic usage of their readers, whether their texts complied with the cultivators' recommendations or not. A favourable factor was sometimes the public debate on linguistic matters: it may not have led to specific conclusions, but it made the public more aware of standardization issues and increased its sensitivity of converging trends within their linguistic community.

Direct language-political measures on governmental level were rare in Sweden. Some kings from the sixteenth century and onwards warned against foreign loans and forbade the chancery to use them. As a matter of fact, such words were seldom used in official documents or in Swedish law — compared to the situation in private texts like letters and diaries. A royal censor (until 1766) read manuscripts with secular content before they were printed and made sure they included no forbidden opinions or linguistic errors, but the linguistic control was normally neither ambitious nor effective. The royal chancery worked on creating an orthographical standard for the Bible (1703) and other public writing but did not succeed. At the end of the nineteenth century the government ordered the orthography of SAOL to be used in public administration and in the schools. The ministry of education ordered a partial orthographical reform in 1906 which was immediately carried through in the schools. In the twentieth century, too, the government was rather passive concerning language cultivation, its principal contribution being its partial financing of the semi-official institutions TNC and the Swedish Language Council.

Written Swedish had obtained a codified orthographical and morphological norm in the eighteenth century without the support of a general school system. People learnt to read but not to write through arrangements by the church, but there was no common primary school system, and the senior school was a Latin school with no systematic instruction in the mother tongue. The situation changed radically in the nineteenth century. Senior schools financed by the state were established in all major towns. Swedish was a basic subject in the curriculum. The parliament decreed that obligatory primary schools for all boys and girls should be organized all over the country. Nearly all pupils learnt to write according to the

standard norm and got acquainted with a kind of spoken standard based on reading pronunciation. The senior schools turned out to be a profitable market for Swedish school grammars, many of them ably written, reflecting contemporary knowledge of morphology and syntax.

Some non-governmental institutions influenced the standardization of Swedish. The Royal Academy of Science (1739–) had its own rules for writing and inspired linguistic research and debate in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Swedish Academy was founded by King Gustavus III in 1786 and was given the task of cultivating the language. The Academy of Science supported Sahlstedt whose grammar (1769) and dictionary (1773) turned out to be a good combination of handbooks to define and disseminate a possible orthographic and morphological standard. At the beginning the Swedish Academy did not manage to produce an authorized grammar or dictionary of its own, but its orthographical manual (Leopold 1801) was a great achievement and success. The stability of the standard norms was secured by the Academy until the last decades of the nineteenth century when its authority was challenged by school teachers and university professors who demanded a radical spelling reform. At the same time the Swedish Academy became more interested in literature than language. However, its glossary recaptured its status as the definitive codification of the norm in the middle of the twentieth century.

Public linguistic debate flared up now and then in narrower or broader circles. Santesson (1988) has suggested that standardization was placed on the public agenda at least twice during the seventeenth century. Around 1700 some treatises were published by writers, who took part in an ongoing discussion of a uniform Swedish language. The public discussion of standardization matters was lively on many occasions in the eighteenth century. At the end of the nineteenth century, too, an intensive debate raged about a proposed reform to make spelling more like speech. Big issues during the twentieth century were the abandoning of plural verb forms, the choice of sentence-integrated address forms (*du* [≈German *du*] vs *ni* [≈German *Sie*] vs title phrase e.g. *herr Berg*), the creation of sexually neutral designations for human referents. The official Bible translations of 1917 and 1999 triggered heated discussions on language usage. Many readers considered that the Bible should preserve solemn language forms that had otherwise become obsolete in contemporary language (e.g. Åsberg 1991).

From the beginning of the art of printing it was often stressed that printing offices should have their own correctors to secure the uniform linguistic form of their products. Such correctors existed but their efficiency was low until the eighteenth century when Lars Salvius (1706–1773), a successful printer and ambitious language cultivator, managed to print his books and journals more uniformly (Santesson 1686). In the following century publishers of books, journals and daily

papers and publishing firms often had special employees or departments to guarantee that their products were printed according to the codified standard norm. In the second half of the twentieth century language cultivators were employed by the government's office and the Ministries, the biggest daily newspapers, some broadcasting and television companies etc.

Some texts had a strong influence upon the rise and fate of the standardized language. One of them was the Bible of 1541. The ambition of the government was that the Bible of 1703 should have the same status as a linguistic model of contemporary and future Swedish. The plan did not succeed, since the language of the new Bible remained too conservative to attract the language users of the eighteenth century. Other texts were more influential at the time, such as the *Swedish Law* of 1734, O. v. Dalin's journal *The Swedish Argus* of 1732–34 (2nd ed. 1754), and the *Acta* of the Royal Academy of Science. Fiction, poetry and journalism were other types of texts that contributed to the establishment of a stable standard norm in the eighteenth century and afterwards. After 1800 it is difficult to find specific texts which influenced the development of the standard language. One strategic example is Selma Lagerlöf's *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* ('The wonderful journey of Nils Holgersson through Sweden'), a pedagogical novel written for the Swedish primary schools (1906–07). Following Adolf Noreen, Lagerlöf abandoned plural verb forms in direct speech. This was sensational at the time and paved the way for a general reform some decades later.

For the fate of the spoken and written standards of Swedish after 1800 the broader historical context was of course crucial. Ideologies like nationalism, functionalism, modernism, egalitarianism, commercialism etc. influenced language and language cultivation as did the demographic and democratic transformation of the society. These aspects have been investigated only marginally and are still poorly understood.

6. Recent developments

In the middle of the twentieth century it was observed that the traditional tripartite scale of linguistic style (high-middle-low) — as described e.g. in Boileau's manual of poetry — was being reduced. The markers of formal style tended to become obsolete and the casual variants were losing their marked status and became stylistically neutral. Some leading language cultivators around the middle of the twentieth century (like E. Wellander, E. Wessén, C. I. Ståhle) criticized the tendency but the process could not be stopped or reversed. In modern Swedish, words like *inte* 'not', *bara* 'only', *ska* 'shall', which used to belong to the informal style became unmarked, i.e. they could be used where the conventional standard vari-

ants *icke*, *endast* and *skall* had been obligatory some years ago. The development can probably be explained by a general trend of de-formalization: public life became more informal and the authorities were expected to communicate with ordinary people in a less formal way. The egalitarian currents were effective also in the domain of language.

The pressure from speech on writing gradually became stronger and the power relation between the two began to change. Even though linguists had argued at least since the mid eighteenth century that speech was the basic manifestation of language, writing often had a more prominent position in public life. It was learnt in school; modern society depended upon it as did modern science. By many people written language was, therefore, taken to be the “real”, “proper” and “prototypical” form of the standard language, while the spoken language was regarded as a more or less imperfect copy of writing.

It is possible that the arrival of television was instrumental in reversing the relationship between written and spoken language. Certainly, spoken language had been the medium of broadcasting, too, but on the whole early radio speech was more like writing: professionals delivering prepared monologues in no specific visual context shared with the listener. The language of national broadcasting was regarded as the true manifestation of the spoken standard norm, and the correctness discipline of the broadcasting monopoly was very strict (Jonsson 1982). The speech of television was something different: spoken language occurred in a context that could be inspected by the listeners/viewers, more and more programs were conversations and the tone was often one of intimacy (Svensson forthcoming). The role of professional journalists was reduced, and a large proportion of the broadcasted speech was produced by invited amateurs. The ordinary listener/viewer came to look upon the spoken language of television as the real form of modern Swedish. Just as the language of newspapers had earlier been regarded as canonical and had been able to influence the language of other genres, now the spontaneous, natural, unedited spoken language of the television gradually began to influence written language norms.

A change in the relations between generations possibly also reduced the status of a narrow standard. The role of the family and the elders in the socialization of children and youth had diminished: the new generation spent more time during a longer period of their lives with their peers of the same age in and outside school. The economic strength of young people had increased, as consumers of sport, music, clothes and entertainment. A public cult of youthfulness, spontaneity and “naturalness” developed and resulted in an increased representation of the young generation in media and advertisement. Their spoken language was often rapid with plenty of jargon and it was constantly changing to express maximum modernity. A stable standard of spoken language came to be considered less desirable by many people.

The language cultivators of the twentieth century had accustomed themselves to the idea that the standard norm was established once and for all. In the second half of the century, language cultivators concentrated their activities on the effectiveness of public communication: their primary goal was to make the authorities speak and write a clear and understandable language. At the end of the twentieth century, however, a new kind of threat became visible. It was noticed that Swedish as a public language was losing functional domains to English, the universal medium for transnational communication. This was happening in science, at the universities and to some extent even in senior schools. English was more and more used as a company language in high business, in multinational and other export companies. In certain domains of popular culture, too, English became the dominant language. And as the Swedish parliament renounced some of its power to the European union, Swedish as a political language became — relatively — weaker (cf. Teleman 1992 and Falk 2001.) The Swedish Language Council sketched a program for governmental language policy and in 2002 a parliamentary committee handed in an extensive report *Mål i mun* ('A tongue in your head') on the basis of the Council's suggestions. It was proposed that the status of Swedish should be legally guaranteed as the official language of Sweden and that Swedish should remain a "complete" language, i.e. an effective communicative instrument for all purposes.

References

- Åsberg, Chr. (ed.) 1991. *Språket i bibeln, bibeln i språket*. Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Botin, A. af. 1771. *Svenska språket i tal och skrift*. Stockholm.
- Collinder, B. 1983. *Stora ordboken: svensk ordnyckel*. Höganäs: Bra böcker.
- Columbus, S. 1963. *En svensk ordeskötsel*. Sylvia Boström (ed.). Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk.
- Dalin, A. F. 1850–53. *Ordbok öfver svenska språket*. Stockholm.
- Ekerot, L.-J. 1991. "Satskommatering och tydlighetskommatering. Ett bidrag till den svenska kommateringens 1900-talshistoria". In *Studier i svensk språkhistoria 2*, S. G. Malmgren and B. Ralph (eds), 31–56. Göteborg: Institutionen för nordiska språk.
- Falk, M. 2001. *Språkpolitik, initiativ och domänförändringar (-förluster) i Sverige*. Utredningsuppdrag från Nordiska Ministerrådets språkpolitiska referensgrupp 2001.
- Garlén, C. 2003. *Svensk uttalsordbok*. Svenska språknämnden (ed.). Stockholm: Norstedts ordbok.
- Gustavianska brev: brev från Leopold, Kellgren, Franzén m.fl.* 1918. Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Hannesdóttir, A.-H. 1998. *Lexikografisk spegel*. [Meijerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning 23]. Göteborg.
- Haugen, E. 1966. *Language conflict and language planning. The case of Modern Norwegian*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard university press.

- Hedelin, P. 1997. *Norstedts svenska uttalslexikon*. Stockholm: Norstedts ordbok.
- Hof, S. 1985 [1753]. *Swänska Språkets Rätta Skriftsätt*. M. Thelander (ed.). Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk.
- Holm, G. 1984. "Kritiskt bidrag till läran om nysvenska rikstalspråket". In *Festskrift til Einar Lundeby*, 143–185. Oslo: Novus.
- Johannisson, T., and Ljunggren, K. G. 1966. *Svensk handordbok*. Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget.
- Jonsson, Å. 1982. *Den omsorgsfulle ordmålaren. Studier i Sven Jerrings radiospråk mot bakgrund av radions allmänna syn på språket under de första decennierna*. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International.
- Leopold, C. G. af. 1801. *Afhandling om Svenska Stafsättet* [Svenska Akademiens handlingar ifrån år 1796. Första delen]. Stockholm.
- Linder, N. 1886. *Regler och råd angående svenska språkets behandling i tal och skrift*. Revised edition. Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Lindqvist, N. 1929. "Bibelsvenskans medeltida ursprung". *Nysvenska studier* 8: 165–260.
- Lindqvist, N. 1941. *Några huvuddrag i Gustav Vasas Bibels språk*. Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1941.
- Loman, B. 1982. "Idéer och motiveringar i nordisk språkplanering under de senaste hundra åren". *Språk i Norden* 1982: 45–76.
- Loman, B. 1991. "Studiet av stadsmål i Norge och Sverige 1850–1950." *Folkmålsstudier* 33: 9–72.
- Lundell, J. A. 1879. "Det svenska landsmålsalfabetet". *Svenska Landsmål* 1.2:11–157.
- Lyttkens, I. A. and Wulff, F. A. 1889. *Svensk uttals-ordbok*. Lund: Gleerups.
- Noreen, A. 1885. "Om språkriktighet". In A. Noreen. 1912. *Spridda studier* 1. Second edition 128–199.
- Noreen, A. 1886. "Rättstavningslära". *Nystavaren* 1886: 1–10.
- Rydberg, V. 1873. "Tysk eller nordisk svenska". *Svensk tidskrift* 1873: 489–530.
- Rydgqvist, J. E. 1870. *Ljudlagar och skriflagar*. Stockholm.
- Sahlstedt, A. 1769a. *Dictionarium pseudo-svecanum*. Västerås.
- Sahlstedt, A. 1769. *Svensk Grammatica efter det nu för tiden brukliga sättet at tala ok skrifwa*. Uppsala.
- Sahlstedt, A. 1773. *Swensk Ordbok. Med Latinsk Uttolkning*. Stockholm.
- Santesson, L. 1986. *Tryckt hos Salvius. En undersökning om språkvården på ett 1700-talstryckeri med hänsyn till ortografi och morfologi*. Lund: Lund University Press.
- Santesson, L. 1988. "Några förändringar i svensk ortografi under 1600-talet". In *Svenskans beskrivning* 16(2): 401–414.
- SAOL = *Ordlista över svenska språket*. Ed. by the Swedish Academy. 1st — 12th ed. 1874–1998.
- Sjögren, G. 1949. *Om språket i de svenska bibelöversättningarna 1526–1541*. Lund: Gleerups.
- Skrivregler*. 1947. Skrifter utg. av Nämnden för svensk språkvård 4. Stockholm.
- Ståhle, C.-I. 1970a. "Det nordiska rättstavningsmötet 1869 och hundra års svensk rättstavning". *Språk i Norden* 1979: 5–36.
- Ståhle, C.-I. 1970b. *Svenskt bibelspråk från 1500-tal till 1900-tal* [Skrifter utg. av Nämnden för svensk språkvård 40]. Stockholm: Läromedelsförlagen.

- Svensson, J. Forthcoming. "The language of broadcasting and television". In *The Nordic languages. An international handbook of the history of the North Germanic languages*. Berlin et al.: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tegnér, E. d.y. 1886. *Natur och onatur i fråga om svensk rättstavning*. Uppsala.
- Teleman, U. 1992. "Det svenska riksspråkets utsikter i ett integrerat Europa". In *Språk i världen. Broar och barriärer*, J. Blomqvist and U. Teleman (eds), 127–141.
- Teleman, U. 1991. "Om normföreställningars födelse". In *Studier i svensk språkhistoria 2*, S. G. Malmgren and B. Ralph (eds), 214–229.
- Teleman, U. 2002. *Ära rikedom och reda. Svensk språkvård och språkpolitik under äldre nyare tid*. Stockholm: Norstedts ordbok.
- Teleman, U. 2003. *Tradis och funkis. Svensk språkvård och språkpolitik efter 1800*. Stockholm: Norstedts ordbok.
- Weiss, P. 1999. *Ordning i bruket, skäl till vanan. Orthographische Grundpositionen bei schwedischen Grammatikern des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Linguistica septentrionalia 1. Saarbrücken: AQ-verlag.
- Wellander, E. 1939. *Riktig svenska*. Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget.
- Widmark, G. 1992. "Boksvenska och talsvenska. Om språkarter i nysvenskt talspråk". *Språk och stil*. [N. F. 1] 1991: 157–198.
- Widmark, G. 2000. "Hovspråket — en talarts uppgång och fall". *Språk och stil*. [N. F. 9] 1999: 21–35.
- Zheltukhin, A. 1996. *Orthographic Codes and Code-Switching. A study in 16th century Swedish orthography*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Yiddish

A language without an army
regulates itself

Rakhmiel Peltz

Drexel University, Philadelphia, United States of America

1. Background

Yiddish is the language associated with Ashkenazic Jews, whose settlement became significant in Germanic lands in about the ninth century. *Ashkenaz*, in fact, is a Hebrew name, which appears in the book of Genesis. It was applied in Jewish texts of medieval times to Germanic territory in Europe. By the thirteenth century, some Ashkenazic Jews moved eastward, settling in Poland, Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic lands, Hungary and Romania. By the eighteenth century a majority of the Ashkenazic Jews were living in East Central Europe. Because of persecutions and repeated forced expulsions from Germanic areas, as well as invitations from local Polish royalty to help develop their frontier areas, the majority of Jews settled in Poland and Lithuania. Further emigration, in largest numbers at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, brought Yiddish from Eastern Europe to the Western hemisphere, Palestine (later the state of Israel), Western Europe, South Africa, and Australia. The travels of this language and culture provide a unique case, in which the locations which spawned the language and nurtured it in its early years (i.e. in Germany, Alsace, and the Netherlands, territories in which non-Jewish neighbours spoke Germanic tongues) were different from the areas in which Yiddish culture matured (mostly among Slavic speakers in East Central and Eastern Europe). Moreover, the fate of Yiddish was sealed by the extermination of the residents of its East European heartland by the Nazis during World War II. Thus, although the elaboration of a modern Yiddish culture took place on Slavic territory, the activities of this culture, both old and new, were laid to rest by the descendants of those German speakers present at the birth of the language.

Yiddish still exists in the twenty-first century, mostly in the lands to which Ashkenazic Jews emigrated at the end of the nineteenth century. The largest groups of speakers include members of religiously observant, traditional communities in Israel and the United States, often deriving from East European centres decimated by the Nazis. The major efforts at conscious Yiddish language planning blossomed between the World Wars in Eastern Europe, in Jewish secular, cultural, academic, and political institutions, modelled after analogous non-Jewish European organizations concerned with social and cultural planning. However, continuity of these initiatives, as well as opposition to standardization, has proceeded in the years after World War II, despite the shrinking number of institutions that might enact the recommended changes. Within the context of a discussion of standardization of Germanic languages, the Yiddish language distinguishes itself because of its historical, geographic, cultural, and religious individuality. Furthermore, its modern cultural growth has been marked by conflicting attitudes on the part of its speakers toward the functioning of modern German as a source language for linguistic developments in Yiddish.

Yiddish evolved as a linguistic and cultural system resulting from the fusion of elements modified from several stock languages. The main components of Yiddish are Germanic, Semitic (derived from Hebrew and Aramaic) and Slavic (mostly derived from Belorussian, Czech, Polish and Ukrainian). Although the Germanic component is predominant in spoken and written Yiddish, the Slavic component is integrated in the language, including in constructions that are Germanic in form but modelled after Slavic usage. Within traditional European society, Yiddish functioned as a vernacular in a diglossic relationship with *loshn koydesh* ('the sacred tongue') Hebrew. Yiddish was the language of conversation in the family and community, as well as the language in which the sacred texts were studied, while Hebrew was the language of prayer and the language in which the Bible was read. The Aramaic of the Talmud, studied, discussed and analyzed by Ashkenazic scholars, adds another language to the equation. Such functional distribution is common to the language make-up of Jewish communities the world over. Accordingly, Yiddish can be compared, in regards to its social and cultural role, with other members of the family of Jewish languages.¹ Such a comparison would also make more sense, when approaching questions of standardization, than to compare Yiddish with other Germanic languages. Within East European Jewish society, many Jews used Slavic languages, such as Polish, Russian, or Ukrainian, in addition to Yiddish and Hebrew. Thus, the language scene is complex, even for the ordinary Jewish woman or man.

Dialectal differentiation has been studied in great detail, especially for Yiddish in East Central and Eastern Europe, but also for areas in Western Europe such as Alsace, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland (Katz 1983; Herzog et al. 1969; Herzog

1992, 1998, 2001). In fact, the use of East European dialects and their perceived contrastive identification were carried over to the USA and continue to influence standardization activities. Although there was dialect levelling because of intermarriage in the lands of immigration, certain stereotypes and symbols of prestige and derision continued to be associated with specific dialects (Gutmans 1957; Jochnowitz 1969; Peltz 1998: 162–170; Schaechter 1986: 285–295).

Language planning for Yiddish was indeed coloured by many languages and dialects as well as by their numerous contrastive roles in Jewish society. However, as is the case in the establishment of standards for all languages, the dominating factors at play are always in the realm of attitude towards language, on the part of both speakers of the language and outsiders to the cultural group. Attitudinal concerns are especially relevant to members of minority groups in a society. Ashkenazic Jews were always minorities in the countries in which they resided. Anti-Semitism in these societies helped to foster feelings of biological and cultural inferiority within the Jewish population. Gilman (1986), in his treatment of Yiddish in Germany, associates the hatred of Jews by non-Jews, as well as Jewish self-hatred, with the idea of Yiddish as the secret language of the Jews. Although the Yiddish language was central to Jewish identity, it also symbolized everything that was negative and despoiled about the Jews. Such twisted associations coloured the relationship between Yiddish and German from before the time of Emancipation.² The negative attitude to Yiddish was accepted by non-Jews, German Jews, and then internalized by East European Jews. The German language was viewed as an authentic language, complete and pure, whereas Yiddish was merely a corruption of German, a marginal woman's language.³ This is but one of many historical relationships that connected modern Yiddish to its stock languages and which undoubtedly influenced both Yiddish speakers and language planners.

2. The arena for Yiddish language planning

In this treatment of Yiddish standardization within a comparative framework of Germanic standardizations, it is necessary to situate the processes of Yiddish standardization within the history of the language and culture. I use the term “standardization” to connote centripetal changes in language use, both consciously orchestrated in the society and due to the day-to-day social forces operating in the community. The former actions I call “language planning” and the latter changes constitute part of language history. Both aspects of standardization influence each other. From the early days of sociolinguistic inquiry it has been clear that there is no linguistics that is not socially motivated, and, indeed, the social forces that synchronically influence language change are the same factors that account for linguistic diachrony (Weinreich et al. 1968).

Before there were committees on Yiddish orthography and terminology, centuries-old processes of making oneself understood in speaking and writing had developed in Jewish society from Amsterdam to Odessa. This led to the evolution of standard ways of expressing oneself throughout the Yiddish-speaking, Yiddish-writing, and Yiddish-reading society. Uniformity co-existed with diversity, based on such factors as geographic location, gender, socioeconomic class, and register. In this exploration, I will attempt to identify and analyze some of the means by which standards for Yiddish were established. Since the language changed and its functions were elaborated as Jews experienced their minority status in varied lands and under an assortment of rulers, it was rare, with the exception of the Soviet Union between the world wars, that there was governmental support for Yiddish standardization. Consequently, the individual and spontaneous societal regulators of language use took on greater importance. It is relatively easy to prescribe standards, but it is a challenge to bring about implementation. Yiddish attracted skilled standardizers, but historical and social circumstances made it difficult to foster acceptance of the recommendations.

Language planning for Yiddish made tremendous gains with the establishment of Yiddish-language-based academic research institutions in the 1920s in Minsk, in the Belorussian SSR and Kiev, in the Ukrainian SSR of the Soviet Union as well as in Vilna in Poland. All of these efforts led to the establishment of active teams of researchers, with Yiddish language planning as one of their primary goals. The earliest and most short-lived initiative was that of the Yiddish section of the Institute for Belorussian Culture in 1921, which exhibited its major language-related activity from 1925 until the death of its leader Mordkhe Veynger (1890–1929). Its successor, the Institute for Jewish Proletarian Culture of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences produced little serious normative work in the 1930s. Kiev, on the other hand, demonstrated a relatively continuous effort, starting in 1926, at the philological section of the Jewish cultural branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (until 1939). This work was headed first by Nokhm Shtif (1879–1933) until his death, and then by Elye Spivak (1890–1952). Yiddish language planning was discussed in the Kiev linguistics journal *Di yidishe shprakh* ‘The Yiddish Language’ (later called *Afn shprakhfront* ‘On the Language Front’) from 1927–1939. In the journal specialized terminologies were published, along with detailed orthographic rules as well as discussions of syntactic and stylistic recommendations for a standardized Yiddish. In the years between the world wars, the heyday for Yiddish language planning and language and culture research, the circumstances for Yiddish were not that different from that of its neighbouring languages, Ukrainian and Belorussian. The strictest years of repression vis-à-vis the views of Moscow and Russian hegemony, the years of the Cultural Revolution (1929–1932), attempted to cut off the nationality planners from all contact and communication with their

“bourgeois” compatriots who were living and working on the other side of the iron curtain, mostly in Poland, but also in the Baltic states and the USA (cf. Peltz 1985; Peltz and Kiel 1985; Estrai kh 1999). The debates at the conferences and in the journals attempted to free the language from its religious and traditional elements, to foster economy in word and phrase structure as well as in the alphabet, thus acquiring a revolutionary appearance. Other topics of debate concerned the question of whether to resist or to succumb to the influence of Russian, especially at the level of the sentence, and whether to unify the language with post-revolutionary Soviet languages or whether to maintain Yiddish-specific traditions.

YIVO (*Der yidisher visnshaftelekh institut* ‘The Institute for Jewish Research’, also known as ‘The Jewish Scientific Institute’) was founded in Vilna in 1925; it was proposed by N. Shtif and organized by a collective of scholars and community leaders headed by Max Weinreich (1894–1969). Its philological section was largely devoted to issues of language planning. In 1938–39 until the outbreak of World War II, YIVO published a language planning monthly, *Yidish far ale* ‘Yiddish for All’, edited by Noyekh Prilutski (1882–1941) in Warsaw. Re-established in New York City during the Second World War with its former research director, the language historian and Yiddish language planner Max Weinreich at its helm, its only journal devoted to linguistics, *Yidishe shprakh* (‘Yiddish Language’, 1941–86) carried the subtitle: “a journal devoted to the problems of standard Yiddish”. Edited first by the grammarian Yudl Mark (1897–1975) and in its latter years by the language planner Mordkhe Schaechter (1927–), most recommendations reflected the opinion of the respective editor. In recent years, Schaechter, the leading authority of all time on Yiddish standardization and language history, continues his recommendations in the quarterly *Afn shvel* (‘On the Threshold’), which he edits for the New York League for Yiddish.

If one focuses on one typical area of language planning, that is, the compilation and creation of terminological lists in specific areas of endeavour, the concentration of activity between the two world wars and the geographic distribution of activity in Eastern Europe are clearly demonstrated: starting with the Terminology Committee of the Association of Yiddish Teachers (Vilna, Russia, later Poland, 1915–1921), followed by the Yiddish School- and Folk-Education Association (Lodz, 1917–?), the Orthographic and Terminological Committee of *Shulbukh* ‘School book’ (Warsaw, 1917–?), Terminological Committee of the Cultural Conference in Warsaw (delegates from Warsaw, Vilna, Bialostok, Lodz, and Shedlets, 1919), Central Dinezon School Committee (Warsaw 1920–21), The *Mefitsey-Haskole* (‘Disseminators of Education’) Boys School Terminology Committee (Vilna, 1920–?), The Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (Moscow, 1918–23), *Kultur-Lige* ‘The League for Culture’ (Kiev, Ukraine, 1919–late 1920s), Terminology Committee of ORT (Kiev, 1919–?), Philological Committee of the Central Jewish Education Department

(Moscow, 1920-?), Yiddish Philological Committee of the Central Jewish Education Bureau (Kharkov, Ukraine, 1921–1925?), Jewish Section of the Institute for White Russian Culture (Minsk, Belorussia, 1924-?), Philological Section of the Institute for Jewish Proletarian Culture (Kiev, Ukraine, 1927–39), Consulting Office for Terminology (Freidorf, Soviets of Crimea and the southern Ukraine, 1932-?), Terminology Initiatives of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan, 1934–36?), Philological Section of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research (Vilna, 1925–41), Terminology Group connected to the new modern Yiddish-English English-Yiddish Dictionary (Stanford, CA. and New York, 1966), and the Terminology Working Group at YIVO (New York, 1970-?). For an overview see Kahn (1972, 1973, 1980).

The above list reveals the striking surge of activity starting with World War I and largely finishing a quarter of a century later with the outbreak of World War II. This was a period characterized by rapid building of new cultural institutions, largely in the secular sphere of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Almost all of the early initiatives in corpus planning were launched to serve the new schools. Although the majority of schools remained religious and used Yiddish as the medium of instruction (since Yiddish had to serve as a mediator for the languages of the holy books, Hebrew and Aramaic), secular schools arose, which taught all subjects, Jewish and secular, from Jewish history to physics in Yiddish or modern Hebrew. Secularization of Jewish society and politics had started in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century and in Eastern Europe in the mid-nineteenth century. The vast majority of the Jews lived in the Russian empire, wherein much public restriction of cultural expression in Yiddish and modern Hebrew pervaded. Jewish society had hardly ever before taught secular subjects. Following the schools came the advanced research institutes with their philological sections that aimed at providing Yiddish terms for all aspects of Jewish life, from technological work to a legal justice system. All of these budding efforts were eliminated by the Nazi extermination of the Jews and their institutions in Eastern Europe, the major heartland of Jewish life in the world at that time in history.

3. Norm selection

During the history of Yiddish language planning, we can distinguish the concept of *klal-shprakh* ‘standard language’ from *kulturshprakh* ‘language of culture’. The concept of *klal-shprakh* addresses the problem of regional variation (M. Vaynraykh 1950; Mark 1978). *Klal-shprakh* is the one language system that is on a higher level and unites all dialects and communities. The planning of *klal-shprakh* is squarely placed against the reality of spoken language (Mark 1978). The earliest example of a

written *klal-shprakh* is the standardized literary *kulturshprakh* of pre-nineteenth century Yiddish literature (Vaynraykh 1950). Vaynraykh (same as Weinreich in English) admits that there is only stylistic variation in the *klal-shprakh* since regional variation has been eliminated, although he is willing to accept dialectal specificities of the lexicon. However, he does not extend such openness to syntax or phonology.

Whereas the development of *klal-shprakh* is targeted towards the language of spoken and written communication that can be understood in all geographic areas, the concept of *kulturshprakh* refers to the goal of broadening the functions of a language to cover all realms of human activity and thought, in a multitude of societal niches and institutions (Vaynraykh 1950). The practical record of language planning shows that once societal functions have been decided upon by status planning, the corpus planning process is usually concerned with orthography and lexicon (terminologies).

Let us study the role of the dialects in the centuries-long process of moulding the *klal-shprakh*. The first literary standard, *shraybshprakh alef* 'written language A', which was based on Western and Central European Yiddish dialects, held for literature created in the West and was also applied to literature created in Eastern Europe until the turn of the nineteenth century. We do not possess enough information to outline the changing relationship of the *klal-shprakh* to the dialects of Western Yiddish over the centuries. When turning to Eastern Europe, it is striking that prestige and tradition maintained a written standard that did not correspond to the Eastern dialects. Moreover, in times when Yiddish publishing centres existed in Italian and Dutch territories (during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), published works contained lexical items from the local Western Yiddish. No study has yet identified the role of local publishers in determining the printed language throughout Yiddish literary history.

In Eastern Europe, where cultural differentiation of Yiddish reached its height, three definite dialect areas developed: Northeastern Yiddish, Central Yiddish and Southeastern Yiddish. It is thought that the varieties of Yiddish brought from the West became consolidated in several rather uniform large dialect areas. Colonial German, on the other hand, although experiencing some dialect levelling in Eastern Europe, exhibited mostly isolated dialect islands (*Sprachinseln*) that reflected the place of origin of the settlers. Whereas German seemed to maintain its diversity, Yiddish in Eastern Europe developed relative uniformity from previous diversity. This "Jewish organization of East European cultural space" (U. Weinreich 1958a: 35) into new dialectal regions also created a uniform literary language that was applied to all of the regions.⁴ All of this happened without the aid of a state government or a school system that taught the language (U. Weinreich 1958a: 32–37).

The Northeastern dialect is generally considered to have higher prestige, in part because the corresponding region of Lithuania, Northern Poland and Belorussia is

the area known for Torah and Talmud learning. The Southeastern region represents the greater population centre. The writing system of the *klal-shprakh* does not favour one dialect. In fact, Birnbaum (1954: 70) (1891–1990) dispelled the argument that the symbols of the alphabet are based on one dialectal pronunciation or a regional spelling tradition. We should note that Lifshits (1829–1878) did attempt to change traditional spelling to fit the pronunciation of Southeastern Yiddish in his dictionary (1869, 1876).

In the realm of gender assignments, morphology and syntax, compromises were made in forming the *klal-shprakh*. Most speakers use three genders and it is this system that is found in the standard language, notwithstanding the presence of a seemingly two-gender-system in the more prestigious Northeastern Yiddish. Likewise, we find the dative and accusative pronoun forms differentiated in the standard but not in Northeastern Yiddish. In addition, we observe in the modern standard the preservation of *zayn* ('to be') as an auxiliary verb in the past tense, in contrast to its disappearance in favor of *hobn* ('to have') in Northeastern Yiddish. This tendency is accounted for by the model from *shraybshprakh alef* as well as the fact that most of the modern literary masters hailed from the South. The pivotal figure is Sholem-Yankev Abramovitsh (1836–1917), known as the grandfather of modern Yiddish literature, who was born in Kapulye in Belorussia (Northeastern dialect), but adopted southern linguistic traditions after moving to Ukraine (Southeastern dialect). However, the grammar of the more populous centres of the speech community was not always reckoned with in establishing the modern standard. For example, the declension for case of the reflexive pronoun did not enter the *klal-shprakh*. Neither did the pronoun alternative *ets* (second person plural) and *enk* (second person possessive plural). Schaechter (1977: 38–39) points to some dialect-based differences in the modern literary standard according to genre, but mostly alternating between the Central and Southeastern dialects in contemporary times. The powerful centripetal tendency of written standards, although institutionally based in literary and publishing efforts over a rather long period of time, was established before the days of committees and conferences (starting for Yiddish with the Czernowitz Language Conference in 1908; cf. Fishman 1981a; Goldsmith 1987). In later times, even if a language planner favoured the Northeastern dialect (cf., for example, Mark 1978), he would not dare to attempt to reverse the ingrained standardization that favoured the other dialects.

Yiddish language planning efforts met strongest opposition in the recommendations for orthoepia. In this case, the first modern language planners were from the Northeast. The later southern critics objected, claiming that, "there is no standard pronunciation in Yiddish" (Birnbaum 1979: 100). Kats (1994: 233–35) demonstrated that the arguments for a Northeastern dialect-based pronunciation of Yiddish have their roots in the Hebrew reading traditions of the Torah and

prayer book, as far back as the thirteenth century; yet, the opposing arguments for the southern tradition are also based on old evidence, going back to the fourteenth century. In actuality, although without formal decrees and studies, the new cultural institutions of the twentieth century, especially the schools, largely implemented Northeastern pronunciation. This system was favoured by planners, such as M. Weinreich, U. Weinreich, and Mark. The main exception to this trend was the language of modern Yiddish theatre, which had its roots in Romania and developed a Southeastern pronunciation. Prilutski (1927) described the Volhynian variant of this dialect as the theatrical standard, and suggested it as the standard for pronunciation. We have no empirical data to show whether this standard was widely accepted, even in the theatre. The only written report based on empirical data for spoken language refers to the American Yiddish radio. Gutmans (1958) found a tendency toward Northeastern Yiddish, but no uniformity within the speech of radio personalities who derived from non-Northeastern dialect areas. As an aside, regarding the richness supplied by dialectal pronunciation to the literary language, we find the use of dialect-specific rhymes, even when they are non-native to a poet (Goldberg 1986).

To this day, Yiddish cultural leaders the world over have not expressed consensus on the necessity for a standardized pronunciation. Soviet Yiddish language planners, for example, represented all positions. Opposition to introducing one dialect pronunciation into the Yiddish schools centred on arguments that pointed to the possible alienation of the children from the dialect of their home, or the possible difficulty in understanding the dialogue of certain literary characters. Zaretski (1929: 26) delineated a maximal and minimal approach to standardized pronunciation. The former would apply to theatre performances and formal occasions. In the school, he recommended the latter, using the standard for dictation and reading, but not speaking (Peltz and Kiel 1985: 294–295). In the second half of the twentieth century, in Yiddish supplementary schools and universities in the United States, where most of the students did not come from Yiddish-speaking homes, it was easier to introduce one standard pronunciation, based on the Northeastern dialect (with the exceptions mentioned below).

We possess the least information regarding the influence of standard language on spoken Yiddish in face-to-face interactions. Fishman (1981b: 741–43) suggested that Northeastern pronunciation is indeed a prestigious standard, and as situations tend toward the more formal, one can observe selective realization of Northeastern vocalism by speakers of other dialects. Moreover, he argued that some aspects of Northeastern-specific pronunciation have more prestige than others. Documentation of such trends is needed. We must point to the remarkably subtle and consensus-seeking developments that were subject to standardizing influences within the speech community. In these developments one would include the written language

conventions of the writers of *belles lettres*, the language of instruction in the Yiddish schools in all parts of the globe, and the language of performance.⁵ Most notably, even though adaptation of the Northeastern dialect as a standard of pronunciation for the *kulturshprakh* was widespread in the twentieth century, the pronunciation of the /ey/ vowel in such words as *breyt* ‘bread’ and *teyre* ‘Torah’ was consciously rejected in such efforts, favouring the /oy/ vowel of the other Eastern dialects.

In summary, modern Eastern Yiddish developed a written standard that morphosyntactically was closest to the Central and Southeastern dialects. Cultural institutions, if they accepted a spoken standard, would follow the grammar of those same dialects, but pronunciation was closest to the Northeastern dialect. We will examine in detail the language sources to which modern Yiddish turned for planning of the lexicon. Yiddish, a fusion language that draws on non-Germanic sources, distinguishes itself from most other Germanic languages in this regard.

4. Norm codification

Accompanying much of the long history of Yiddish language and culture is a record of the production of guides to the language that introduce the outsider to the linguistic norms, teach the language to Jews and non-Jews, and help to regulate usage for those in the community who accept these standards. These tools include glosses to Hebrew and Aramaic texts that probably date back to the thirteenth century and are linked to a tradition of *taytsh* or Bible translation (Katz 1986: 28–9). The roots of Yiddish lexicography continue in Bible concordances and multilingual thesauruses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These guides had a variety of uses, including introducing Christians to the Jewish religious sources in Hebrew via Yiddish glosses, aiding the work of Christian missionaries in converting Jews, helping Jews understand their own texts, and presenting scholarly works on Yiddish etymology (Katz 1986).

However, it is largely at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century that authors of dictionaries, terminological lists, and grammars started to serve the needs of the Jewish community’s expanding functions in Yiddish. These tools were useful both in learning and teaching the language as well as for the scholarly investigation of the structure and history of Yiddish. They made use of the theory and methodology being used for the investigation of European languages at the time, especially for German and Russian (cf. the work of the Prague School). Geared to the Yiddish-speaking audience, these newer tools served the cultural construction in Yiddish. Among other things, this cultural construction consisted of the building of institutions based on the vernacular Yiddish, which

would serve the nationalistic goals of the Jews: youth movements of various political persuasion, a vast and varied daily press, schools and training institutions at all levels, theatre, film, and a vast literary apparatus.

The early grammars that were developed reflected the structure of nineteenth century grammars at first, and showed an emphasis on phonology (for example, Reyzen 1920). Next, Yiddish grammar, for the only time, was subjected to a theoretical analysis that approached the relationship between form and meaning, including an initial attempt to start with divisions of semantic territory, as well as relationships between parts of phrases and sentences (Zaretski 1926). Later in the twentieth century, texts such as Mark (1978, *Gramatik fun der yidisher klal-shprakh* 'Grammar of the Yiddish *klal-shprakh*/standard language') reflected the self-consciousness and the more normative position taken by language planners, in presenting the rules and examples for a grammar of a standard language. During the first half of the twentieth century teaching and reference grammars were produced, including scores of instructional grammars for children in the secular Yiddish schools in different communities across the globe.

Following are examples of the dictionaries that were created to serve the Yiddish-speaking and Yiddish-reading audience in Eastern Europe, as well as in the lands of emigration, especially the United States. In the nineteenth century Lifshits (1869, 1876) published the lexicon of eastern Yiddish that up until then had largely been presented in print in its older western form. By the twentieth century, the lexicographers could turn to the vast, published works of modern literature (for example, Harkavy 1928, 1988). In the second half of the twentieth century, the consciousness of rules for a standard language motivated the lexicographer not only to describe the lexicon, but also to prescribe neologisms which function in the new semantic territories of the language (U. Weinreich 1968). In addition, work was begun on a comprehensive, defining dictionary with etymologies and examples from written and spoken usage. Four volumes, representing perhaps a quarter of the lexicon, were published (Mark 1961, 1966, 1971, 1980).

The production of specialized terminologies arose out of the newly organized societal functions for Yiddish after World War I.⁶ The collecting work, research, and editing were done by individuals and teams, largely organized by the research institutes in Kiev, Minsk, and Vilna. Much of this work was cut short by the Nazi onslaught on these communities. We will neglect the remnant archival collections which never reached published form, most of which can be found at the YIVO in New York (Kahn 1980). However, a survey of some of the published terminologies will reflect the diverse world of Jewish life before World War II that was in need of a guide to organized, specialized vocabularies in Yiddish: geography, mathematics, law, chemistry, physics, politics, technology, artisans' terms, trade, card playing,

carpentry, colours, wagon parts, war, theatre, credit cooperatives, and metallurgy (Shmeruk 1961; *Bibliography of the Publications of Yivo* 1943; Sluski 1928–1929; *Terminologye far metalurgye* 1930).

Focusing on the investigation of one topic in one society, the process and standards of terminology planning can illustrate the need to serve new social functions. Work on legal and administrative terminology received almost continuous attention from 1925 to 1941 in the Soviet Union. Although rabbinic courts had existed for centuries, a non-religious criminal and court system along with regional administrative soviets, run by the state, but in Yiddish for Jewish residents, was instituted. The institutions themselves were treated with ambivalence, both by the central Russian powers and the local Ukrainian and Belorussian leaders, on the one hand, who manipulated them for their own political motivations, and the Jewish public, on the other hand, who often avoided them in favour of the majority institutions. Nevertheless, by 1931 there were 46 Yiddish courts in Ukraine, 10 in Belorussia, and 11 in the Russian republic. In 1936 the Yiddish court in Kiev handled 1175 cases. This legal system required legal codes in Yiddish, as well as police, investigators, lawyers, and judges, who could perform functions in the language (Pinkus 1971).

The first terminology that was published in Minsk covered legal terms. The list of only 540 terms included 70 terms using Hebraic elements, but the overwhelming number of terms derived from the Germanic component of Yiddish (*Institut far vaysruslendisher kultur* 1926). In 1931, the committee on legal terminology of the Philological Section of the Kiev Institute, consisting of linguists, lawyers, and judges, reported that it had accepted 1000 terms. Although the list was not published, their stated principles for word formation were revealing: the understandable “word of the masses”; no hazy, broad terms; accepted internationalisms are preferred to newly created Yiddish terms; Ukrainian or Russian terms that Jews use widely, if there are not adequate Yiddish or international terms; words of Hebrew origin that are broadly accepted, but not “archaic remnants” of religious life; in creating new words, to avoid as much as possible a copy of the Russian term (Pekar 1931; Report 1932). The terminology was not published until 1941. As with most planning work in the Soviet Union a multiplicity of standards was followed, perhaps because of fear of being associated with a single standard that might fall out of favour. The linguist Spivak discussed the guiding standards, which included *folkshprakh* ‘language of the folk’ and the “rooted *masntimlekhe* (‘of the masses’) terms of the Hebraic component” for new word formation, but avoidance of the “archaic” (Spivak 1939; Spivak 1941).

As with corpus planning for most languages, orthography and the lexicon have also received the most attention in Yiddish language planning. Orthography galvanized the interest of both the Yiddish planners and the literate audience that

responded to their recommendations. The various modern spelling schemes all considered the same myriad principles and actually agreed on most points. However, the planners chose to emphasize the differences between the schemes. Because most spelling systems are historically conservative, the similarities between the orthography of texts of early Yiddish literature and the YIVO rules of 1937 are striking (Shekhter 1973; Shekhter 1999).

In reviewing the recommendations of the orthographic rules published in the twentieth century, we note a limited number of principles that are considered (Shekhter 1999; *Di sovetishe yidische ortografye* 1932). Firstly, spelling should approach the pronunciation or phonemic system; yet, it must also be based on morphology. Spelling should also reflect previous traditions, and indicate somewhat the etymology or source language system of the form. In addition, the spelling standard of the *klal-shprakh* must be above the level of any one dialect. If the work of the “Radical School” (Schaechter 1977: 55), the Soviet orthographic planners, is examined, the competing principles are evident. Naturalization of the spelling of words of the Hebrew component (instead of following the age-old spelling of Hebrew words and those of the Hebraic component of Yiddish, using rather the letter representations for most vowels, as in the Germanic and Slavic component words) sacrificed etymological concerns for phonemic concerns. The elimination of the word final position letter forms, which were present in all older Yiddish and Hebrew texts, illustrated the triumph of another issue, economy, over historicity.⁷

The guides to Yiddish usage, which arose mostly at the beginning of the twentieth century, were produced with a surge of concentrated energy to serve the newly expanded needs of a minority that was filling in communication niches within newly constructed social and cultural organization. Sadly these institutions were nipped in the bud by the Nazi destruction of the world of East European Jews. However, the instructional and gate-keeping tools: the grammars, dictionaries, terminological lists, and spelling guides remained for the more limited use of future generations.

5. Norm elaboration

The methods that were followed in expanding the societal and cultural applications of the standard after World War I reflected processes that had been initiated largely in the realm of literary production in the nineteenth century. Component awareness — the sensitivity of speakers and writers to the supposed source of the word or phrase (i.e. the stock language from which it was derived and the component to which it belongs: Germanic, Slavic, Semitic) — and component manipulation have stood at the centre of the stylistic history of Yiddish, not only in lexical choices in

belles lettres, journalism, or private letters, but also in recommendations for stylistic use and neologisms made by the planners. In addition, more subtle recognition of componential influence on syntax, idioms, and overall textual structure and style has been discussed (Shtif 1930; Zaretski 1931; Shekhter 1986; Kats 1993). M. Vaynraykh (1973 vol.1: 33), who placed the fusion of components at the crux of his language history, underscored the component awareness of speaker and language researcher alike. Speakers and moulders of the *kulturshprakh* have demonstrated tendencies both toward and away from German, Hebrew, and the Slavic languages. At different times in the history of Yiddish literature, the componential choices that the authors selected helped to characterize the *kulturshprakh*, and to influence the nature of the standard language used in different social institutions.

In old Yiddish literature, two styles have been noted: a resemblance to the literary German of the time and a word-for-word Germanic translation of the Hebrew Bible. Up until the nineteenth century, it was rare to see words of Slavic origin, other than *khotsh* ‘although’ or *nebekh* ‘a pity,’ even in texts originating in Eastern Europe. Yet, there were stylistic opportunities for a generous berth for Hebrew, such as mixed language chancery texts (U. Weinreich 1958b) or the portions of Yiddish correspondence that were whole Hebrew (not the integrated Hebraic component of Yiddish). The memoirs of Glikl of Hameln (Kaufmann 1896), a personal document written in Hamburg and Metz between 1690 and 1720, and not intended for publication, illustrate the author’s remarkable capability in manipulating both the Germanic and Hebraic components.

In contemporary times, the stylistic differentiation of written and spoken Yiddish remained. Written Yiddish often leaned toward *daytshmerish* (‘the cultivation of new High German as a standard’), a development of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In *daytshmerish*, we are not dealing with the stylistic flavouring of the Germanic component, but with borrowing from a modern language which is derived from a stock language of Yiddish and which carries cultural prestige. The position of the twentieth century planners was generally *vos vayer fun daytsh* (‘as far from German as possible’). The rationale was to assert the autonomy of Yiddish and to allow for the expression of the historical Germanic component only (Peltz 1997). However, there were planners who recognized the need for new borrowings from German (so-called “necessary Germanisms”, cf. Mark 1964; examples include *lage* ‘state of being/condition’; *oysgabe* ‘edition’; *oysgelasn* ‘wanton, licentious’; *oysdruk* ‘expression’). Schaechter (1969) demonstrated that during the development of the second literary standard, *shraybshprakh beyz* (‘literary language B’), in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, if the major dialects disagreed, New High German acted as the “hidden standard”. The writer Y. Y. Trunk (1887–1961) recalled in his memoirs that at the turn of the twentieth century, when he brought his first writings to the literary master Y. L. Peretz (1852–1915), Peretz erased

Trunk's choice of the word for 'meadow' from the Slavic component *lonke* and substituted the New High German *Wiese* (Dawidowicz 1967: 303–4).

In general, the interest in the Slavic component came late, both for the writers of the literary language and the linguist planners, and exhibited zigzags. In the nineteenth century, the stylistic innovator for Yiddish, Mendl Lefin (1749–1826), in his Bible translations, followed the spoken language, including the broad use of the Slavic and Hebraic components (Shmeruk 1964). In each decision that favours one component, the representation of a second component must suffer. In this case, representation of the Germanic component decreased. Later in that century, the reverse trend occurred in the literary language: away from Slavic. M. Vaynraykh's (1928: 334–351) study of the succeeding editions of Abramovitch's *Dos kleyne mentshle* ('The little person'), from its debut of modern Yiddish literature in 1864 through 1879 and 1907, found a consistent displacement of words of the Slavic component by words of the Germanic and Hebraic components. Abramovitch's developing aesthetic sense indicated that a decrease in the Slavic component was a sign of refinement (cf. Miron 1973; Weinreich 1980; Kerler 1999; Estraiikh 1999).

Thus, the language planning process between the World Wars could draw on multifarious sources from the dialects and the components. These traditions supported the short-lived efforts of the planners in the new societal niches, be they a Montessori school, a high school physics class, or the new film industry, all in Yiddish.⁸ Most resistant to planning recommendations was the linguistically conservative daily press that emerged in full force at the beginning of the twentieth century. The competing standards during the planning process of the new *kulturshprakh* can best be illustrated by the language planner Shtif's guidelines for the Soviet revolutionary society (inauguration of the language planning journal, *Di yidishe shprakh*, 1927). The ideal *kulturshprakh* was to apply to diverse situations, such as newspapers, teacher conferences, the business office, translations, and popular science books. Shtif offered three language styles from which to draw. The "living *folkshprakh*" was defined as both the living language of the older generations and the written language up to the writer Sholem Aleichem (1859–1916), obviously a mixed bag. The new literary language was represented by Shtif's favorite writer, Dovid Bergelson (1884–1952). The "actual *kulturshprakh*" was the language of the press, and was generally rejected as a guide, since it was subject to too much foreign influence in the lexicon, in calques of phrases, and in sentence structure. The *folkshprakh* had its limitations, since it lacked terminology regarding contemporary technology and was laden with expressions of traditional religion. The literary language was too individualistic. Thus, no one source is used; planning involved mixing and matching.

The planners considered a variety of levels of language use for any given normative question. In this regard, M. Vaynraykh (1941) made recommendations in

relation to the influence of American English at the time of the launching of YIVO's language planning journal in New York, *Yidishe shprakh*. To the lowest level of usage, "correct language," he admitted nativized forms like *oysgeyn mit a meydil* 'to go out with a girl' or *gut op* 'well off'. From the second level, *kulturshprakh* in America, he excluded words like "all right" but accepted terminology of institutional life, such as "assembly" or "publicity." To the highest level, the universal *klal-shprakh*, he only accepted new technical terms, such as "conveyor" or "subway." The theoretical basis for decisions was not clearly defined, but the planners had a *kulturshprakh* in mind that was stylistically differentiated, both socially and regionally. It did not represent one corpus that would apply in all situations nor in all parts of the globe. The processes of standardization and planning sometimes involved minimizing certain dialectal differences, yet at other times concentrated on drawing upon variation to meet the needs of corpus differentiation for new societal functions.

6. Norm acceptance

The amazing history of Yiddish demonstrates the innate tendency of this specific Jewish society and culture, tied together by a religious faith that provided for guided behaviour and a relatively uniform social structure, to regulate itself independently of governments and borders. This persistent minority set its own standards and established a cultural empire without a government. Modern Yiddish literature, which sprouted in the second half of the nineteenth century in Eastern Europe and then in the United States and other locations, had a tremendous influence on the spread of a standard language of culture.⁹

This discussion of Yiddish language planning concentrated only on situations in which planning recommendations were implemented, no matter how limited these were in time and social space. Since the organized planning processes were restricted to the years between the two World Wars and the cultural heartland of Yiddish was destroyed by the Nazis in World War II, there was no opportunity for evaluation of the acceptance and diffusion of the recommendations. Evaluation is the most essential part of the language planning process (Rubin 1971: 220; Haugen 1972: 288). Despite the absence of evaluation, the spread of a cultural standard is attested to in the remnant social niches for Yiddish after World War II, beyond the realm of literature, in the university classroom and even in the most resistant institution, the press (Shekhter 1986, 1999).

7. Recent developments

The post-World War II Yiddish-speaking communities that demonstrated population growth were the traditionally ultra-Orthodox religious ones that were oblivious to the efforts of the secular language planners and did not accept their recommendations. Correspondingly, the sectors that were cognizant of these efforts were shrinking after the War. Their younger members increasingly demonstrated language shift to the dominant language of the society, be it English, Russian, Hebrew, or Spanish.

In the post-War period, the language planning effort that distinguishes itself most consistently until the present day is the work of Schaechter (in Yiddish texts, Shekhter). He has consistently discussed normative recommendations in his column, *Laytish mame-loshn* ('The Respectable Mother Tongue') in the journal he edits (*Afn shvel*). As a university instructor of Yiddish, he influenced hundreds of students to make use of standardized Yiddish. As the advisor to the Yiddish advocacy youth movement *Yugntruf* ('Call to the Youth', founded in 1964), Schaechter taught these generations of activists to appreciate the significance of a standardized language (see, for example, the report of *Yugntruf's* protest demonstration in support of standardized orthography in the press in 1970, Shekhter 1999: 41–43, 45–49). Schaechter's terminologies reflect decisions of a limited number of Yiddish cultural activists who were solicited to choose between competing alternative terms, as well as the complex usage and traditions followed throughout the history of the language. He focused on the fields of endeavour of the younger generation and the contemporary Yiddish usage that would conquer new semantic territory for the language, for example, the academic world (Schaechter 1988), pregnancy, childbirth, and early childhood (Schaechter 1990), and computers (Shekhter 2002).

Since YIVO was the only planning institution to re-establish itself after the Second World War, it is not surprising that the standardized orthography that it recommended and the strong, anti-*daytshmerish* stand of its regulators should hold sway during the most recent period (Shekhter 1980; 1999). However, communities constantly resist organized planning efforts, and, in the 1990s, the Yiddish language community that is cognizant of standardization and planning work, experienced a challenge to the recommended positions of pre-War YIVO, both in the area of orthography (*Klal-takones* 1992) and the stylistic rejection of *daytshmerish* (Kats 1993).¹⁰ The efforts of Schaechter in response to these challenges were largely successful in maintaining the previous standards. The ability of standard Yiddish to resist the attempted undoing of corpus planning was an indication both of the earlier success of the normative activity and the lack of interest on the part of the smaller Yiddish cultural community in further changes of this nature (Peltz 1997).

However, the devotion of the planners and the richness of the language's history remind us of the significance of language planning for a cultural community. The story of Yiddish is far from being over.

Annotated bibliography

The vast literature on Yiddish language planning was published largely in Yiddish (see especially the serials described earlier). The following English-language sources provide unique coverage. Fishman (1981c) is the best place to start when considering Yiddish language planning in the context of the social history of the language and culture. Schaechter (1977) summarized the competing schools of thought in Yiddish language planning. In the work of Peltz (1985 and 1997), the anatomy of one planning issue in one society and its implications can be followed, as well as the attempts at undoing and redoing corpus planning at different times in the twentieth century. A book-length treatment of language planning and linguistic development for Soviet Yiddish is available (Estraikh 1999). The notion of authenticity, which has been interpreted differently by various planners, is discussed by Hutton (1993). However, for a more comprehensive treatment of the issues, one must turn to sources in Yiddish. The planner who best understood the link of organized planning to patterns in the language and its history was Reyzen (1938). He described regularities in Yiddish, exceptions and the competition that may have a role in the development of stylistic, regional, and supra-regional differentiation. But it is to the work of Shekhter that one must turn for an understanding of the long history of Yiddish standardization and planning. Shekhter's (1986) book is strongest in dealing with normative principles, especially in regard to lexical choices and neologisms. The most comprehensive account of orthographic reform can be found in Shekhter (1999).

Notes

1. Besides Yiddish, which was spoken by the most Jews, the best studied is the vernacular of the Sephardic Jews who were exiled from Spain in 1492 and settled in Greece, Turkey and North Africa. Called *Judezmo* in its spoken form and *Ladino* as a written language, it is but one of the group of Judeo-Romance languages, which includes Judeo-Provencal and Judeo-Italian. For more info on Jewish languages in general, see Weinreich (1980: 45–174) and Wexler (1981).
2. “Emancipation” refers to the acquisition of civil rights by Jews in Western Europe in the years following the French revolution.
3. Internal to the Jewish community Yiddish was the language of the kitchen and home, and even though it was also the language of Talmud study — the highest form of men's

language — the serious H form of written language of the holy books and of rabbinic writing was Hebrew. Many of the forms of printed Yiddish literature in the Middle Ages and early modern period in an introduction addressed themselves to women, as if it were beneath the dignity of men to read such literature. Specifically, bible translations into Yiddish and biblical commentary in Yiddish in its older form were printed in a special typeface, called *vaybertaytsh* ‘women’s translation’.

4. This standardization process was a creation of Yiddish writers and editors. The rise of modern Yiddish literature was a result of the Enlightenment in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century. The focus of this intellectual and cultural movement was to reform Jewish education and expose Jews to science, nature, and the major languages and cultures of the west. Without conferences or planning committees, it was the writers themselves who developed the modern Yiddish literary language during the nineteenth century (Miron 1973: 1–66; Roskes 1974: 1–11; Kerler 1999).

5. Prince (1987) published a quantitative analysis of the phonology of the recorded song repertoire of one Yiddish singer, Sarah Gorby, who was born in Bessarabia but lived in Paris and sang on tour (especially in Argentina and Israel). Over time Gorby steered away from the realization of the stigmatized vowels of her native dialect, a sub-dialect of Southeastern Yiddish.

6. When the Ashkenazic Jews were a minority in the empires, they experienced tremendous restriction of cultural expression. This was especially the case for the Russian empire where theatre and the daily press were limited. With the fall of the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, Yiddish secular expression, which had been germinating during the Jewish Enlightenment in Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, took off in the form of scores of daily newspapers (even in small cities), worker’s cooperatives, a variety of youth movements, theatre, cinema, education from pre-school to specialized technical training and graduate level instruction, all organized in Yiddish. All of this new activity was nipped in the bud by the Nazis.

7. In Yiddish, all the Jewish languages and in Hebrew (from which their alphabets are derived) five letters have special forms in word final position: *khof*, *mem*, *nun*, *fey*, and *tsadik*. All of these final forms were eliminated from the alphabet by official decree in the Soviet Union. This was a visual message of the revolutionary, non-traditional, nature of Soviet language. It was also a move to signify economy of language, since using the other form of those five letters could not cause confusion.

8. More than 300 Yiddish-language films were made between the two World Wars, both in the USA and in Europe. This industry never revived itself after World War II (Goldman 1979; Hoberman 1992).

9. The Jewish Enlightenment in Eastern Europe was a successor to that of German Jews. As mentioned above, the movement was aimed at modernizing education and expanding the world to include science and the major cultures. Although there were attempts in Hebrew to spread this knowledge, people did not know the language, contrary to Yiddish. As such, Modern Yiddish literature was the conveyor of new sensibilities. Nevertheless, a large portion of the society remained observant and non-interested in the new secular Yiddish achievements.

10. Examples of these orthographical challenges include undoing the elimination of the silent *aleph* and reintroducing it between three repeating *vovs* or *yuds*, and between certain vowels that border syllables; introducing the *rofe*, a diacritic line above certain letters, that had not been used in certain cases since the Middle Ages, and changing the rules that govern whether certain words are written as compounds or as separate words.

References

- Bibliography of the Publications of Yivo: 1925–1941*. 1943. New York: Yivo.
- Birnbaum, S. A. 1954. "Two problems of Yiddish linguistics". In *The Field of Yiddish* (volume one), U. Weinreich (ed.), 63–72. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.
- Birnbaum, S. A. 1979. *Yiddish: A survey and a grammar*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dawidowicz, L. S. (ed.) 1967. *The Golden Tradition: Jewish life and thought in Eastern Europe*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Di sovetishe yidishe ortografye*. 1932. Kharkov and Kiev: Ukrmelukhenatsmindfarlag.
- Estraikh, G. 1999. *Soviet Yiddish: Language planning and linguistic development*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fishman, J. A. 1981a. "Attracting a following to high-culture functions for a language of everyday life: The role of the Tshernovits Language Conference in the rise of Yiddish". In *Never Say Die*, J. A. Fishman (ed.), 369–394. The Hague: Mouton.
- Fishman, J. A. 1981b. "Epilogue: Contributions of the sociology of Yiddish to the general sociology of language". In *Never Say Die*, J. A. Fishman (ed.), 739–756. The Hague: Mouton.
- Fishman, J. A. 1981c. "The sociology of Yiddish: A forward". In *Never Say Die*, J. A. Fishman (ed.), 1–97. The Hague: Mouton.
- Gilman, S. 1986. *Jewish Self-hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Goldberg, D. 1986. "Nikudat hamifgash beyn dialect lekharuz beyidish". *Hasifrut* 35–36: 220–227.
- Goldman, E. 1979 *Visions, Images and Dreams: Yiddish filmpast and present*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.
- Goldsmith, E. 1987. *Modern Yiddish Culture*. New York: Shapolsky and Workmen's Circle Education Department.
- Gutmans, T. 1958. "Di shprakh fun a yidisher radyo-stantsye in nyu-york". *Yidishe shprakh* 18: 65–72.
- Harkavy, A. 1928. *Yidish-english-hebreisher veryerbukh*. Second edition. New York: Hebrew Publishing.
- Harkavy, A. 1988. *Yidish-english-habreisher verterbukh*. Second edition, reprint. New York: Yivo and Schocken Books.
- Haugen, E. 1972. "Language planning, theory and practice". In *The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen*, A. S. Dil (ed.), 287–298. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press.

- Herzog, M. I., Ravid, W. and Weinreich, U. (eds). 1969. *The Field of Yiddish*. Volume three. The Hague: Mouton.
- Herzog, M. I. (ed.). 1992, 1998, 2001. *The Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*. Three volumes. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Hoberman, J. 1992. *Bridge of Light: Yiddish film between two worlds*. New York: Museum of Modern Art and Schocken.
- Hutton, C. 1993. "Normativism and the notion of authenticity in Yiddish linguistics". In *The Field of Yiddish* (volume five), D. Goldberg (ed.), 11–57. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Institut far vaysruslendisher kultur: Yidisher opteyl. 1926. *Yuridishe terminologye proyekt*. Minsk.
- Jochnowitz, G. 1968. "Bilingualism and dialect mixture among Lubavitcher Hasidic children". *American Speech* 43: 182–200.
- Kahn, L. 1972, 1973. "Yidishe terminologishe komisyas — an iberblik". *Yidishe shprakh* 31: 35–42; 32: 1–8.
- Kahn, L. 1980. "Der terminologisher oyftu fun Yivo". *Yivo-bleter* 46: 229–241.
- Kats, H-D. 1993. *Tikney takones: Fragn fun yidisher stilistik*. Oxford: Oksforder Yidish.
- Kats, H-D. 1994. "Naye gilgulim fun alte makhloykesn: Di litvishe norme un di sikhsukhim vos arum ir". *Yivo-bleter* (new series) 2: 205–257.
- Katz, D. 1983. "Zur Dialektologie des Jiddischen". In *Dialektologie: Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung*, W. Besch, U. Knoop, W. Putschke and H. E. Wiegand (eds), 1018–1041. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Katz, D. 1986. "On Yiddish, in Yiddish and for Yiddish: 500 years of Yiddish scholarship". In *Identity and Ethos: A festschrift for Sol Liptzin on the occasion of his 85th birthday*, M. H. Gelber (ed.), 23–36. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Kaufmann, D. (ed.) 1896. *Die Memoiren der Gluckel von Hameln*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Kerler, D.,-B, 1999. *The Origins of Modern Literary Yiddish*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Klal-takones fun yidishn oysleyg*. 1992. Oxford: Oksforder Yidish.
- Lifshits, Y.-M. 1869. *Risish-yidisher verter bikh*. Zhitomir.
- Lifshits, Y.-M. 1876. *Yidish-rusisher verter bikh*. Zhitomir.
- Mark, Y. (ed.). 1961, 1966, 1971, 1980. *Groyser verterbukh fun der yidisher shprakh*. Four volumes. New York and Jerusalem: Yiddish Dictionary Committee.
- Mark, Y. 1964. "Kloymerishte, sfeykedike un nitslekhe daytshmerizmen". *Yidishe shprakh* 24: 1–19, 65–82.
- Mark, Y. 1978. *Gramatik fun der yidisher klal-shprakh*. New York: Congress for Jewish Culture.
- Miron, D. 1973. *A Traveler Disguised: The Rise of Modern Yiddish fiction in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Schocken.
- Pekar, Y. 1931. "Di arbet fun der yuridisher terminologisher komisyas ba der filologisher sektsye funem institut far yidisher kultur (Kiev)". *Di yidishe shprakh* 26–27: 87–94.
- Peltz, R. 1985. "The dehebraization controversy in Soviet Yiddish language planning: Standard or symbol?". In *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages*, J. A. Fishman (ed.), 125–150. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

- Peltz, R. 1997. "The undoing of language planning from the vantage of cultural history: Two twentieth century Yiddish examples". In *Undoing and Redoing Corpus Planning*, M. Clyne (ed.), 327–356. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Peltz, R. 1998. *From Immigrant to Ethnic Culture: American Yiddish in South Philadelphia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Peltz, R. and Kiel, M. 1985. "Di yidish-imperye: The dashed hopes for a Yiddish cultural empire in the Soviet Union". In *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Soviet National Languages: Their Past, Present and Future*, I. T. Kreindler (ed.), 277–309. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pinkus, B. 1971. "Yiddish-language courts and nationalities policy in the Soviet Union". *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 2: 40–60.
- Prince, E. 1987. "Sarah Gorby, Yiddish Folksinger: A Case Study of Dialect Shift". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 67: 83–116.
- Prilutski, N. 1927. "Di yidishe bineshprakh". *Yidish teater* 2: 129–144.
[Report of the Philological Section: October 1931-May 1932] 1932. *Afn shprakhfront* 29–30: 115.
- Reyzen, Z. 1920. *Gramatik fun der yidisher shprakh*. Vilna: Sh. Shreberk.
- Reyzen, Z. 1938. "Norme, yoytse-min-haklal, gramatishe dubletn". *Yidish far ale* 6–7: 171–182.
- Roskes, D.-H. 1974. "Yidishe shraybshprakhn in 19tn y"n". *Yidishe shprakh* 33: 1–11.
- Rubin, J. 1971. "Evaluation and language planning". In *Can Language Be Planned?*, J. Rubin and B. Jernudd (eds), 217–252. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Schaechter, M. 1969. "The hidden standard': A study of competing influences in standardization". In *The Field of Yiddish*, volume three, M. I. Herzog et al. (eds), 284–304. The Hague: Mouton.
- Schaechter, M. 1977. "Four schools of thought in Yiddish language planning". *Michigan Germanic Studies* 3: 34–66.
- Schaechter, M. 1988. *English-Yiddish Dictionary of Academic Terminology*. New York: Yiddish Language Resource Center of the League for Yiddish.
- Schaechter, M. 1990. *Pregnancy, Childbirth and Early Childhood: An English-Yiddish Dictionary*. New York: Yiddish Language Resource Center of the League for Yiddish.
- Shekhter, M. 1973. *Kurs fun yidisher ortografye: A konspekt*. Third edition. New York: Committee for the Implementation of Standardized Yiddish Orthography.
- Shekhter, M. 1980. "Dem Yivos yidish-oftu: Roshe-protimdike observatsyes un sakh-haklen tsu a yoyvl-date". *Yivo-bleter* 46: 192–228.
- Shekhter, M. 1986. *Laytish mame-loshn*. New York: League for Yiddish.
- Shekhter, M. 1999. *Der eynheytlekher yidisher oysleyg*. New York: Yivo and Yiddish Language Resource Center of the League for Yiddish.
- Shekhter, M. 2002. "Hakol tole bemazl". *Afn shvel* 325: 1–3.
- Shmeruk, Kh. (ed.) 1961. *Pirsumim yehudiim bevrit hamoatsot: 1917–1960*. Jerusalem: Historical Society of Israel.
- Shmeruk, Kh. 1964. "Vegn etleke printsiptn fun Mendl Lefins mishley-iberzetsung". *Yidishe shprakh* 24: 33–52.
- Shtif, N. 1927. "Di yidishe shprakh". *Di yidishe shprakh* 1: 1–6.

- Shtif, N. 1930. *Yidishe stilistik*. Kiev: Tsenterfarlag.
- Slutski, B. 1928, 1929. "Terminologye fun kredit-kooperatsye". *Di yidishe shprakh* 13: 39–46; 14: 65–72.
- Spivak, E. 1939. "Rekhtlekh-administrative leksik". *Afn shprakhfront* 3: 3–7.
- Spivak, E. 1941. *Rusish-yidisher rekhtlekh-administrativer verterbukh*. Kiev: Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.
- "Terminologye far metalurgye". 1930. *Di yidishe shprakh* 21–22: 91–96.
- Vaynraykh, M. 1928. *Bilder fun der yidisher literaturgeshikhte: fun di onheybn biz Mendele mokher-sforim*. Vilna: Farlag Tomor.
- Vaynraykh, M. 1941. "Vegn englishe elementn in undzer kulturshprakh". *Yidishe shprakh* 1: 33–46.
- Vaynraykh, M. 1950. "A vort frier funem redaktor". In *Der oyster fun der yiddisher shprakh*, ix–xviii. New York: Yivo.
- Vaynraykh, M. 1973. *Geshikhte fun der yidisher shprakh*. Four volumes. New York: Yivo.
- Weinreich, M. 1980. *History of the Yiddish language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Weinreich, U. 1958a. "Yiddish and colonial German in Eastern Europe: The differential impact of Slavic". In *American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists*, 1–51. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton.
- Weinreich, U. 1958b. "Nusakh hasofrim haivri-yidi". *Leshonenu* 22: 54–66.
- Weinreich, U. 1968. *Modern English-Yiddish Yiddish-English Dictionary*. New York: Yivo and McGraw-Hill.
- Weinreich, U., Labov, W. and Herzog, M. I. 1968. "Empirical foundations for a theory of language change". In *Directions for Historical Linguistics*, W. P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel (eds), 95–195. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Wexler, P. 1981. "Jewish interlinguistics: facts and conceptual framework". *Language* 57: 99–149.
- Zaretski, A. 1926. *Praktishe yidishe gramatik far lerers un studentn*. Moscow: Shul un bukh.
- Zaretski, A. 1929. "Vegn yidishe ortoepye". *Di yidishe shprakh* 16: 1–8; 17–18: 21–32.
- Zaretski, A. 1931. *Far a proletarisher shprakh*. Kharkov and Kiev: Tsenterfarlag.

Research directions in the study of language standardization

Ana Deumert and Wim Vandenbussche

Monash University, Australia

Vrije Universiteit Brussel/FWO-Vlaanderen, Belgium

In the introduction we have commented on a number of themes or *leitmotifs* of standardization which can be observed across the individual case studies collected in this volume. The existence of persistent historical commonalities between standard languages has been a central motivation for the construction of cross-linguistic models and the general interest in a comparative, synthetic approach to the study of language standardization. In this concluding section we would like to outline some broad directions for further research in the field of “comparative standardology”.

Language standardization as creation and convergence

In the popular imagination the history of standard languages is intricately connected to the activities of individuals and institutions. Indeed, the popular linguistic pantheon is filled with the names of the “standardizers” who set out to regulate and codify their native language, and standardization is — at least in part — seen as the direct consequence and result of the rational, goal-oriented actions carried out by these individual and collective social actors.¹ Not only is it necessary (as already noted in the introduction) to carefully consider the various and sometimes conflicting motivations of these actors (e.g. cultural aspirations, administrative unification, economic advantage, political strategy, etc.), but their complex and manifold national and also trans-national interactions and collaborations deserve further attention. In this context it is worth mentioning the approach of De Groof (e.g. 2002b) which attempts — with regard to Belgian language history — a systematic cross-tabulation of the goals and motivations of a large number of social actors, as well as Watts’ (1999) more ethnographically inspired reconstruction of the “dis-course communities” of eighteenth century English grammarians.

The fact that French has functioned as a cultural model for the standardization of other languages has been noted repeatedly (cf. Haugen 1972; Joseph 1987; Jansen 2002). However, we still lack detailed cross-national studies of how the various aspects of the French model (e.g., the “one nation — one language” rhetoric, the idea of a language academy as a prescriptive institution which co-ordinates and shapes the codification process) were “translated” into national standardization discourses, and to what extent their application was reshaped by the specifics of the sociolinguistic and historical context (cf. the seventeenth century debates about a language academy in Britain and finally the rejection of the idea, as discussed by Nevalainen, this volume).

While the process of language standardization has been shaped to a large extent by the planned and organized activities of individuals, language societies and governments (their linguistic creativity or *Schöpfung*, cf. Scaglione 1984), a comprehensive view of the history of standard language norms should also pay due attention to the complex and multifaceted processes of inter-dialect accommodation and convergence which supported the formation of well-defined and — to use the terminology of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) — “focused” sociolinguistic norms in heteroglossic speech communities. Joseph’s (1987) notion of “language standards” is useful in this respect (cf. also Jespersen’s 1925: 51ff.). Language standards (or “protostandards” as Nevalainen, this volume, calls them in her discussion of the standardization of English) are relatively uniform linguistic varieties which function as a measure (or standard) against which an individual’s speech is evaluated. However, since language standards lack the overtly codified norms which are characteristic of standard languages, they tend to be linguistically more variable. They are characterized by what Smith (1996: 65–66, following Le Page and Tabouret-Keller) has called “focus”, i.e. the existence of a relatively uniform, collective norm towards which speakers orient themselves in their linguistic performance. Standard languages, on the other hand, are characterized by “fixity”, i.e., by a set of highly prescriptive rules “from which any deviation is forbidden” (ibid.). Moreover, while standard languages are learned through explicit and institutionalized teaching practices, the norms of language standards are acquired primarily through exposure to and imitation of model texts and model speakers (see the comments on medieval chancery standards in the introduction to this volume; see also Hansen, Jacobsen and Weyhe, this volume, on the spoken Faroese language standard).²

An important challenge for standardization research is to clarify the historical interactions and, in particular, language contact phenomena that occur between such pre-existing language standards and the emerging standard language. While the former emerged via dialect accommodation and linguistic focusing in local and professional networks (cf. Lenker 2000 for a case study), the latter is largely the

result of the purposeful linguistic interventions and elaborations of individual and collective actors. An understanding of standardization as a special type of language contact was also outlined by Haugen (1972: 247), who commented on the complex sociolinguistic interactions between the formal, written standard norm and the spoken language. According to Haugen, contact between speech and written language would eventually lead to the emergence of “new [spoken] norms ... that are an *amalgamation* of speech and writing” (our emphasis). In other words, the spoken standard combines structural and lexical elements of two different linguistic systems and the precise origin of individual items remains diffuse: “one is often hard put to say whether a given form has been handed down from its ancestor by word of mouth or via the printed page” (*ibid.*).

A broad language contact perspective was more recently also adopted by Van Marle (1997) who argued — with reference to Dutch — that from the nineteenth century onwards the previously “unspoken” norms of the written standard formed the basis for the development of a spoken standard norm. This spoken standard, according to Van Marle, is best conceptualized as a type of “hybrid” language as it is simultaneously oriented towards the “fixed” norms of the written standard and the more variable sociolinguistic conventions of the spoken language.

From a broadly conceived language contact perspective two central processes of linguistic interaction can thus be distinguished in the history of standard languages:

- (a) Contact (and convergence) between pre-existing, focused (written and spoken) language standards and the emerging written standard language.
- (b) Contact (and convergence) between the written standard, the emerging spoken standard norm (as represented in the speech of “model speakers”) and the spoken dialects. The locus where this interaction takes place is the bi-dialectal and literate individual.

Processes of destandardization, which are currently in progress in a number of standard language speech communities, constitute a special case of (b). Standard-dialect contact in the spoken domain therefore does not necessarily lead to the structural erosion of dialects under the pressures of the (prestigious) standard, but can also support the formation of regional spoken standard norms which command local prestige and which are used in semi-formal situations.

A research perspective which pays attention to these contact dynamics would help to overcome the somewhat teleological orientation of traditional standardization models. The careful investigation of the various overlapping selections from different linguistic systems at different historical times would contribute to a better understanding of the role of language standardization in a general theory of language change.

Alphabetization, mass literacy and the diffusion of the standard language

Selection and codification are not the only aspects of the standardization process which have traditionally been interpreted as a result of the actions of relatively exclusive, powerful as well as socially and educationally privileged groups within a speech community. A focus on elite activities also informs, for example, Cooper's (1989: 183–184) assessment of the conditions under which language planning decisions are successfully implemented and diffused:

Language planning may be initiated at any level of the social hierarchy, but it is unlikely to succeed unless it is embraced and promoted by elites and counterelites ... Neither elites or counterelites are likely to embrace the language planning initiatives by others unless they perceive it to be in their own interest to do so ... Elites influence the evaluation and distribution of language varieties within a speech community ... Whereas it is in the interest of established elites to promote acceptance of a standard, it is in the interest of counterelites to promote acceptance of a counter standard.

While elite involvement and elite conflicts are an important feature of many standard language histories, the traditional elite-oriented perspective has more recently been augmented by studies which carefully trace the implementation and diffusion process across different social and economic groups (cf. Mattheier 1986 for an early discussion). Much of this research concentrates on the “long nineteenth century” (c. 1789 to c. 1914) when mass alphabetization and a general education system contributed not only to a significant increase in literacy levels, but also facilitated access and exposure to the norms of the standard language.³

The careful description and analysis of the writing practices and language use of what one might call (following Fairman 2000) the “minimally” or “intermediary schooled” classes has, from the late 1990s, developed into an important area of historical sociolinguistics and standardization research (e.g. for German: Elspaß 2002; Klenk 1997; Mihm 1998; for English: Fairman 2000, 2002; Gracia-Bermejo Giner and Montgomery 1997; cf. also the variationist work by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996, 2003; for Dutch and Afrikaans: Vandenbussche 2002; Deumert 2001). The documentation of the gradual and often only partial adoption of standard language norms by members of the traditional working classes and the petty bourgeoisie has provided new insights into the complex relationship between stratification, social identity formation and standardization, and has shown that non-standard written norms coexisted with the standard norm in many early standard language speech communities. The systematic sociolinguistic description of the gradual transition of ever larger parts of the speech community towards the written (and later also spoken) norms of the “schooled” standard allows language

historians to complement the more traditional standardization histories “from above” (socially speaking) with a parallel history “from below”, an idea which underlies, for example, Elspaß’s (2002: 48) aim to “*reconstruct ordinary people’s route to the written standard variety*” (italics in the original).

The traditional “from above” or elite perspective is also implicit in Kloss’ (1978) model of language standardization as genre elaboration. Standardization or *Ausbau*, according to Kloss, progresses linearly along the categories of “popular”, “refined” and “learned” texts, and an early focus on High culture domains is generally typical of the activities of most “standardizers” (cf. Gellner 1983; Joseph 1987). Language standards, on the other hand, appear to be located more strongly in the domain of popular culture (this includes, but is not limited to, traditional folklore; see, e.g., Schiffman 1998 on the popular culture domains of Spoken Standard Tamil, including cinematic “social drama”, radio and TV sitcoms as well as talk shows). The High culture focus of standardization activities shaped the social meaning these linguistic codes carry in society. In particular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, standard languages developed into symbols of “educatedness” and “refinement”. This process has been documented in some detail for nineteenth Germany, where members of the educated bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*) used standard-oriented linguistic strategies quite self-consciously to define and confirm their social position, and to distinguish themselves from other social groups (most importantly the aristocracy and the working classes; cf. Mattheier 1991; Linke 1996; Schikorsky 1998).

A writer’s readiness and eagerness to adopt the standard norm is, however, not simply the result of his or her aspired social identity, but also a function of access to the institutions which defined and reproduced the sociolinguistic norms and practices of “schooled”, “educated” society (e.g. classrooms, books, libraries, etc.). In this context, Elspaß (2002: 45) has listed a number of sociolinguistic and pragmaphilological questions which have so far received only sporadic and unsystematic attention in standardization studies:

In what way did people learn the written standard? Which grammars did they use? Did they use grammars at all? If not, which “norm authorities” could they rely on? Did teachers master the standard variety? To what extent, and for how long, did regional influences prevail in their actual written language production and their teaching? What language levels were mostly affected by regional variation?

This catalogue of questions could easily be extended, and the careful, socio-historical reconstruction of the diffusion process should pay detailed attention to, for example:

- (a) the various places of learning (schools, family, professional organizations, churches);

- (b) the styles of learning inside and outside of the classroom (cf. Deumert 2003a on traditional classroom practices such as rote learning, teacher-centred corrections and formulaic question-answer sequences);
- (c) social differences in education practices (ranging from aristocratic private tutoring to pauper education) as well as,
- (d) the extent of passive exposure to the standard norm (through the regular or sporadic consumption of books, plays, periodicals, speeches and sermons).⁴

The acquisition and adoption of the standard variety must be distinguished from the equally important acquisition of the technical ability to write (i.e. the ability to make marks on a surface, to leave a visible record). In his discussion of the Indian sociolinguistic situation Schiffman (1998) criticizes the conventionally made distinction between literacy/writing and orality (e.g. Goody 1987). Schiffman suggests that it would more appropriate to distinguish writing as a *cultural technique* from literacy which reflects a *social practice*, based on the general idea of the fundamental normativity of text production. Based on evidence from India, Schiffman considers oral literacy (i.e., the commitment to memory of large bodies of text) as an aspect of literacy (on literacy as a social practice, see also Fairman 2000).

The historical record indicates that writing was often — at different times for different social groups — perceived as a necessary skill, which did not, however, imply or require an awareness or application of the norms of the standard to be effective (cf. Vandenbussche 2002 on the apparently “chaotic” spelling systems characteristic of many early texts). The writer’s choice to conform to the orthographic standard norm appears to have constituted a different and far more ambitious practice than merely committing language to paper. Adoption of the written standard reflected an awareness of the sociolinguistic distinctions and identities which were transmitted through the institutions of a rapidly modernizing society. However, as noted above, since schooling and classroom practices were limited for many, access to the norms of the standard was equally restricted. It remains to be investigated whether historical documents representing what Mihm (1998) has called an “intended standard”, i.e., a written (and possibly also spoken) variety which did not meet the linguistic and stylistic requirements of the standard norm but which was nevertheless intended to fulfil its functions, is a general diachronic and social aspect of the diffusion process, a common feature of all standard language histories.

Carefully designed diachronic text corpora would allow the systematic and comprehensive study of many of the questions raised in this section (on principles and guidelines for historical corpus design see Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998; see Mattheier 1998 and Deumert 2003b for a discussion of corpus design in the specific context of standardization research). As regards the coverage of

genres, corpora should pay particular attention to the inclusion of documents by the “minimally schooled” classes (including, e.g., soldiers’ letters and other private correspondences, written testimonies in juridical files, pauper requests for financial support, meeting minutes from lower class associations, diaries, etc.; see, for example, the published collection by Grosse, Grimberg, Hölscher and Karweick 1989 for German). To base standardization research on socially inclusive and stylistically comprehensive corpora would not only allow the investigation of many of the so far neglected stratificational aspects of the process, but would also create a firm empirical basis for the description and analysis of co-existing non-standard varieties as well as the various approximations of the standard norm which have been reported in the literature.

Ideology, discourse and social practice

The symbolic meaning of the standard variety as a badge of a specifically middle class social identity has already been mentioned in the preceding section. The power, value and attraction of standard languages is a result of complex processes of ideology formation. These processes involve not only the well-documented articulation of a so-called “standard language ideology” (according to Milroy and Milroy 1991 a set of beliefs about language correctness and a general intolerance towards non-standard variants and varieties), but also the instrumentalization of the standard as a vehicle for far-reaching political and socio-cultural aspirations: religious identity (cf. the opposition against “heathen, Protestant” Northern Dutch in “Catholic” Flanders; cf. Willemyns 1997), social emancipation and political strategy (cf. the case of Nynorsk described by Jahr, this volume) as well as nationalist identity politics (cf. the arguments for Afrikaans as the “true” language of the Afrikaner nation as described by Roberge, *ibid.*).

Case studies of the interactions of these social and political ideologies in a given society, and, in particular, their relationship to the above mentioned Milroviaan “standard language ideology” would be of great interest to the study of language standardization. Ideally such an analysis would be based on a comprehensive corpus of secondary sources, including the programmatic texts in which the “standardizers” outline and defend their proposals (e.g. the prefaces to “codification documents” such as grammars and dictionaries), meta-linguistic commentaries published by language academies and other institutions as well as documents reflecting aspects of the public discussion (such as, e.g., “letters to the editor”; for present-day studies also the web pages of populist language movements such as, e.g., the strongly puristically-oriented *Verein Deutsche Sprache e.V.*, <http://vds-ev.de>). In other words, historical corpus design should pay attention to primary documents — thus allowing one to

trace the formation as well as diffusion of the standard norm as a sociolinguistic system — as well as to secondary sources. The latter will allow for the comprehensive reconstruction of the discourses of standardization, and the debates and counter-debates that characterize most standard language histories (cf. also Blommaert 1999 on what he calls the “historiography of language ideologies”; cf. Milroy and Milroy 1991 on the “complaint tradition”, and also De Groof 2002a for a case study in the Belgian context). Linn’s (1998) suggestion to study the “stylistics of standardization” draws attention to a specific aspect of these discourses and debates, i.e., the more narrowly stylistic presentation of texts and, in particular, the documentation of the considerable amendments and revisions which occurred in subsequent editions of codification documents.

However, ideology is not only a matter of discursive representation (“that which is said”), but is also enacted through individual and institutional practices (cf. Althusser’s 1971 notion of “lived relations”, i.e. the production and reproduction of social structure and power relationships through social practices and interactions; “that which is done”). In the context of a strongly ethnographic approach to the study of language standardization, Deumert (2003a) has suggested that the “fixation” of the socio-symbolic meaning(s) of standard norms is achieved and reaffirmed through a variety of ritual-like performances and practices which are regularly enacted by members of the standard language speech community (examples include pedagogical rituals, socio-communicative rituals and also large-scale ceremonies such as language festivals; cf. also Ziegler 2002).

The ideological link between language standardization and the projection of national unity is a highly salient feature of several of the language histories reported in this volume and deserves further language-specific and cross-linguistic study. Social historians have repeatedly pointed to the “invented”, “constructed” or “imagined” aspects of cultural nationalism (including language), as well as to the role played by print capitalism (i.e., the expansion of the book market and the commodification of print products), mass education and socio-economic transformations (including urbanization and industrialization; cf. Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1983; Anderson 1991). Yet, compared to the detail and breadth of historical, economic and political debates, sociolinguistic attention to the linguistic repercussions of nationalist movements has been somewhat more limited, and important theoretical contributions to the debate about nationalism and the vernacularization of languages have come from historians and political scientists rather than linguists (cf. Deutsch 1966 on the socio-communicative aspects of nationalism, and Deutsch 1968 for a broad overview of nationalist language manipulations; cf. also Smith 1982; see, however, Fishman 1972 for a model of the interaction of language and nation from the perspective of the “sociology of language”, and Barbour and Carmichael 2000 for a recent collection of case studies). In the general context of nationalism, a

number of interesting questions are raised by the language histories collected in the present volume:

- (a) How is the relationship between language and nation re-conceptualized in the context of pluricentric languages (i.e. languages which have different national centres of standardization, cf. Kloss 1978)? Cf., for example, the German distinction between *Kulturnation* and *Staatsnation*.
- (b) What role did (and does) linguistic purism play in the context of standardization and the formation and reproduction of national communities? The theme of purism occurs in an impressive number of the articles, not only as a historical phenomenon, but also in the specific guise of the present day opposition against the growing presence of the English language.⁵
- (c) Do different (or changing) nationalist regimes correspond to different (or changing) language ideologies? (cf. Fishman 1972 for an early discussion of this question) More specifically, do different types of nationalism correspond to different types of standardization projects and language policies? Delanty and O'Mahony's (2002) typology of nationalism (including, e.g., state nationalism, reconstructive nationalism, secessionist nationalism, religious nationalism, cultural nationalism, trans- or pan-nationalism) could provide a useful starting point for such a project.
- (d) And finally, do languages which are not directly linked to the existence of a state territory (e.g. "state-less" and/or "multi-state" languages such as Yiddish) exhibit a fundamentally different path to a standard language which is accompanied by equally different ideological strategies?

Standardization as a tool for language maintenance?

As noted by Milroy (2001: 539), language standardization "is not a universal" and the languages of many speech communities do not exist in a standardized form. Language anthropological work in, e.g., the Pacific region suggests that unstandardized varieties exist in a fundamentally different language ecology when compared to standard language cultures. In these speech communities, languages appear not to be conceived of as relatively well-defined objects which can be described, codified and preserved; they are neither clearly separated from one another, nor are they unambiguously separated from non-linguistic cultural phenomena (a folk-linguistic perspective somewhat reminiscent of Roy Harris' integrationalist project, cf., for example, Harris 1980; on the Pacific region see the references and review provided in Milroy 2001; see also Mühlhäusler 1996). Although we should be careful not to fall prey to a naive Rousseauesque picture of

some kind of a primordial sociolinguistic state, there is little doubt that language standardization has contributed to the “progressive reification, totemization, and institutionalization of a language” (Le Page 1988: 33) which is at the heart of many popular and also scientific conceptions of “what constitutes a language” (Milroy 2001: 541). The processes of objectification which accompany language standardization are also visible in present-day standardization efforts which often take place in the broad context of language endangerment (cf. Langer and Hoekstra, this volume). Such activities raise questions about the relevance of standardization for language maintenance and survival. Standardization is often employed as a “default strategy” to increase the functional value of a language by providing it with a clear linguistic identity (which often replaces a diffuse and highly variable dialect continuum, and which allows the channelling of language attitudes towards the standard norm), a “modern” lexicon and a supra-regional, written norm. However, given that the speech communities in question are typically small, the language’s functional value will necessarily be restricted and “can usefully serve only sharply limited purposes — in addressing groups of strictly ‘local consumers’” (Malkiel 1984: 69). In certain cases, especially when language loss has already affected the informal domains, standardization may indeed be unable to restore these fundamental functions of language use because of its necessarily formal, writing-oriented and expert-transmitted nature (cf. Fishman 1993 and 2000 for a theoretical model and a collection of case studies, as well as our comments earlier on the High culture identity of standard languages). It is also possible that standardization — especially if it is not carried out with the active participation of speakers and close attention to their needs and interests — might actually accelerate the gradual disappearance of the complex spoken language ecologies which keep unstandardized languages alive (cf. the papers in Bradley and Bradley 2002 for a discussion of some of these issues and concerns). Further research regarding the possibilities and limits of standardization as a tool for language maintenance and revival are highly desirable in the current context of accelerated language loss, and are relevant to a number of languages described in this volume.

Concluding comments

As noted in the introductory chapter (“Standardization: Taxonomies and Histories”), the initial motivation for editing this volume was to provide a comprehensive and comparative introduction to the standardization histories of the various Germanic languages, which would allow for the systematic identification of similarities as well as differences across a wide range of historically and socially diverse language histories. Haugen’s four-step model of standardization offered a useful

and pragmatic basic structure for the individual chapters. While broadly based on the Haugen model, each article simultaneously transcends the model and moves the discussion of what constitutes standardization into new directions. As argued above, two research areas stand out: (a) standardization as a type of linguistic change, and (b) standardization as a type of socio-cultural change. Future research should therefore concentrate on the systematic (diachronic as well as synchronic) analysis of the more narrowly linguistic aspects of the standardization process (including linguistic convergence and variant reduction, syntactic elaboration and expansion, changes in derivational morphology, etc.). Ideally, such work should be based on comprehensive language-historical corpora. In addition, the careful consideration of the larger socio-cultural and political contexts (e.g. mass alphabetization, the formation of nation states, standardization as a tool of language promotion), as well as the ideological climates in which standard norms crystallized and diffused (e.g. the social symbolism of standard norms and the ideologization of linguistic correctness), deserve systematic attention — not only with reference to the history of individual languages, but also cross-linguistically (thus contributing, e.g., to recently formulated ideas of a European language history which focuses on language contact and cultural diffusion across language borders; cf. Dury 2001, Mattheier 1999). In order to understand the highly intricate and multi-faceted nature of standardization as a socially and historically contingent process, interdisciplinary collaboration with social historians and historical anthropologists will be vital. As such, standardization studies remains a growing research area which offers exciting and challenging prospects for future research. The editors hope that this volume will provide both a contribution to the present day debate on these issues, as well as encouragement and inspiration for new studies and research directions.

Notes

1. Well-known “standardizers” include e.g. Samuel Johnson and Noah Webster, Cardinal Richelieu and the *Académie française*, the so-called *Taalhelde* (‘language heros’) of the first Afrikaans language society, Martin Luther as well as the poets and writers of seventeenth century language societies in Germany, the Norwegian dialectologist Ivar Aasen, the Institute for Jewish Research (YIVO) and the work of Max Weinreich. Cf. also Jespersen (1925: 51): “In earlier times it was the general belief that each of the great national languages had been formed by some particular great writer, Italian, for example, by Dante, English by Chaucer, German by Luther and Danish by Christiern Pedersen.”
2. According to Haugen’s (1972: 243) “functional definition” of the language-dialect distinction, both language standards and standard languages are classified as “languages”: they constitute supra-dialectal norms which differ from the “first and ordinary language” of their speakers. Processes of large-scale dialect accommodation as well as standardization do

not occur in a vacuum but are centrally shaped by the larger socio-historical context. They are tightly bound up with a range of socio-economic and socio-cultural changes which are usually grouped under the heading of “societal modernization” (cf. also Jespersen’s 1925: 51 discussion of “unifying forces” in language history). Political centralization, administrative expansion and economic diversification, urbanization and migration, improved transportation and communication technologies as well as supra-regional markets for print products and cultural performances (theatre, opera) are social changes which from the fifteenth century onwards established not only the conditions for intensive dialect contact, but also created the need for a unified, non-local relatively stable and multifunctional medium of communication.

3. Largely independent of these developments in historical sociolinguistics, a number of historians have developed (from the late 1980s onwards) a research program for the study of the “social history of language” which also shows a strong focus on non-elite sources, in particular documents from popular and pauper culture (cf. Burke and Porter 1987, 1993, 1995).

4. In this context it would also be important to investigate to what extent the standard norm was actually reflected in printed texts, and whether popular access to the standard norm differed across countries and speech communities.

5. The presence of purism in the Germanic language area was the theme of a recent conference organized by Nils Langer, Winifred Davies, Patrick Honeybone and Maria Barbara Langer at the University of Bristol (April 9–11, 2003).

References

- Althusser, L. 1971. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. London: New Left Books.
- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Second revised edition. New York: Verso.
- Barbour, S. and Carmichael, C. (eds). 2000. *Language and Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biber, D. Conrad, S. and Reppen, R. 1998. *Corpus Linguistics. Investigating language structure and use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. 1999. “The debate is open”. In *Language Ideological Debates*. J. Blommaert (ed.), 1–38. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bradley, D. and Bradley, M. (eds). 2002. *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Burke, P. and Porter, R. (eds). 1987. *The Social History of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burke, P. and Porter, R. (eds). 1993. *Language, Self and Society. A social history of language*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Burke, P. and Porter, R. (eds) 1995. *Languages and Jargons. Contributions to a social history of Language*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Cooper, R. L. 1989. *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Groof, J. 2002a. "Langue Flamande: De Vroege Vlaamse Beweging in 23 Volumes". *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de KANTL* 112 (1): 127–175.
- De Groof, J. 2002b. "Een methodologische zoektocht naar de impact van taalbeplanning en taalpolitiek in Vlaanderen in de language negentiende eeuw (1795–1914)". In *De taal in Vlaanderen in de 19de eeuw. Historisch-sociolinguïstische onderzoekingen*. (=Verslagen en Mededelingen KANTL 112, 3), R. Willemys (ed.), 445–470. Gent: KANTL.
- Delanty, G. and O'Mahony, P. 2002. *Nationalism and Social Theory*. London *et al.*: Sage.
- Deumert, A. 2001. "Variation and standardization at the Cape (1888–1922) — A Contribution of Afrikaans Socio-Historical Linguistics". *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 13: 301–352.
- Deumert, A. 2003a. "Standard languages as civic rituals: Theory and examples". In *Sprachstandards/ Language Standards*. (= Sociolinguistica 17). U. Ammon and K. J. Mattheier (eds), 31–51. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Deumert, A. 2003b. "Describing language standardisation — Models and methods". In *Útnordur. West-Nordic Standardisation and Variation. Papers from a Symposium in Stockholm, 7. October 2001*, K. Árnason (ed.), 9–32. Reyjavík: Iceland University Press.
- Deutsch, K. W. 1966. *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. Second edition. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Deutsch, K. W. 1968. "The trend of European nationalism — The language aspect". In *The Sociology of Language*, J. A. Fishman (ed.), 598–606. Rowley MA: Newbury House.
- Dury, R. 2001. "The history of the English language in the context of the history of the European languages". In *Language Contact in the History of English*, D. Kastovsky and A. Mettinger (eds), 69–96. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Elspaß, S. 2002. "Standard German in the 19th-century? Counter-evidence from the private correspondence of 'ordinary people'". In *Standardization. Studies from the Germanic Languages*, A. Linn and N. McLelland (eds), 43–65. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fairman, T. 2000. "English pauper letters 1830–34, and the English language". In *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, D. Barton and N. Hall (eds), 63–82. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fairman, T. 2002. "riting these fu lines: English overseers' correspondence, 1800–1835". In *De taal in Vlaanderen in de 19de eeuw. Historisch-sociolinguïstische onderzoekingen*. (=Verslagen en Mededelingen KANTL 112, 3), R. Willemys (ed.), 557–573. Gent: KANTL.
- Fishman, J. A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Fishman, J. A. 1993. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (ed.) 2000. *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? Reversing language shift: A 21st Century perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gellner, E. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Goody, J. 1987. *The Interface between the Written and the Oral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gracia-Bermejo Giner, M. F. and Montgomery, M. 1997. "British regional English in the nineteenth century: The evidence from emigrant letters". In *Issues and Methods in Dialectology*, A. R. Thomas (ed.), 167–183. Bangor: University of Wales Bangor, Department of Linguistics.
- Grosse, S., Grimberg M., Hölscher T. and Karweick J. 1989. 'Denn das Schreiben gehört nicht zu meiner täglichen Beschäftigung.' *Der Alltag kleiner Leute in Bittschriften, Briefen und Berichten aus dem 19. Jahrhundert. Ein Lesebuch*. Bonn: Dietz.
- Harris, R. 1980. *The Language Makers*. London: Duckworth.
- Haugen, E. 1972. *The Ecology of Language*. Essays by Einar Haugen, selected and introduced by A. S. Dil. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. 1983. "Introduction: Inventing traditions". In *The Invention of Tradition*, E. Hobsbawm (ed.), 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jansen, T. 2002. *Speak. A short history of languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jespersen, O. 1925. *Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co.
- Joseph, J. E. 1987. *Eloquence and Power. The rise of language standards and standard languages*. Oxford/New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Kloss, H. 1978. *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800*. Second, expanded edition (first edition 1952). Düsseldorf: Swann.
- Klenk, M. 1997. *Sprache im Kontext sozialer Lebenswelt. Eine Untersuchung zur Arbeiterschriftsprache im 19. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Lenker, U. 2000. "The Monasteries of the Benedictine reform and the 'Winchester School': Model cases of social networks in Anglo-Saxon England". *European Journal of English Studies* 4 (3): 225–238.
- Le Page, R. B. 1988. "Some premises concerning the standardization of languages, with special reference to Caribbean Creole English". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 71: 25–36.
- Le Page, R. B. and Tabouret-Keller, A. 1985. *Acts of Identity. Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Linke, A. 1996. *Sprachkultur und Bürgertum. Zur Mentalitätsgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler.
- Linn, A. R. 1998. "Ivar Aasen and V. U. Hammershaimb: Towards a Stylistics of Standardization". In *Ivar Aasen-studier I, V*. Bondevik and O. Nes (eds), 91–118. Bergen: Norsk Bokreidingslag L/L.
- Malkiel, Y. 1984. "A linguist's view of the standardization of a dialect". In *The Emergence of National Languages*, A. Scaglione (ed.), 51–73. Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- Mattheier, K. J. 1986. "'Lauter Borke um den Kopp'. Überlegungen zur Sprache der Arbeiter im 19. Jahrhundert. *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 50: 222–252.
- Mattheier, K. J. 1991. "Standardsprache als Sozialsymbol. Über kommunikative Folgen gesellschaftlichen Wandels". In *Das 19. Jahrhundert. Sprachgeschichtliche Wurzeln des heutigen Deutsch*, R. Wimmer (ed.), 41–72. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Mattheier, K. J. 1998. "Kommunikationsgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Überlegungen zum Forschungsstand und zu Perspektiven der Forschungsentwicklung". In *Sprache und bürgerliche Nation. Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Sprachgeschichte des 19.*

- Jahrhunderts, D. Cherubim, S. Grosse and K. J. Mattheier (eds), 1–45. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Mattheier, K. J. 1999. "Ein Forschungsansatz für eine künftige europäische Sprachgeschichte". In *Beiträge zur historischen Stadtsprachenforschung*, H. Bister-Broosen (ed.), 223–234. Wien: Edition Praesens Verlag.
- Mihm, A. 1998. "Arbeitersprache und gesprochene Sprache im 19. Jahrhundert". In *Sprache und Bürgerliche Nation*, D. Cherubim, K. J. Mattheier and S. Grosse (eds), 282–316. Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter.
- Milroy, J. 2001. "Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5 (4): 530–555.
- Milroy, J. and Milroy, L. 1991. *Authority in Language. Investigating Standard English*. Third Edition. London/New York: Routledge.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1996. *Linguistic Ecology: Language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region*. London: Routledge.
- Nevalainen, T. and Raumolin-Brunberg, H. (eds). 1996. *Sociolinguistics and Language History. Studies based on the Corpus of Early English Correspondence*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Nevalainen, T. and Raumolin-Brunberg, H. 2003. *Historical Sociolinguistics. Language change in Tudor and Stuart England*. London: Longman.
- Scaglione, A. 1984. "The Rise of National Languages: East and West". In *The Emergence of National Languages*, A. Scaglione (ed.), 9–49. Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- Schiffman, H. F. 1998. "Standardization or restandardization: The case for 'Standard' Spoken Tamil". *Language in Society* 27: 259–285.
- Schikorsky, I. 1998. "Vom Dienstmädchen zur Professorengeatin. Probleme bei der Aneignung bürgerlichen Sprachverhaltens und Sprachbewusstseins". In *Sprache und Bürgerliche Nation*, D. Cherubim, K. J. Mattheier and S. Grosse (eds), 259–281. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Smith, A. D. 1982. "Language and nationalism". *The Incorporated Linguist* 21(4): 144–147.
- Smith, J. 1996. *An Historical Study of English. Function, form and change*. London: Routledge.
- Vandenbussche, W. 2002. "Dutch orthography in lower, middle and upper class documents in 19th-century Flanders". In *Standardization. Studies from the Germanic languages*, A. Linn and N. McLelland, 27–42. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Van Marle, J. 1997. "Dialect versus standard language: nature versus culture". In *Taming the Vernacular: From dialect to written standard language*, J. Cheshire and D. Stein (eds), 13–34. London: Longman.
- Watts, R. J. 1999. "The social construction of Standard English: Grammar writers as a 'discourse community'". In *Standard English. The Widening Debate*, T. Bex and R. J. Watts (eds), 40–68. London: Routledge.
- Willems, Roland. 1997. "Religious fundamentalism and language planning in 19th century Flanders". *Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 2(2): 281–302.
- Ziegler, E. 2002. "Die Band-Metapher im nationalsprachlichen Diskurs des 19. Jahrhunderts". In *Neue deutsche Sprachgeschichte. Mentalitäts-, kultur- und sozialgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge*, D. Cherubim, K. Jacob and A. Linke (eds), 111–138. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Index

A

- Abstand* 3, 6, 9, 19, 366, 374, 376
acceptance, *see* implementation
acquisition planning 157
adoption, *see* implementation
alphabet, Danish 75
alphabet, Hebrew 449 (fn. 7)
alphabet, Latin 58, 246–247, 250, 255, 262–263, 265
alphabet, runic 250
anglicization 8–9, 463
 Afrikaans 19, 25, 29–30, 33
 Caribbean Creoles 44–45, 55–56, 63–64
 Danish 88
 Faroese 175
 German 230, 238–239
 Icelandic 275
 Luxembourgish 305, 322
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 364–365, 369, 372
 Scots 383–384
 Swedish 427
 Yiddish 446
apartheid 33
Ausbau 3, 6, 231, 238, 241, 356, 374, 459

B

- Belize Creole Project 54–55, 61
Bible
 Afrikaans 25, 31
 Caribbean Creoles 53, 60–61
 Danish 80, 84
 Dutch, *see* *Statenbijbel*
 Faroese 162, 180
 German 220, 226

- Icelandic 245, 265, 267, 270
Low German 291, 292
Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 368, 376
Swedish 405, 408–409, 414, 416, 423, 424, 425
Yiddish 432, 440, 444, 445, 448–449 (fn.3)

bilingual education 202, 358

bilingualism

- Belgium 93, 94, 96, 115
 Caribbean 44, 51, 54–55
 Denmark 69
 Faroe Islands 159–160
 Frisia 206
 Iceland 275
 Hanse 290, 298
 Luxembourg 306, 319

Bislama 373–374

borrowing 8–9, 47, 118, 139, 167, 249, 305, 308–309, 323, 365, 371, 372, 420–421, 444

C

- Cape Dutch Pidgin/Creole 17–18
Caribbean Dutch Creoles 42–43
Caribbean Lexicography Project 46–47, 59
Caribbean (Standard) English 42, 45, 47
Central Midland Standard 129, 132–133
chanceries, chancery standards 2, 5
 Danish 73, 89 (fn.)
 Dutch 108
 English 128–129, 132–134, 151 (fn.3)
 German 212–214
 Icelandic 269, 270
 Low German 286, 288, 293, 295
 Swedish 406, 408, 423

- Yiddish 444
- codification 6, 258
- Afrikaans 27–29
- Caribbean Creoles 57–59
- Danish 75–79
- Dutch 97–106, 108–110
- English 136–149
- Faroese 158–165
- Frisian 198–199
- German 218–230
- Icelandic 260–263, 273
- Low German 295–296
- Luxembourgish 314–321
- Norwegian 333–335
- Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 367–374
- Scots 389–393
- Swedish 412–419
- Yiddish 440–443
- colonization 15–20, 39–42, 130, 159, 211, 364
- corpus planning
- Caribbean Creoles 62
- Dutch 97, 108, 111
- Faroese 157–158, 176, 181
- Icelandic 246
- Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 365–375, 373
- Swedish 408
- Yiddish 436, 437, 442, 447, 448
- correctness 143, 144–145, 219, 223, 226, 418, 426, 461, 465
- courts (legal) 96, 194, 203, 204, 231, 286, 287, 362–363, 364, 442
- courts (royal)
- Denmark 71, 73, 81, 83
- England 129, 134, 147, 148
- Germany 212, 217, 220, 221, 229, 231
- Iceland 245, 250, 266–268
- Sweden 406, 410
- Creole continuum 44–46, 49–50, 364
- cultivation
- Afrikaans 19, 25, 33
- Danish 82
- German 219, 223–225, 233, 234, 240
- Icelandic 246, 274
- Norwegian 345
- Swedish 405, 406–408, 412, 413, 414, 422–423, 425
- Yiddish 444
- D**
- Danish, influence of
- Faroe Islands 159–160, 165
- Iceland 245–246, 270, 271, 273
- Norway 331–333, 341
- decentralization 213, 214, 215, 240–241
- decolonization 5, 97
- destandardization 10–11, 88, 117–119, 239–240, 281, 457
- dialect contact 130, 332
- dictionaries/ lexicon
- Afrikaans 27, 29, 32
- Danish 75, 77, 79, 81, 88
- Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (DCEU) 6, 46–48, 56–57, 59, 63
- Dutch 97, 99, 102, 103–104, 113
- English 139–142, 143, 144, 147, 148–149
- Faroese 162, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 178, 179, 181, 182, 186, 187
- Frisian 199, 203
- German 224, 227, 228, 232, 234, 239
- Icelandic 263
- Low German 299 (fn.8)
- Luxembourgish 315–319, 323
- Norwegian 335
- Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 369, 373, 376
- Scots 385, 389–393
- Swedish 407, 411, 414, 415, 417, 419, 421–422, 424
- Yiddish 436, 440–443
- diglossia, diglossic 7, 20, 44–46, 48, 60, 115, 212, 239, 267, 304–305, 308, 322, 432
- discourses of standardization 10, 11, 86, 89, 105, 215, 218, 219–222, 224–225, 226, 228, 230, 232, 456, 461–462

E

- elaboration 3, 7
 - Afrikaans 29–32
 - Caribbean Creoles 56–59
 - Danish 80–82
 - Dutch 110–114
 - English 136–149
 - Faroese 167–179
 - Frisian 202–205
 - German 230–234
 - Icelandic 263–267, 275
 - Low German 296–297
 - Luxembourgish 321
 - Norwegian 335–340
 - Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 374
 - Swedish 419–422
 - Yiddish 431, 443–446
- elite 9, 458–459
 - Afrikaans 21, 26, 30, 33
 - Danish 74, 82–84, 89
 - Dutch 96, 103, 107, 109
 - English 136, 150
 - Faroese 166
 - German 219, 221, 236
 - Icelandic 249, 267, 271
 - Low German 293, 296
 - Luxembourgish 308
 - Norwegian 331–332, 335, 336, 351
 - (fn. 1)
 - Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 357, 372
 - Swedish 405–406, 409, 421
- English, Australia 130, 141
- English, Canada 130, 141
- English, South Africa 141
- English, United States 130, 137, 140, 148–149
- English, influence of *see* anglicization
- Enlightenment 82, 83, 221, 231, 233, 246, 271–273, 449 (fn. 4, 6 and 9)
- European Charter for Minority Languages 207 (fn.), 282
- exoglossic standards 69, 82–83, 85, 88

F

- Flemish movement 102–103
- focusing 147, 148, 456
- French, influence of
 - Afrikaans 16, 19, 34 (fn.2)
 - Dutch 95–96, 101–102, 104–106
 - Danish 82–83
 - English 128, 132, 140
 - German 212, 219, 223, 229, 231
 - Low German 290
 - Luxembourgish 304–305, 307, 308, 309, 313, 317, 318, 319, 322–323
 - Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 373
 - Swedish 414, 418, 421

G

- Gaelic 248–249, 383
- German, influence of 8
 - Afrikaans 16
 - Danish 69–70, 77, 80–81, 82, 83–84, 88
 - Dutch 100–101
 - Icelandic 245, 270, 271
 - Low German 291–293
 - Luxembourgish 303–305, 307, 308–309, 315–317
 - Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 362, 364–365
 - Swedish 418, 420–421
 - Yiddish 432, 440, 444
- grammar
 - Afrikaans 27, 32
 - Caribbean Creoles 54
 - Danish 80–81
 - Dutch 98, 100–102, 109, 112–113
 - English 142–146
 - Faroese 161, 162, 181
 - Frisian 199, 203–204
 - German 224–226, 241
 - Icelandic 247, 261–263, 271, 272, 273, 274
 - Luxembourgish 319–321
 - Norwegian 335

- Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 368–369, 375
 Scots 389, 392, 393
 Swedish 406, 407, 415, 416–419, 424
 Yiddish 440, 441
 Guyanese Creole 49–50
- H**
 Hanse(atic League) 69, 269, 285–286, 289, 297
 Hawai'i Pidgin/Creole 259–260
- I**
 identity 4, 10
 Afrikaans 18, 23–25
 Caribbean Creoles 41–42, 51, 60, 64
 Danish 84
 Frisian 199
 German 212–213, 215, 219, 240–241
 Icelandic 268
 Low German 297, 298
 Luxembourgish 304, 307, 308, 322
 Norwegian 331, 332, 335
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 358, 363, 366, 383, 386
 Swedish 411
 Yiddish 433
 implementation (also *acceptance*) 7, 458–460
 Afrikaans 32–33
 Caribbean Creoles 59–61
 Danish 82–88
 Dutch 110–114
 English 131–136
 Faroese 179–186
 Frisian 205–206
 German 234–238
 Icelandic 267–272
 Low German 297
 Luxembourgish 321
 Norwegian 340–349
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 357, 365, 373
 Scots 391–393
 Swedish 422–425
 Yiddish 446
 international language/ international standard 150–151, 238
 International Phonetic Alphabet 148
 Internationally Acceptable English 6, 45, 47, 48, 64 (fn. 3)
- J**
 Jamaican Creole 3, 46–47, 50–55, 57–64
- K**
Klassikersprache 235–236
 koineization (see also *levelling*) 10, 16, 248, 311–312, 316–317, 318, 332, 338
 Kriol 363–364, 367–368
- L**
 language academies 456
 Afrikaans 30–31, 35 (fn.17)
 English 136–137
 Frisian 201–203
 Swedish 407, 411, 414–415, 417, 419, 424–425
 Yiddish 434
 language change 10, 118, 157, 240, 331, 433
 language committees
 Dutch 107, 111
 English 137
 Faroese 178, 180, 183–186, 187
 General Frisian Education Committee 202, 204
 Norwegian 338, 345, 347, 348
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 373
 Swedish 427
 Yiddish 434, 435–436, 442
 language competition (incl. norm competition) 3, 5, 6, 9
 Afrikaans 18, 25, 34
 Danish 68
 Dutch 103
 German 219, 220, 221, 235
 Norwegian 335, 339, 340, 344
 Pacific Creoles 361, 364

- Swedish 408
 Yiddish 445
- language congresses/ conferences
 Dutch 103–104
 German 228
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 366, 369,
 371, 372, 373
 Yiddish 435, 438
- language consciousness/ awareness 21, 24,
 51, 60, 137, 157, 214, 217, 247, 268, 272,
 297, 387, 408, 416, 423, 460
- language contact 6, 9, 456–457, 465
 Afrikaans 15, 16, 17, 34 (fn. 2)
 Caribbean Creoles 41–46
 Danish 69–70
 Dutch 94, 95, 104–106, 115
 English 130–131, 132, 151 (fn. 2)
 Faroese 159
 Frisian 195–196, 205
 Icelandic 248–249, 251, 268
 Low German 290, 294
 Luxembourgish 304, 322
 Norwegian 332–333, 334
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 355–357
 Scots 383
- language councils 8, 9
 Belize Creole Council 61
 British Council 131
 Caribbean Examination Council 59
 Danish 77, 82
 Dutch 111
 Icelandic 183, 275
 Luxembourgish 321
 Nordic Language Council 186
 Norwegian 346, 347, 348, 349, 350
 *Scottish Consultative Council on the
 Curriculum* 394
 Swedish 407, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419,
 422, 423, 427
- language discrimination 61–62, 96, 104–105
- language ecology 357, 463, 464
- language ennoblement 27, 35 (fn. 12)
- language ideology (see also discourses of
 standardization) 45–46, 72, 74, 87, 89,
 103, 137, 150, 166, 219, 225, 272, 296,
 312, 334, 339, 341, 343, 361, 362, 368,
 412, 419, 421, 425, 461–463
- language institutes 9
 Dutch 104
 Faroese 181–182, 184, 186
 Frisian 201, 202, 203
 Summer Institute of Linguistics 367
 Yiddish 434–436, 441, 442, 465 (fn. 1)
- language maintenance 182, 359, 394, 463–
 464
- language planning
 Caribbean 56, 61–62
 Dutch 97f., 99, 100, 101, 102–103,
 106–108, 110, 116, 118–119
 Faroese 157–158, 167, 181
 Icelandic 246, 273–275
 Luxembourgish 309, 323
 Norwegian 334, 335, 339, 340, 341,
 342, 345, 346, 350–351
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 355–357,
 366, 368, 372, 373, 376
 Scots 393
 Swedish 406
 Yiddish 432, 433–435, 436, 438, 442,
 445–446, 447, 448
- language policy 5, 8, 33, 176, 184, 235, 303,
 337, 339, 363, 373, 414, 427
- language revival 29, 101, 117, 197, 198,
 200, 264
- language rights, constitutional 33, 51, 61–
 62, 93, 96, 102, 107, 181, 322, 373
- language societies
 Afrikaans 25, 30
 Dutch 101, 119 (fn.6)
 Faroese 178, 180–181, 185
 Frisian 198, 200–201
 German 224–225, 239
 Icelandic 246, 272
 Luxembourgish 318, 323 (fn.6)
 Scots 394, 396 (fn.9)
- language struggle (*also* language feud) 5–6,
 21–22, 31, 34 (fn.1), 77–78, 104, 336–
 338, 341, 343–345, 348, 349–350

- Latin, influence of 3, 7, 8
- Danish 69, 80–81, 83
 - Dutch 94, 97–100
 - English 128, 132, 139–140, 142
 - Frisian 194–195, 204
 - German 211–213, 219, 220, 225, 229, 231–232
 - Icelandic 253, 261, 263, 264, 265–266, 272
 - Low German 284–285, 288–290, 294, 296
 - Swedish 408, 416, 421
- levelling (*see also* koineization) 16, 115, 117, 118, 212–216, 239, 348, 287, 288, 303, 310–312, 322, 411, 433, 437
- lexicon, *see* dictionaries
- linguistic continuum, *see also* Creole continuum 16, 21, 85, 114, 115, 136, 251, 331, 284, 464
- literacy 17, 19, 43, 44, 48, 54, 61, 64, 76, 129, 211–213, 223, 235, 368, 373, 458
- loan(word)s 8
- Caribbean Creoles 53, 58
 - Danish 76, 82
 - Dutch 97, 116
 - English 132, 133
 - Faroese 167, 168, 170–175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 188 (fn. 3)
 - Frisian 197
 - German 212, 232
 - Icelandic 248, 249, 265, 273, 274
 - Low German 290
 - Luxembourgish 309, 317
 - Norwegian 334
 - Swedish 414, 417, 420, 421, 423
- Low German, influence of (*see also* German) 8
- Afrikaans 17
 - Danish 69–70, 83
 - Faroese 170
 - Frisian 194, 196
 - German 221
 - Norwegian 332, 334
- M
- medium for community solidarity 23–26
- modernization (*see also* elaboration) 7–8, 103, 215, 356, 365, 368, 370, 374, 375
- motivation 9–10, 225, 228, 230, 231, 262, 270, 372, 420, 441, 455
- multilingualism 42, 64 (fn. 1), 93, 128, 287, 303, 304, 305, 306, 309, 319, 322, 323
- mutual intelligibility 51, 78, 331, 367, 374
- N
- national language/ national standard 2
- Danish 72, 83
 - Dutch 124
 - English 149–150
 - Faroese 158, 167, 180
 - German 219, 230, 232
 - Luxembourgish 303, 306, 308–309, 322
 - Norwegian 331, 333, 351
 - Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 365, 372, 373, 376
 - Swedish 411–412
- nationalism 6, 9, 461, 463
- Afrikaans 29, 32–33
 - Caribbean Creoles 47, 51
 - Dutch 103
 - English 132
 - Faroese 179
 - German 238
 - Icelandic 246
 - Norwegian 333–336, 339–341
 - Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 361
 - Swedish 412, 425
- Negerhollands 43–44
- Nederlandse Taalunie* 111–112
- newspapers, periodicals
- Afrikaans 23, 26
 - Caribbean Creoles 55
 - Danish 84
 - Dutch 106, 111
 - Faroese 162, 165, 171, 178, 180, 187
 - Frisian 202
 - German 224, 233–234

- Low German 282
 Luxembourgish 308, 313
 Norwegian 345
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 360
 Swedish 425, 426
 Yiddish 445, 449 (fn.6)
- normalization 49, 51, 60
- O**
- orthoepy, see *spoken standard*
 orthography
 Afrikaans 27
 Caribbean Creoles 53–56, 58
 Danish 75–78, 88
 Dutch 98, 106–108, 113
 English 138–139
 Faroese 160–163
 Frisian 198, 202–203
 German 224, 228–229
 Icelandic 252, 255, 261–262, 269, 272
 Low German 295
 Luxembourgish 314–317, 321, 323
 Norwegian 335
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 367, 368,
 369, 374, 375, 376
 Scots 393
 Swedish 406–407, 408–409, 414–415,
 423
 Yiddish 438, 442–443, 447, 450 (fn.10)
- orthography reform
 Danish 75, 76–77, 82, 84
 English 134, 138, 141
 Faroese 187–188
 Frisian 201–202
 German 228–229, 240
 Swedish 423, 424
- P**
- personal names, Faroese 184–185
 Pitcairn/Norfolk 374–375
 place names, Faroese 185–196
 pluricentric language 94, 113, 118, 127,
 150, 239, 307, 463
 printing 26, 75, 80, 129, 133, 138–139, 195,
 214, 215, 216, 220, 291, 389, 408, 414–
 416, 424
 purism 8, 461, 463, 466 (fn. 5)
- Afrikaans 31
 Caribbean Creoles 43
 Danish 82
 Dutch 108, 116
 English 144–145
 Faroese 165, 168–169, 173, 175, 176,
 177, 183, 188 (fn. 5)
 Frisian 197
 German 219, 223–225, 239
 Icelandic 246, 266, 270–273, 275
 Luxembourgish 308
 Norwegian 334
 Swedish 407, 422
- R**
- radio 459
 Caribbean Creoles 49, 57, 60–61
 Dutch 110–111
 Faroese 165, 178, 180, 183–184
 Frisian 201
 German 230
 Low German 282
 Luxembourgish 313, 323 (fn.5)
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 360
 Swedish 426
 Yiddish 439
- Received Pronunciation 136
 re-codification 136, 186–188
 Reformation 3, 9, 69, 77, 80, 83, 84, 97,
 159, 217–218, 220, 223, 233, 245, 270–
 271, 291, 292, 296
 regional variation 10
 Afrikaans 26
 Caribbean Creoles 51, 52, 53, 56, 60
 Danish 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 78, 79, 81,
 85, 87, 160
 Dutch 93, 94–95, 99, 100, 102, 104,
 109, 110, 113, 114, 115–117, 119
 (fn. 1)
 English 128, 132, 134, 135–136, 138,
 140–142, 145, 148, 149–150, 151

- (fn. 3, 5, 7)
 Faroese 161, 163, 175
 Frisian 199–200, 205
 German 213–214, 216, 217, 218, 227,
 237–238, 239
 Icelandic 271
 Low German 286, 287, 295, 297
 Luxembourgish 310–311, 312, 322
 Scots 385–386
 Swedish 406, 410, 412, 416
 Yiddish 432–433, 436, 437–438
- S
 schizoglossia 151 (fn.12)
Schreiblandschaften 213–214
 Scotticisms 386–388
 selection(s) 3, 4–5, 458
 Afrikaans 20–22
 Caribbean Creoles 46–51
 Danish 71–75, 85
 Dutch 97–104
 English 131–136
 Faroese 166
 Frisian 197–198, 199–200
 German 214–218
 Icelandic 246–260
 Low German 294–295, 298
 Luxembourgish 306–314
 Norwegian 331–333
 Pacific Pidgin and Creoles 366, 369,
 375
 Scots 385–389
 Swedish 408–412
 Yiddish 436–440
 semi-communication 70, 290, 298
 social class
 bourgeoisie 24, 96, 221, 435, 458–459
 lower class/ working class 86, 108,
 223, 236, 287, 331–332, 340, 341,
 342, 344, 351 (fn.1 and 4), 386, 411,
 458–459, 461
 middle class 108, 219, 221, 224, 233,
 234, 235, 236, 237
 nobility, aristocracy 70, 71, 195, 287,
 289, 406, 410, 459
 peasants 82, 332, 334, 335, 336, 342,
 351 (fn.1 and 2)
 petty bourgeoisie 106, 236, 287, 435,
 458–459
 upper (middle) class 4, 19, 86, 100,
 106, 221, 231, 287, 293, 294, 331–
 334, 336, 338–339, 340–344, 349–
 350, 351 (fn.1), 411
 social variation 10, 458–460
 Afrikaans 31
 Caribbean Creoles 60, 64
 Danish 73–74, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86
 Dutch 98–99, 100, 105, 108, 109, 113,
 114, 115
 English 134, 135, 144, 145, 148–149
 Frisian 194, 196
 German 214, 219, 221, 223, 228, 235–
 237
 Icelandic 257, 259, 267–268
 Norwegian 331–333, 338–339, 341–
 344, 349–350, 351 (fn. 4)
 Scots 385, 386, 392
 Swedish 406, 410, 411–412, 416
 Solomon Island Pidgin 361
 spelling, see *orthography*
 spoken standard 4, 457
 Danish 73–74, 78–79, 85
 Dutch 109–110, 115–116
 English 134–135, 146–149, 156
 Faroese 163, 165
 Frisian 204–205
 German 229–230
 Norwegian 334, 350
 Swedish 410–412, 415–416, 426
 Yiddish 438–440
 Sranan 44–45
 standardization-in-progress 3, 193ff., 321
 standardization models/theories
 Robert L. Cooper 4, 458
 Einar Haugen 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 (fn.
 2), 127, 134, 151 (fn. 12), 158, 166,
 167, 265, 293, 294, 297, 298, 370,
 371, 407, 412, 457, 464–465

- Heinz Kloss 3, 4, 7–8, 238, 356, 374, 459
 John E. Joseph 1, 4, 456
 Robert Le Page 41, 456
Statenbijbel 16, 98, 100
 status planning 97–99, 104, 111, 157
 switching 108, 117, 305, 389
- T**
- Talmud 432, 438, 448–449 (fn.3)
 television 87, 110–111, 180, 183, 201–202, 205–206, 282, 313, 360, 425–426, 459
 terminologies, standardization and elaboration of
 Afrikaans 31
 Caribbean Creoles 57
 Danish 80
 Dutch 97
 English 139–140
 Faroese 158, 167f., 176–179, 181
 Frisian 201, 203
 German 231, 232–233, 239
 Icelandic 246, 265, 274–275
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 367, 370–371
 Swedish 407, 420, 422
 Yiddish 434, 435, 436, 441–442, 446, 447
 Tok Pisin 356–357, 364–365, 368–372
- U**
- urbanization 3, 29–30, 114, 129–130, 213, 221, 406, 421, 462, 465–466 (fn.2)

- V**
- vernacular writing
 Afrikaans 22–23, 24, 25, 27, 34 (fn. 7)
 Dutch 97
 English 129, 133
 Frisian 198
 German 211, 212, 213, 232
 Icelandic 246–247, 253, 255, 267
 Low German 294–295
 Luxembourgish 308, 312–313, 314, 320
 Yiddish 441
 verticalization 218, 220
- W**
- written standard 3–4, 457, 458, 459, 464
 Caribbean Creoles 48
 Danish 72–73, 75–78, 83, 84, 88
 Dutch 109
 English 132–134, 151 (fn. 12)
 Faroese 160–161, 164, 165, 166, 187
 Frisian 194, 196, 197, 201, 204
 German 213–214, 217, 218, 221, 222, 223, 227, 229, 231, 235, 236, 237
 Icelandic 249, 255, 259, 274
 Low German 287
 Norwegian 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 348, 349, 350, 351
 Pacific Pidgins and Creoles 368, 374
 Swedish 408–409, 410, 411, 413, 417, 425
 Yiddish 437, 438, 440

In the series IMPACT: STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY the following titles have been published thus far or are scheduled for publication:

1. PÜTZ, Martin (ed.): *Language Choices. Conditions, constraints, and consequences*. 1997.
2. KIBBEE, Douglas A. (ed.): *Language Legislation and Linguistic Rights. Selected Proceedings of the Language Legislation and Linguistic Rights Conference, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, March, 1996*. 1998.
3. LINELL, Per: *Approaching Dialogue. Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives*. 1998.
4. OWENS, Jonathan: *Neighborhood and Ancestry. Variation in the spoken Arabic of Maiduguri, Nigeria*. 1998.
5. ANDREWS, David R.: *Sociocultural Perspectives on Language Change in Diaspora. Soviet immigrants in the United States*. 1999.
6. RICENTO, Thomas (ed.): *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies. Focus on English*. 2000.
7. McCAFFERTY, Kevin: *Ethnicity and Language Change. English in (London)Derry, Northern Ireland*. 2001.
8. ARMSTRONG, Nigel: *Social and Stylistic Variation in Spoken French. A comparative approach*. 2001.
9. HELLINGER, Marlis and Hadumod BUßMANN (eds.): *Gender Across Languages. The linguistic representation of women and men: Volume 1*. 2001.
10. HELLINGER, Marlis and Hadumod BUßMANN (eds.): *Gender Across Languages. The linguistic representation of women and men. Volume 2*. 2002.
11. HELLINGER, Marlis and Hadumod BUßMANN (eds.): *Gender Across Languages. The linguistic representation of women and men. Volume 3*. 2003.
12. OKITA, Toshie: *Invisible Work. Bilingualism, language choice and childrearing in intermarried families*. 2002.
13. OAKES, Leigh: *Language and National Identity. Comparing France and Sweden*. 2001.
14. WEBB, Vic: *Language in South Africa. The role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development*. 2002.
15. BOXER, Diana: *Applying Sociolinguistics. Domains and face-to-face interaction*. 2002.
16. BRITAIN, David and Jenny CHESHIRE (eds.): *Social Dialectology. In honour of Peter Trudgill*. 2003.
17. TRINCH, Shonna L.: *Latinas' Narratives of Domestic Abuse. Discrepant versions of violence*. N.Y.P.
18. DEUMERT, Ana and Wim VANDENBUSSCHE (eds.): *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present*. 2003.