2012

Faroese Language Revitalization and Its Support for Nationhood

Emily E. Davis

Southern Illinois University Carbondale, eedavis@siu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/gs_rp

FAROESE LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION AND ITS SUPPORT FOR NATIONHOOD

by

Emily Elizabeth Davis

B.A., The College of Wooster, 2004
M.A., University of Delaware, 2007

A Research Paper
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology
in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
December 2012

RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL

FAROESE LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION AND ITS SUPPORT FOR NATIONHOOD

By

Emily Elizabeth Davis

A Research Paper Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the field of Anthropology

Approved by:

Dr. C. Andrew Hofling, Chair

Dr. Anthony K. Webster

Dr. Susan M. Ford

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
October 29, 2012

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Language is political. It is about identity. It is about power. The language each of us speaks, in turn, speaks to others about us. The reasons for this are clear: language acts as an index of identity, as well as an instrument of power and prestige. Yet, the politics of language ensures that this is not merely a matter of individual concern. For, as this paper will show, specific modern ideologies of language presume a correlation between the way an individual communicates and their national identity, explicitly the popular assumption that individuals are bound by the "mother tongue" of their "fatherland" (Coulmas 1997:403), and furthermore, the notion that "every self-respecting nation has to have a language" (Haugen 1966a:927) in order to be categorized as such. It makes clear that ideologies about the role and function of language in a society can influence the historical development of a language, as well as contemporary language policy and standardization choices. As such, the following paper examines the interrelation of language and nationality with identity and power in terms of one language: Faroese and the lands on which it is primarily spoken, the Faroe Islands.

Spoken by a relatively small number of native speakers, no more than approximately 60,000 on the Faroe island chain and in Denmark today (Hansen 2001:123, Benati 2009:189; 192, Árnason 2011:3, Barnes 2001:5), Faroese is classified as a West Scandinavian language within the North Germanic branch of the Proto-Indo-European language family. Its historical

development and contemporary form result from many years of long-term language contact. Nontrivial contact occurred primarily between Faroese and languages within the larger Germanic language family, including other North Germanic languages, and English—a distant, but related language of the West Germanic branch. Historically, the group of dialects which are today standardized as Faroese were influenced by the socially more powerful language of outside colonial interests, such as the dialectal forerunners to the modern standardized forms of Norwegian, Bokmål and Nynorsk, and also Danish, since these were spoken by government and church officials, as well as by travelers to the islands. In the twenty-first century, through popular culture and the internet, the Faroese language users are regularly in contact with both Danish and English (Benati 2009:192-194). The contact with other languages did more than simply induce lexical or structural borrowing; it also solidified a sense of what it meant to be Faroese. Today, Faroese cannot be considered a minority language (Benati 2009:192, Hansen 2001:123) on the Faroe Islands. This is, in part, because of a language ideology that connected Faroese language use with Faroese identity and its widespread application in efforts to standardize the language and enforce specific language policies.

The Faroe Islands were colonized first in the eighth century by religious anchorites, or monks from the British Isles in search of God and solitude (Logan 2005:44, Jones 1991:10-11, Hansen 1991:44, Vikør 1993:20), then subsequently, and much more enduringly in the ninth century, by Norse from "islands off western Norway" (Logan 2005:44). Norse colonization, or *landnám* on the Faroe Islands is verified by archaeological evidence to between 850 and 900, although these dates are challenged as too late according to literary source analysis and pollen dating (Dugmore, et. al. 2005:25). Faroese developed primarily from the language spoken by this second wave of immigrants: a dialect of Old Norwegian brought to the islands by groups of Viking settlers who

traveled from southwestern Norway in the ninth century and early tenth centuries (Barnes and

Weyhe 2002:190, Hansen 2001:123, Hansen, Jacobsen, and Weyhe 2003:159, Thráinsson, et. al.

2004:13, Wylie 1978:vii, Walshe 1965:29). However, unlike the Icelandic language—which as

with Faroese was born from the settlement of a similar-minded group of Old Norwegian-

speaking Vikings (Vikør 1993:55; 59) who traveled some additional 240 miles north-west to

Iceland, Faroese never developed into a corpus of written literature (Hansen 201:124, Vikør

1993:57; 59). On the contrary, only a small number of extant documents written in Old

Norwegian, with notable and uniquely Faroese linguistic qualities are available for study today

(Vikør 1993:59). Although few documents exist, it is clear that leading up to fifteen century

Faroese was linguistically diversified from the language varieties being spoken on Iceland and

on the western coast of Norway, which it still most closely resembled (Hansen 2001:124).

After the fifteenth century, however, the Faroese language largely ceased to exist in written

form until it was revived some 300 years later in the late eighteenth century. As mentioned

previously, language is more than simply a means of communication. It is also about power and

prestige. The disappearance of a written form of Faroese is the result of politics. Since the

period of settlement, inhabitants of the Faroe Islands had maintained contact with Norway,

which in the first part of the eleventh century took official control of the islands (Wylie

1978:viii), but did not enforce language forms different from those already used on the islands.

Then, at the very end of the fourteen century, political power over the archipelago transferred to

the Kingdom of Denmark. The results are quite straightforward: in 1552 the Danish language

was introduced (Haugen 1976:332) as the language of church and crown (Hansen 2001:124).

Jurisdiction by Denmark severed the tie that had hitherto continued to exist between Faroese and

its linguistic mother language of Old Norwegian, which had already been waning in its usage

since the introduction of the Danish language as the official language of Norway in the early fifteenth century (Vikør 1975:37). The change was dramatic. By the mid-to-late-sixteenth century, "native speech had been reduced to a language of the work place and the home, all public communication being the preserve of Danish" (Barnes 2001:228). Diglossia between Danish, as the high form, and Faroese, as the low form was thoroughly imposed.

The Faroese language situation first began to change in the late eighteenth century when philologists tried to record orthographically the phonetic sounds found in oral ballads. Stymied, a number initially used an orthophonically-derived system, which later fell out of use in favor of an etymologically-based system that relied upon the precedence of both Old Norse, the parent language of Old Norwegian, as well as Icelandic. The move circumvented problems posed by phonetic differences found across dialects within a written standard, while simultaneously, and quite consciously, coupling the language with the literary accomplishments of Old Norse and hence lent Faroese a measure of linguistic standing similar to other Scandinavian languages that had maintained continuity in their written forms. Therefore, although continuously used as a spoken means of communication; neither a dead nor threatened language *per se*, the ability to write Faroese changed the dynamic on the islands. Whereas Faroese had once acted as a vernacular medium of communication, the ability to write in the same language in which they spoke allowed residents of the Faroe Islands to challenge the dominant diglossic use of Danish.

By the nineteenth century, the status of Faroese as a native language came to be a rallying cry for political dissidents as an emblem of identity. Seen as substantiating claims that the Faroese people were distinctly different from Danes and therefore should have their own independent, autonomous state, the linguistic heritage of the Faroese language came to symbolize both the ethnic identity of residents of the Faroe Islands, as well as their power to claim sovereign

nationhood. Residents, swept up in the wave of nationalist fever then ablaze on continental

Europe, recognized the power of language in calls for political autonomy and self-governance.

These ideas were on display most conspicuously in Tórshavn on 26 December 1888 in a public

debate calling for the use of Faroese in schools, churches, and government affairs (Debes

1995:75) that led to the formation of the *Føringafelag*, an organization dedicated to preservation

of the Faroese language and the autonomy of the Faroese people (Schei and Moberg 2003:39-

40). This one event forever fused the concepts of language and nation within the Faroese

psyche, so that its use remains of great consequence to Faroe Islanders who can claim autonomy,

although not independence, as citizens of a self-governing entity within the Danish kingdom

(Nauerby 1996:60; Schei and Moberg 2003:41-42).

Languages and nations are often seen to exist *ipso facto*—by the very fact of their existence.

However, the following study of the Faroese language shows that the distribution of languages

across the cultural landscape is often as much about power and identity politics as the steady,

constant linguistic change that alters languages slowly over time. This paper examines both the

diachronic alteration of Faroese as it developed from Germanic antecedents, as well as how

politics began to influence the language's form under colonial control from its earliest

beginnings. It does so first by providing a historiographic overview of literature written on the

relationship between language and nationalism. A general overview of Scandinavian history is

given next. This is followed by a detailed description of the development of Faroese as it

diversified within the West Scandinavian language family with the aim of showing

diachronically how and why the Faroese language changed. Next, a more synchronic description

is given of the present state of the language. Matters of linguistic power and prestige are noted

throughout, while particular attention is given from the period of the late eighteenth century onward to how issues of identity and nationalism coalesced.

In many ways, the material described in the following paper is guided by one broad philosophical question: 'What makes a language, a language?' Noting that the identification of languages is tied intimately to issues of identity, power, and prestige, it further seeks to answer the more pointed question: 'How is language, and in particular, the processes of standardization and language planning, used as a tool of nation-building?' It does so by examining the relationship between language and nationalism, understanding that while languages come to be often historically associated with specific geographic areas, government policy and standardization also execute a tremendous role in affirming a particular language with a people and an environment.

LANGUAGE AND NATIONALISM

"Nation and language have become inextricably intertwined," wrote linguist Einar Haugen (1966a:927). Unraveled and thoroughly examined, however, this seemingly banal statement—after all most nations do in fact designate national languages to be used in government business—is far from straightforward. In fact, the study of nations and languages is complex; often riddled with issues of identity and power.

It is difficult to precisely define the term language; and yet for most people it is an almost self-evident concept—one that must be "clearly distinguishable and therefore enumerable" to use Einar Haugen's terms (1966a:922). The truth is much more complicated. This paper uses Alessandro Duranti's description of language as, "a sophisticated system of communication" (1997:331) as a starting point. It also takes into account the definition provided by David Crystal of language as, "the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression" (1997:430). Yet, in many ways, both of these definitions are superficial in that they deal primarily with the most obvious and apparent aspect of language—its role as a means of communication. This paper moves beyond this to examine language as an extension of culture. As Dell Hymes wrote, "whereas it is the task of linguists to coordinate knowledge about language from the viewpoint of *language*, it is anthropology's task to coordinate knowledge about language from the viewpoint of *man*" (2010:571).

In the introduction, the question, "What makes a language, a language?" was posed. The answer to this question lies, in part, in the study of language ideologies. Studying what people think about the social role and function of language in society is an important aspect of this paper. As Paul Kroskrity writes, "scholarship in linguistic anthropology has become increasingly cognizant of the socio-cultural foundations of language and discourse and the need to complement the usual preoccupation with microanalysis," with the equally important task of "understanding of how such patterns might be related to political-economic macroprocesses" (2000:1-2). Susan Gal writes, for example, that, "the importance of linguistic ideologies for social research lies exactly in the fact that they are not only about talk," but rather that, "they envision and enact connections between aspects of language and other arena of social life" (Gal 1998:323). In this way, the study of language ideologies is characterized by the significance and value given to, and in, context (Kroskrity 2000:5).

With this in mind, let us return to the conundrum posed by how to define the concept of language. If we apply a research focus on language ideologies, it becomes possible to look beyond the microprocesses of communication that characterized the definitions given by Duranti (1997) and Crystal (1997) to examine the socio-cultural context in which that communication occurs. It also allows for focus to be given to a language, rather than language writ large.

Let us take for example the position espoused by Máiréad Nic Craith: that a language might be "a constructed concept" (2006:20). This point acknowledges that while languages can be traced through distinct genealogical lineages across often quite specific geographic landscapes, it is important to note that languages are dynamic; changing as a result of many factors, including sociolinguistic and sociopolitical influences. The conventionalized use of a taxonomic division of language, for instance, recognizes the following: (1) that individual speakers have a unique,

personal way of speaking that is known as an idiolect, (2) that linguistic variation common to a speech community is referred to as a dialect, (3) that over time, mutually intelligible dialects undergo linguistic diversification and as these changes occur, dialects become increasingly distinct and dissimilar, and finally, (4) when dialects are no longer mutually intelligible, they are referred to as separate languages. Under this rubric, the diversification of languages can be characterized by any number of phonological, morphological, and syntactical changes.

However, in Scandinavia, and elsewhere in the world, the diversification of languages is not always clear-cut. For example, Danish and Swedish speakers can generally understand one another (Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:3). Based upon the rubric given above, Danish and Swedish should be classified as dialects of a single, shared language, not as separate languages. There is an incongruity between the perception of Danish and Swedish as separate languages and their linguistic similarities. This irregularity to the taxonomic structure is due to sociopolitical needs, rather than inherent linguistic difference. Language ideologies, particularly those related to nationalism and state-building, provide the reason for this otherwise atypical division between Danish and Swedish. Judith Irvine and Susan Gal, in commenting about the relationship between language ideologies and the need for linguistic differentiation, write that, "just as having an army presupposes some outside force, some real or putative opposition to be faced, so does identifying a language presuppose a boundary or opposition to other languages with which it contrasts in some larger sociolinguistic field" (2000:35). Therefore, by-and-large, when two dialects are mutually intelligible, but are considered to be separate languages, the separation between these largely lies in sociopolitical desires for unity, which is enacted through language standardization and policy that superimpose sociopolitical needs over the normal diversification of languages. This can blur the boundaries between dialects and languages. It is,

in short, the synthesis of language with issues of group identity that also brings about linguistic change and by extension, distinguishes languages and dialects.

This paper examines the macro-level changes in politics in order to understand how language, and in particular, social ideas about language, act to create a sense of social cohesion and shared character. "Ideologies of language are not about language alone," writes Kathryn Woolard, but rather, among other things, "they envision and enact ties of language to identity" (1998:3). This paper will explore this concept.

The concept of the nation is, like that of language, difficult to define. As Benedict Anderson has written, "nation, nationality, nationalism—all have proved notoriously difficult to define" (2006:3). From the last half of the twentieth century through the present, scholars have debated how the group identity of the nation differs from other forms of identity, as John Hutchison and Anthony Smith summarize:

> While it is recognized that the concept of the nation must be differentiated from other concepts of collective identity like class, region, gender, race, and religious community, there is little agreement about the role of ethnic, as opposed to political, components of the nation; or about the balance between 'subjective' elements like will and memory, and more 'objective' elements like territory and language; or about the nature and role of ethnicity in national identity (1994:4).

Nationalism, the nation's ideological extension, is similarly challenged with scholars opting to link the term with a range of cultural and political phenomenon (Hutchison and Smith 1994:4). One aspect that remains clear is that the concept of the nation can be traced back etymologically

through the Latin word *nascor*, which means 'I am born' (Zernatto 1944:351), an origin that continues to reflect the focus of the term on identity.

In this paper, the nation is understood to be based upon objective sociocultural elements that are constructed, rather than primordially given, and that developed over human history. In this way, it takes as its initial definition of the nation as,

> a named and self-defining human community, whose members cultivate shared myths, memories, symbols, values, and traditions, reside in and identify with a historic homeland, create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and common laws (Smith 2008:184).

This definition strikes a balance between the modernist and primordialist debate that characterizes scholarly discussions of nations and nationalism.

The modernist and primordial approaches can be briefly summarizes as follows. Some scholars (Anderson 2006, Breuilly 1994, Gellner 1997, Hobsbawm 1992, Kedourie 1994) define the nation as a purely modern phenomenon. Under the rubrics used by these scholars, nations do not develop until after the Enlightenment in Europe. A number of factors are given. Walker Conner, for example, writes that, "there is ample evidence that Europe's currently recognized nations emerged only very recently, in many cases centuries later than the dates customarily assigned for their emergence," in part because the development of the nation is a modern occurrence, but also because, "national consciousness is a mass, not an élite phenomenon" (1990:97; 99). Benedict Anderson cites the development of the printing press and growth of literacy as one reason that a mass imagining of the nation became possible (2006). Although, the

modernist approach is dominant, other scholars see the origin of nations developing in a more distant past. Some assert that the nation was a pre-Enlightenment concept, at least in England (Hastings 1997:4-5). Others advocate a stricter claim to a primordial origin of the nation. In this way, Clifford Geertz asserts that,

> one is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, *ipso facto*; as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself (1994:31).

His argument that, "congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves" (Geertz 1994:31) exemplifies the primordial approach to the study of nations, which views the modern civic develop of nations not as an impossibility, but one that is less stable that one based upon primordial connections.

Definitions of what constitutes a nation are influenced by the perception that the nation is fixed, an aspect that illustrates how the nation, like language is often naturalized, "as a quasi-eternal motionless reality" (Llobera 1994:x), allowing for a nation to exist across the boundaries of space and time. This remains true even when a nation is broadly defined. Why is this? Anthony Smith argues that, "the creation and cultivation of memories, symbols, myths, values, and traditions define the unique cultural heritage of each ethnic community and nation" (2008:34). By extension, he argues that nationalism is, "an ideological movement for attaining

and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population, some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'" (Smith 2008:15).

The conflation of one language with one nation is not uncommon. In fact, "one of nationalism's abiding myths is the identification of nationality with language" (Smith 1981:45). Andrew Dalby makes the case, for example, that in Europe, written history records nations or tribes of people were first defined in linguistic terms quite early, and certainly by the time of the vast Greco-Roman empires (2003:128). While this idea was largely abandoned in the years following (Dalby 2003:129), by the dawn of the Enlightenment (Van Ginderachter 2008:7) the characterization of the nation commonly linked ethnicity with language and by extension with nationality. Within areas in which Germanic languages were spoken this was particularly true where the concept of the ethnic nation was championed by Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Gottlieb (Bauman and Briggs 2003:9-10; 194-195, Van Ginderachter 2008:7) using linguistic geopolitical ideas put forward by Ernst Moritz Arndt and Jacob Grimm (Bauman and Briggs 2003:197-225, Leerssen 2008:20). Perhaps it is useful to interject here that, "it is not factual history, but felt history that counts in the making of nations" (Smith 2008:2). Therefore, "the appearance of nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which—as well as against which—it came into being" (Anderson 2006:12). So, while the peculiar identity of ethnic communities can lead to a type of ethnonationalism, language and ethnicity can also be easily conflated with one another in what is best referred to as ethnolinguistic nationalism. This created a strong link between language and nationalism. Ethnolinguistic nationalism illustrates how shared, common language is tightly emblematic of nationhood. Furthermore, this concept helps to explain why, "nation-states have traditionally aimed at monolingualism" (Phillipson

2003:161), or the ideal equilibrium of, "internal cohesion—external distinction" (Haugen 1966a:928), rather than embrace linguistic diversity.

　　Language study intensified in the seventeenth century, as did the development of nationalistic ideologies.　As Einar Haugen writes, "grammatica had been the first of the seven branches of learning in the Middle Ages, and its replacement by native grammars and grammarians meant the step-by-step transplantation of an intellectual discipline from the international to the nation level" and unlike the Latin grammars of the past "these grammars were more than pedagogic devices; they were also inspirational manuals in national unification and self-improvement" (1976:394).　This could not have occurred at a better time, as northern, western, and central Europe were primed to develop into distinct nations because the major prerequisites of nationhood, or,

> self-definitions and recognition of established names of kingdoms and
> genealogies of their peoples; the cultivation of memories, symbols, myths, and
> traditions in varying degrees; the growing territorialization of ethnic memories
> and popular attachments to territorial kingdoms and provinces; the creation of a
> public elite culture and its rudimentary dissemination to other strata; and the
> development of shared customs and standardized law-codes across individual
> kingdoms and provinces (Smith 2008:130)

had already occurred.　As a result, when nationalism, or what Smith defines as, "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population, some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'" (2008:15) emerged

as a viable political movement in the seventeenth century, it only reinforced older nationalist ideas (2008:189).

During the same period, language standardization began to help to codify linguistic communities. Standardization is defined by Carol Henriksen and Johan van der Auwera as, "the process whereby a community, typically a literate one, imposes a uniformity on its language in response to a growing desire of political, religious or cultural authorities for improved communication across dialects" (2002:3). In this way, the goal of standardization is to create a standard language or an institutionalized community-wide norm (Crystal 1997:437). Standard languages are modeled after various usage patterns. Henriksen and van der Auwera make the case in their discussion of the standardization of the Germanic languages that,

> the standard which then emerges is typically based on dialects that are (a) spoken
> in the economically and culturally strongest region; (b) deemed 'authentic' in a
> way that satisfies a sense of national identity in search of a national language;
> and/or (c) more highly cross-dialectally intelligible than others (2002:3).

Therefore, a prestige variety sometimes is used as the standard (Crystal 1997:437), however, more commonly what occurs is that a composite of several different dialects merge into a standard language over a period of years (Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003:5).

Language standardization also codified linguistic communities as national communities. Aldo Scaglione writes that, "for this is the pride and glory of national languages: to save a nation from drifting apart in moments of internal material chaos and to keep it together in moments of calm" (1984:12). The widespread occurrence of the standardization process, especially in

Europe, beginning during the Renaissance (Scaglione 1984:14) can be accounted for, in some

measure, because, "one of the chief functions of language is to express identity" (Crystal

1997:357) making the need for a shared linguistic mother tongue an important element of

national identity that was hastened in Europe by (1) strong centralized governments, (2)

increased relevance and significance of the vernacular as a viable means of communication

instead of Latin, and (3) the use of the printing press (Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:3).

As European nation-states developed many linked their ascendency with language

standardization processes. In fact, "language standardization is commonly considered a most

important process which accompanied and supported the creation of the Europe of nation-states"

(Kristiansen 2003:69). This is, of course, clearly important in the context of this paper. And one

that upholds the statement that, "standardization is first and foremost a socio-political

phenomenon" (Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003:2). For instance, an often cited example of

standardization in the Germanic language family is evident between the modern languages of

Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, which "are considered different languages, even though

mutual intelligibility is very high, whereas some northern and southern dialects of German,

which are hardly mutually intelligible, are not considered separate languages" (Henriksen and

van der Auwera 2002:3).

   Both language policies and language planning act to enforce the standardization process

within a politically, rather than a linguistically-defined community. Therefore, Robert Phillipson

writes that language policies characteristically involve the following broad goals or aims,

> identification of one of more languages as official or as working languages in a
>
> state or region, laws or measures specifying the rights of speakers of majority or

minority languages to use their language in education, public services, or other

functions, and legislation on the use of particular languages in commercial

activities, in the media, and in publications; the production and publication of

authoritative reference works (grammars, dictionaries, etc) that stipulate which

forms of a language are appropriate, correct, or 'proper'; regulation and policy

statements prescribing the learning of a particular language in education, whether

as first, second, or foreign languages (2003:14).

Furthermore, "the language(s) promoted by the state tend(s) to be the preferred language(s) of

the dominant group (Boyd 2007:43). However, it is important to note that the, "absence of

explicit status policy measures does not imply that no language policy is in force," rather, "there

are many implicit and covert ways of regulating the relative status of languages" within a state

(Phillipson 2003:14). Language planning, which often relies on demographical, economic, and

socio-cultural, as well as linguistic factors (Phillipson 2003:15), informs the creation of a

language policy. In this fashion, language planning fulfils two general goals, "first, that

intervention in the sphere of language reflects given *intentions*—or the striving towards certain

objectives…second, that intervention is not a haphazard one, that it is based on some knowledge

of 'language-in-society'" (Grin 2003:4). Some note that Norway is "a laboratory of language

planning" (Bull 2007:127) and certainly the modern North Germanic language of Norwegian is

an example of this process. Norwegian, as it is colloquially spoken of, is really two languages:

Bokmål and Nynorsk, a distinction that came into being as the result of nearly two centuries of

conscientious language planning and policy (Haugen 1966b:1-2) by adherents of the New Norse

movement to standardize in the latter what they felt was a language uninfluenced by Danish

(Vikør 1975:7).

OVERVIEW OF SCANDIANVIAN HISTORY

The diachronic development of the Scandinavian languages is closely tied to the historical circumstances out of which they arose. Disagreements and conflicts between groups divided language speakers. Denmark, in particular, was imperialistic. Through the Union of Kalmar in 1397, the Danes gained control of the Norwegian kingdom (including Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland), as well as Swedish kingdom. Further conflict resulted in a 1522 division along Swedish-Danish lines, which sparked a sense of national consciousness in both countries, with King Gustav Vasa coming to be seen as the 'father' of modern Sweden and King Christian III as the 'father' of modern Denmark. However, Sweden's independence was short-lived. The Great Nordic Wars of 1700-1721 marked the end of Sweden's international power, as it lost territories along the Baltic Sea, including Finland, which in 1809 was ceded to Russia. Demark also lost territory in the early nineteenth century. In 1814, Denmark conceded Norway under the Kiel Treaty, but kept its outlying territories, including the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland. Each of these territories remained under Danish control through nineteenth century, with only Iceland gaining full sovereignty and status as an independent nation-state.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

Linguistically, all languages are classified by the phonological, morphological, and syntactical qualities that they share due to a common genealogical heritage, and it is for these reasons that Faroese is categorized as a West Scandinavian language. While this paper does not focus on the linguistically-driven diversification of the Germanic language family, of which West Scandinavian is a member of, it does include a brief sketch of the language change that led up to standardization and the policy process.

The Germanic language family originated along the lands surrounding the Baltic Sea (Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:1). Scholars disagree on its exact origins, however. Some argue that it was spoken in its linguistic homeland as early as 2000 B.C. (Haugen 1976:100), while others put its date of diversification from Proto-Indo-European, its mother tongue, closer to 500 B.C. (Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:1). What is clear, nevertheless, is that Proto-Germanic, like Proto-Indo-European before it, developed dialectal variations and once these dialects were no longer mutually intelligible, Proto-Germanic likewise splintered into different languages. Proto-Germanic first split (fig. 1) into what linguists refer to as either Proto-Northwest Germanic (Voyles 1992, West 1998) or Proto-North/West Germanic (Haugen 1982). This now dead intermediate language likely separated into Proto-North Germanic and Proto-West Germanic between approximately 400 and 500 when the tribes that spoke it migrated, so that the groups that we today know as the Danes, Slavs, Angles, and Saxons became more

geographically fragmented (Haugen 1982:8). The three distinct branches of the Germanic

language family are comprised of these two languages in addition to Proto-East Germanic (fig.

2). As each of these sub-groups diversified dialectally, additional languages continued to

develop. The subject of this paper—Faroese—descends from Proto-North Germanic.

Although classified as a reconstructed language, Proto-North Germanic, which in different

academic contexts is referred to either Proto-Scandinavian or the *urnordisk*, is derived from a

small set of inscriptions written in the runic *futhark* script, a 24-letter alphabet (Haugen 1982:4-

5) that was first used as early as 200 on lands controlled by the present-day nations of Denmark

and Norway (Haugen 1976:113). The reduction of the *futhark* to a 16-letter alphabet in

approximately 800 (Haugen 1982:5, Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:5), combined with

continued linguistic isolation from Germanic speaking tribes to the south, insured the

development of what are now know as the Scandinavian languages.

However, by the seventh century an internal east-west dialectal variation within the Proto-

Scandinavian language community (fig. 3) was already underway (Faarlund 2002:38). This

ensured that the common *dǫnsk tunga*, or ‘Danish tongue’ of the Middle Ages (Haugen

1976:135, Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:4) would transform; between approximately 750

and 1050 this occurred resulting in Proto-East Scandinavian and Proto-West Scandinavian

(Haugen 1982:9). Some of these changes include: (1) phonetic innovations such that Proto-East

Scandinavian speakers began to interpret the older diphthongs /ei/, /au/, and /øy/ as /e:/, /ø:/, and

/ø:/, respectively, while Proto-West Scandinavian speakers maintained the use of diphthongs, and

(2) the reduction of a tripartite gender system (masculine, feminine, and neuter) in Proto-East

Scandinavian to a two gender system (gendered and neuter) that Proto-West Scandinavian

speakers did not undertake (Vikør 1993:35-36). These changes led to linguistic divergence along

*Germanic

*Northwest or *North/West Germanic   *East Germanic
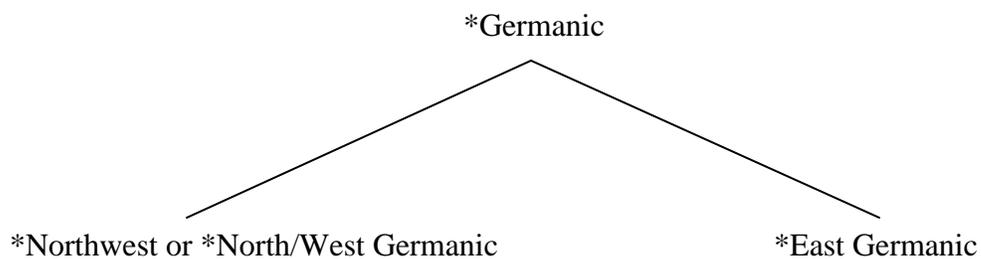
Figure 1. Initial Division of Proto-Germanic.

*Germanic

*Northwest Germanic or *North/West Germanic

*North Germanic   *West Germanic   *East Germanic
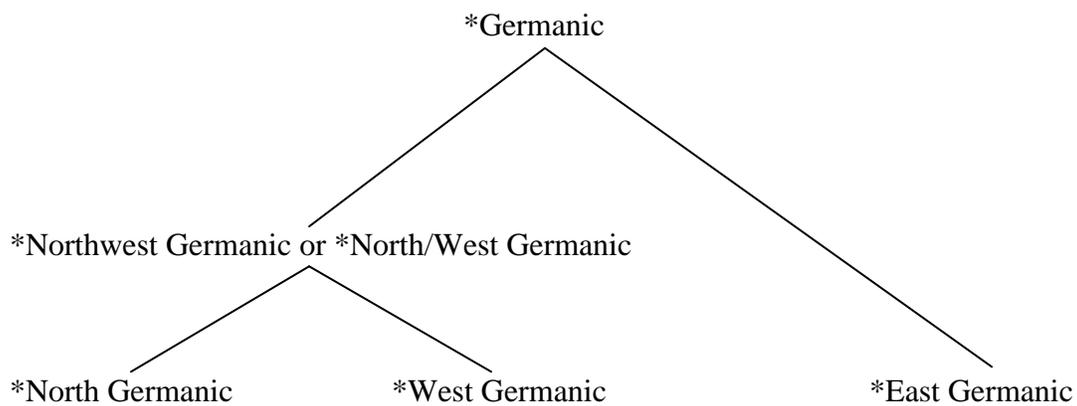
Figure 2. Major Branches of the Germanic Language Family.

*North Germanic or Scandinavian

*East Scandinavian   *West Scandinavian
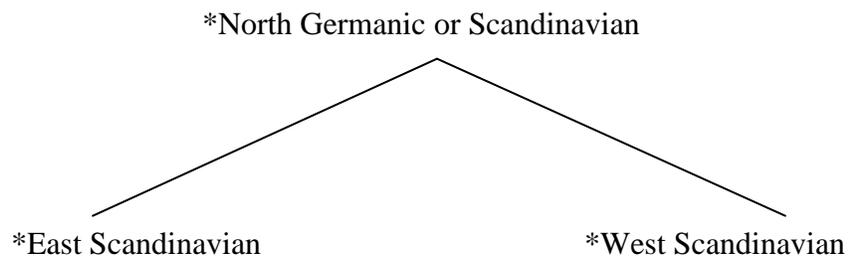
Figure 3. Division of Proto-East Scandinavian and Proto-West Scandinavian.

geographic lines (Haugen 1976:198-214, Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:5), with peoples living in the area of present-day Denmark and Sweden speaking Proto-East Scandinavian and those in Norway and Norwegian settlements in the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Iceland, the Isle of Man, the Shetland and Orkney Islands, and parts of contemporary Scotland speaking Proto-West Scandinavian (Faarlund 2002:38). One noted scholar of the Scandinavian languages proposes that the linguistic innovations separating east from west were primarily heard in the dialect of Proto-East Scandinavian spoken in Denmark because the speech community abutted a population of Low German speakers and was influenced by them (Vikør 1993:37).

The resulting linguistic divergence between Proto-East Scandinavian and Proto-West Scandinavian may reflect, in part, early political fissures. It is well-established that the earliest Germanic-speaking inhabitants of the Faroe Islands (Barnes and Weyhe 2002:190, Hansen 2001:123, Hansen, Jacobsen, and Weyhe 2003:159, Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:13) migrated primarily from Norway. It is for this reason that some argue that the early Proto-West Scandinavian dialect is by-and-large simply Old Norwegian (Haugen 1982:10). Its use on the distant island outposts took place because a group of renegade colonists fled their western Norwegian homeland in the ninth century between 874 and 930 (Walshe 1965:29) after King Harald Fairhair united Norway (Walshe 1965:21). This built on earlier, less politically motivated immigration—particularly of those that relocated to the Faroe Islands, which were likely settled earlier in the ninth century (Vikør 1993:20). Trade sea-routes helped to maintain and codify a common dialect among the islanders and their homeland so that in its earliest incarnation Proto-West Scandinavian mimicked the features of not only Norwegian, but in particular West Norwegian (Haugen 1976:203).

The linguistic differences that began in the eighth century were reinforced by the Roman Catholic Church in the eleventh century. The establishment of three archbishoprics: (1) in Lund, Denmark, (2) Trondheim, Norway, and (3) Uppsala, Sweden (Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:5), also reflect the political divisions of Scandinavia at that time into three kingdoms (Haugen 1976:181). This led to a diglossic linguistic situation in which Latin was the language of the Church and the public sphere (Kristiansen 2003:69). However, it was also necessary for the clerics to communicate the ideas of the Church in their parishioners' native tongue (Haugen 1976:180). As such, these later became centers of learning and manuscript production (Haugen 1976:185). Although it should be noted that a written tradition in the native tongue had already developed beginning in the eleventh century, particularly in western Scandinavia—Norway and Iceland, especially—recording governmental issues and folkloric sagas (Haugen 1976:185-186).

Infrequent contact and relative linguistic isolation supported linguistic diversification from happening early in the initial settlement period. The split in Proto-West Scandinavian led to the development of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, with the former developing from the latter (Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:7). This occurred, in part, because the remoteness of Iceland caused a cleft between the dialect spoken by the language community on the island and those located on the Faroes and coastal Norway. This development allowed specific linguistic features to advance so that between approximately 870 and 930 Old Icelandic came into use on the island (Henriksen and van der Auwera 2002:7); this was in contrast to the use of Old Norwegian on the Faroe Islands and other Norwegian outposts at the same time. It is in this period, with the separation of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, in which the linguistic antecedents of those issues used in the debate related to statehood first emerge.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND STANDARDIZATION OF FAROESE

As mentioned in the previous section, Faroese diversified from Old Norwegian (fig. 4), meaning that the language maintained considerably more robust phonological, morphological, and syntactical similarities with this language and for a longer period of time than it did with Old Icelandic, which diversified much earlier. As a result, the first examples of Faroese language development occurred within the boundaries of Old Norwegian phonology, morphology, and syntax. This section of the paper attempts to broadly trace the development of Faroese from its antecedents in Old Norwegian based on available resources to its standardization as a wholly differentiated language.

Written examples dating to the late thirteenth century explicitly show the relationship between Old Norwegian and the modern language of Faroese. As a matter of fact, the first nascent examples of an uniquely Faroese language can be traced to a set of documents that were written in Old Norwegian, recorded in conventional Latin orthography, and show uniquely Faroese linguistic qualities (Haugen 1976:332, Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:371). The earliest and therefore one of the most important of these documents is the *Seyðabræv*, or 'Sheep Document' (Hansen 2001:123), which was written by Teitur, an Icelandic or Norwegian-born church official in 1298 that regulated the way that sheep were raised on the Faroe Islands (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:371) and in particularly, the communal use of grazing lands (West 1972:7). It is notable that this document was written in Old Norwegian. One reason for this is historical. The exact

*West Scandinavian

Old Norwegian

Old Icelandic
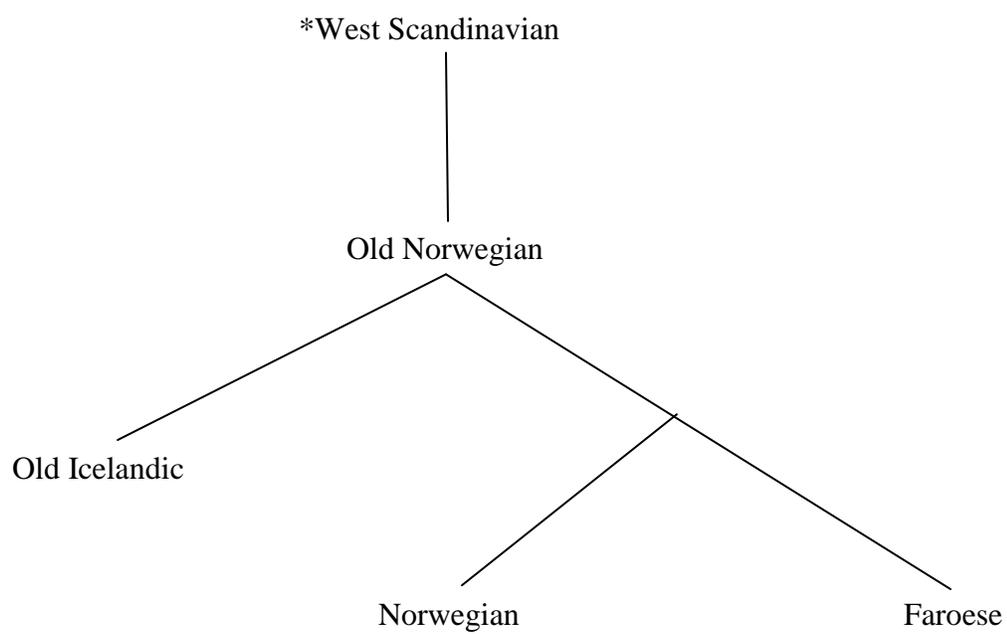
Norwegian

Faroese

Figure 4. Diversification of Faroese from Old Norwegian.

political relationship between Norway and the Faroe Islands is somewhat ill-defined in the

eleventh and twelfth centuries (Wylie 1987:10), although it is generally believed that the crown

employed a local individual to oversee their interests (Foote and Wilson 1970:132). As a result,

any document of political significance is likely to be written in Old Norwegian. Furthermore,

unlike other contemporary insular or mainland areas that were controlled by speakers of

Northern Germanic languages, the Faroe Islands never became a medieval literary center and

consequently, few period documents regarding the Islands in existence today can be directly

attributed to the Faroese themselves (Vikør 1993:59). A third reason is that until 1361 when

members of the Hanseatic League "were given the same privileges of trading to Faroe as native

Norwegians" (West 1972:8) all Faroese trade was funneled through Bergen. Home to some of

the Norwegian kings, as well as the royal chancery until 1299 (Wylie and Margolin 1981:77),

Bergen developed a distinct normalized writing tradition (Haugen 1976:190) that influenced the

Faroe Islands. Altogether, linguistically this meant that while, "in the Old Norse period there

was no distinct Faroese norm…a few Faroese features have been noted in manuscripts stemming

from the islands" (Haugen 1982:43), such as the unconditional vowel lowering of ē > ǣ (Haugen

1982:44, Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:371).

   The first examples of texts written in Early Faroese, rather than Old Norwegian are dated to

fifteenth century. Most notably, these consist of the *Húsavíkarbrøvini*, or 'The Letters about

Húsavík' and consist of 6 letters transcribed in 1407, but written between 1403 and 1405

(Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:372). Examples of some of the phonological changes visible in this

document that distinguished Early Faroese from Old Norwegian are the conditioned consonant

loss of h > Ø / #_C and the conditioned consonant change of k > h / _v (Thráinsson, et. al.

2004:372). A second example of Early Faroese is dated to 1600 when the *Seyðabræv* was

transcribed and the previously mentioned phonological changes are again apparent (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:372). Celtic loanwords (Hansen 2001:124) and English loanwords (Jóansson 1997:92-93) are also evident at this time.

However, in general, "Faroese is barely documented" (Haugen 1976:249) even during this period and subsequently, in 1552 the Danish language was introduced (Haugen 1976:332) severing the tie between Old Norwegian and Early Faroese. Danish, in turn, gained great prominence on the Faroe Islands. As Hansen clearly states,

> One of the reasons for this lack of written Faroese sources from the Middle Ages is undoubtedly the introduction of the Reformation…One of the chief purposes of the Reformation was that the language of religion should not any longer only be Latin but the home language of each separate country. And this was the case in most countries. But in the Faroes Danish became the language of church and administration in general. So for many hundred years Faroese did not exist as a written language, and Faroese only survived as a collection of spoken dialects (2001:124).

The result was that by the mid-to-late-sixteenth century, "native speech had been reduced to a language of the work place and the home, all public communication being the preserve of Danish" (Barnes 2001:228) and "for many hundred years the Faroese had this schism between Faroese used orally and Danish used when writing and otherwise in official matters" (Hansen 2001:124).

Faroese existed for roughly the next two hundred years as an oral tradition—disappearing altogether as a written language in approximately 1500 (Debes 1995:67)—and not reinvigorated as a written language until the late eighteenth century. Then, when scholars, many of whom were attempting to record Faroese oral ballads, tried to write the language, they faced a distinct conundrum. Since the Faroese language had survived only in its oral form, many did not know how to orthographically record the language's phonetic sounds. This was further complicated by the state of modern linguistics, which was still developing as a professional field of study. The first to try, however, was Jen Christian Svabo, who in the 1770s began to record ballads and to compose the first Faroese-Danish-Latin dictionary (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:374). On account of this work, he is credited with writing the first fully differentiated Faroese texts in approximately 1773 by using a phonemic orthography based on Danish principles (Haguen 1976:33). All in all, in spite of his success in this regard, it was not an easy endeavor. In fact, "owing to the higher prestige of Danish, the widespread bilingualism, and the lack of a written norm for Faroese, Danish interfered severely with Faroese, and Svabo…considered his mother tongue so degenerated that he doubted it would survive" (Hagström 1978:32). In fact,

> Svabo himself realized that to become a standard language, Faroese would have
> be restored 'to its original purity' and 'given a new orthography'; but as an
> eighteenth-century rationalist he regarded this as a waste of energy that might
> rather be devoted to teaching his countrymen better Danish (Haugen 1976:401).

Therefore, while Svabo did not actively promote his new orthography it remains today an invaluable source of data on the state of the Faroese phonetic inventory and usage, particularly of the Vágar dialect that Svabo spoke, in the late 1700s (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:374-375).

Furthermore, one result of Svabo work was that, "though pessimistic about the fate of his mother language, Svabo inspired others—directly and indirectly—to write down ballads in the orthophonic way he had chosen" (Hagström 1978:33). This is particularly apparent in the work of Johan Hendrik Schrøter and Johannes Clemensen, who both more or less used Svabo's orthography, but whose work is important because it further recorded the numerous dialectal divisions between spoken Faroese in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Hagström 1978:33, Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:375-377). For example, in the 1820s, Johan Henrik Schrøter recorded the *Sjúrðarkvæði*, or 'Ballads about Sjúrður' and transcribed from Danish the Book of Matthew for the Danish Bible Society using a phonetically based orthography built upon the Suðuroy dialect (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:375-377). Also in the 1820s, Johannes Clemensen recorded Faroese ballads using a phonetically based orthography rooted in the Sandoy dialect (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:376-377). These works, along with that produced by Svabo, form the basis of later attempts to standardize Faroese, as well as to reintroduce it as a viable alternative to Danish as a way to write and record speech.

The first serious attempt was made at standardizing the Faroese language during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1832, Carl Christian Rafn, a linguist and a folklorist (Wylie 1987:94), published the *Færeyínga saga eller Færøboernes Historie*, or 'The Faroe Islanders' Saga or the History of the Inhabitants of the Faroes' containing a translation of the Old Norse *Færeyínga saga*, or 'The Faroe Islanders' Saga' using a new orthography that Schrøter developed in connection with two of Svabo's students, Jákup Nolsøe and Jens Davidson, as well

as the Danish linguist Rasmus Rask (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:378). Nolsøe advocated the use of an orthography that relied on the Icelandic model (Hagström 1978:33). For instance, "about 1830, he wrote a grammar of the language, in which the orthography was more etymological than Svabo's—with the side-result that Faroese written in this way becomes closely akin to Icelandic" (West 1972:111). Likewise,

> Rask proposed an archaizing orthography which, in his words, would 'take language as it is, but as it is in its greatest purity, singularity, and beauty; then the difference between the old and new languages will not be great' (Wylie 1987:93).

In the end, Rasmus was, "wrong, as philologists soon realized, that modern Icelandic was virtually identical with the ancient tongue and that Faroese was a 'subdialect' of it; but right that Svabo's phonetic orthography masked the considerable similarities between Faroese and Icelandic" (Wylie 1987:93). One result of this effort was that while this newer orthography eliminated some of the dialectal problems that plagued early attempts at truthfully representing Faroese speech sounds in writing, it also made it clear that "because of these dialectal differences, it was not practical to use a phonetically based spelling unless one dialect was to be elevated above the others" (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:380).

Then, in 1846, "Faroese was theoretically raised to a status more nearly equal to that of Danish or Icelandic" (Wylie 1987:103) when the Faroese orthography finally was codified and modeled after Icelandic and Old Norse orthography by Venceslaus Ulricus Hammershaimb (Hansen 2001:125). His argument was published in an article in the journal *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed* and further refined it in a similar vein in 1891 (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:383-384).

Hammershaimb's project was influenced by a movement on Iceland to purify and restore

Icelandic that had occurred slightly earlier in the century (Haugen 1982:17). It also followed up

on a paper published by Hammershaimb in 1844 in the Danish newspaper *Københavnposten*,

which argued that Faroese was an independent language descended from Old Norse (Thráinsson,

et. al. 2004:382). Therefore, he was rewarded by tackling the orthophonically induced problem

of writing modern Faroese by taking, "the written form of Old Norse and /or Icelandic as the

starting point" and then describing, "the ways in which the Old Norse sounds denoted by the

written characters have changed in Faroese" (Barnes 2001:230). Furthermore, one aim of his

orthography was, "to give the language historical dignity by stressing its relationship with Old

Norse language and literature" (Benati 2009:190). In spite of this, one result of this choice was

that,

> as in Icelandic, the spelling did not reflect phonetic developments that had taken
>
> place since medieval times, for instance by using accented vowel characters to
>
> designate diphthongs which had developed from Old Norse long vowels (Hansen
>
> 2001:125).

Therefore, "Hammershaimb's orthography may be characterized as a reconstruction of a past

stage in the history of the Faroese language, as it disguises significant sound changes" (Hagström

1978:33). For instance, when the character /ð/ is used in Old Norse and Icelandic there is a

corresponding sound, while in Faroese there is no corresponding sound. However, this secured a

uniform written form of Faroese that did not favor any single dialect, since, "thanks to its

supralocal nature, Hammershaimb's orthographic system turned out a success…[and] to this day

only slight revisions have been made" meaning that, "Faroese orthography has changed less than that of any other Nordic country since 1854" (Hagström 1978:34).

The standardization of Faroese under Hammershaimb's guidelines proved important for nationalism, as well. As Hansen states,

> Until about 1890, Faroese had only been used as a written language in connection with folklore (publication of ballads, fairy tales and folk legends etc.). But at that time it was taken into use by a young and radical generation, inspired by national liberation movements in other countries, who wanted to make Faroese the national language of the country (2001:126).

In fact, many qualities "made Hammershaimb's orthography particularly well suited to fulfilling the symbolic role which the language was to assume later on, during the nationalist movement" if for no other reason that, "with the written form, it was made clear that, having an independent mother tongue, the Faroes now possessed the most important requirement necessary to be counted among the nations of the world" (Nauerby 1996:76). This is in part because, "the 'Icelandic' design of the written language enabled Faroese to be grouped among the noblest of the Nordic languages and at the same time it marked a distinction from Danish as well as a national unity" (Nauerby 1996:76-77).

A series of important events marked the years leading up to the designation of Faroese as the primary language of the Faroe Islands under the *Heimastýrislóg*, or 'Home Rule Act' of 1948 (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:392). Most notably, (1) the development of the *Føroya Folkaháskúli*, or 'The Faroese Folk High School' in 1888 for the teaching of written Faroese language and (2) the

publication of first Faroese language newspaper, or the *Føringatíðindi* as a result of the
Jólafundur, or 'Christmas Meeting' of 1888 when a "Faroese language policy and cultural policy
was established" (Thráinsson, et. al. 2004:392). Other publications likewise followed under the
guidelines of the new language policy.

   Language policy and planning continue to inform the development of the Faroese language
today. In fact, Thráinsson, et. al. make clear,

> given the political and cultural situation in the Faroes in the early 20th century, it
> was only natural that many considered maximal differentiation of Faroese from
> Danish to be the most important part of the language policy—and some perhaps
> still do (2004:452).

This means that, "combating Danish domination has always been the primary motive behind
Faroese language planning" (Vikør 1993:215). As a result, the Faroese linguistic policy is
generally regarded to be puristic. The *Føroyska málnevndin*, or the 'Faroese Language
Committee' was established officially in 1985 to do this and as such, follows the
Føroyamálsdeildin, Fróðskaparsetur Føroya or the 'Faroese Language Department of the
Faroese Academy' in this work (Vikør 1993:170). However, "Faroese is still surrounded by
Danish" (Benati 2009:192) and Faroese-Danish bilingualism is widespread on the Faroe Islands
(Petersen 2010:35). This means that those in charge of language planning often struggle
between the desire to keep the language free of foreign influences, as well as also allow the
language to be a vital, functional means of communicating about the world (Benati 2009:195).

CONCLUSION

    The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between language and nationalism. In this endeavor, the paper examines the modern West Scandinavian language of Faroese. In particular, it investigates how the movement to revitalize the Faroese language coincided and, in fact, helped to fuel the impetus for Faroese independence and self-government. Given the long-standing control of the Faroe Islands by outsiders over multiple centuries and in particular the Danes, it is crucial that this paper also examine the development of the Faroese language. This is because early studies were inclined to label Faroese as a dependent dialect of its various colonizers' primary tongue rather than an independent language. To this end the paper traces the development of the West Scandinavian language family, as well as the diversification of Faroese as an independent language. Furthermore, issues related to the nineteenth-century standardization of Faroese and government linguistic guidelines in the form of language policy and planning in the twentieth century are both briefly discussed.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G.

  2006 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. 2nd

    edition. London: Verso.

Árnason, Kristján

  2011 The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barnes, Michael

  2001 Faroese Language Studies. Oslo: Novus Forlag.

Barnes, Michael, and Eivind Weyhe

  2002 Faroese. *In* The Germanic Languages. Ekkehard König and Johan van der Auwera, eds.

    Pp. 190-218. New York: Routledge.

Bauman, Richard, and Charles L. Briggs

  2003 Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality. Cambridge:

    Cambridge University Press.

Benati, Chiara

  2009 Faroese: A National Language Under Siege? *In* Rights, Promotions and Integration

    Issues for Minority Languages in Europe. Susanna Pertot, Tom M. S. Priestly, and Colin H.

    Williams, eds. Pp. 189-196. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Boyd, Sally

  2007 Communication and Community: Perspectives on Language Policy in Sweden and

    Australia since the Mid-1970s. *In* Maintaining Minority Languages in Transnational

    Contexts. Anne Pauwels, Joanne Winter, and Joseph Lo Bianco, eds. Pp. 141-179. New

    York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Breuilly, John

  1994 The Sources of Nationalist Ideology. *In* Nationalism. John Hutchinson and Anthony D.

    Smith, eds. Pp. 103-113. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bull, Tove

  2007 Inconsistencies and Discrepancies in Official Approaches to Linguistic Diversity: The

    Case of Norway. *In* Maintaining Minority Languages in Transnational Contexts. Anne

    Pauwels, Joanne Winter, and Joseph Lo Bianco, eds. Pp. 124-140. New York: Palgrave

    Macmillan.

Conner, Walker

  1990 When is a Nation? Ethnic and Racial Studies 13(1):92-103.

Coulmas, Florian

  1997 Mother tongue—for better or worse? *In* Language and its Ecology: Essays in Memory of

    Einar Haugen. Stig Eliasson and Ernst Håkon Jahr, eds. Pp. 403-415. Berlin: Mouton de

    Gruyter.

Crystal, David

  1997 The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge

    University Press.

Dalby, Andrew

2003 Language in Danger: The Loss of Linguistic Diversity and the Threat to Our Future.

New York: Columbia University Press.

Debes, Hans Jacob

1995 The Formation of a Nation: the Faroe Islands. *In* Ethnicity and Nation Building in the

Nordic World. Sven Tägil, ed. Pp. 63-84. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Duranti, Alessandro

2007 Linguistic Anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deumert, Ana, and Wim Vandenbussche

2003 Standard Languages: Taxonomies and Histories. *In* Germanic Standardizations: Past to

Present. Ana Deumert and Wim Vandenbussche, eds. Pp. 1-14. Philadelphia: John

Benjamins.

Dugmore, Andrew J., Mike J. Church, Paul C. Buckland, Kevin J. Edwards, Ian Lawson,

Thomas H. McGovern, Eva Panagiotakopulu, Ian A. Simpson, Peter Skidmore, and Guðrún

Sveinbjarnardóttir

2005 The Norse *landnám* on the North Atlantic Islands: An Environmental Impact Assessment.

Polar Record 41(216): 21-37.

Faarlund, Jan Terje

2002 Old and Middle Scandinavian. *In* The Germanic Languages. Ekkehard König and Johan

van der Auwera, eds. Pp. 38-71. New York: Routledge.

Foote, Peter, and David M. Wilson

1970 The Viking Achievement: A Survey of the Society and Culture of Early Medieval

Scandinavia. New York: Praeger.

Gal, Susan

1998 Multiplicity and Contention among Language Ideologies: A Commentary. *In* Language
Ideologies: Practice and Theory. Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V.
Kroskrity, eds. Pp. 317-331. New York: Oxford University Press.

Geertz, Clifford

1994 Primordial and Civic Ties. *In* Nationalism. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds.
Pp. 29-34. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gellner, Ernest

1997 Nationlism. New York: New York University Press.

Grin, François

2003 Language Policy Evaluation and the European Charter for Regional or Minority
Languages. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hagström, Björn

1978 On Language Problems and Language Planning in the Faroes. *In* The Nordic Languages
and Modern Linguistics: Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Nordic
General Linguistics (April 5-9, 1976). John Weinstock, ed. Pp. 32-41. Austin: The
University of Texas at Austin.

Hansen, Steffen Stummann

1991 Toftanes: A Faroese Viking Age Farmstead from the 9-10th Centuries A.D. *In* The Norse
of the North Atlantic. Gerald F. Bigelow, ed. Pp. 44-53. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Hansen, Zakaris Svabo

2001 Faroese—A Diachronic and Synchronic Overview. *In* Minor Languages of Europe: A
Series of Lectures at the University of Bremen, April-July 2000. Thomas Stolz, ed. Pp.

123-142. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.

Hansen, Zakaris Svabo, Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen, and Eivind Weyhe

2003 Faroese. *In* Germanic Standardizations: Past to Present. Ana Deumert and Wim

Vandenbussche, eds. Pp. 157-192. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hastings, Adrian

1997 The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

Haugen, Einar

1966a Dialect, Language, Nation. American Anthropologist 68(4):922-935.

1966b Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

1976 The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to Their History. Cambridge: Harvard

University Press.

1982 Scandinavian Language Structures: A Comparative Historical Survey. Tübingen: Max

Niemeyer Verlag.

Henriksen, Carol, and Johan van der Auwera

2002 The Germanic Languages. *In* The Germanic Languages. Ekkehard König and Johan

van der Auwera, eds. Pp. 1-18. New York: Routledge.

Hobsbawm, E. J.

1992 Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality. 2nd edition.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith, eds.

1994 Nationalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hymes, Dell H.

   2010 A Perspective for Linguistic Anthropology. Journal of Sociolinguistics 14(5):569-580.

Irvine, Judith T. and Susan Gal

   2000 Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. *In* Regimes of Language:

      Ideologies, Politics, and Identities. Paul V. Kroskrity, ed. Pp. 35-83. Santa Fe: School of

      American Research Press.

Jóansson, Tórður

   1997 English Loanwords in Faroese. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, University of

      Aberdeen.

Jones, Gwyn

   1991 The Viking World: An Address to the Conference. *In* The Norse of the North Atlantic.

      Gerald F. Bigelow, ed. Pp. 6-13. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Kedourie, Elie

   1994 Nationalism and Self-Determination. *In* Nationalism. John Hutchinson and Anthony D.

      Smith, eds. Pp. 49-55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kristiansen, Tore

   2003 Danish. *In* Germanic Standardizations: Past to Present. Ana Deumert and Wim

      Vandenbussche, eds. Pp. 69-92. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kroskirty, Paul V.

   2000 Regimenting Languages: Language Ideological Perspectives. *In* Regimes of Language:

      Ideologies, Politics, and Identities. Paul V. Kroskrity, ed. Pp. 1-34. Santa Fe: School of

      American Research Press.

Leerssen, Joep

  2008 Linguistic Geopolitics and the Problem of Cultural Nationalism. *In* The Beloved

      Mothertongue: Ethnolinguistic Nationalism in Small Nations: Inventories and Reflections.

      Petra Broomans, Goffe Jensma, Hans Vandevoorde, and Maarten Van Ginderachter, eds.

      Pp. 15-36. Leuven: Peeters.

Llobera, Josep R.

  1994 The God of Modernity: The Development of Nationalism in Western Europe.

      Providence: Berg.

Logan, F. Donald

  2005 The Vikings in History. 3rd edition. New York: Routledge.

Nauerby, Tom

  1996 No Nation is an Island: Language, Culture, and National Identity in the Faroe Islands.

      Århus: SNAI-North Atlantic Publications Aarhus University Press.

Nic Craith, Máiréad, ed.

  2006 Europe and the Politics of Language: Citizens, Migrants and Outsiders. New York:

      Palgrave Macmillan.

Petersen, Hjalmar P.

  2010 The Dynamics of Faroese-Danish Language Contact. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag

      Winter.

Phillipson, Robert

  2003 English-Only Europe? Challenging Language Policy. London: Routledge.

Rowe, Bruce M. and Diane P. Levine

  2009 A Concise Introduction to Linguistics. 2nd edition. Boston: Pearson.

Scaglione, Aldo D.

   1984 The Rise of National Languages: East and West. *In* The Emergence of National

      Languages. Aldo D. Scaglione, ed. Pp. 9-49. Ravenna: Longo Editore.

Schei, Liv Kjørsvik, and Gunnie Moberg

   2003 The Faroe Islands. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Smith, Anthony D.

   1981 The Ethnic Revival. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

   2008 The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic. Malden, MA:

      Blackwell.

Thráinsson, H., J. Petersen, J. Jacobsen, and Z. Hansen

   2004 Faroese: An Overview and Reference Grammar. Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.

Van Ginderachter, Maarten

   2008 How Useful is the Concept of Ethnolinguistic Nationalism?: On Imagined Communities,

      the Ethnic-Civic Dichotomy and Banal Nationalism. *In* The Beloved Mothertongue:

      Ethnolinguistic Nationalism in Small Nations: Inventories and Reflections. Petra

      Broomans, Goffe Jensma, Hans Vandevoorde, and Maarten Van Ginderachter, eds. Pp. 1-

      13. Leuven: Peeters.

Vikør, Lars S.

   1975 The New Norse Language Movement. Oslo: Forlaget Novus.

   1993 The Nordic Languages: Their Status and Interrelations. Oslo: Novus Press.

Voyles, Joseph B.

   1992 Early Germanic Grammar: Pre-, Proto-, and Post-Germanic Languages. San Diego:

      Academic Press.

Walshe, Maurice O'C.

   1965 Introduction to the Scandinavian Languages. London: Andre Deutsch.

West, Jonathan

   1998 Germanic Languages. *In* Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe. Glanville Price, ed.

      Oxford: Blackwell.

West, John F.

   1972 Faroe: The Emergence of a Nation. London: C. Hurst.

Woolard, Kathryn A.

   1998 Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry. *In* Language Ideologies: Practice

      and Theory. Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, eds. Pp. 3-

      47. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wylie, Jonathan

   1978 The Faroese Reformation and Its Consequences. Amsterdam: Antropologisch-

      Sociologisch Centrum, Universiteit van Amsterdam.

   1987 The Faroe Islands: Interpretations of History. Lexington: The University Press of

      Kentucky.

Wylie, Jonathan, and David Margolin

   1981 The Ring of Dancers: Images of Faroese Culture. Philadelphia: University of

      Pennsylvania Press.

Zernatto, Guido

   1944 Nation: The History of a Word. The Review of Politics 6(3): 351-366.

VITA

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale

Emily Elizabeth Davis

hmedavis@gmail.com

The College of Wooster
Bachelor of Arts, *cum laude* with honors in Anthropology and Art History, May 2004

University of Delaware
Master of Arts, Winterthur Program in American Material Culture, August 2007
Certificate, Museum Studies, August 2007

Research Paper Title:
    Faroese Language Revitalization and its Support for Nationhood

Major Professor: Dr. C. Andrew Hofling