

**MINORITY LANGUAGES BETWEEN  
REFORMATION AND REVOLUTION:  
APPROACHES TO HISTORICAL  
SOCIOLINGUISTICS  
ON THE PLURILINGUAL MARGINS  
OF EARLY MODERN EUROPE**

**Remco Mathijs Knooihuizen**

**M.A. (Groningen)**

**M.Sc. (Edinburgh)**



A thesis submitted in fulfilment of requirements for the degree of  
**Doctor of Philosophy**

to

**The University of Edinburgh · Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann  
School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences  
Linguistics and English Language**

December 2008



## Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is of my own composition, and that it contains no material previously submitted for the award of any other degree. The work reported in this thesis has been executed by myself, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

Remco Mathijs Knooihuizen





# Abstract

---

In this thesis, I intend to further our knowledge of the sociolinguistics of Early Modern minority languages. Social and political developments in North-Western Europe in the 16th to 18th centuries caused an emancipation of vernacular languages, which took over from Latin as the main language in official domains. The sociolinguistics of this change are well known (e.g. Burke 2004); the fate of languages that did not make it to this new status, emerging ‘minority languages’, remains under-researched.

Chapter 2 introduces some of the terminology used in this study. I discuss four categories of research methods into minority language shift and how they are applicable to research on historical situations, which often suffers from ‘bad data’. I then present a model of ethnolinguistic vitality that I use to survey the socio-historical backgrounds of several minority language groups in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 begins with a brief presentation of minority language groups from the Early Modern period. I choose three language groups to focus on in more depth: speakers of Norn in Shetland, of Flemish in Northern France, and of Sorbian in Germany. A survey of these three cases, with the initial wider presentation, identifies three recurring issues that are the focus of the subsequent chapters.

The first of these is the influence of demographic change (Chapter 4). In the formation of nation-states in this period, many speakers of the majority language migrate to peripheral minority-language areas. I present two historical-demographic studies showing the integration of immigrants into the local community through intermarriage, based on 17th-century population registers from Shetland and Dunkirk (France). Both show a large amount of

intermarriage, despite a bias towards in-group marriage. Intermarriage brings the majority language into the minority-language home; the strength of the bias against intermarriage is likely to be a factor in the rate of shift, one of the main differences between Shetland and Dunkirk.

Language policies are the topic of Chapter 5. They are an important part of minority language studies in the present day, particularly with regard to language maintenance. I survey the language legislation that existed in Shetland, French Flanders, and Lusatia, its purpose and implementation, and its effects on language shift. Purpose and implementation of language policies were limited, and its effect on minority language communities therefore only secondary.

Chapter 6 is about target varieties in language shift. The question of whether language shift happened through education in a standard variety or through contacts with majority-language speakers from nearby areas can be answered by looking at the new majority-language dialect in the minority area.

I undertake two different studies in this context. The first is an analysis of Shetland Scots using theories of dialect contact. The dialect has a number of ‘standardised’ features, but I argue these are mainly due to koinéisation of various dialects of Scots immigrants to Shetland and a second-language variety of Scots spoken by the local population. The second is a study of the French dialect of French Flanders using computational methods of data comparison on data taken from dialect atlases. This dialect shares features with neighbouring Picard dialects, but we can also identify Standard French features. This pattern correlates with what we know of migration to the area (Chapter 4). Both new dialects suggest the shifting population acquired the majority language mainly through contacts with majority-language speakers in their direct environment.

In conclusion, I show that language shift in the Early Modern period was an organic process, where the inception, the rate, and the result of shift were steered by the minority

population's social networks. The influence of institutions often blamed for language shift in modern situations – educational and language policies – was very restricted. In addition, I show that methods used in modern sociolinguistics can be successfully applied to historical situations, despite the bad data problem. This opens the door for more extensive research into the area.



# Acknowledgements

---

In February 2005, I walked into the English Language department to talk to one Professor April McMahon about the possibility of her supervising me on a Ph.D. project about minority languages in Early Modern Europe. I was convinced she was American, she thought I was from Ireland. Our mind-internal accent placement devices were both distorted by two countries to the west. Now, almost four years later, I have at least a fair idea of where Eyemouth is, so my education has not been entirely in vain.

In the past three and a half years, we have met in a large number of offices as April was promoted to higher and higher posts in the University. Our final meeting is set to be lunch at Peter's Yard. Depending on whether I get the thesis printed off before April finishes decorating her latest office, we will see who has to pay...

The acknowledgements section is typically the last section of a thesis to be written, and the pressure to get it right, to include everyone that should be included, is higher than one would expect. Nonetheless, here goes.

I have really appreciated the chance I got to teach at the university, even though it was only first-year tutorials. Being forced to explain basic concepts to people who saw problems with what we regard as accepted truths has been helpful in developing a clear writing style, hopefully without jumping over too many steps in the argument. Although I still think some of their essays deserved the shredder more than a pass mark, and although I have been driven to despair on more than just one occasion, I suppose that's something I could thank 'my kiddies' for.

Other useful input towards developing my ideas, both by supportive feedback and by pointing out glaring errors in the argument, has come from the audiences at conferences I attended. My thanks go out to those people I roamed the ruins of Scalloway Castle with, who shared with me the greyness that is Aberdeen or the rare dry and sunny days in Bergen, who witnessed my battle with disgusting *nachos gratinés* (or in English, *nachos au gratin*, apparently) in Montréal, who survived an unairconditioned Greek summer on Lesbos or a drizzly spring in Amsterdam – and to those who just turned up to the Language in Context or English Language Research Groups here in Edinburgh. With a bit of luck, this thesis is all the better for their input.

A few people deserve to be mentioned in particular. Arnot McDonald of the Scottish Studies Library was always available to look for obscure books and journals in her brilliant treasure-house, and for a good chat while searching. Christina Schmidt and Florence Bonacina checked that my translations from German and French were reasonably accurate. The expert local advice about Shetland I received from Doreen Waugh and Brian Smith was more than helpful, as was the help with Older Scots and palaeography from Keith Williamson. I could not have done the statistical analyses in this thesis without the help from Dan Dediu, and I'm grateful to Paul Heggarty for long e-mail discussions and phone calls about the Sound Comparisons software, and for running my data through it.

The support from my supervisors is also very much appreciated. The many discussions with April helped crystallise the points I wanted to make, and clarified things I wasn't quite sure about. The input from my second supervisors, Graeme Trousdale and Wilson McLeod, may have been less frequent, but the extra pairs of eyes and different viewpoints were a welcome addition to the process. As always, of course, any mistakes that remain are entirely my fault.

On a more personal note, I want to thank my office mates and fellow Ph.D. students for an enjoyable working environment, in particular Will, Lauren, Christina, Gareth, Vinton and Robert. Thanks for the chats, the cookies, the lunches, the tea, the pub quizzes, the

computing tips, and the Office-Wide Office Hour. Also thanks to my flatmates, Myshele and Davide, for feeding me and giving me a (usually) quiet place to retire to. And finally to my dancing friends in New Scotland and SUSCDF at large for entertainment, relaxation and fitness.

The most thanks, however, go out to my family. Without their financial support with the bits that two years of (gratefully acknowledged) AHRC fees-only grant did not cover, I would not have been able to begin this Ph.D. Without their practical support – and despite a sat-nav that claims a large chunk of Northern France does not exist – I would not have been able to do parts of it. And without their lasting moral support, I would not have been able to finish it. Mamma en pappa, bedankt!





# Contents

---

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Declaration  | i   |
| Abstract   | iii |
| Acknowledgements   | vii |
| Contents   | xi  |
| Chapter 1 Introduction   | 1   |
| 1.1 Early Modern Europe: sketch of a period of emergence . . . . .           | 1   |
| 1.2 Linguistic developments: the sociolinguistics of Early Modern Europe . . | 4   |
| 1.3 Outline . . . . .  | 13  |
| Chapter 2 Theoretical background   | 15  |
| 2.1 Defining minority language groups . . . . .                              | 15  |
| 2.2 Language shift . . . . .   | 21  |
| 2.3 Language shift and adjacent fields . . . . .                             | 24  |
| 2.4 Researching language shift . . . . .                                     | 26  |
| 2.5 Historical sociolinguistics . . . . .                                    | 38  |
| 2.6 Typology of language endangerment . . . . .                              | 44  |
| 2.7 Concluding remarks . . . . .   | 56  |
| Chapter 3 Case studies   | 57  |
| 3.1 Introduction . . . . .   | 57  |

|           |  |     |
|-----------|--|-----|
| 3.2       | Minority languages in Early Modern Europe . . . . .              | 57  |
| 3.3       | Norn in Shetland . . . . .                                       | 72  |
| 3.4       | Dutch in French Flanders . . . . .                               | 86  |
| 3.5       | Sorbian in Lusatia . . . . .                                     | 97  |
| 3.6       | Discussion and research questions . . . . .                      | 112 |
| Chapter 4 | The influence of demographic change                              | 115 |
| 4.1       | Introduction . . . . .   | 115 |
| 4.2       | Reasons for demographic change . . . . .                         | 116 |
| 4.3       | Historical demography . . . . .                                  | 121 |
| 4.4       | Onomastics as evidence for ethnicity . . . . .                   | 124 |
| 4.5       | Demographic change in Shetland . . . . .                         | 126 |
| 4.6       | Demographic change in French Flanders . . . . .                  | 141 |
| 4.7       | Conclusions . . . . .  | 165 |
| Chapter 5 | Language policies  | 171 |
| 5.1       | Introduction . . . . .   | 171 |
| 5.2       | Language policies in Scotland and Shetland . . . . .             | 172 |
| 5.3       | Language policies in the Holy Roman Empire and Lusatia . . . . . | 177 |
| 5.4       | Language policies in France and French Flanders . . . . .        | 188 |
| 5.5       | Conclusions . . . . .  | 200 |
| Chapter 6 | Target varieties in language shift                               | 205 |
| 6.1       | Introduction . . . . .   | 205 |
| 6.2       | Shetland Scots . . . . .   | 210 |
| 6.3       | French Flemish French . . . . .                                  | 264 |
| 6.4       | Discussion . . . . .   | 294 |

|                                   |      |
|-----------------------------------|------|
|                                   | xiii |
| Chapter 7 Conclusion              | 297  |
| References                        | 305  |
| Appendix A ALF/ALPic dialect data | 325  |
| A.1 IPA transcriptions . . . . .  | 325  |
| A.2 Similarity scores . . . . .   | 340  |
| Appendix B Publications           | 343  |
| Knoolhuizen (2005b) . . . . .     | 344  |
| Knoolhuizen (2008a) . . . . .     | 357  |
| Knoolhuizen (2008b) . . . . .     | 371  |



# Introduction

## Chapter 1

---

### 1.1 Early Modern Europe: sketch of a period of emergence

Like so many periodisations of history, the Early Modern period is a creation of modern historians. They have the benefit of hindsight and can see larger developments based on which history can be divided up into smaller periods that can be more easily and more clearly represented (Cameron 1999a: xvii). But even in hindsight, the boundaries of historical periods are fluid. Where one chooses to put the boundaries between the Medieval and the Early Modern periods, and between Early Modern and Modern, depends on one's background and choice of focus (Burke 2004: 10); and even this disregards the fact that societies did not change overnight.

Burke settles on dating the Early Modern period from the mid-15th century to the late 18th century, similar to Cameron's (1999a: xvii) dating to the 16th through 18th centuries. Alternatively, major events can be selected as start and end points of the period, as I have done in the title of this thesis. The Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution both had considerable consequences for minority languages, and the selection of these events carries a certain symbolic value. The processes surrounding both events had been ongoing for some time before 31 October 1517, and would continue after 14 July 1789; even delimiting the Early Modern period by these two events therefore leaves a fluid boundary.

Cameron (1999a) and others see the Early Modern period as a time of transition. European societies around the end of the period were markedly different from those some three

hundred years earlier. In the intervening era, modern concepts were ‘beginning to emerge’ (Cameron 1999a: xix).

The following is not meant to be a comprehensive overview of developments in Early Modern Europe. It should be seen as a sketch of a period of emergence, the backdrop for the linguistic developments that are the subject of this thesis.

### *1.1.1 Political developments*

Nationalism and nation-building are developments traditionally dated to start in the late 18th and 19th centuries (Wright 2004: 8). One can distinguish two types of nation-building, the division between which was laid in developments in the Early Modern period: one form was based on building ‘state-nations’, the other on building ‘nation-states’ (Wright 2004: 19). Of these, it is the states built on a state-nation discourse that have a longer history.

Nation-states are formed on the basis of nations, groups of people with common characteristics that wish to be recognised as a group and have the goal of political autonomy. (This definition by Weber [1948] distinguishes nations from ‘*ethnies*’, groups with a weak feeling of ethnic solidarity and no political goal; Wright 2000: 31.) This is a paradigm that only emerges in the late 18th century.

Opposed to nation-states are state-nations, where the political entity came first, and the formation of a ‘nation’ was secondary to this (Wright 2004: 26). State borders were contested in frequent wars in the Early Modern period. The wars were both dynastic and religious in nature, with the two elements often intertwined (Cameron 1999b: 101, Briggs 1999: 176). Warfare led to greater state control, taxation, and a bureaucratic administration (Gunn 1999: 115), and this centralised state bureaucracy, together with the person of the monarch, were increasingly a focus for national identity (Wright 2004: 29).

### *1.1.2 Socio-economic developments*

The Early Modern period is characterised by a significant growth in population, which sparked a number of connected social changes. Firstly, the population increase put a strain on the available arable land. Grain had to be imported from elsewhere, causing an increase in trade and longer-distance contacts. Trade and population growth together led to increasing urbanisation, but also to social polarisation between the rich and the poor, who had to make ends meet by expanding into new rural industries such as weaving (Rowlands 1999: 47–48, 53–54).

People in the cities specialised their economic activities. In the countryside, where agriculture still was the most important occupation, specialisation would be too risky. Here, secondary textile industries continued to be of importance, leading to a ‘proto-industrialisation’. Finally, consumerism was on the rise, both as an imitation of the rich and as a provision for poorer days when items could be pawned (Riley 1999: 233, 239–240, 245–247, 257).

### *1.1.3 Religious and educational developments*

The major religious event at the beginning of the Early Modern period was the Protestant Reformation, the denouncing of the Catholic church out of the feeling that its perceived failure was due to a ‘corrupt clergy’ (Briggs 1999: 175). The impact of the Reformation on the minds of the intellectual élites will have been that the church was transformed ‘from a branch of the international hierarchy, into a self-regulating spiritual department of the local political community’ (Cameron 1999b: 88); in other words, a shift of focus from the international to the local. The Catholic church answered with the Counter-Reformation, which was not so much a counter-offensive (Baggioni 1997: 110), but a reformation of the Catholic church to include better-educated clergy (Cameron 1999b: 98).

In the 17th century, science became more important, and more emphasis was put on evidence, rather than on dogma as had been the case before (Briggs 1999: 191). Scientific progress suggested that human intelligence now could understand nature and that a difference between Christians and non-Christians need not be made (Hampson 1999: 267). This Enlightenment took a scientific approach to economics and politics (Hampson 1999: 277, 282).

## **1.2 Linguistic developments: the sociolinguistics of Early Modern Europe**

Linguistically, Early Modern Europe lies between two periods characterised by Baggioni (1997) as ecolinguistic revolutions (Burke 2004: 10). The first ecolinguistic revolution is the change from the universal use of Latin to a greater use of common (vernacular) languages, or *linguae communes*, which Baggioni (1997: 73) dates to the 15th and 16th centuries. The second ecolinguistic revolution is the change from these common vernacular languages to national languages, from about 1800 (Baggioni 1997: 201).

Discussions of Early Modern European sociolinguistics by Burke (2004) and Baggioni (1997) suggest that social and linguistic developments are closely related and influence each other. I will discuss this issue in a necessarily slightly simplified manner by looking at the two elements of Baggioni's first ecolinguistic revolution – the decline of Latin and the rise of the vernacular – before discussing how the processes started by this revolution influenced the position of minority languages in the Early Modern period.

### *1.2.1 The decline of Latin*

At the beginning of the Early Modern period, Latin was the language of two international empires, or 'imagined communities': the Catholic Church and the Republic of Letters (Burke 2004: 48, 52). These imagined communities were horizontal, shared across Europe by people of similar social status. In the Early Modern period, Latin was gradually replaced by various European vernaculars in these two domains, and the horizontal communities



transformed into vertical ones, integrated nationally regardless of social status (Wright 2004: 41).

The decline of Latin in the Catholic Church was in part due to the decline of the Catholic Church itself after the Protestant Reformation established new church organisations across (mostly) North Western Europe in the 16th century. The new church saw a greater role for the vernacular in, for example, the reading of the Bible, a domain previously reserved for Latin. The Catholic Church's Counter-Reformation, although more than a simple counter-offensive against the Reformation, also introduced a greater role for the vernacular, especially in 'buffer zones' directly bordering on Reformed areas (Baggioni 1997: 110–111). The decline of Latin in this domain resulted in a 'loss of the sense of universality and continuity' (Burke 2004: 49) – universality across Europe and the Christian world,<sup>1</sup> and continuity through the centuries.

The Republic of Letters, the international community of learning, underwent changes already before the Early Modern period, with a significant rise in the number of universities across Europe from the 14th century onwards (Baggioni 1997: 107). Learning was democratised; the number of *litterati*, those who mastered Latin, rose through growing literacy and access to education, which in turn was due to urbanisation and the emergence of a market capitalism. The democratisation of learning also loosened the links between knowing Latin and having an ecclesiastical function, something Baggioni (1997: 82) calls the 'laicisation of culture'.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the Latin used in universities differed from the Latin used in church in that it was modelled on the work of classical authors such as Cicero, Seneca and Tacitus (Burke 2004: 57). This meant, however, that this variety of Latin was in a sense artificial, leaving vernacular languages 'of equal dignity [with Latin] for the majority of writing until then reserved for the *grammatica* [Latin]' (Baggioni 1997: 84).<sup>3</sup>

- 
- 1) The Orthodox Church in Eastern Europe used Old Church Slavonic rather than Latin, and never participated in the first ecolinguistic revolution. The development of standard literary vernacular languages in this area did not start until the 18th century (Baggioni 1997: 110).
  - 2) 'laïcisation de la culture'
  - 3) '... de dignité égale pour nombre d'écrits jusque-là réservés à la *grammatica*.'

From the 1540s, a series of ‘defenses of the vernacular’ were written, making exactly this point: the authors’ vernaculars were as suited, or better suited, to scholarly writing as Latin, and usually compared to other vernaculars as well (Burke 2004: 65).

The decline of Latin and the rise of the vernacular were connected developments, but it was anything but a linear replacement. Language choice depended strongly on the author’s view of the community: those who took a horizontal (class) view were more likely to stick to Latin, while those with a vertical (geographical) view tended to choose to write in the vernacular (Burke 2004: 55, see also Wright 2004: 41).

### 1.2.2 *The rise of the vernacular*

Vernaculars gradually won over Latin in the religious and educational domains, but the rise of the vernacular is linked to other things than the replacement of Latin in these domains. A first development is urbanisation and the development of an urban bourgeoisie, which was in need of a more standardised language for commercial correspondence and political and juridical writing. The standards emerging from this development were so-called *scriptae regionales*, precursors of common languages (Baggioni 1997: 114–115).

A considerable impulse for the development of vernacular writing was the print revolution from the late 15th century onwards. The story is a market-oriented one: in order to sell as many copies as possible to as wide a market as possible, printers needed to use a standard language that was recognisable to as large a public as possible; in a cyclical movement, the spread of this standard through print publications reinforced its recognisability and the need for its use (Baggioni 1997: 113). Burke (2004: 92–94) qualifies this account of the role of printing in language standardisation. Standardisation, in the form of more widely-used chancery languages, pre-dates the print revolution. In addition, printing could be used to spread various rival standards. Burke seems to choose to see printing as a catalyst for standardisation: it may have been a vehicle for the spread of the standard, but in many cases it was not the first initiator (Burke 2004: 94).

Another factor in the rise of the vernaculars is the construction of national states in this period (Burke 2004: 73). In state-nations, centralising governments, like the urban bourgeoisie had an interest in using a standardised language to streamline procedures, witness the spread of chancery languages in England, France and the Holy Roman Empire (Burke 2004: 73). The middle classes became politically emancipated and needed a shared language for their political debates (Wright 2000: 22–23).

The rise of the vernacular was not the result of a planned language policy, but a natural development dependent on other political events. '[T]he old administrative languages were *just that*. [...] There was no idea of systematically imposing the language on the dynasts' various subject populations' (Anderson 1983: 42). Nevertheless, this natural linguistic centralisation meant that when nationalism and the rise of nation-states did arrive, there was no change required in a number of the strong dynastic states such as France, Spain and Portugal, as their borders more or less corresponded to cultural-linguistic zones anyway (Gellner 1997: 51). Or did they?

### *1.2.3 The position of minority languages*

As in many histories, the focus with Baggioni and Burke lies with those who were most visible then and who, through their dominance in primary sources for history writing, are most visible still today. What we would now call minority languages only receive brief mention in their books.

Whether it is right to talk about 'minority languages' in an Early Modern context is an interesting question in itself. I will discuss terminology around minority languages in detail in chapter 2.1; for present purposes it is only necessary to stress that there can be no minority without a majority group to contrast it with. As Wright (2004: 24) argues, minority and majority groups may not have been categorised along linguistic lines before state-nations were developed in exactly the Early Modern period. As the reference point for categorising a minority did not exist before, it is only from the Early Modern period

onwards that we can talk meaningfully about ‘minority languages’. However, she adds that ‘[t]his is not to say that those who spoke differently might not attract resentment, aggression or persecution,’ or simply, that they might not have been worse off sociolinguistically.

And indeed, in his chapter ‘Vernaculars in competition’, Burke mentions that the process of ‘glottophagie, the big fish swallowing the smaller, was already noticeable at the time’ (Burke 2004: 70). This refers to extreme cases of language shift leading to language death: the Early Modern period saw the end of Crimean Gothic, Curonian, Old Prussian, Polabian and Cornish, to name a few. After saying that the rise of one vernacular happened at the expense of another, Burke (2004: 75, 82–83) mentions language shift again under the heading ‘Winners and losers in Europe’: among the losers were such languages as Welsh, Breton, Scottish Gaelic, Occitan, Basque and Lithuanian. Burke’s conclusion about competing vernaculars is that ‘an unqualified story of the “fall” of certain languages would be as gross a simplification as that of the “rise” of others’ (Burke 2004: 71); a qualified story, however, remains untold.

Baggioni hardly mentions minority languages at all either. In his discussion of ‘small languages and peripheries’ he focuses on Polish, Czech and Hungarian (Baggioni 1997: 169–175), languages that share a similar history. They started off the development into common languages, but this development was interrupted when the former Polish, Bohemian and Hungarian kingdoms lost their independence, and German was introduced as the common language. Polish, Czech and Hungarian became ‘minorised languages’,<sup>4</sup> but minorised languages that, crucially, developed into national languages after the formation of nation-state structures in the 19th century (Baggioni 1997: 175).

Baggioni does not discuss minority languages that did not later form into national languages, apart from in what appears to be a throw-away comment in the discussion of the transition from common languages to national languages:

---

4) See section 2.1 for a discussion of this term.

The process of the formation of national languages in Europe is a long-term development (spanning at least five to ten centuries) happening at a continental level. They begin with the appearance of the first literary languages emerging from the vernaculars (6th to 12th centuries) and result in the current compartmentisation of Europe into spaces that are tendentially unified by a standard language (though there exist plurilingual margins that pose problems, even when before this Europe of nationalities these “plurilingual areas” did not cause difficulty).<sup>5</sup>  
(Baggioni 1997: 74–75)

The plurilingual margins of Early Modern Europe may have been problematic for the division of the continent into states, but at the same time the spread of standard majority languages had consequences for these plurilingual margins as well, consequences of a sort that at least in 20th- and 21st-century terms would be perceived as problematic: a large number of cases of language shift in the direction of these standard majority languages can be identified across Europe. A number have already been mentioned above, see chapter 3 for a discussion of cases in North Western Europe in particular. As these cases did not receive much attention in the discussions of Early Modern European sociolinguistics by Burke and Baggioni, a study into the sociolinguistics of minority languages and language shift in Early Modern Europe would fill an apparent gap.

The fate of minority languages in the context of Early Modern Europe has been the specific focus on only three general, comparative studies: a small volume edited by Meijering (1973a), an article by Houston (2003, almost identical reprint under a different title in 2005), and an article by Millar (2004). The 1973 volume contains studies of varying length and focus of five languages – Welsh, Occitan, Catalan, Low German, and Frisian – with a summarising article and comparative questionnaire by the editor. Houston focuses primarily on Welsh, Catalan, and Irish, and to a lesser extent Breton and Scottish Gaelic, with occasional examples from other languages drawn in. Millar’s approach is slightly

---

5) ‘Les processus de constitution des langues nationales en Europe se développent dans le long terme (cinq à dix siècles au moins) et à l’échelle du continent. Ils commencent avec l’apparition des premières langues littéraires issues de vernaculaires (VI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle) et aboutissent au compartimentage actuel de l’Europe en espaces tendanciellement unifiés par une langue standard (même s’il existe des marges plurilingues qui posent problème, alors qu’avant cette Europe des nationalités ces “espaces plurilingues” ne faisaient pas difficulté).’

different, looking not at individual languages, but on three contact areas on the margins of the Germanic language area: the Ardennes-Eiffel region, East and West Prussia, and Scotland.

Although both Houston and the authors in Meijering's volume stress that 'there is no single explanation for language change, but the interactions between the influences [...] were a powerful force in shaping the cultural geography of early modern Europe' (Houston 2003: 300), some influences are however described in more depth, giving the impression that they may have been more important in the process than other influences.

One of the main factors involved in Houston's discussion is whether the language was written or not. Houston links vernacular writing to the Reformation and subsequent Counter-Reformation, but adds that the existence of a written form of the language is no guarantee for survival (2003: 304–305).

Another focus in the discussion is the notion of domination. Both Meijering (1973b: 8–9) and Houston (2003: 304) discuss different domains in which a minority population that was dominated by a majority underwent language shift (or in the case of Houston, the reverse – where absence of dominance favoured language maintenance). This includes political dominance, where new (centralised) power structures are set up outside the minority language area; religious dominance, where religious power structures are centred elsewhere; and economic dominance, where the dominant area was economically more advanced and more urbanised than the minority language area.

Houston also introduces cultural dominance as a cause of language shift, but one may wonder whether cultural and linguistic dominance are not two symptoms of the same process started by dominance in other areas. Also, one can question the explanatory power of the dominance paradigm. There are definitely similarities between the case studies surveyed in that they were all dominated in similar ways, but the processes through which this dominance caused cultural and linguistic shift are not explained.

The authors do attempt to chart and explain the dissemination of language shift through communities, and here it is the rise of a middle class that seems to be a key factor. Meijering does not discuss this point in great detail, but appears to see the rising middle classes of an example of what Houston (2003: 306) calls ‘voluntarism’. The middle class was characterised by both social and geographic mobility, and could use the dominant language as a means to achieve this. In Houston’s words, ‘[j]udged in their own terms, were they wrong to accept that their language and culture were a hindrance to personal advancement?’ (Although it must be noted that Houston (2003: 315) concedes that ‘voluntary decisions are almost always taken in contexts that limit the choices available.’)

Contrary to Meijering’s assumption that the middle classes were goal-driven leaders in a language shift, Houston (2003: 312) himself lists a middle class, or ‘a middling rank’ in ‘a relatively flat social structure’, as one of the characteristics of regions ‘in which dialects or separate languages persisted’. He claims the middle classes were ‘sympathetic to both “dominant” and “subordinate” languages’. Millar (2004: 3), too, sees an important role for hybrid culture and cultural brokers in language shift. Wright (2004: 21) does not appear to restrict the role of cultural broker to the middle class alone; she sketches an Early Modern period where most people were monolingual, except that ‘[o]nly on the cleavages of language groups from different phyla . . . people could not *decide* to overcome [language barriers] . . . [and] some bilingualism among individuals would have been necessary’; if everyone had to be bilingual to some extent, all would have been cultural brokers.

An interesting factor that only Millar takes into consideration is the degree of mutual intelligibility or linguistic *Abstand* between the varieties in question. (See chapter 2.1 for a discussion of this term.) If the minority language could be seen as a version of the majority language, as was the case with Scots and English, for example, the minority language would be ‘dialectised’ and its speakers forced to conform to norms set by and for the majority language. Otherwise, for example in the case of Scottish Gaelic and English,

the minority language would be forced first out of public domains, and gradually also out of private domains, to the benefit of the majority language.

This preliminary work is based on research into many different cases and the results of the three studies display a reasonable similarity. There is however some reason for criticism as well. Firstly, the case studies that have received most attention thus far, most notably Welsh and Catalan, by 1800 still also Occitan, and also many of the others, can be seen as relative ‘survivors’ among Early Modern European minority languages. There has been little attention for minority languages that were considerably worse off at the end of the 18th century, the ones mentioned by Burke in the context of glottophagie. Neither group will be representative of the other, and it is important to look at cases across the spectrum of survival if we are to get an idea of the minority language sociolinguistics of the period.

Secondly, the research has perhaps had a slight élitist ring to it, in the sense that it mainly focuses on literature, politics, religion, and economically powerful groups. These are naturally of importance, and ‘[i]t would be foolish to deny that the decisions of a few individuals can have a massive impact on the lives of their contemporaries’ (Sandbrook 2008). But they cannot paint a complete picture, and it is necessary to also take a look at the ordinary lives of ordinary speakers. This may not have been addressed fully because of the problems that are involved with gathering information about the daily lives of individual minority language speakers (see also chapter 2.5.3), but this gap needs to be filled as completely as possible in order to say anything about Early Modern European minority language sociolinguistics.

Finally, the research has been mostly concerned with finding the *causes* of language shift, the initiators, without giving much consideration to the mechanisms by which language shift spread through the community. Given the amount of available information and the lack of detail in this information, this is a very difficult question, but one that perhaps does need to be asked.



### **1.3 Outline**

The sociolinguistics of minority languages and language shift in Early Modern Europe is an immense and diverse field, and what existing research has been able to uncover is likely to be no more than the tip of the iceberg. It is my intention to take this research further in this thesis.

In Chapter 2, I will review different research methods into language shift and minority languages and their suitability for historical sociolinguistic research. I will then give a concise survey of various cases of minority language shift in the Early Modern period (Chapter 3). That discussion will feed into three specific research questions, which will be answered in separate (comparative) studies in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The thesis concludes with an attempt to draw the three studies together and a discussion of how they contribute to our knowledge of the position of minority languages in Early Modern Europe.



# Theoretical background

## Chapter 2

---

The main topic of this thesis is the fate of minority languages, or rather, speakers of minority languages, especially those whose community was undergoing a language shift. In this chapter, I intend to clarify some of the problems surrounding a definition of minority languages and their speakers. I will then discuss the process of language shift and the various ways in which (socio)linguists have looked at this phenomenon. I will conclude with a discussion of how these methods may be applied to researching historical situations of language shift.

### **2.1 Defining minority language groups**

At first sight, minority language groups seem relatively unproblematic to define. They are a group of speakers, there are fewer members in this group than in another ('majority') group, and what distinguishes the minority group from the majority group is that they speak a different language. A common-sense definition like this, however, asks for a more precise definition of some of its elements, such as 'group' and 'different language'.

The major problem in this common-sense definition lies in the assumption that a minority language group has to be numerically weaker than the majority group. Many language minorities, and in particular those that are considered 'indigenous' or 'autochthonous'

rather than ‘immigrant’ or ‘allochthonous’ minorities,<sup>1</sup> are overwhelmingly concentrated in a specific geographic area, in which the speakers often constitute a numerical majority. Minorities are always defined *in relation to* a majority group or area. For example, Catalan is a majority language in Catalonia – i.e., it is the most widely spoken language in the area – but a minority language in Spain. Conversely, while German is hardly considered a minority language, it *is* in Italy, although at a more local level – in South Tyrol – it may be more widely spoken again.

The clear difficulties with the term ‘minority language’ have led to some alternative terminology being used, for example ‘less influential languages’ (Meijering 1973a), ‘lesser-used languages’ (Houston 2003) or ‘minor languages’ (Sherzer & Stolz 2003, although with a slightly different definition – see pp. vii–ix in that volume for a discussion), but these are seldom less problematic than the more established and recognisable ‘minority language’; I will therefore stick to this term.

If numerical weakness is not a sufficient criterion for a definition of minority language groups, we need to find additional criteria. Srivastava (1984, in Hyltenstam & Stroud 1991: 21) discusses groups along the two dimensions [ $\pm$  quantity] and [ $\pm$  power]. He defines a ‘minority’ as a group that has both little quantity and little power. This lack of power even takes complete precedence over numerical weakness in the definition of a minority by Pap (1979: 198) as

any social subgroup, within the (essentially political) boundaries of a larger society, which has less power or prestige than another subgroup and is distinctive in language or some other cultural aspect, regardless of whether it is numerically smaller or larger than the dominant subgroup.

---

1) The difference between ‘indigenous’ or ‘autochthonous’ (from Greek *autóchthōnos* ‘from the soil itself’) and ‘immigrant’ or ‘allochthonous’ (from Greek *allóchthōnos* ‘from a different soil’) minorities is not an intrinsic one, but is entirely relative to and dependent on the perspectives of the majority group and of the modern researcher thinking inside a framework of nation-states. The presence of an indigenous minority predates that of the majority group in the area – the nominal nation of the political nation-state in which the minority is situated –, while immigrant minorities arrived after the establishment of the majority settlement.

Elements of this definition can also be found in a four-point list of characteristics of minority language groups by Allardt (1984: 201):

1. Self-categorisation as a distinctive group;
2. Common descent;
3. Distinctive linguistic, cultural or historical traits related to language;
4. Social organisation of the interaction of language groups in such a fashion that the group becomes placed in a minority [read: subordinate] position.

A key issue is that of **self-categorisation**. This element is mirrored in Giles' definition of an ethnic group as 'those individuals who perceive themselves to belong to the same ethnic category' (Fought 2002: 444-445; compare also the concept of 'imagined community' from Anderson 1983). However, I feel this needs some adaptation. A group need not necessarily be categorised as such by the group itself, it can also be seen as a distinctive group by others, most notably the majority group. This presumably underlies Allardt's phrasing as 'categorisation and self-categorisation' (1984: 196). One would imagine dynamics in group interaction could differ depending on whether both groups agree on the minority status, when the minority group claims minority status but the majority group does not grant it, or when minority status is 'given' but not recognised by the supposed minority group itself. Especially this last situation can be linked to the French discourse of *langues minorisées* or *langues minorées* 'minorised languages' (see e.g. Blanchet (2002: 96) for a discussion). It is interesting that this term comes from a country which has a strong discourse about a national (majority) language, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

Regardless of who identifies the group as a minority, it is not possible to talk about a minority group when neither the minority nor the majority group think that there is a minority group at all. Perception of (minority) group status is an important prerequisite.

**Common descent** is another problematic concept, especially with regard to the questions how far back in history descent has to be common and how this requirement relates to the

often mixed ethnic background of many language minorities. Some notion of common descent, however, seems necessary to qualify a group as a language minority (Allardt 1984: 202), and it is likely (self-)categorisation plays an important part in this.

The most difficult issue in Allardt's and Pap's definitions, and in any definition of minority language groups, is the reference to a **linguistic distinctiveness**. The main difficulties with this concept is that it needs definition of 'language', 'dialect' and 'difference'. In the remainder of this section I hope to clarify some of these issues, without aspiring to give definitive solutions. The main assumption in this discussion is that we define difference by comparing a linguistic variety to another variety; difference, in other words, is always relative.

An often-used framework for discussing linguistic difference uses the terms *Abstand* and *Ausbau*, introduced by Kloss (1967). In Kloss' view, a language can be defined as a language (as opposed to a dialect) because of *Abstand* ('language by distance') or because of *Ausbau* ('language by development'; Kloss 1967: 29). Standard written languages are an important point of reference in Kloss' discussion; the discussion becomes infinitely more complicated when actual, spoken language is taken as the basis.

In Kloss' paradigm, two languages can be classified as *Ausbau* languages in relation to each other, if the difference between them 'can be described almost entirely in historical, sociological and sociolinguistic terms, not in linguistic ones' (Millar 2005: 48). Examples of *Ausbau* languages are Czech and Slovak, or Bulgarian and Macedonian. Kloss (1967: 31) finds the relation between *Ausbau* languages is ideally illustrated by the following comment from H.G. Lunt [1959]:

That Macedonians should accept standard Bulgarian for their own use would demand far fewer concessions on their part than have been made by Bavarians and Hamburgers, by Neapolitans and Piedmontese, and even within Yugoslavia by natives of Niš in the Southeast and Senj in the Northwest.

That is, the difference between Bulgarian and Macedonian in linguistic terms, however this can be objectively defined, is smaller than that between the vernaculars of Bavaria and Hamburg, or Naples and Piedmont. Bulgarian and Macedonian are widely considered different languages, not because they are linguistically all that different, but because the speakers identify with, and view their (spoken and written) varieties in relation to different standards. Conversely, speakers from Bavaria and Hamburg will not necessarily speak very similar varieties at all, but they both regard themselves as speaking a variety of German. They identify with the same overarching standard.

The concept of *Abstand* languages seems a simple question of linguistic distance, but is in fact much more complicated than that. Using linguistic distance as a criterion creates few problems in the case of languages that are from different language families or sub-families: German and Polish, English and Welsh, or Greek and Turkish are clearly different languages. But at what point does the *Abstand* (or ‘intrinsic distance’; Kloss 1967: 31) become so small that it alone is not enough to classify varieties as different languages? There is no unanimous answer to this question, as Kloss’ example of two languages in an *Abstand* relationship, Dutch and German, shows. Contrary to Kloss, Millar (2005: 56–57) argues that although Standard Dutch and Standard High German may now not be mutually intelligible,

in the relatively recent past (and, to some extent, still on the national and linguistic borders), it could be argued that Dutch and German are merely two *Ausbau* developments [...] of a range of ‘Germans’ which potentially existed as separate ‘languages’. If, as was perfectly possible, Low German had maintained its status, it might have been possible to think of it as a dialect of Dutch, or vice versa, or even of a situation not dissimilar to that which existed for Serbo-Croatian developing.

It is probably more correct to state that Dutch and German stand in an *Ausbau* relation to one another, the perceived differences mainly due to socio-historical accident (on which see Von der Dunk 2005). The distinction between *Abstand* and *Ausbau* remains problematic,

for how far back does one have to go to find social and political developments that can be argued to have resulted in *Ausbau*?

Just as *Ausbau* is a constructed difference between two languages, or rather between two codifications of a language, in order to reflect some social or political idea, the opposite must be possible, too: a constructed similarity, or neglect of difference, between two languages. Kloss (1967: 35) calls this process ‘dialectisation’, while Fishman (2008: 18) talks about *Einbau*. Kloss distinguishes between dialectisation proper and ‘near-dialectisation’, where in the former case the ‘dialectised’ variety formerly stood in an *Ausbau* relationship to its newly accepted standard, and in the latter case there was an *Abstand* relationship. It is difficult to see, however, how clear *Abstand* languages can be close enough for one to be constructed into a dialect of the other; if this is possible, then it is likely to be argued the languages stand in a *Ausbau* rather than *Abstand* relationship.<sup>2</sup> Taking a stricter view on *Abstand* than Kloss, near-dialectisation is not a very likely development.

The distinction between *Abstand* and *Ausbau* is relevant for minority languages not only for their definition, but also for the attitudes and policies towards them. (I use policies in the broadest sense of the word here, i.e not only if they are regulated by a body, but also those that emerge organically in a speech community.) Trudgill (1992: 171–177) clarifies that minority languages that stand in different relations to the majority language in their respective settings are subject to different types of ‘attack’. *Abstand* minority languages – including languages that would be *Ausbau* languages elsewhere, and are only *Abstand* languages in this specific setting – will be attacked with disparaging comments such as ‘This is not a proper language,’ and attempts to take away the grounds for granting language rights. On the other hand, with *Ausbau* minority languages, the nature of

---

2) Fishman (2008: 21) sees *Einbau* and *Ausbau* as opposite points on a continuum, and mentions that a language can strive for *Ausbau* with regard to one language, and *Einbau* with regard to another. His example is Yiddish, where he sees anti-German purism (*Ausbau*), but no anti-Hebrew purism (*Einbau*). As Yiddish and Hebrew are from different language families, this would be a candidate for Kloss’ ‘near-dialectisation’, had it not been for the fact that despite *Einbau*, Yiddish and Hebrew are still clearly different languages also in people’s minds.



the *Ausbau–Einbau* continuum means that *Einbau*, too, becomes a possibility. These languages suffer attacks of the type ‘X is just a dialect of Y’, and policies in a similar vein.

A definition of minority language groups that comes out of this discussion then, is a group of speakers that (a) is identified as a group, either by themselves or by others, (b) displays a linguistic difference from the majority group, (c) is placed socially in a subordinate position to that majority group, and (d) is often numerically weaker than the majority group. This definition echoes Pap’s definition above, with the addition of the characteristic that groups have to be perceived as such.

## 2.2 Language shift

Language minorities may in certain social circumstances undergo language shift. This process, along with the overlapping areas of language maintenance and language death, has been the subject of academic investigation since the 1960s. Despite this long history, there does not seem to be a universally accepted definition. What is meant by ‘language shift’ is presumed understood in most sources, and I have only been able to find very few definitions. According to these, language shift is:

‘a change from the habitual use of one language to that of another’  
(Weinreich 1967: 68)

‘changes in the traditional behaviour of one group under the influence of another, resulting in a switch in the language of one of the groups’  
(Mackey 1980: 35)

‘the change of habits by a linguistic community as it gradually substitutes one linguistic variety of traditional use with another variety, either long present in the community itself or newly introduced’  
(Giacalone Ramat 1983: 495)

‘when a substantial portion of a bilingual speech community shows a simultaneous or nearly simultaneous shift in their primary (P) language from the A [‘abandoned’] language to the T [‘target’] language and a consequent shift in their secondary (S) language from the T language to the A language. [...] It is triggered by the decision of a speech community to cease to transmit their

language to their descendants’  
(Sasse 1992: 13)

‘the replacement of one language in the repertoire of a community-wide  
bilingual group by another one’  
(Sommer 1997: 55)

The obvious similarities and differences between these definitions are useful guides in a discussion of the phenomenon. However, there are problems with some of the terminology used in these definitions. The first problem we encounter are the terms ‘habits’, in Giacalone Ramat’s definition, and ‘habitual’, in that of Weinreich. These are very untransparent terms, which become even less clear when we try to correlate Mackey’s ‘behaviour’ with terms from the other two definitions. Does ‘behaviour’ correspond to ‘habits’ and ‘habitual’, or is it synonymous to the others’ ‘use’? In the latter case, then, what makes use habitual – how often, or in what situations, does a language have to be spoken to be regarded as in ‘habitual use’? This confusion is not necessary, as we can refer to the use of language in terms of patterns (Garner 2004: 107). Language shift can then be described as a change in patterns of language use.

A second problem is most of these authors’ somewhat imprecise use of the word ‘language’. The distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ is unclear and hotly debated (see section 2.1); glossing over the difficulties for now, it appears that a shift from one dialect to another is at least as common as a shift between languages. The unclear distinction between the terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ even seems to have played a role in two of the cases discussed in Chapter 3. It therefore seems more precise to use terminology along the lines of Giacalone Ramat’s ‘linguistic varieties’.

Thirdly, it is a key prerequisite for language shift that there is language contact. Shifting speakers need a language to shift to. Any mention of language contact is absent from Weinreich’s definition, and in the others it is only implicitly mentioned, e.g. with reference to bilingualism. It seems to me that a good definition of language shift needs to mention language contact explicitly.

Fourthly, Mackey, Giacalone Ramat and most explicitly Sommer describe language shift as group-based processes. One can debate whether we should describe language shift as a change in an individual speaker's patterns of use, albeit in constant negotiation with the surrounding speech community (or communities), or whether it is sufficient to make generalisations about the patterns in the speech community as a whole. Although language shift always happens at the level of the individual speaker, language shift for all practical purposes is usually studied at the level of the speech community. This can be compared to the distinction between speaker innovation and linguistic change by Labov (1972: 277). For this reason, I think it is useful to mention the group setting in a definition of language shift.

Furthermore, it seems that in Sasse's definition language shift is seen as a single point in time, rather than the process the other definitions hint at with terms such as 'changes' (Mackey; note the plural) and 'gradual' (Giacalone Ramat). This is a matter of focus on the result rather than on the process; in the context of this thesis, a focus on the process seems preferable.

Finally, the gradual substitution of one linguistic variety with another that Giacalone Ramat writes about, seems to be a matter of linguistic domains. Certain domains shift to another linguistic variety earlier than other domains. Language shift, then, does not necessarily have to mean a total shift (compare with Sommer's 'replacement') from full to no use of one language and from no to full use of another, but can also be a (partial) shift in only one domain. This is all contained in the 'patterns of use' I proposed to use above, but it is important to be aware of the domain-based nature of language shift.

How I understand language shift then, and what I will understand the term to mean throughout this thesis, is the following: 'the change(s) in a speech community's patterns of use of linguistic varieties in a contact situation'.

### 2.3 The relation between language shift and adjacent fields

I already mentioned above that there is an overlap between language shift and the areas of language death, language maintenance, and language spread. In the following I will briefly explore the nature of the relationship between these fields, and try to define in what way advances in these fields can benefit the study of language shift.

Linguists usually distinguish four types of **language death** (Campbell & Muntzel 1989: 182–186; Campbell 1994: 1960–1961). These are:

1. sudden language death (linguicide)
2. radical language death
3. bottom-to-top language death
4. gradual language death

Sudden language death, or linguicide, is the death of a language when all its speakers are wiped out by natural disaster or genocide. In this scenario, no language shift takes place, as there are no speakers available to shift.

Language shift does not occur in bottom-to-top language death either. This is also called ‘the Latinate pattern’, after its prime example, Latin. In this type, the language dies as a vernacular through evolution into several daughter languages, while a codified form may survive in high-prestige domains. Although one can argue that there is a shift from one linguistic variety to another, and even that it is domain-based, the shift is only between two diachronically distinct varieties, not between two synchronically distinct varieties.

Radical and gradual language death, however, do involve shift. This shift, which can be initiated by a variety of causes, must precede language death. This means that models for language death, such as that by Sasse (1992: 19) for gradual language death, can partly be used to describe language shift processes. Although these types of language death must be preceded by language shift, a shift does not necessarily result in language death:

it is possible for two languages to co-exist in a stable diglossic situation for centuries (Ferguson 1959: 332).

The relationship between language shift and **language maintenance** is most clearly expressed in the alternative name that Fishman, one of the prime contributors to the debate in this field, has given it: ‘reversing language shift’ (RLS; Fishman 1991, 1993): it is a relationship of opposition. We must, however, not take this term too literally, as it is not a ‘reversal’ at all. Fishman’s work reads like a handbook for RLS: he lists the order of domains in which a certain language must be (re-)introduced, and at which support from which level of official institutions is necessary for RLS to be successful. Simply having the arrows in Fishman’s models for RLS point (back?) in the other direction does not produce a viable model for language shift.

But this does not render the field of language maintenance completely irrelevant to the study of language shift. Language maintenance activists have realised that they ‘need’ to fight the causes of language shift, and have therefore undertaken research into these causes (e.g. Fishman 1991). They have also identified factors that are favourable to language maintenance and resistance to language shift. Although one should not without caution ‘reverse’ these factors and identify these reversals as possible causes for language shift, certain patterns may nevertheless be identified.

The emphasis in most studies on language shift lies on the shift away from minority languages. This is likely to be a result of the close connection between language shift and language maintenance and the importance of Fishman’s work for the field. De Swaan (2004: 568) states, ‘[I]nguistics has found a new mission: not to prescribe correct language, but to protect endangered speeches’. In the title of the Dutch original of the article, he refers to this attitude as ‘language sentimentalism’ (2003: 4).

Language shift, however, is not only a shift away from one language. It is as much a shift towards another language, and it is possible to focus on the target language in

terms of **language spread** (Wardhaugh 1987: 2). Language shift and language spread are intimately related, and it is possible to consider them two ways of looking at one and the same phenomenon. Taking a language-sentimentalist viewpoint and focusing solely on the abandoned minority language and its speakers is not the only approach; a complete and accurate picture can only be obtained if proper attention is also given to the majority language and its speaker group.

## **2.4 Researching language shift**

During the past half century, research into language shift has developed rapidly. We can distinguish four main subsequent currents in this research, each functioning as a complement to rather than a replacement of previous research methods. The first current, present from the late 1950s, focuses on issues of diglossia and domains. This was followed from the 1970s by research into language ecology and ethnolinguistic vitality. In the last two decades research has also drawn on social network theory and computational linguistics. In this section, I will give an overview of these four research methods and discuss their applicability to historical situations of language shift.

### *2.4.1 Diglossia and domains*

Language shift happens in a situation of bilingualism. Different types of bilingualism are distinguished by Haugen (1972: 334) and Lambert (1975, in Myers-Scotton 2002: 48). Lambert makes a two-way distinction between ‘additive bilingualism’, where speakers maintain their first language (L1) but also learn a second language (L2) for some activities, and ‘subtractive bilingualism’ where they learn an L2 that develops into a replacement for the L1. Haugen’s distinction is three-way, but maps onto Lambert’s as follows. ‘Replacive’ or ‘residual bilingualism’ is the same as Lambert’s subtractive bilingualism, whereas additive bilingualism corresponds to ‘supplementary (inceptive)’ and ‘complementary

(functional) bilingualism'. The difference between these is that in supplementary bilingualism, the role of L1 is clearly greater than that of L2; in complementary bilingualism, the roles of L1 and L2 are of similar size and importance.

This distinction is not a question of either/or. Situations of language shift can be interpreted as a journey through the spectrum of bilingualism types, from supplementary via complementary to replacive bilingualism (and eventually monolingualism in the original L2).

In Lambert's additive bilingualism, use of L2 is limited to certain activities. Such a bilingual situation where languages are strictly allocated to domains is known as diglossia. This term was coined by Ferguson (1959) to describe the use of high- and low-prestige varieties of a language in different domains, and was later adapted by Fishman [1969] to also include the allocation of different languages to domains (Landry & Allard 1994: 17).

An important side-effect of diglossia is that the status of and attitudes towards the various domains are likely to be associated with the language used in these domains; this is perhaps understood but not sufficiently explicitly stated when Ferguson discusses high- and low-prestige varieties. This transfer of attitudes from domains onto the language is an important factor of diglossia in language shift.<sup>3</sup>

The questionnaire in Meijering (1973a: 85–90), although there is room for some limited ethnolinguistic vitality-like observations, puts great emphasis on the question which language is used in which of the great number of domains it lists, and is as such an example of this research method.

---

3) One of Fishman's criteria for diglossia is a relative stability of at least three generations; if diglossia is unstable, language shift may occur (Landry & Allard 1994: 19). But also in an unstable situation leading to language shift, I do not think there are any objections to discussing the allocation of languages to domains and the identification of languages with domains in terms of diglossia.

#### 2.4.2 *Language ecology and ethnolinguistic vitality*

Diglossia and domains are useful terms to describe a bilingual situation and to trace a changing preference for language in domains. They do however not allow a study to go beyond a highly descriptive account, and are not suitable tools to explain a language shift. From the mid-1960s, scholars became interested in the social factors causing a language shift; Kloss (1966) was one of the first to tackle this subject. From the 1970s, this interest became more structured and systematised, leading to theories on ‘language ecology’ (Haugen 1972) and ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ (Giles et al. 1977).

Giles et al. (1977: 308) describe ethnolinguistic vitality as ‘that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations’. A high-vitality group is likely to maintain its distinctiveness in such intergroup situations, whereas a low-vitality group is likely to lose its distinctiveness. Although Giles et al. do not mention language explicitly in their definition, their discussion and their use of the term ‘*ethnolinguistic groups*’ (my italicisation) indicate that it is indeed a linguistic distinctiveness they are discussing. Ethnolinguistic vitality therefore can be seen as a phenomenon correlating with language maintenance or shift.

Although Giles et al. suggest a number of factors that may influence ethnolinguistic vitality (see below), it may be useful to take one step further back and look at *how* these factors influence vitality. A useful discussion is that by Ehala (2005: 40–41). He sees cultures as ‘interplay[s] of innovation and tradition’, in which two discourses take place: the utilitarian discourse and the identity discourse. The utilitarian discourse can be characterised as innovative and materialistic, the identity discourse as traditionalist and emotional. Although Ehala does not discuss this, it emerges from his discussion that the two discourses are complementary. ‘The two discourses clash in the situation of intensive cultural contact between two communities of unequal technological development and wealth. In this contact two languages and two identity discourses come into competition in a new information space’ (Ehala 2005: 41). In this new information space, there then



are two different identity discourses, that of the majority group and that of the minority group. In the utilitarian discourse this is seen as superfluous and inefficient, and there is an urge to even out cultural and linguistic differences.

These differences are evened out in the direction of the culture and language of the majority group, which Ehala (2005: 40) describes as having the larger ‘cultural mass’. Ehala (forthcoming 2008) proposes that ethnolinguistic vitality can be measured in the mathematical formula

$$ELV = \frac{U \times (M_1 - M_2)}{r}$$

where  $U$  is the index of utilitarianism,  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  are the cultural masses of the minority and majority groups respectively, and  $r$  is the cultural distance between the two groups. The cultural masses of the majority and minority groups do not have objective values, but are defined subjectively by members of the group whose ethnolinguistic vitality is being researched (Ehala forthcoming 2008). The same subjectivity applies to the cultural distance between the two groups and to the extent of utilitarianism in the community. All values are measured on Likert scales in questionnaires (Ehala forthcoming 2008). If the equation amounts to less than zero, language shift will occur; if the result equals or is greater than zero, it will not (Ehala forthcoming 2008).

This model was tested in practice on Võro, a minority language in Southern Estonia (Ehala & Niglas 2007). Using the model, the authors confirmed a number of findings from earlier studies on Võro (439), but they felt adaptations are needed in order to take it from a descriptive to an explanatory level (442). The underlying ideas in the model do however seem to hold, and as such there is some scope for it being used as a theoretical framework. It is clear from the equation that a greatly differing cultural mass, i.e. a situation where the minority language group is overwhelmed by the majority language group, will lead to low ethnolinguistic vitality and to language shift. Very traditional groups displaying

little utilitarianism are more likely to maintain their language, and minority groups that are culturally and linguistically similar to the majority group tend to shift (429–431).

With Ehala's discussion in mind, we can start looking at the factors that influence cultural mass (and the differences between masses of different cultures) and the extent of utilitarianism within a society. A number of lists of causal factors of language shift – factors that, in the terms from Ehala's model, influence cultural mass and utilitarianism – were presented based on early research into language shift. The most notable list was that by Kloss (1966), who had researched language maintenance and shift in contemporary immigrant communities in the United States. For my research, Meijering's list of factors that played a role in 'relegating certain languages to the background' in the 16th and 17th centuries (1973b: 8–9), is of particular relevance.

A problem with such lists is that it is tempting to highlight only one or two of these factors as causes for language shift, failing to note that there may be a complex interplay of multiple causes. Mackey (2003: 69) calls this 'key factor fixation'.

A first attempt to come to a multifaceted description of language vitality, although not solely in the context of language shift, was made by Haugen (1972). He presented a list of nine questions that should lead to an 'ecological' classification of languages, i.e. a classification according to the interactions between the language and its environments. Haugen based his list on an analysis of earlier attempts at a sociolinguistic classification of languages. This is a holistic approach, where each of the nine questions is linked to a different field of study within linguistics (Haugen 1972: 336–337):

1. What is the language's classification in relation to other languages? (*historical and descriptive linguistics*)
2. Who are its users? (*linguistic demography*)
3. What are its domains of use? (*sociolinguistics*)
4. What concurrent languages are employed by its users? (*dialinguistics*)

5. What internal varieties does the language show? (*dialectology*)
6. What is the nature of its written tradition? (*philology*)
7. To what degree has the language been standardised? (*prescriptive linguistics*)
8. What kind of institutional support has it won? (*glottopolitics*)
9. What are the attitudes of its users towards the language, in terms of intimacy and status, leading to personal identification? (*ethnolinguistics*)
10. Where do all these factors place the language in relation to other languages? (*ecological classification*)

Haugen developed his ecological classification with general applicability in mind, and did not aim it specifically at bilingual situations where there is a power imbalance between the two languages. Such a situation was the focus of Giles et al.'s (1977) theory of ethnolinguistic vitality, which is part of their wider theory of language in ethnic group relations. Apart from ethnolinguistic vitality, which they see as a part of their theory consisting of a 'structural analysis' (Giles et al. 1977: 308), the theory of language in ethnic group relations consists of 'sociopsychological analyses' focusing on 'intergroup relations and speech accommodation' (Giles et al. 1977: 318). Here I will only focus on their theory of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Three types of factors are said to influence ethnolinguistic vitality. These are status, demographic and institutional support factors (Giles et al. 1977: 309). Four different types of status factors are distinguished: the group's economic status, their social status, their sociohistorical status – i.e. 'historical instances [that] can be used as mobilizing symbols to inspire individuals to bind together now' (Giles et al. 1977: 311) – and the status of the group's language both within and without the group (Giles et al. 1977: 310–311).

Demographic factors (Giles et al. 1977: 312–313) include issues relating to group distribution (the availability of an 'ancestral homeland', the group's concentration and their size relative to the majority) and to group numbers (absolute numbers, birth rates, exogamy and migration). Institutional support factors (Giles et al. 1977: 315–316), lastly, include

support for the language in official domains, such as education, religion, the workplace and ‘the public and private sectors of the economy’. This support can be both formal and informal, e.g. through self-organisation in pressure groups.

Each group of factors separately leads to a classification of a group’s ethnolinguistic vitality ‘on a continuum [...] ranging from very high to very low’ (Giles et al. 1977: 317). By averaging the three classifications, it is possible to describe the group’s overall vitality on the same continuum. Because a classification in terms of ‘high’, ‘medium’ or ‘low’ is not very precise, its comparative value is probably fairly limited.

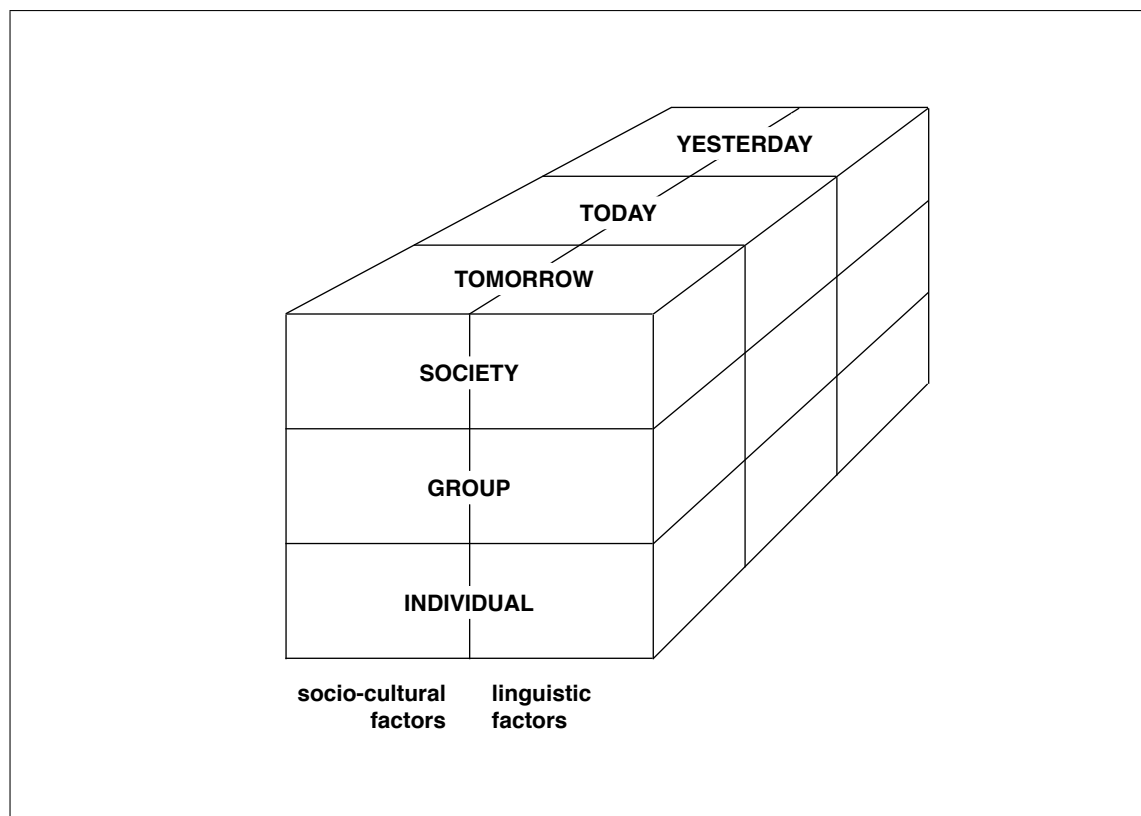
Giles et al. (1977: 318) are aware that this structural analysis does not paint a complete picture:

It is also important to point out that our discussion of vitality factors has been in more or less objective terms; whether group members perceive subjectively their situation along exactly the same lines is an empirical question worthy of further exploration. Indeed, it could be argued that a group’s subjective assessment of its vitality may be as important as the objective reality.

In order to quantify this subjective assessment of group vitality, a 22-question questionnaire was developed by Bourhis et al. (1981). The questions have a direct relationship to the factors in Giles et al.’s objective assessment (Bourhis et al. 1981: 149). Participants are asked to indicate their ‘*impressions*’ (Bourhis et al. 1981: 151; emphasis in original) of these factors for both the minority and the majority groups on Likert scales. Although the questionnaire had not been tested at the time of publication (Bourhis et al. 1981: 148), it has been used in research since with positive results (e.g. Yağmur & Kroon 2003).

#### *Analysis model for language shift*

In her research on language maintenance and shift in a Finland-Swedish family, Tandefelt (1988: 38) problematised the lack of a generalising model for language shift and the limited universal applicability of findings from various case studies: ‘Results from earlier research cannot simply be transposed from one environment to another, but propose a



**Figure 2.1**

Analysis model for language shift, from Tandefelt (1988: 39).

series of relevant factors to take into account.<sup>4</sup> Her analysis model for language shift is an attempt to group these factors along three different axes she has found to be of importance (Tandefelt 1988: 38). The model is shown in Figure 2.1.

The first axis is a two-way division between linguistic and socio-cultural factors. Tandefelt also distinguishes between factors that play a role at the individual level, at group level and at societal level. This distinction is particularly salient for socio-cultural factors, but ‘also linguistic, especially sociolinguistic, factors can be organised in a way to represent the corresponding levels’ (Tandefelt 1988: 38).<sup>5</sup> The final axis takes into account changes in the language group’s situation between the past, the present, and the future.

4) ‘Tidigare forskningsresultat kan inte som sådan överföras från en miljö till en annan, men ger förslag till en serie relevanta faktorer att räkna med.’

5) ‘Även lingvistiska, särskilt sociolingvistiska, faktorer kan ordnas så att de representerar korresponderande nivåer.’

Despite the formal multidimensionality of Tandevelt's model, the connections and dependencies between the different levels do not become clear in her discussion of various factors that play a role in language shift (Tandevelt 1988: 40–71). Hyltenstam & Stroud (1991: 75–113) discuss Tandevelt's model as well, but occasionally allocate factors to different levels in the model (77). This suggests the different levels have unclear boundaries, and could perhaps indicate some form of interplay between the levels.

### *Typology of language endangerment*

Such interplay between individual, group and society can also be found in the typology of language endangerment by Edwards (1992). Edwards recognises that an ecological and interdisciplinary approach as taken by Haugen (1972), but also by Forster [1980] and Haarmann [1986], is vital to the understanding of minority language situations, but he identifies a number of shortcomings in these earlier models (Edwards 1992: 43): they are, he writes, too general, little exact, and incomplete.

Edwards then proposes a more elaborate model, allowing for questions in eleven different fields – demography, sociology, linguistics, psychology, history, politics-law-government, geography, education, religion, economics, and the media – and at three different levels – speaker, language, and setting (Edwards 1992: 49). A list of thirty-three questions is provided, but Edwards stresses these merely function as general examples.

Edwards' model was revised by Grenoble & Whaley (1998). Their only change to the model was a change from 'the media' to 'technology', as this would fit better with the generality of the other fields (Grenoble & Whaley 1998: 25). They clarified the importance of using the three different levels speaker (or rather speech community), language and setting (Grenoble & Whaley 1998: 24). Features at the first two levels they call micro-variables, whereas features at the setting level are macro-variables. This distinction is important, as they say, as

[s]ince language loss always involves contact between at least two communities, a comprehensive typology must identify the properties of an endangerment situation which are internal to the group speaking the threatened language, as opposed to those which exist externally to it.  
(Grenoble & Whaley 1998: 27)

Grenoble & Whaley also criticised Edwards' model for not mentioning the role of literacy. Literacy may not be a decisive factor to whether or not a language survives, but it has a social function and meaning and is therefore relevant to the discussion (Grenoble & Whaley 1998: 32–37).

Recent research into language maintenance and shift has used Edwards' model to obtain 'objective data on ethnolinguistic vitality' (Yağmur & Kroon 2003: 323, 324–328 for an example). Yağmur and Kroon claim this typology is viable, but state a combination of data from this objective model with more subjective data on ethnolinguistic vitality from the models by Giles et al. and Bourhis et al. is 'obvious' (Yağmur & Kroon 2003: 323–324).

### 2.4.3 *Social networks*

From the late 1970s onwards, language shift research has also drawn on social network theory in a large number of case studies. Some of these draw explicitly on social network theory, others do not but use essentially the same framework. Some examples are discussed in Govindasamy & Nambiar (2003: 28–30).

Some network-based studies of language shift, such as those on immigrant minority individuals in New Zealand (Hulsen et al. 2002) and the United States (Stoessel 2002), assume two separate social networks for minority individuals – one in the home country conducted in the L1, and one in the new country, in which a mixture of L1 and L2 is used (Stoessel 2002: 99) – and the role these networks play in people being 'maintainers' or 'shifters'. Some correlation has been found between the number of L1 contacts, especially in the primary network, and language maintenance (Hulsen et al. 2002: 43–45; Stoessel

2002: 106). The discussion in these studies however does not make clear how the two networks function in causing a language shift.

The majority of language shift research using social networks, in both immigrant and non-immigrant minority communities, assumes one social network. The same patterns apply here that are generally found in network-based research into language change (Milroy 1987: 170–171; Govindasamy & Nambiar 2003: 29). Maintenance of non-standard varieties is facilitated by a dense, multiplex network of L1 contacts. This is a network in which most of a person's contacts also know each other, and in which the contacts know each other in different ways – for example as family members, neighbours, co-workers and members of the same sports club all at the same time. The opposite, a sparse, pauciplex network, in which the contacts do not know each other and a person's ties with his contacts are of only one type, is more likely to facilitate language change in the direction of the standard. (See Milroy 1987: 177–216 for a general discussion of social networks' relationship to language maintenance and change.) In this case, change towards the standard means language shift towards monoglot L2 use. Gal's (1979) study of the Hungarian language community in Oberwart, Austria, is a prime example of a network-based approach to language shift.

#### 2.4.4 *Mathematical modelling of language shift and death*

Recent years have seen an increasing interest for mathematical modelling of language phenomena. This applies especially to language learning and the evolution of human language (see, for example, Nowak et al. 2002), but there have also been attempts to model the processes of language shift and death. Note that these are not mathematical models of the type Ehala produced for ethnolinguistic vitality, but rather ways of generalising the direction and rate of change.

Abrams & Strogatz (2003) used historical data from 42 endangered languages, including Welsh, Scottish Gaelic and Quechua, to model their decline. Their assumption is that 'the



attractiveness of a language increases with both its number of speakers and its perceived status', and both number of speakers and relative status are factors in their model. A major weakness of the model, however, is that they assume that both the number of speakers of a minority language and its perceived status are the direct inverses of the majority language's counterparts: if the proportion of minority language speakers in a community is  $x$ , then the proportion of majority language speakers is  $y=1-x$ . There is, in other words, no room for individual bilingualism in the model; as language shift typically involves at least one, but often several generations of individual bilinguals, this is a fatal flaw.

Apart from incorrectly positing only monolingual individuals, the model's prediction that 'two languages cannot coexist stably – one will eventually drive the other to extinction' is not borne out by the evidence (900). Abrams & Strogatz acknowledge that such societal bilingualism exists, but blame it on the idea that '[o]nly recently have these communities begun to mix, allowing language competition to begin'. It is unclear what time span the authors find recent, but it is safe to assume that both individual and societal bilingualism have existed in all societies where two different linguistic populations mixed, and that these societies can be found also in non-recent times. (For a discussion on the evolutionary use of second-language acquisition and implications for our image of bilingualism in prehistorical societies, see Hagen 2008a,b; Hirschfeld 2008.)

Abrams & Strogatz' model was developed further by Mira & Paredes (2005) to allow for individual bilingualism; in this model, stable societal bilingualism is possible. Mira & Paredes introduced a parameter reflecting 'the ease of bilingualism' (1033); in their view, it is easier to become bilingual if the competing languages are similar, such as their language pair Galician and Castilian Spanish (1032). This may well be the case. However, they claim that it is possible for Abrams & Strogatz to disregard bilingualism *because* the language pairs they looked at were not mutually intelligible. Bilingualism must be accounted for in their adapted model *because* – or rather *if and only if*, as in

cases where the languages are not mutually intelligible, the model ‘reduces to the Abrams-Strogatz equation’ (1033) – conversation is possible between monolingual speakers of both languages (1032). This last claim is unfounded, given for example multi-monolingual semi-communication between speakers of Mainland Scandinavian languages, which has not led to bilingualism nor to shift (Vikør 1995: 127–133). This also means the way in which individual bilingualism is incorporated in the model is incorrect, and other ways must be found.

Thus far, mathematical models of language shift and death can only be applied post-hoc and can only describe situations; there is no clear predictive value as yet.

## 2.5 Historical sociolinguistics: principles, pitfalls and problems

The four research currents discussed in the previous section have all been used in contemporary research into language shift and death. By contrast, this study is historical, and we may expect the time frame to put additional constraints on what are possible study subjects. In this section, I discuss problems we may encounter in historical sociolinguistic research, and how they affect the four research methods, should they be applied to a study of minority languages in the Early Modern period. This discussion leads to the choice of research model for the exploratory part of this study.

### 2.5.1 *Uniformitarianism*

Historical linguists only have snapshots of the state of the language available to them, and do not have solid proof of in-between stages or the processes between them. As part of the solution to this problem, they invoke the **uniformitarian principle**. This principle suggests that linguistic varieties in the past were not intrinsically different from modern-day varieties; they showed similar patterns and were subject to the same rules and restrictions. In historical comparative work, for example, this means that ‘we should not find ourselves reconstructing proto-languages that have properties different from anything

we can see in modern languages' (Trask 1997: 232). See Lass (1997: 24–32) for a full discussion of the uniformitarian principle and its implications for historical linguistics.

When it comes to *sociolinguistics*, the uniformitarian principle suggests that, as it is well-attested that languages today show variation, we may assume that earlier languages – or earlier varieties of language – also showed variation. Written sources of earlier stages of language do in fact display variation in syntax, morphology, and lexicon, and different spellings (variation in itself) may indicate phonological variation as well. Variation in historical varieties is also proved by language change. Language change necessarily goes hand in hand with variation (cf. McMahon 1994: 248–252), and since we can be absolutely sure that language change happened in the past, we can be equally sure of the existence of variation.

This makes it possible to do variationist sociolinguistic research on historical varieties, and also here the uniformitarian principle is invoked:

... we accept that the linguistic forces which operate today and are observable around us are not unlike those which have operated in the past. Sociolinguistically speaking, this means that there is no reason for claiming that language did not vary in the same patterned ways in the past as it has been observed to do today.

(Romaine 1982: 122)

### 2.5.2 *Back-projection*

Romaine's claim that historical varieties varied 'in the *same* patterned ways' (my emphasis) as we observe today needs some clarification. The uniformitarian principle certainly suggests that historical variation patterned in *similar* ways to now: 'Like us, our ancestors had their social distinctions, and undoubtedly these distinctions were well represented in speech' (Trask 1997: 285). But we need to be aware of some pitfalls.

Fleischman (2000) discusses two mistakes historical linguists sometimes make when using older written texts as a data corpus for linguistic research. The first of these is the

**historicist reflex**, when we fill the holes in our knowledge of a stage of a language with what we know from earlier or later stages. Fleischman's example is the (now largely disproved) assumption that Old French had a subject/object case marking system, solely based on the fact that Latin had case (2000: 37). The opposite, the assumption that our knowledge of a modern language can be applied to earlier stages of the language, is called **conceptual inertia**. Fleischman's example is her analysis of the particle *si* in Old French as a topic continuity marker, something that had gone unnoticed before as there is no such thing in Modern French (2000: 39).

The historical reflex and conceptual inertia are in essence the same mistake: the **back-projection** of the known unto the unknown, whether the unknown can be e.g. grammatical categories or sociolinguistic information such as the status of certain (types of) varieties.

When applied *in extremis*, the need to avoid back-projection appears to invalidate the uniformitarian principle, which is clearly also a back-projection of modern-day knowledge to explain historical linguistic developments. However, it would be rather unproductive to disregard everything we know simply because there is no guarantee it will work. Many linguistic theories and generalisations have been proved to be valid across languages and across cultures synchronically, and there is no reason why they should not be so diachronically.

However, we must ensure we apply our knowledge to historical situations correctly. An example is the development of the Old French diphthong ⟨oi⟩ [ɔj], discussed Trask (1997: 285). This diphthong shifted to [wɛ], and in popular speech underwent a further shift to [wa]. In the late 18th century, [wɛ] was the prestige form. But after the French Revolution, [wa] had become the prestigious variant, either because the [wɛ]-using aristocracy had fled (temporarily), making room for the [wa] variant to generalise, or because there was a revaluation of the status of social classes and their speech. The [wɛ] variant is currently still used in some Northern French dialects, and in North American varieties of French, and as a divergence from Standard (Hexagonal) French is considered less prestigious.

Trask's example shows that we can assume *theory* holds diachronically: we can see that variants have social meaning, and the [wɛ] > [wa] change can be explained in terms of koinéisation or a change from below. *Data*, however, does not hold diachronically: it would be wrong to apply modern-day evaluations of the status of these variants to the 18th century.

### 2.5.3 *The bad data problem*

The data available to historical sociolinguistic research may not be of the same quality and quantity as what may be available to contemporary sociolinguistic studies, and for this reason it is often styled 'bad data'. Spencer (2000: 7) gives an overview of the various reasons why bad data is bad.

In 1972, Labov flagged up that the provenance of written documents is not certain, and that the documents that survive until the present day are only a random subset of the documents that were written at a particular time, a subset that may not be representative for the whole. Ten years later, Romaine criticised both the data and the linguists working with it by saying that the data were inappropriately compared to spoken language: people do not necessarily write as they speak. In 1994, Labov revised his position, claiming that the difficulties with data in historical linguistics are parallel to those in sociolinguistics in general, as modern-day data can sometimes be styled 'bad', e.g. because of the observer's paradox.

Spencer adds to this that historical data is only available in written form, and that (partly as a result of this) data is unavailable with regard to the language production of large proportions of a population. As we go further back in time, the amount and variety of the available evidence decreases. What historical sociolinguistics (and historical linguistics at large) should do, what it *can* do, is to 'make the most of bad data' (Labov 1994: 10–11, see also Nevalainen 1999). But Spencer (2000: 8) takes issue with this approach, saying we must be aware of the limitations of the available data and tailor our research to it:

The ultimate success of a historical sociolinguistic inquiry has less to do with the ability ... to overcome 'bad' data than to avoid inappropriate questions and overly ambitious interpretations.

All the authors mentioned above are discussing the effects of a lack of linguistic data, but sociolinguistic research needs extra-linguistic, societal information as well. Also this type of data may also not be as readily available in historical situations as one would wish. This led Winter to make the almost defeatist comment that 'a more than anecdotal sociolinguistic interpretation of linguistic data of a remote past is beset with near-insurmountable difficulties'. Nonetheless he states that '[h]istorical sociolinguistics can reach viable result if ample data are available under both headings' of linguistic and societal information (Winter 1999: 79, 82). In summary, it is important to realise the limitations set by the available data for the types of sociolinguistic research that are possible.

One of the standard frameworks currently used in historical sociolinguistics is the variationist one (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2005: 34). In this framework, it has indeed proved possible to make the most of bad data, witness sociolinguistic studies into Early Modern English (Nevalainen 1999; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003 and others), Early Modern German (Lippi-Green 1994, and others) and 17th-century French (Ayres-Bennett 2004; the French study relies on metalinguistic comment and literary representations of stereotypical language more than the English and German studies do, which are largely corpus-based). These variationist studies are inherently different to historical language shift studies, and are therefore affected by the bad data problem in a different way. Whereas the Early Modern English and Early Modern German studies are based on a relatively large corpus of written language (correspondence, records, etc.) of known individual authors with known backgrounds, are concerned with the spread of linguistic features through this corpus, *i.e.* through (a representation of) society, and deal with an established majority language, historical language shift studies seek to describe and explain the linguistic behaviour of a group of minority language speakers, whose

language was not necessarily written and whom we may know little about. The more explanatory nature of the sociology of language approach, compared to a more statistical variationist approach, also requires a different type of data. It is therefore worth considering the implications of the bad data problem for each of the currents in language shift research. (I will ignore mathematical modelling here, as it does not use data in the same way as the other three currents.)

Research focusing on diglossia and domains requires a representative sample of language use from any given period. As records of spoken language from the Early Modern period do not exist, the best that may remain is written texts; as such, an important part of data is not available. If sufficient amounts of texts survive over a representative range of domains, which is often not the case, we still need to account for the fact that the languages used in writing need not be the same as those used in speech; see Clausén (1978: 21) for evidence from the Faroe Islands, for example. However, an assessment of the allocation of languages to different domains can still be of considerable value. Although it will not give a complete picture of language use, it would be unwise to discard this evidence simply for this reason. In combination with any comments on language use in historical sources, a domain analysis of the surviving texts, however few they are, is a valuable linguistic counterpart to the two other, more sociological methods of language shift research.

In much the same way, research focusing on ethnolinguistic vitality will not be able to draw on a full spectrum of data, and depends on the survival of historical sources or modern research results. These will in general have sufficient detail to base conclusions upon. However, this goes only for objective ethnolinguistic vitality; subjective vitality research depends on questionnaires, and we have no speakers available to fill these in. Early Modern European power dynamics in literacy, which ultimately decided what was written down, were unbalanced to the disadvantage of minority language populations (Houston 2003: 301–302), and this has implications for the availability of information. It

is likely there will be an emphasis on the majority population, and especially the attitudes of the minority population will be underrepresented.

The facts that live subjects are not available and that minority populations are underrepresented in historical sources also raise difficulties for historical research into social networks. It has proved possible to identify basic social networks in some of the historical sociolinguistic studies (cf. esp. Lippi-Green 1994: 25–26), but these drew on a large corpus of correspondence, in Lippi-Green's study by well-known authors. In contrast, I expect it will be close to impossible to identify social networks of low-profile subordinate minority individuals that did not leave a substantial paper trace.

A historical-sociolinguistic study of minority language shift can probably reach the most viable results from a combination of a domain analysis and a sociolinguistic study using the ethnolinguistic vitality approach. Any social networks that can be identified will mostly concern prototypical speakers.

## **2.6 Typology of language endangerment**

The two models of ethnolinguistic vitality developed by Tandefelt and Edwards are very similar. Both distinguish three levels in their models. Tandefelt distinguishes between individual, group and societal factors, while Edwards' levels are labelled 'speaker', 'language' and 'setting'. These levels map on to each other without major problems. Tandefelt's societal level corresponds to Edwards' 'setting' factors; a connection of Tandefelt's group level with Edwards' 'speaker' factors is also straightforward given Grenoble & Whaley's argument (1998: 24) that 'speaker' would be better rendered as 'speech community'.

It is more difficult to equate Tandefelt's individual level with Edwards' 'language' factors. The issues Tandefelt (1988: 59–71) discusses here include bilingualism, consequences of language contact (interference, the emergence of semi-speakers and lack of confidence in L1 speakers), language group identification, and the use of two languages in different



domains, networks and in the family. Although some of these issues recur in Edwards' questionnaire (1992: 49–50), overall his 'language' factors seem to regard language as a fixed object that can be standardised, associated, supported or transmitted almost according to set rules. This more formal approach need not be a problem, especially in the context of historical research, as this type of macro-sociolinguistic data is often more readily available than microsociolinguistic individual data on e.g. networks and language competence.

The only important difference between the two models is that Tandefelt's approach is explicitly diachronic, whereas Edwards' model appears more synchronic. It is however not difficult to incorporate a diachronic aspect into this model by taking historical development into account when answering the 33 questions.

Tandefelt's and Edwards' models, then, seem almost entirely compatible, especially if Edwards' model is adapted to include diachronic developments. Because Edwards' questionnaire has proved itself in contemporary settings, I will use this model for an in-depth survey of selected case studies in Chapter 3. In the following section I briefly introduce the 33 questions from Edwards' model (from Edwards 1992: 49–50; Grenoble & Whaley 1998: 26). There are three questions per theme in the order speaker – language – setting. The numbers in curly brackets are Edwards' and refer to the cells in Table 2.1.

### *2.6.1 Typology of language endangerment: overview*

#### *Demography*

The numbers and concentrations of speakers {1} are what Kloss (1966: 210–211) has called an ambivalent factor. Greater numbers make institutional support possible and reduce the need for exogamy, but can also lead to factions in the minority group. Smaller numbers make institutional support less likely and may lead to an attitude of hopelessness. It is also likely that speakers' social networks will contain more L1 contacts if there

|               | speaker | language | setting |
|---------------|---------|----------|---------|
| demography    | 1       | 2        | 3       |
| sociology     | 4       | 5        | 6       |
| linguistics   | 7       | 8        | 9       |
| psychology    | 10      | 11       | 12      |
| history       | 13      | 14       | 15      |
| politics etc. | 16      | 17       | 18      |
| geography     |         | 19–21    |         |
| education     | 22      | 23       | 24      |
| religion      | 25      | 26       | 27      |
| economics     | 28      | 29       | 30      |
| technology    | 31      | 32       | 33      |

**Table 2.1**

Edwards' model of ethnolinguistic vitality. The numbers refer to sample question discussed in the text.

are more L1 speakers in a concentrated area. The existence of language islands, larger concentrations of minority language speakers within a majority language area, is generally perceived to be a factor favourable to language maintenance (Kloss 1966: 207–208).

Edwards fails to clarify what exactly he means by 'the extent of the language' {2}. It could possibly be the proportion of the population that are speakers of the minority language, or perhaps the domains the language is used in.

The rural or urban nature of the setting {3} can also influence language maintenance in different ways. It is likely that contacts in a city are more varied (i.e. there are contacts from different language groups) and less multiplex than in a rural area, leaving urban social networks more likely to facilitate language shift than rural ones. Generally, one would also find more traditional values in rural settings; in Ehala's model (cf. above), traditional values are conducive to minority language maintenance.

### *Sociology*

If the socio-economic status {4} of the minority group is relatively unfavourable compared to that of the majority group, the minority may exhibit language shift in order to gain

upward social mobility if they perceive language to be a barrier on the way there (see also Economics below):

Members of subordinate groups whose social identity is inadequate will desire change in an attempt to attain a more adequate and positive social identity. However, an inadequate social identity is not by itself a sufficient condition for advocating and provoking change. [...] Without the awareness of cognitive alternatives, members of a group may accept, albeit reluctantly, a negative social identity at least in terms of their membership with that particular group. (Giles et al. 1977: 319–320)

The key issue in language shift is a stop in the transmission of the language to younger generations (Sasse 1992: 13). Edwards' interest in the degree and type of language transmission {5} is therefore relevant, but it shows that the model was designed for a snapshot analysis. The main purpose of this historical study spanning a longer period of time is looking for signs of change in language transmission strategies and trying to explain these changes with the help of other social factors.

Efforts to maintain or revive the language {6} can have a positive effect, but are no guarantee for success.

### *Linguistics*

The language capabilities of the speakers {7} are important, especially their abilities in the L2. But also their general language abilities can be of significance. It has been suggested that minority language speakers who are acquainted with multiple languages, realise that their own language is very small and, following Ehala's utilitarian discourse, may decide to give up their language (cf. Barnes 1998: 23).

When Edwards writes about the standardisation of a language {8}, he presumably refers to written standardisation. A language can get support and prestige from a written standard (Barbour 2000: 154, with special reference to minority languages, see below), but it has also been claimed that the artificial nature of a written standard may be too little connected

to the people's way of speaking, and would be of little help in language maintenance (cf. Millar 2005: 193 on this problem in Scots corpus planning). Apart from written standardisation, I would also like to draw 'oral standardisation' into the debate, or the extent of dialectal diversity. This is because large diversity could possibly render the language weaker, as there are fewer speakers per dialect and there may not be a strong enough common group identity. Also, if written standardisation is based on one variety, speakers of the other variety may find little support in the written standard.

The nature of in- and out-migration {9} seems more a question of demography than of linguistics, although it is true that immigration (generally of L2 speakers) and emigration (generally of L1 speakers) changes the linguistic landscape and the power balance in favour of the L2. Again, I would like to add another factor to this discussion, namely the role of other (third-party) languages. Their role can be very diverse, ranging from supporting the L1 or the L2 to being completely negligible – but even in the last case, the third-party language is part of the linguistic landscape and can therefore not be ignored.

### *Psychology*

The language attitudes of the minority group {10}, especially but not exclusively those which relate to the language–identity relationship {11}, are often part of the decision to stop language transmission to younger generations (Sasse 1992: 14). These language attitudes are not restricted to issues of identity or social mobility, they can also be attitudes about the suitability of a language for certain purposes or things as simple as the 'nice sound' of a language (see e.g. Pooley 2000: 130–131 for some examples of types of language value judgements). As noted in the previous section, the patterns of availability of historical data implies that the minority's attitudes in particular will hardly have been recorded.

The majority's attitudes towards the minority are generally much better documented. In Kloss' overview (1966: 42), these are again mentioned as ambivalent factors. If the

majority's attitude is negative and this results in suppressive policies, this can do damage to the minority language. Alternatively, however, the minority group may decide to work harder for language maintenance as an act of resistance to the suppression. Permissive attitudes make it possible to cultivate the language, but can also give a false sense of security and the minority may not feel a need to work for language maintenance.

### *History*

Edwards' questions about the history of the minority language group {13}, their language {14} and the area in which the group now lives {15} function as a less specific temporal axis in his model. They are relevant because many patterns have their origin in earlier ones, and can only be explained with reference to these earlier patterns. Although my thesis is historical in itself and spans a time period of around 300 years, it will still be necessary to research the historical events leading up to what happened in the Early Modern period.

### *Politics, law and government*

The rights and recognition of speakers {16}, whether those rights come from their position as a separate language group or from the social position most of the minority group happens to be in, can be favourable to language maintenance. The rights can be linguistic {17}, if the language has gained official recognition, or socio-political {18}, if the area in question is autonomous or has some other form of special status. Political rights work in much the same way as the majority's attitudes towards the minority, perhaps because it is the majority that can grant rights to the minority: a secure legal status makes it possible to work for language maintenance, but the minority may not feel the need, whereas the absence of legal rights can create a perceived 'need' for language maintenance but makes it harder to attain.

*Geography*

Edwards' geographical classification {19–21} into what results in twenty different groups is based on four distinctions (Edwards 1992: 39–41). The first one of these is a three-way distinction between unique, non-unique and local-only minorities. Unique minorities are unique to one political state, non-unique minorities exist in several states but are minorities in all of these, whereas local-only minorities are a minority group in this specific setting but a majority group elsewhere. Paulston et al. (2007) discuss this last type as 'extrinsic' minorities. Non-unique, and especially local-only minorities, can get support from their related groups:

The separation of minority languages into those with speakers elsewhere and those with no speakers in other states is not a trivial distinction; minority languages with native-speakers elsewhere, particularly where the language has majority status elsewhere, are less vulnerable, since they can receive moral and material support from their other 'homes', and are more likely to have officially recognized standard forms, which increase their prestige, and which can lead to use in a wider range of registers.  
(Barbour 2000: 154)

The second distinction applies only to non-unique and local-only minorities, and is that between adjoining and non-adjoining groups, *i.e.* whether the groups inhabit one area that just happens to be crossed by a political boundary or whether the language areas are actually physically separate. The third distinction, between cohesive and non-cohesive groups, is related to this and refers to the 'spatial cohesion [...] among speakers of a minority language within a given state' (Edwards 1992: 39). The more cohesive a group is, the more L1 contacts will be available to an individual's social network.

The final distinction is that between immigrant and non-immigrant (indigenous or autochthonous) minorities. One can speculate about the differences between the two with regards to the origin of their minority status, their views on upward social mobility, the identity and utilitarian discourses from Ehala's model, and the majority group's perception of them; Paulston et al. (2007: 388) make the generalisation that voluntary migration, as

in the case of immigrant minorities, results in much more rapid shift than non-immigrant groups minoritised in annexation and colonisation. However, as this research only focuses on non-immigrant minorities, this distinction is irrelevant and can be omitted from the model.

### *Education*

Education is often blamed for playing a role in language shift, see e.g. Wiggen (2002) for a clear, but by no means exceptional example. The state of education in the area {24} can therefore influence a language's vitality. Much depends on the minority's attitudes and involvement regarding education {22}, coming back again to issues of upward social mobility. The minority's level of education is another of Kloss' ambivalent factors (1966: 210): a highly-educated population may trigger the use of the minority language in intellectual life (school support for the minority language is Edwards' question {23}), but it is also more prone to what Kloss calls occupational and geographic mobility, changing the area's linguistic landscape through out-migration. A lower level of education will not trigger minority-language education, but is said to cause a more cohesive group, likely to stick to their old customs. In settings where the minority language is widely used, education can play an important role as a mechanism of L2 acquisition.

The heading of 'education' appears to be an appropriate one under which to discuss literacy, the element that Grenoble and Whaley found lacking in Edwards' model (see above).

### *Religion*

The religion of the minority group {25} is an important factor especially in the theoretical work of Fishman and Kloss, who focused to a large extent on the Yiddish (Jewish) and Pennsylvania-German (Amish) populations in the United States. Both recognise the significance of the association between the language and the religion {26} (Kloss 1966:

206–209, Fishman 1966: 406–408), which will be especially salient if the minority's religion is different from the majority's.

The importance of religion in the area {27} in general, including the stress put on religious differences or similarities and the ability and success of religious institutions – in Early Modern Europe, the church – in prescribing and proscribing language use, could indicate to what extent the other religious factors ({25} and {26}) may have played a role in the language shift.

### *Economics*

The economic health of the speaker group {28} is closely related to their socio-economic status (see Sociology, esp. {4} above), to social mobility and the perceived link between language and economic success and mobility {29}. It also ties in with the economic health of the region in general {30}, especially with regards to the difference in economic health between the majority and minority groups. A generally unfavourable economic situation in the region may also trigger emigration.

### *The media (technology)*

This last category seems more suited to contemporary case studies than to historical ones, as it looks at the representation of group {31} and language {32} in media such as radio, television and newspapers. With the state of technology as it was in Early Modern Europe, we have only newspapers to look at. I would propose to extend this to printed material in general, as can also be through other genres (religious or academic writing or belles lettres) that people can have been exposed to the minority group or their language.

Edwards' last question concerns the general public awareness of the area {33}. Again, the lack of a discussion of individual questions in Edwards' presentation of his model makes it difficult to interpret this question. The relevance of this factor is possibly that attitudes towards a minority language and its speakers may be influenced by people's awareness of



the situation; in this case a higher awareness could conceivably have both positive and negative consequences.

### 2.6.2 *A note on overlap and the natural order of things*

The different factors in Edwards' model are clearly linked in many ways. A weak economy and general poverty can lead to emigration, which results in a different demography of the area. Majority-language medium education can encourage members of the minority to design a standardised spelling for their language, or it could cause a shift towards the majority language – either case will have implications for language attitudes and economic and social mobility. These are just two examples, but it appears that despite the interdependency between factors, individual factors are still clearly distinguishable.

Especially the factors described under the heading of 'sociology' display considerable overlap with other factors. Both the minority group's socio-economic status {4} and their economic health {28} relate to upward social mobility; these factors may be more closely than just causally related. It would be neater to deal with both simultaneously under the heading of 'economics'. Similarly, language maintenance and revitalisation efforts {6} involve status and corpus planning and could therefore be dealt with under language policies {17} or minority-language publication {32}. Ideally, we would want to address all relevant issues without having to repeat things unnecessarily.

The order in which Edwards presents his categories may imply a judgement on their importance or a division between basic and more complex factors. If it does, then I agree with the idea that a group's demographic characteristics are among the more basic factors. However, also the factors relating to geography and history are very basic. Edwards' geographical classification gives a number of key characteristics that influence several other factors; an overview of the history places the case study in context and renders it unnecessary to refer to historical events repeatedly. It would therefore be more logical to

start an analysis of ethnolinguistic vitality with geographical and historical data, before moving on to the other factors in the order proposed by Edwards.

This research model is not all-encompassing, and it is inherently dependent on the available data. We should therefore not stick too rigidly to Edwards' questions, but take them as sample questions – as (Edwards 1992: 49) had indeed intended – and as leads for a general discussion of the area in question.

### *Bad data and the Ethnolinguistic Vitality framework*

As said above, we must be aware of the limitations of the available data. A relevant question, then, is which areas of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality framework that forms the basis of the exploratory part of this thesis are most influenced by bad data. We may assume that general facts are more readily accessible than records of attitudes; as attitudes are generally asked for in the 'language' category of the model, we can expect these to be especially affected by the bad data problem. Both the 'speaker' and 'setting' categories are primarily concerned with facts, but we can also expect a difference between the available data for these categories: as most of the surviving data was written down by the majority-language ('setting') population and from a majority point of view, the 'setting' category should have better data than the 'speaker' category, for which we have little first-hand data.

I tested these hypotheses by making a brief analysis of the available historical data for one of the case studies, Shetland Norn. (See Chapter 3.3 for a discussion of this case study.) As such an analysis is naturally highly subjective, I have only divided the data into three categories, despite the fact that there is variation within categories. The categories should be read so that 'good' means the data is enough to base conclusions on without further ado; 'reasonable' means that the data gives us a fair idea, but we lack sufficient detail; and 'bad' means we do not have enough data to make defensible conclusions about the situation. The analysis is summarised in Table 2.2.

|               | speaker | language | setting |
|---------------|---------|----------|---------|
| demography    | 0       | 0        | +       |
| sociology     | 0       | -        | +       |
| linguistics   | 0       | 0        | +       |
| psychology    | -       | -        | +       |
| history       | 0       | 0        | +       |
| politics etc. | 0       | +        | +       |
| geography     | +       | +        | +       |
| education     | +       | +        | +       |
| religion      | +       | 0        | 0       |
| economics     | 0       | -        | +       |
| technology    | 0       | 0        | +       |

**Table 2.2**

Bad data analysis for Shetland Norn in the Ethnolinguistic Vitality framework. In this table, '+' means good data, '0' means reasonable data, and '-' means bad data. The table is based on data collected for Chapter 3.3.

In broad terms, this analysis confirms the expectations. It is clear that the best data is available in the 'setting' category, and although there is not much difference between the 'speaker' and 'language' categories, the 'language' category seems to be the most affected by the bad data problem.

A number of deviations from the expected quality of data needs to be explained. I would argue these are generally due to inconsistencies in the model. The 'language' category, as stated, deals mostly with attitudes, but in the areas of politics and education, Edwards' sample questions relate to actual fact, which is reflected in good data being available to answer these questions. Conversely, the 'setting' question in the area of religion deals with attitude rather than the expected factual question, and the available data is not as good as elsewhere in the 'setting' categories.

It is also clear that the psychology questions are badly affected by the bad data problem, but as these deal with attitudes more than any other category, this is to be expected. The good data that is available for the questions on education is a result of detailed research on Shetland education (Graham 1998), indicating firstly our dependence on specialist local

histories, and secondly the fact that more and better data may be available than an initial survey of the literature would suggest.

## **2.7 Concluding remarks**

In this chapter, I have presented the general theoretical background for my study. In the first part of the chapter, I discussed definitions of minority languages, minority language groups, and language shift, and explored the links between research into language shift and other fields of linguistic study. I then gave an overview of four currents of language shift research: diglossia and domains, ethnolinguistic vitality, social network-based studies, and computational modelling. After a discussion of problems we may encounter in a historical-sociolinguistic study, I make a choice for the ethnolinguistic vitality model developed by Edwards (1992), which I then discuss in more detail. In the following chapter, I will use Edwards' model as a guideline for the discussion of cases of minority languages in Early Modern Europe.

# Case studies

## Chapter 3

---

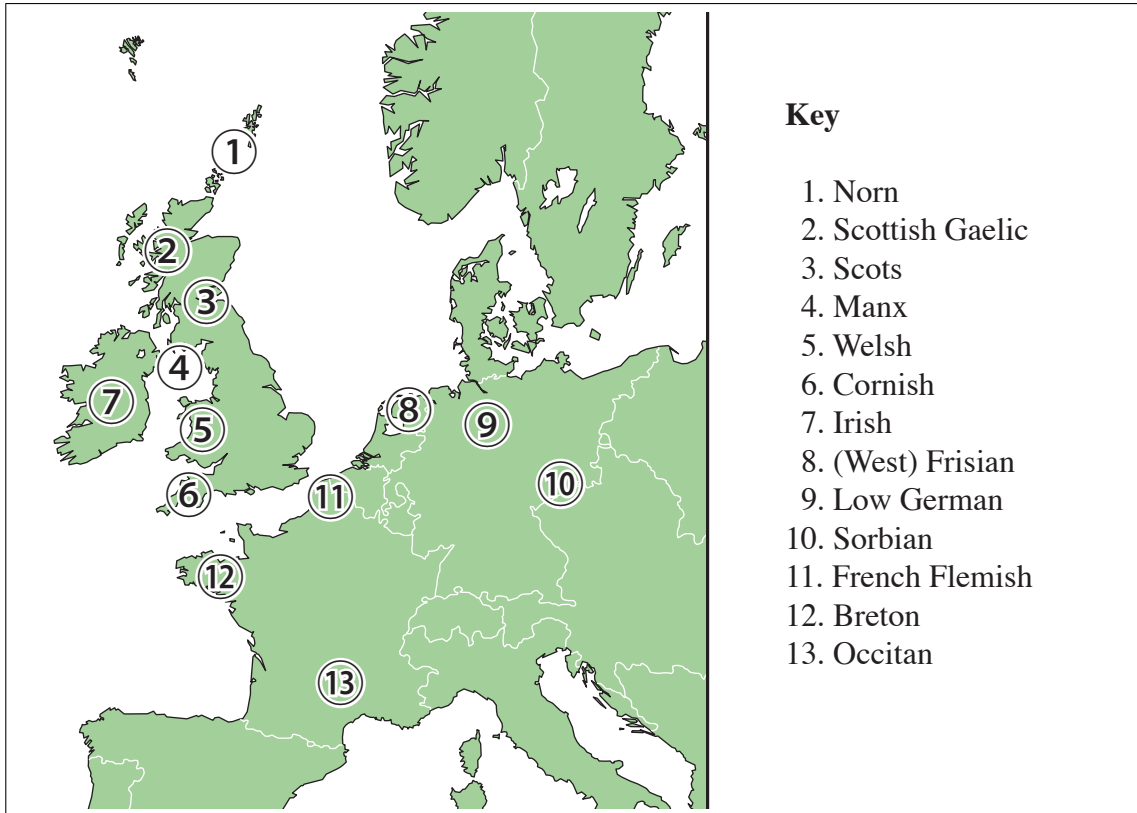
### 3.1 Introduction

In this research I will take a comparative approach. By analysing and comparing the backgrounds to similar cases of language shift, I hope to be able to clarify some of the factors that played a role in the shifts away from these languages. Fishman (1972: 327) called the comparative method ‘quite central to inquiry’ within the areas of language maintenance and language shift for exactly this reason.

In this chapter I will first give a brief presentation of possible case studies for this research. I will then select three specific minority languages to focus on in more depth, and these ones I will describe in more detail following Edwards’ model of ethnolinguistic vitality. From these three discussions I identify a number of interesting recurring factors that will then be investigated further in the remainder of this thesis.

### 3.2 Minority languages in Early Modern Europe

Figure 3.1 shows the geographic location of thirteen minority languages in the Early Modern period. This is far from a complete list, but it does give a fairly comprehensive overview of minority languages in (what was to become) the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. It also shows the geographically marginal position of these languages in these countries.



**Figure 3.1**

The geographic location of selected minority languages in North Western Europe in the Early Modern period. Somewhat simplified state borders reflecting the situation of c. 1700 have been indicated.

In this section, I will briefly introduce each of these languages. Again, I stress that the aim is to give a short overview of developments that are commonly thought to have played a role in language maintenance or shift in these cases, rather than a complete description.

### 3.2.1 Overview of minority languages

**Norn**, a Scandinavian language from the Scottish island groups of Orkney and Shetland. The islands came under Scottish control in 1468/69, and this political change was followed by a language shift to Scots. When exactly the language died is disputed. Norn most likely did not survive beyond the early to mid-18th century (Barnes 1984: 355; Smith 1996: 33; Knooihuizen 2005b: 107; 2008a: 110), but there are claims that the language was still alive in the 19th century (Rendboe 1984).

Explanations for the death of Norn often focus on the loss of linguistic domains for Norn to the benefit of Scots. It must be noted that Norn was never written, but there is clear evidence of Scots having replaced Latin or a Scandinavian variety as the written language in administration (Smith 1990: 29; Barnes 1991: 446–447), law (Barnes 1991: 451), and the church (Rendboe 1984: 57; Barnes 1991: 451) by the late 16th century.

Another reason given is diminished contact with speakers of Scandinavian languages. Contact with Norway continued for a long time after 1468/69 both in legal (Donaldson 1984: 27) and business matters (Smith 1990: 31–32), but petered out by the late 17th century to coincide with the language shift. Meanwhile, contact with Scots speakers became more frequent, not least through a large-scale immigration of Scots to Orkney and Shetland (Barnes 1984: 355; Donaldson 1983).

The education system has also been ‘blamed’ for spreading Scots or English, and causing a language shift away from Norn. This theory was posited already in 18th-century commentaries, and has recently been defended by Wiggen (2002). A more in-depth description of the history of Shetland education (Graham 1998), however, does not lend much support.

**Scottish Gaelic**, a Celtic (Goidelic) language spoken in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Previously spoken in large parts of Scotland, the language became marginalised to the fringe areas of the country. Gaelic was the target of specific attempts to make the population shift language, after it had gradually become associated with political menace, Catholicism, and barbarity (MacKinnon 1991: 42).

Anglicisation and Protestantism were brought to the Highlands by means of organised education. Schemes in the 17th century and especially 18th-century schools by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) had an overt anti-Gaelic agenda, with English both the means and goal of education. From the later 18th century,

there was more room for Gaelic as a supporting teaching medium, as English was hardly understood (Withers 1988: 112–125; MacKinnon 1991: 42, 55).

Plans to ‘colonise’ the Highlands with loyal, English-speaking, Protestant and ‘civilised’ settlers existed from the early 17th century onwards, but were initially unsuccessful. In the 18th century, though, the English-speaking colonisation of Highland towns and a large number of planned villages was more influential (Withers 1988: 88–91; MacKinnon 1991: 50).

An even greater demographic blow to Gaelic were the Highland Clearances (roughly 1790–1860). Landlords found it more profitable to have sheep graze their land than labourers work it, and large numbers of people were forcibly removed from their homes to make room for sheep. This, in combination with a labour migration from the Southern Highlands to Lowland Scotland (Withers 1988: 312–313) essentially removed the heartland of the language. People were likely to be relocated to Lowland areas, where many of them would find themselves in new, English-speaking, social networks (MacKinnon 1991: 61–62).

**Scots**, a Germanic language descendant from northern dialects of Anglo-Saxon and spoken in Scotland. It was a prestigious language used at the Scottish court in both speech and writing, until the Union of the Crowns in 1603 (Millar 2005: 89). Currently Scots is predominantly a spoken language, regarded by many as a dialect of English; it is a prime example of a ‘dialectised’ language.

One of the most often discussed reasons for the shift from Scots to English writing is the closer relationship between Scotland and England from the 17th century. Ties between the countries became tighter both in administration (James VI and I’s court moved to London and used English there), in culture (most of the printed books available in Scotland were printed in London), and in religion (Scottish reformer John Knox used an English Bible translation, and as a result Scots was deemed inappropriate for use in religious discourse) (Görlach 1990: 150; Jones 2002: 100–102).



A shift in spoken language towards more Anglicised forms occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries, in a period when at least the intellectual élite in Britain was interested in ‘purification and regularisation’ of language (Jones 2002: 102), and in ‘correctness of speech’ (Görlach 2002: 170). Marked Scots pronunciations were stigmatised in favour of ‘English’ forms, although these English forms were not based on a Southern English pronunciation model, but on the speech of Scottish middle classes (Jones 2002: 102).

An interesting point of note is that the gradual Anglicisation of writing from the 16th century onwards and the loss of Scotland’s political independence in 1603 coincide with a shift in terminology. Where Scots used to refer to their written language as *Inglis* and ignored differences between Scots and the English of England (English writing exhibited a range of dialectal spellings so that Scots could easily be seen as just another English dialect), the term *Scottis* became used increasingly just when the differences between English and Scottish writing became smaller (Millar 2005: 90). (*Scottis* previously denoted Scottish Gaelic, which was since re-labelled *Erse*.) This local re-branding of Scots is almost a precursor of the increasing focus on regional, sub-national, identities in a 21st-century globalising world.

**Manx**, a Celtic (Goidelic) language spoken in the Isle of Man. The island came into English hands solidly from 1334, after having been under Scandinavian control from the 9th to 13th centuries. Manx survived alongside English for centuries, and only in the 19th century did the language start to be lost. The reputed last native speaker of Manx died in 1974, but revitalisation efforts have had some success and there are Manx speakers on the island today (Broderick 1999: 13, 41–44).

Much is made of the role of education in the decline of Manx. Education policies by both religious and civil authorities fluctuated between support and repression of the language: for example, in the late 17th century repressive measures were put in place after the Restoration against the Manx who had supported Cromwell, but in the 18th century Manx was supported as there was little point in trying to educate people in a language they

did not understand. Throughout, ideas prevailed among authorities, and later among the people as well, that Manx halted the development of the island, and English speakers would have better future prospects (Broderick 1999: 14–22).

The number of Manx speakers did not fall significantly until the island lost its isolation in the 18th and especially 19th centuries. There were closer contacts with English speakers through trade (not least smuggling). Transport on the island between the more Anglicised towns and the Manx countryside, and between the island and Liverpool and its hinterland improved dramatically as road, steamer and railway connections were established in the 19th century. This also brought in tourism from the mainland from the 1830s, first to the towns, but later to the countryside as well (Broderick 1999: 23–26).

Apart from the short visits from tourists, English speakers also arrived as migrants. Initially these were people on low incomes from North-West England, settling primarily in the towns. There was also an emigration of Manx speakers to the United States in the 19th century. As migrations to and from the island changed the relative sizes of both population groups, people on the Isle of Man were left with a higher chance of having a social network with English-speaking contacts (Broderick 1999: 24).

**Welsh**, the Celtic (Brythonic) language of Wales. England annexed Wales by political act in the 16th century, but despite England's political dominance, the local language managed to survive. By 1800, 70% of Welsh inhabitants were still monoglot speakers of Welsh (Jenkins et al. 1997: 48). Although Welsh is a relative success story in the Early Modern period, that does not mean English did not make inroads in Wales.

The 1536 Act of Union had posited that English was required for any office. This was not in spirit an anti-Welsh measure, but simply one of streamlining administration throughout the country. It did however mean that the Welsh gentry employed in administration became increasingly Anglicised, although crucially the middle classes remained supportive of Welsh (Jenkins et al. 1997: 62–64, 94; Jones 1993: 540). Also the legal structure became

English, but as in administration, knowledge of Welsh was necessary to work efficiently with people who did not speak English (Jenkins et al. 1997: 69). A final domain for English was the economy, with market towns and their trade links with England becoming loci for Anglicisation, and all records being kept in English (73–75).

Welsh, however, managed to hold on to the important domain of religion. A Welsh Bible translation was produced in 1588, giving Welsh its prestige standard written variety (Jenkins et al. 1997: 81; Jones 1993: 542). Welsh literary culture also developed, both orally and after the Restoration increasingly in print as well (Jenkins et al. 1997: 91–92). Although school systems existed in both English-medium (SPCK) and Welsh-medium versions, the Welsh-medium ones were more efficient (89–91).

We can add to this the geography of Wales, with areas of Welsh speakers relatively isolated from England by a mountain range (50). Immigration from England to Wales was low, and immigrants were quickly absorbed (76). This led to Welsh surviving, and even expanding in use during the Early Modern period (97).

**Cornish**, a Celtic (Brythonic) language spoken in Cornwall. While Cornwall was originally an independent kingdom, the Anglo-Saxons became politically dominant in the 9th century (George 1993: 411). English gradually expanded west into Cornwall, and the alleged last speaker of Cornish died in 1777 (414). (This does not take into account the Revived Cornish spoken in Cornwall at present.) A number of reasons for the decline of Cornish was given by Scawen as early as 1680 (see Berresford Ellis 1971: 17; 1974: 82–83; Smith 1947: 10).

English was used progressively in the administrative domain from the 10th century, and was only temporarily halted by the Norman invasion (George 1993: 412). Also the role of English in the religious domain is deemed to have been very important: Jenner (1904: 12) writes that '[t]he Reformation did much to kill Cornish', and George (1993: 413) calls it

the ‘prime cause of the decline’ of Cornish. Although English was dominant in church, there was still some room for Cornish (Berresford Ellis 1971: 15).

Another reason touched upon changing social networks. Previously, there were significant trade and religious contacts with Brittany, where the closely related Breton was spoken. Due to the loss of Breton independence (1536) and political and religious differences between England and France, these contacts were lost in the first half of the 16th century (Berresford Ellis 1974: 66). At the same time, contacts with English-speakers increased through immigration of English-speakers, and employment of Cornish-speakers in the English military and merchant navy (Smith 1947: 7–9).

Finally, Cornish lost its role in the people’s cultural lives. Most notably, the old tradition of Cornish-language mystery plays came to an end (Smith 1947: 3), partly because of the disapproval of the Protestant Church. However, Cornish was used in writing until the language died out in the late 18th century (George 1993: 414, 417–421).

**Irish**, the Celtic (Goidelic) language of Ireland. English was brought to Ireland by Anglo-Norman settlers in the 12th century, whose use of English in administration meant a first blow to Irish. Nonetheless, Irish was the language spoken by the vast majority of the population, including the Anglo-Normans, by the beginning of the Early Modern period, while English was dominant only around Dublin (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 74–75, 81–82). Since then, Irish has gradually lost ground, a process that even extended linguistic rights after Irish independence in 1922 has not been able to halt (Ó Murchú 1993: 471–472).

In the 16th century, Ireland was legally incorporated into the English state. Although the relevant legislation had to be read to the Irish parliament in Irish, the annexation of Ireland had consequences for the Irish language as the language of government was now exclusively English (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 86–87). In religious matters, however, Irish was tolerated and even supported if it helped the spread of Protestantism (Ó Cuív 1980: 12–15).

The spread of English was supported significantly by the immigration of (Protestant) English speakers and Lowland Scots. The settlers came in a number of planned settlements under Tudor and Stewart monarchs, mostly in the period from 1534 to 1610, but also under Cromwell around the 1650s. The settlements mainly focused on the area around Dublin, Munster in the South, and Ulster in the North (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 93). Of these, the ‘planted’ counties in the North-East, as well as Dublin, were the first areas to Anglicise (Ó Cuív 1980: 17), with some more or less monolingual English zones and large English-Irish bilingual zones in these parts of Ireland around 1700 (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 95).

English was also the language of growing literacy towards the end of the Early Modern period (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 97). Very few books were printed in Irish during this period, and although Irish may still have been used as a medium for traditional cultural expression, any new forms of art or literature involved the use of English (91).

Because of its importance in public domains, English was generally regarded as a ticket to a better social position (Ó Murchú 1993: 472). This utilitarian positive attitude towards English is evidenced by the efforts of many of the Irish-speaking élites to give their children an English-language education, as well as by these attitudes being conveyed in 17th-century literature (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 88–89).

By the end of the Early Modern period, the fact that translation services were hardly necessary anymore in the legal system suggests a high degree of bilingualism among Irish-speakers (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 97). Further social and demographic developments during the 19th century, including the Great Famine of the 1840s and the subsequent exodus of Irish-speakers, caused a further decline in the use of Irish (101), but those developments lie outwith the scope of this study.

**(West) Frisian**, a Germanic language spoken in Friesland (Fryslân), a province of

the Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> Friesland lost its political independence and was annexed into the Burgundian-Habsburg empire around 1500. Some Dutch influence was already present before then, but it became much more prevalent after (Feitsma 1973: 69).

Accounts of a Frisian-Dutch language shift focus almost exclusively on the written language. Dutch was already used in the 14th and 15th centuries, especially in the religious domain, as there were many monks who were not originally from Friesland. After the annexation, many more Dutch-language administrators came in and Dutch was used increasingly in other domains as well. An additional factor was that Frisian only had a very short writing tradition, beginning in the 14th century, and never was the locally dominant written language. As such, it could easily be replaced by the already co-existing Dutch (Vries 2001: 608–612).

The focus on the written language is because this did not necessarily lead to a language shift in the spoken language (Vries 2001: 606). As late as the 19th century, there were doubts about Frisians' competence in Dutch (Feitsma 1990: 5). However, especially in the towns the role of Dutch was so great that a heavily Dutch-influenced contact variety of Frisian (*Stêdsk* 'Town Frisian') developed (Feitsma 1973: 71; Van Bree 2001; Hoekstra 2003: 195–196).

**Low German**, a West Germanic language (or collection of dialects) spoken in Northern Germany. Although Low German was previously a prestigious written language, it lost prestige and functions to High German in the 16th and 17th centuries, and is now almost exclusively a *spoken* language (Langer 2003: 281). Its speakers refer to a High German written standard, and like Scots, Low German is an example of a 'dialectised' language.

The most commonly mentioned reason for this shift is the decline of the Hanseatic League, an important trade cooperative that used Low German throughout its organisation, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries (Gernentz 1973: 61; Langer 2003: 285). But Langer

---

1) Other varieties of Frisian are spoken in non-contiguous areas in Northern Germany. In this brief sketch I focus solely on West Frisian, the largest of the Frisian language communities.

argues that Low German is often incorrectly equated with the Hanseatic League, and that the language was not directly affected by the League's decline (291).

Nevertheless, a shift in economic and political power away from the Low German speech area caused a gradual increase in the use of High German instead of Low German in administrative, legal and business texts, initially only for correspondence with other areas, but later also internally (Langer 2003: 291).

High German was also promoted in schools and, after the Reformation, church. Although Low German translations of the Bible existed, it was never the vernacular promoted by the Reformation. Luther's own translations to High German, a variety that the Low German speakers were already somewhat familiar with, were much more prestigious and regarded as the authoritative versions (Langer 2003: 291).

**Sorbian**, a Slavonic language (or languages) spoken in Lusatia in Eastern Germany. Sorbian is an interesting case, as throughout the Early Modern period, the language area was divided between different polities. The social circumstances that existed as a result caused language shifts in different degrees: Sorbian disappeared from some areas of Lusatia, but in others it is still spoken today.

The sociolinguistic situation of Sorbian is most often described in the context of the area's loss of autonomy, a process that started in the 10th century. Lusatia was situated at the crossroads of three major dynasties: Brandenburg-Prussia, Saxony, and Austria-Hungary. Its geographical position made it a strategically important area (Ermakova 1987: 61). This is reflected in the different ruling dynasties' policies towards Sorbs and their language. In some areas and periods regulations were very lenient, in others extremely repressive, and the results of these differences can still be seen today (Kunze 1999: 4–10).

Also changes in the population of the area played a role. In some periods, the German rulers organised a German settlement of the area; other times German immigrants came of their own accord. Sorbs migrated away from the area as well, most often because their

homeland was torn by war or struck by crop failures and famines (Brankač & Mětšk 1977: 222–224, 284–288).

**French Flemish**, a collective name for those dialects of Dutch that are spoken in French Flanders, the area around Dunkirk in the North of France. The area has been under French control in the mid-17th century, and French Flemish has given way to French gradually ever since, to the point where it has currently almost died out (Ryckeboer 2004: 38).

The French language has been gradually moving North since the 11th century, without the language border per se moving. It was mainly the upper classes shifting to French, while the majority of the population remained Dutch-speaking (Willemyns 1997: 55). With the annexation by France, legal requirements came in place to use French in written legal and administrative documents, although this process was slow and only took off from the 19th century. Education remained in Dutch for a very long time after the annexation, too (Ryckeboer 2000: 86, 89; 2004: 24).

The spoken language remained Dutch until the French Revolution, and even until the 20th century, much the same as was the case for Breton. An exception to this were the (coastal) towns of Dunkirk, Gravelines and Bourbourg, which saw a sizable immigration of French speakers after the annexation (Ryckeboer 2004: 27–28).

An interesting issue is the fact that Dutch was a written language with a solid culture to support it, not just in French Flanders but also in the Netherlands. This position of French Flemish as an adjoining minority could be positive, as the language could potentially benefit from outside support. But Ryckeboer (2000: 95; 2004: 30–31) disagrees: because the area was politically cut off from other Dutch dialects, it did not participate in standardisation and levelling developments abroad, and has ended up ‘further away’ from both the standard (written and spoken) language and neighbouring dialects.

**Breton**, a Celtic (Brythonic) language spoken in Brittany in Western France. Brittany was united with France by treaty in 1532, although this situation only confirmed dynastic,



financial and military developments of previous centuries. At this point, the population in Lower (Western) Brittany was entirely Breton-speaking, while Upper (Eastern) Brittany spoke Gallo (a *langue d'oïl* variety) (Humphreys 1993: 610, 621–623).

In the Early Modern period, French in Lower Brittany was confined to the middle and upper classes in towns, while the countryside remained Breton-speaking (Ternes 1992: 373; Humphreys 1993: 624). This changed only after the French Revolution, when the government's centralist policies abolished Breton political institutions, and instituted conscription and Francophone education. Also the construction of railways in the 19th century contributed to end Brittany's relative isolation. However, despite all these developments, World War I was the first time for many Breton speakers to come into large-scale contact with French speakers (Humphreys 1993: 611–612).

The proportion of Bretons who are monoglot French speakers has risen dramatically only from the late 19th century onwards, when the effects of centralised government became clear (Humphreys 1993: 628). In this 'modern' language shift, migration of French-speakers into Brittany does not play a significant role (624), but Texier & Ó Néill (2005: 163) claim a French immigration after 1532 did put a strain on Breton.

**Occitan**, an umbrella term for various *langue d'oc* varieties spoken in the 'Occitanie', roughly the southern third of France. This large area gradually came under Parisian (French) control from the 13th century, and French was slowly adopted as a written language, at first only for the purpose of communicating with Paris (Bec 1963: 81). As a spoken language, Occitan remained predominant until World War II (Judge 2000: 62).

Also in the case of Occitan we find administrative and religious reasons for Frenchification. The state had an interest in streamlining procedures and communication, and required French in all records and correspondence (Lafont 1973: 33). On the religious front, the influence of the Reformation in this Catholic area was only secondary. Pre-Reformation,

the Catholic church had used Occitan, but after the Francophone Calvinist Reformation, switched to French in the Counter-Reformation (35–36).

There were also economic reasons for the rise of French in the Occitanie. The rise of a trading middle class coincided with changing trade patterns: the point of gravity shifted from the South of France, well-situated for trade with the Mediterranean, to the Atlantic coast in the West, with easier access to the New World. Also local industries, such as the production of dyes, suffered from American competition. The new bourgeoisie then shifted their focus accordingly, giving rise to Frenchification of this part of society (Lafont 1973: 34–35).

The Occitanie was a very diverse region, despite Early Modern and later Occitan ideology to the contrary (Lafont 1973: 41). Different areas in the region came under French control at different times and in different ways; for example, by force during a 13th-century crusade (Languedoc-Roussillon) or peacefully through dynastic intermarriage (Navarra) (Lafont 1973: 36–39; Judge 2000: 62–63). The extent of an existing writing tradition in Occitan and some areas' geographic location on the extreme periphery of France also influenced the rate and degree of Frenchification before the Revolution.

### 3.2.2 *Selection of focus areas*

The short surveys of Early Modern minority languages that I discussed in Chapter 1 (Meijering 1973a; Houston 2003, 2005; Millar 2004) opted for breadth in the range of languages they discuss in the small space available to them. Rather than to extend the study to a wider range of cases, it seems a more meaningful contribution to opt for depth in this thesis, and restrict the number of languages I study. This will hopefully not only shed light on which factors played a role in the language shifts, but also allow for a more detailed analysis of what that role was, and how these factors in question contributed to the language shifts.

Fishman (1972: 327) distinguishes four subtypes of the comparative method, differentiated by the type of language group(s) under investigation and the situation they are in:

1. the same language group in similar interaction contexts
2. the same language group in dissimilar interaction contexts
3. different language groups in similar interaction contexts
4. different language groups in dissimilar interaction contexts

This research will look at different language groups, but the similarity of interaction contexts may actually be one of the things looked at rather than a criterion for selection. However, based on the short presentation of minority languages above we can already make one distinction: that between minority languages that have a clear *Abstand* relationship to the majority language, and those that do not. Languages of the latter type fared differently in the Early Modern period. Instead of being replaced by a completely different language, these languages were ‘dialectised’; they remained as a spoken language and were only replaced in written form, with the spoken language being re-interpreted as a dialect of the majority language. Although this is a very interesting process, I have chosen instead to look at the other type, where the minority language did not have the ‘luxury’ of adapting to a life as a dialect. The dialectised languages Scots, Low German and Occitan – and to some extent Frisian – will not be the ones I will be focusing on.

Further, it seemed logical to look at cases in different countries. For example, when a development is blamed on policies, but the development did not happen in another country which had similar policies, it is likely that the policy was not the real or only reason behind the development. Such things can only be discovered by spreading the focus over different countries.

My own expertise also played a significant role in selecting the focus areas. **Norn** was the topic of my M.Sc. dissertation (Knooihuizen 2005a), so that I was already familiar with the background of this case. The same goes for **French Flemish**, which is a dialect of my

own native language Dutch. There were other practical language considerations as well. Selecting any of the Celtic languages would involve a lot of material in these languages, which I would not be able to read. This is also the case for my case study in Germany, **Sorbian**, and I have no doubt missed some interesting sources by not being able to read Sorbian. However, in the German context there was little other choice.

The selection of Norn, French Flemish and Sorbian also gives a good mix of religious backgrounds (Protestant and Catholic) and state forms, especially with Sorbian being spread across different polities.

The following three sections should be seen as intermediate stages between the breadth of the initial overview in this section and the in-depth topical studies in the three following chapters. I will discuss the three case studies in slightly more depth, taking the questions from Edwards' model (chapter 2.6) as a guide, although I have changed the order of the questions. I have not included the questions on 'Sociology' and 'Technology and media', as the available data did not include any significant amount of information to be found under these headings that could not also – or better – be included under different headings. These sections will give a better overview of some of the factors that played a role in the language shifts, and already give some initial answers to the question how these factors affected people's patterns of socialisation and language use. At the end of this chapter I will discuss a number of the recurrent factors some more and introduce the three topics that will be looked at in more depth in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

### **3.3 Norn in Shetland**

Norn (< Old Norse *norræna* 'Norse, Norwegian language') was a West Scandinavian language, closely related to Faroese, with which it shared a number of phonological and syntactic features (Barnes 1998: 17). The term has been used for a wide range of linguistic varieties, from all forms of Scandinavian once spoken in Scotland, the Hebrides, Ireland and the Isle of Man to modern-day Shetland Scots dialect (Barnes 1998: 1). Its most usual

denotation, however, is the Scandinavian varieties spoken in Orkney and Shetland, where the language persisted longest. Some argue for the inclusion of Caithness Norn in this narrower definition, see e.g. Thorsen (1954).

### 3.3.1 *Sources*

There are very few linguistic sources for Shetland Norn from the Early Modern period. A number of medieval documents survive, but for linguistic and historical reasons these are generally placed within an overarching Old Norse tradition (Barnes 1998: 11–16; see also Ballantyne & Smith 1994, 1999). The only Early Modern source is a travel report from 1774 by a Scottish minister, George Low, which features a version of the Lord's Prayer and a 35-stanza ballad recited by an old man on the island of Foula (Low 1879: 105–112; see Rendboe 1989, 1990 for a discussion of the prayer, and Hægstad 1900 for an edition, translation and discussion of the ballad). The most extensive corpus of Shetland Norn material post-dates the Early Modern period. It was collected by Jakobsen in the 1890s and published in his *Etymologisk ordbog over det norrøne sprog paa Shetland* (1921, English translation 1928–1932), which apart from dictionary entries also contains snippets of Norn verse, proverbs and expressions from throughout the islands.

The social history of Shetland has fortunately been the subject of extensive research. Although there is no one history book, there is a large number of publications available on various aspects of Shetland society in the Early Modern period. These are based on diverse records and documents from the period; a complete overview of either primary or secondary sources of Shetland history would be impossible to give.

### 3.3.2 *Geography*

The Norn-speaking population was a unique indigenous minority, whose arrival in the Northern Isles pre-dates that of the Scots population by seven to eight centuries. The community was cohesive, although the population was spread over two island groups and

there are issues of accessibility both within and between Orkney and Shetland. However, especially within the island groups there appear to have been extensive communication links (Smith 1984: 223–225).

### 3.3.3 *History*

Orkney and Shetland were settled around AD 800 by Scandinavians, as part of a larger westward migration that also brought them to Caithness, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man and parts of Ireland. Unlike the Danish settlers of England, these were from Norway, although it is unclear from which region exactly. The earliest historical sources from the 12th and 13th century, such as the *Orkneyinga saga*, Snorri's *Heimskringla* and the *Historia Norwegiæ*, suggest mainly north-west Norwegian origins, but linguistic evidence (place-names and lexical and phonological evidence from Norn) rather suggests an immigration from the south-west or even the south-east (Barnes 1998: 3–4).

The fate of the pre-Norse population of the islands, called Picts or Papae, is unclear. They were either killed or driven out, or, more likely, assimilated into Norse culture (Barnes 1998: 2). The claim that a Saxon population was present in the islands before the Norse colonisation (Davis 2007) is based on inconclusive and wrongly analysed evidence, and should be disregarded (Barnes 2008, with an unconvincing retort in Davis 2008). After the Scandinavian settlement, Norn remained the sole medium of communication in the islands for several centuries.

Orkney and Shetland were administered together by the Earl of Orkney, who was responsible to the King of Norway (later Denmark-Norway). Shetland was removed from the Earldom in 1195 as punishment for the Earl having participated in a failed conspiracy against King Sverre, and administered directly by the Norwegian crown (Thomson 1987: 73–74). As the Earldom was granted to Scots from the 13th century onwards, Scottish influence grew in Orkney. Influence in Shetland, which was not part of the Earldom, was limited, but individual earls did try to acquire land and power in Shetland as well.

The Northern Isles were pawned by King Christian I of Denmark to King James III of Scotland in 1468–1469. James was to marry Christian's daughter Margrethe, but was unable to pay the agreed-upon dowry, and therefore pawned the islands instead (Crawford 1967–1968: 165–166). They were never redeemed for lack of enthusiasm and cooperation on either side (Donaldson 1984: 37–40; Scheel 1912: 410–420). The islands were incorporated into the Scottish administrative and ecclesiastical systems within a few years (Thomson 1987: 125), but retained their own legal system alongside Scots law until 1611 (Donaldson 1984: 33–34).

### 3.3.4 *Language use in Early Modern Shetland*

#### *Primary evidence*

The scarcity of primary linguistic sources from Shetland in this period complicated the reconstruction of language use in the islands, and this overview must therefore be presented with the necessary caution. In previous research, such overviews have focused on a brief discussion of the language used in records and documents, with the years of the first appearance of a Scots-language document and the last appearance of a Scandinavian-language document presented as key events. For Shetland these dates are 1525 and 1607, respectively (Barnes 1991: 446–447).

However, these first and last documents may have been incidental occurrences, and the dates do not say anything about how the proportion of Scots- and Scandinavian-language documents changed in the intervening period. Almost all Scandinavian-language documents since 1525 appear to have been written in Mainland Scandinavia (Smith 1990: 29), suggesting that Scots was the primary written language in Shetland, although Scandinavian was still well enough understood. In addition, Latin was also used as a written language, especially in church matters. Differences in the use of Latin and Scots between Orkney and Shetland have been interpreted to mean Scots was not understood in

Shetland at the time of the pawning (Scheel 1912: 391), but may well have been a matter of domains.

### *Secondary evidence*

There is naturally no primary evidence of patterns of spoken language use at the time, and we have to rely on metalinguistic comment, which for Shetland is only sporadically available before the 18th century.

A comment from 1605 states that in Orkney and Shetland ‘the ministers of God’s word now use English in church, and are well enough understood’ (Marwick 1929: 224), suggesting that Scots was used as a spoken language at least in some domains, and that the population had enough passive competence not to need interpreting. (*Contra* the ‘Magnus Norsk’ story; see Jakobsen 1928–1932: xvii; Flom 1928–1929: 147–148; Scheel 1912: 391; Murison 1964: 124; and Barnes 1991: 451.) Comments from the early 18th century (Stewart 1964: 164–165) are difficult to interpret, but point at a decline in the use of Norn. In 1701 Norn was still ‘the first language their children speak’, but by 1733 English is said to have been the community’s first language, with many still proficient in Norn. By 1774, Norn was restricted to ‘but very few speakers’. This picture is consistent with a later comment from the 19th century that Norn was ‘generally understood’ in 1720 (Rendboe 1984: 79) and with the dating of the language shift to c. 1700 (Knooihuizen 2005b: 106–107; 2008a: 110). When language was mentioned in reports to the Old Statistical Account of Scotland in the 1790s, Norn was described as a thing of the past.

We may conclude that Scots made an entry as a written language in Shetland in the 1520s, and was used exclusively from its introduction without any problems in comprehension. The picture with regard to spoken language is less clear, but by 1600 people had at least a passive competence in Scots. From c. 1700, Norn appears to have been in decline, and under a century later is invariably described as a thing of the past.



### 3.3.5 *Demography*

Reasonably reliable population statistics for Shetland in the Early Modern period are available, based on ‘lists, calculations and estimates’ (Thomson 1983: 151). The first estimate is for the year 1600 and is 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants. We can then see a gradual population rise to 12,000 (1632), 15,000 (1755), 18,000 (1784), 20,000 (1796), and 22,000 (1801) (Thomson 1983: 151–152). The population growth in the 18th century appears from these numbers to have been greater than that in the 17th century.<sup>2</sup>

Based on personal name evidence from the a surviving Court Book (1602–1604) and the Index to the Register of Testaments (1611–1648), Donaldson (1983) has argued that approximately a third of the population was of Scots origins. Metalinguistic commentary from the late 17th and 18th centuries suggests Scots incomers were monolingual Scots speakers.

There were very few villages in Shetland, Lerwick being the only settlement that merits that classification. This town grew considerably from the second half of the 16th century in connection with Dutch herring fisheries in Bressay Sound (Manson 1983: 202), to a stable population of approximately 700 from around 1700 (Thomson 1983: 169). Elsewhere, settlements had the form of a farming township, generally a group of tenants’ houses scattered in the fields around a landowner’s farm (Shaw 1980: 80; Smith 1984: 3). These townships were in those areas of Shetland that were ‘environmentally suitable’ (Small 1967–1968: 149, 153), spread at considerable intervals but connected by an intricate system of sea-borne trade and transport links (Smith 1984: 223–225).

---

2) These statistics disregard a figure of 20,000 for 1700, which Thomson (1983: 152) believes ‘there is no reason to suppose [...] is particularly accurate’. On the other hand, Shetland was hit by a severe smallpox epidemic in 1700, and there are presbytery records supporting reports of a third of the population dying (Flinn 1977: 185). Keeping in mind such a substantial drop in 1700, the average rate of population growth throughout the 17th and 18th centuries would have been fairly stable.

### 3.3.6 *Linguistics*

As mentioned above, the earliest comments about the linguistic situation in Shetland claim the population was bilingual in Norn and Scots, and some even claim many spoke Dutch or Low German as well. Within Norn there appears to have been extensive dialect variation, although this claim is based on phonetic transcriptions in Jakobsen's post-language death dictionary, which have been criticised as 'phonetics run riot' (Stewart 1964: 172).

It is usually assumed that Norn and Scots were not mutually intelligible languages (Wiggen 2002: 20; Barnes 2004: 132), although Sandnes (2003: 363) claims they were 'so closely related that semi-communication was possible'. An analysis of Norn-Scots linguistic interaction with the help of a method developed by Townend (2002: 13–15) suggests that, although the evidence is scanty, the languages were not mutually intelligible, and that there must have been a situation of bilingualism (Knoolhuizen 2005a: 82–86).

#### *Migration patterns*

Perhaps the most impacting event on the linguistic landscape in Shetland was a substantial immigration from Scotland. Before the pawning, it is thought Scots in Shetland were 'few and far between' (Donaldson 1983: 10), but opinion differs as to when the larger-scale immigration occurred. Donaldson (1983: 13) cites linguistic evidence placing the event in the second half of the 16th century, Murison (1954: 255, 257) dates immigration to Southern Shetland to the late 15th century and that to the North to up to a century later, and Wiggen (2002: 37) does not see a substantial immigration before 1750. The evidence in Donaldson (1983: 13) for approximately a third of the population having Scots origins by the beginning of the 17th century forces us to reject Wiggen's dating; Donaldson's and Murison's datings are compatible with this evidence.

Not much is known about the origins of the settlers. Commentary from 1680 (Stewart 1964: 163–164) talks about 'strangers from Scotland and Orkney'; Scottish immigrants to

Orkney came from Angus, Fife and Lothian (Barnes 1984: 355), and Scottish-Shetlandic trading patterns make it seem likely immigrants to Shetland came from the same areas (Donaldson 1983: 13).

Emigration of Norn speakers out of Shetland does not appear to have been a major factor in changing the ethnolinguistic make-up of Shetland society. Very few people from the Northern Isles are thought to have migrated to Scotland (Kries 2003: 91–92), and although many Shetlanders were involved in the navy or the whaling industry, only very few emigrated permanently and enthusiasm for emigration was generally extremely low (Smith 1984: 89–90).

### *Third-party languages*

Shetland's linguistic landscape was not confined to Norn and Scots alone. Norwegian, Dutch and German, in particular, may have played a role in the islands, considering the different types of links Shetland had with these countries.

Contacts between Shetland and Norway are especially relevant, as Norwegian could function as a support base for Norn.<sup>3</sup> Unlike Orkney, Shetland retained administrative and legal links with Norway after the pawning, especially in the area of landownership (Smith 1984: 8, 32; Smith 2000: 67; Donaldson 1984: 27). There was also a significant trade between Shetland and Norway, initially a Hanseatic monopoly (Smith 1990: 28), but later by individual Hanseatic merchants (Friedland 1983: 89–90) and small-scale local initiatives from Orkney and Shetland as well (Smith 1984: 32–33; Smith 1990: 31–32).

Other limited contact will have arisen from Shetlanders and Orcadians going to Bergen on merchant ships, being in demand as workmen at the castle of Bergen c. 1530. This

---

3) It must be noted, however, that in the Hanseatic period (c. 1350–1550) Norwegian underwent significant changes under the influence of Low German (Jahr 1995: 12), rendering the language markedly different from Insular Scandinavian varieties. Whether Norn and Norwegian were mutually intelligible remains unclear, mostly because of the lack of reliable information about Norn in this period.

small-scale emigration to Norway was dominated by Orcadians and diminished strongly by the end of the 17th century (Daae 1953: 4–7). Subsequent remigration is not recorded.

Also varieties on the Low German–Dutch continuum will have been heard in Shetland at the time. Earlier accounts of language use (Stewart 1964: 163–165) frequently comment on the Shetlanders' proficiency in 'Low Dutch' (1680) or 'Dutch' (1701, 1733). One group of speakers were the Hanseatic merchants from Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck, who traded directly with the islanders throughout the summer (Smith 1984: 14–17; Friedland 1983: 91). Another group were Dutch herring fishers, based in Bressay Sound every summer with a fleet of between 100 and 600 ships, engaging in a loosely organised trade and other activities with the local population throughout the 17th century (Smith 1984: 25–28).

The linguistic consequences of the German and Dutch presence in the islands is unclear. The Shetlanders' reported proficiency could have ranged anywhere from full proficiency via a Norn-Dutch or Scots-Dutch trading pidgin to a semi-communication sometimes claimed to have existed between Low German and mainland Scandinavian varieties (Jahr 1995: 13), but there is no evidence for any of these options. It is also not certain how they would have affected the Norn–Scots language shift with regard to linguistic attitudes or practices.

### 3.3.7 *Psychology*

Shetlanders' linguistic attitudes are very badly attested. Reference is often made to a short verse thought to indicate that parents were proud of their children having acquired competence in Scots (Jakobsen 1928–1932: xviii), but it has been interpreted alternatively and thought to convey a positive attitude towards pure Norn, not influenced by Scots (Rendboe 1984: 77–78).

Similarly, little is known about attitudes towards Scotland in general. In Jakobsen's view of Shetland history (1928–1932: xv; 1957) they were rather negative as a result of the 'unscrupulous way' in which Scotland treated Shetland, but this view of Scots being oppressive occupiers has now been put in perspective (see e.g. Smith 1990). Attitudes towards Scandinavia in present-day Shetland are mostly positive (Melchers 1981: 254; 1991: 463), but Smith (1990: 25) only sees these positive attitudes arising in the 19th century, with little or no evidence before that time.

Scots attitudes towards Norn and its speakers are not well known either. Apart from a schoolmaster's comment from 1725 about Norn 'occasion[ing] Ignorance' in the parish of Sandwick, Orkney (Campbell 1954: 175), none of the historical sources that mention Norn convey any opinion about the language other than that it is 'worn out' and 'corrupted' (but on these terms, see Rendboe 1984).

### 3.3.8 *Politics, law and government*

After the pawning, Orkney and Shetland were quickly integrated into the Scottish administrative system, although they were allowed to retain their own Norwegian-style laws. In practice however, Scottish and Norse legal systems were used side by side, and in 1611 King James VI and I abolished Norwegian law in the islands in an attempt to unify his country's legal systems. Only the *odal* land tenure system continued to exist until the early 18th century (Donaldson 1984: 22, 24, 32, 34; Thomson 1987: 156, 179; Anderson 1996: 182–183). Legal and administrative documents were written in Scots, making that 'the sole language of public affairs' (Barnes 1991: 451). Although written and spoken language in a domain need not coincide, see e.g. Clausén (1978: 21) on the Faroe Islands, there is evidence that speaking Norn in court was special enough to merit mention in the records, suggesting Scots would have been the default language (Marwick 1929: xxiii).

The Scottish government never seems to have had an official language policy with regard to Norn (Jakobsen 1897: 11), which is interesting when compared to the many schemes

by civil and church authorities in the 17th and 18th centuries to root out Scottish Gaelic and further the spread of English (see Withers 1988: 110–145). This may have been because the Northern Isles and Norn were not perceived as as much of a threat to Protestant Scottish political and religious authority as Catholic, Gaelic-speaking clans in the Scottish Highlands and Islands (Withers 1988: 110–112); alternatively, part of the explanation may lie in the fact that when anti-Gaelic policies came into being by the early 17th century, Scots had already become so rooted in Shetland society that there was no need for Anglicisation efforts anymore.

### 3.3.9 *Education*

English-language education has often been blamed for the demise of Norn. As early as 1750, charity schools set up by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) were mentioned explicitly (Marwick 1929: 225). Wiggen (2002) takes up the role of education in the language shift, but appears to work from the presupposition that formal English-language education was the prime cause of the language shift. Although his discussion is well-informed, with perhaps a little too much emphasis on anti-Gaelic measures in education and parallels with education in Norway and Finland, his conclusions seem to bear little weight. A better overview of the history of education in Shetland is Graham (1998).

The only evidence of formally organised education in Shetland before the 18th century concerns schoolmasters in Scalloway, who were unlikely to have reached a substantial part of the population (Graham 1998: 14–15). However, comments about the quality of Shetlanders' Scots in the 17th and 18th centuries (see also Murison 1954: 256) suggest that there may have been some formal education despite a lack of evidence (Graham 1998: 17).

The first school was established in Shetland by the SSPCK, who effectively had a monopoly on education due to other parties' lethargy on the subject (Graham 1998: 19), in 1713,

with a small number of additional schools established in subsequent years. These schools were ambulatory, staying in parish for a limited time before moving on to the next parish. This means that education reached the majority of the population, even in outlying islands, but never for very long (Graham 1998: 32–37). The SSPCK also supplied materials for home-schooling, and although this was more popular in Orkney than in Shetland (Graham 1998: 25–26), ‘private initiative of various kinds seems to have ensured the spread of a very basic form of literacy in English throughout many parts of the islands’ (Barnes 1998: 448).

The extent of education may not have gone much beyond teaching basic literacy skills, given the religion-based educational aims of the SSPCK and the questionable quality of their teachers, who in some cases could barely write their own name (Graham 1998: 36). Education also depended much on the support it got from local authorities and the population, which could vary widely from parish to parish (Graham 1998: 31–32, 45, 51, 72–73). The population generally had positive attitudes towards education, although high numbers of registered pupils must not be confused with actual attendance (Graham 1998: 38). There was always the matter of children being needed to help work at home (Wiggen 2002: 58).

The official written language of the SSPCK was Standard English, but as many of the teachers were local to the islands, they would probably have spoken a local variety of Scots, and there is no evidence that they may not have spoken Norn, although SSPCK schools post-date the primary language shift in Shetland, and the existence of one sole comment about Norn in SSPCK schools (Campbell 1954: 175) suggests Norn was not used as a medium of education. The absence of further complaints indicates the population’s Scots language skills were at least enough to be able to cope with education through that language.

### 3.3.10 *Religion*

There were never any religious differences between the two population groups in Shetland. Shetland was part of the bishopric of Orkney, which belonged to the archbishopric of Nidaros (now Trondheim, Norway) but was transferred to the archbishopric of St Andrews after the pawning. Already earlier, the church in the Northern Isles had been influenced by that in Scotland, starting with the appointment of Scottish clergy when Norwegian clergy had become scarce after the Black Death (Crawford 1977: 178). The bishopric sided with the Scottish rather than the Norwegian church in ecclesiastical matters (Donaldson 1984: 15) and the transfer to St Andrews in 1472 was really only the confirmation of a process that had been underway for a century (Thomson 1987: 125).

Also in the Reformation, the Northern Isles followed Scotland rather than Scandinavia. The Reformation took place in Denmark-Norway in 1536, but in Scotland only in 1560. In the intervening period, links with Scandinavia could have brought Lutheran influences to the islands, but there is hardly any evidence of this (Thomson 1987: 146). The islands followed the Scottish Reformation with little resistance, and the vast majority of the new ministers had Scottish names (Thomson 1987: 143; Manson 1983: 211).

It is likely that Scots was used as the spoken language in church around 1600 without any problems. The story about Magnus Norsk mentioned above, a minister who allegedly went to Norway to learn Norwegian because his parishioners did not understand Scots, is a notable exception, and the fact it was worth mentioning at all suggests Scots was the default. However, there may have been a residual role for Norn in this domain: an interesting piece of evidence is the undated story of an old Orcadian on his deathbed refusing the minister's Scots prayers and demanding prayers in Norn as they were the only thing that could 'apen the yetts o' Paradise for me' (Dennison 1880: xi; Rendboe 1989: 92; note the quotation itself is in Scots). This could indicate that Norn prayers were used after the language had ceased to function as a community language, and that Norn was kept in use in certain domains.



Another religious-type domain where Norn persisted was in the superstition of Shetland fishermen. It was considered bad luck to see or refer with their proper names to certain things, animals or people while at sea or on your way to the boat (Fenton 1968–1969: 118; Lockwood 1955: 1). The taboo affected words that directly or indirectly had to do with the fishing trade. The overwhelming majority of taboo-relieving ‘noa’ words were of Scandinavian origin and seem to be connected to the skaldic tradition of kennings (Fenton 1968–1969: 121), but after the language shift, it looks like many ordinary Norn words were transferred to the noa domain as well (Knooihuizen 2008a).

### 3.3.11 *Economics*

Shetland was primarily an agricultural community. The population was involved in both crop cultivation, small-scale sheep and cattle farming, and in-shore fishing. The community was largely autarkic and had little need to become involved in trade. Surplus goods – fish oil, butter, cloth, and wooden stockings – were traded on, and there was ‘a balance between subsistence and commerce’ (Smith 1984: 2–4).

Both the Norn-speaking population and Scots immigrants engaged in these agricultural and trading activities, and although some accounts of Shetland history describe the social relations between the two groups as one of oppression and abuse (Jakobsen 1957: 20; Wiggen 2002: 62), this does not seem to have been the case in the 17th century (Smith 1990: 32). Donaldson (1958: 80–88) describes Shetland society in this period as a fairly egalitarian society, where there were few very wealthy people (all Scots), and likewise very few people who lived in absolute poverty.

As the German merchants left around 1710, landowners took the initiative for their own fishing trade, which involved tenants fishing as part of their rent. This caused a small number of landowners to rapidly become richer and more powerful, and made tenants more dependent on their landowners (Smith 1984: 46, 56–68); the idea of oppression and abuse may well stem from this period. The fishing changed from in-shore to off-shore

fishing, known as ‘haaf’ in Shetland (Smith 1984: 46). Haaf fisheries were based in peripheral areas of Shetland with access to open sea, which caused a seasonal migration of more centrally-based tenants to the periphery (Smith 1984: 54).

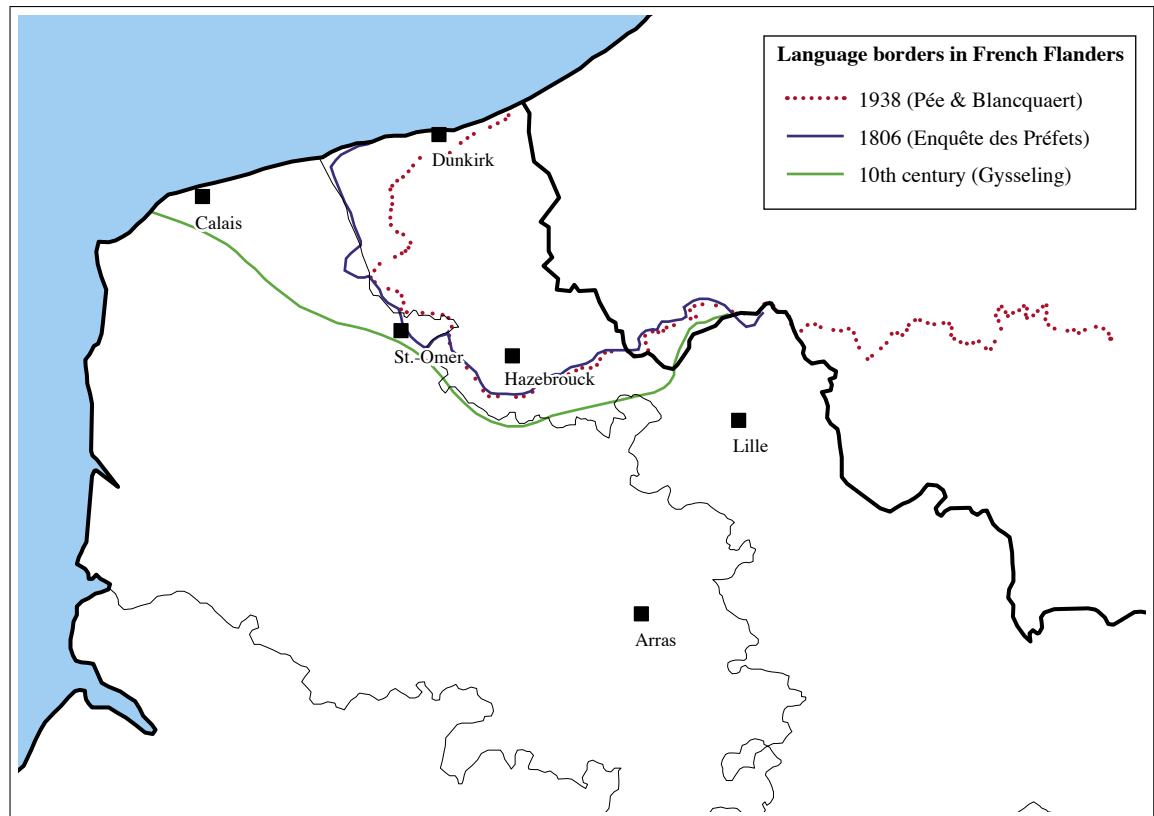
The development of the haaf fisheries and the connected internal migration will have changed contact patterns and social networks, most likely causing an increase in weaker links that facilitate linguistic change; as such it could have served as a vehicle for the spread of the language shift. However, at the same time as the haaf fisheries caused an increase in weaker networks, they created a class of tenant-fishermen whose strong networks (assumed by analogy to other fishing communities; Marshall 2000: 130) would oppose linguistic change.

### **3.4 Dutch in French Flanders**

French Flanders is an area in the far North-West of France, in the department Nord. Historically it was part of Flanders, and the linguistic links with Flanders persisted much longer than the political links. The population spoke French Flemish, a dialect from the (West) Flemish subgroup of Dutch dialects, and it was only in the second half of the 20th century that the population shifted to a majority of monolingual French speakers (Ryckeboer 2004: 39).

#### *3.4.1 Sources*

A great many linguistic sources survive for French Flemish. At one point, this was a prestigious written variety, and we have both administrative and literary texts. The oldest surviving evidence for any variety of Dutch was actually written in the dialect from this region, more precisely from Saint-Omer (Ryckeboer 2004: 20). A comprehensive introduction to both the linguistics and sociolinguistics of French Flemish is Ryckeboer (2004).



**Figure 3.2**

The gradual northwards shift of the French-Dutch language border in French Flanders. Modern state and department borders are shown. Map based on the *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du picard* (Carton 1989–1997: 2).

The standard work on the social history of French Flanders is Coornaert's *La Flandre française de langue flamande* (1970). Much can also be found in works with the wider remit of Northern France (Trenard 1972; Lambin 1980; Lottin & Guignet 2006), although from these it becomes clear that French Flanders is not only peripheral to France or the Netherlands, but also to this more narrowly defined region. The history of the main town in French Flanders, Dunkirk, is described in great detail in Cabantous (1983).

### 3.4.2 Geography

French Flemish the only local-only minority I discuss in this chapter. Dutch was only a minority language in the context of the French state, but a majority language across the border with the (Spanish) Netherlands. Again, this was an autochthonous minority

language, although a small part of the population may have been migrants from the Netherlands (Coornaert 1970: 102; see also Sortor 2005).

### 3.4.3 *History*

In the Early Middle Ages, the language border between Germanic and Romance in Northern France was situated much further south than nowadays, witness many Germanic-type place names in the region (Ryckeboer 2004: 21; Gysseling 1972: 53–61). The southernmost extent of Germanic stabilised in late and post-Roman times, around AD 900 (Ryckeboer 2004: 23), but since then French has expanded further north, aided by political developments.

The political dependence of Southern Flanders shifted back and forth between France and the Low Countries from the 15th century onwards (Willemyns 1997: 56). The area was subsequently in Burgundian (1384–1482), Habsburg-Austrian (1423–1506), and Spanish (1506–1659/78) hands before being conquered by the French in the 17th century (Coornaert 1970: 89).

The 17th-century conquest happened in a succession of wars and treaties. Artesia and a part of French Flanders were assigned to France in the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659), the remainder of French Flanders and areas in West Flanders in the Treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle (1667) and Nijmegen (1678). Meanwhile, Dunkirk, having been conquered by the English in 1658 was bought back by the French four years later. France was forced to return its West Flemish areas in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), bringing the northern border of France approximately to its current location (Coornaert 1970: 148–150; Cabantous 1983: 58–59).

### 3.4.4 *Language use in Early Modern French Flanders*

It is difficult to see any patterns in the use of French and Dutch in French Flanders in this period. There appears to have been an extended period of co-habitation (Cabantous 1983:

115). Coornaert (1970: 213) writes that ‘language use remained at the discretion of the people of the country’;<sup>4</sup> often they would choose Dutch.

Public services used both languages, as well as Latin which was still being used especially in church and education (Coornaert 1970: 135–136). French did make its way in after the annexation: there is evidence of the Jesuits refusing to teach the catechism in French rather than Dutch (160), and the authorities ordered all legal business to be conducted in French, although there were no sanctions for not doing so until the 19th century (212). French also started being used in education in this period (see below).

Dutch was without a doubt the primary language of the region, but ‘in the Westhoek itself, with direct contacts with Artesia and Walloon Flanders, French was never a truly foreign language’<sup>5</sup> (Coornaert 1970: 136).

As a minority language, Dutch had the advantage of a long writing tradition and a strong culture of Dutch-language plays and poetry in the Chambers of Rhetoric (*redelijerskamers*; Coornaert 1970: 132–135). But the centre of this tradition lay in the Spanish/Austrian Netherlands and the United Provinces, and the cross-border support could be both a blessing and a curse. For all the traditions the Rhetoricians could fall back on, Dutch was increasingly standardised in a process the French Flemish were no part of, and differences between French Flemish vernacular and the standardised written language, or neighbouring dialects influenced by the written language, grew (Ryckeboer 2000: 87, 94–106).

#### 3.4.5 Demography

The size of the population in French Flanders is difficult to establish, and estimates vary wildly. A population estimate of 3 to 400,000 for the four *châtellenies* that make up the Westhoek in the late 15th century (Coornaert 1970: 100) seems rather high, especially in

---

4) ‘L’usage de la langue resta à la discrétion des gens du pays.’

5) ‘Au Westhoek même, au contact direct avec l’Artois et avec la Flandre wallonne, le français ne fut jamais une langue vraiment étrangère.’

the light of later estimates. By 1700, the estimates vary between 100,000 (Lambin 1980: 174) and 150,000 (Coornaert 1970: 200), growing to about 190,000 by the end of the 18th century (Lottin & Guignet 2006: 295).

The 17th and 18th centuries were periods of increased urbanisation. In the 17th century, the population of villages decreased dramatically. ‘Chased by soldiers and fleeing for fear, the majority of the inhabitants had left without any hope of return’ (Coornaert 1970: 231).<sup>6</sup> Dunkirk was the exception, tripling in size in the last four decades of the 17th century. This left Maritime Flanders with 25% of its population living in urbanised areas (Lambin 1980: 174; the criteria for urbanisation are not mentioned). The population growth in the 18th century was spectacular (78%, versus 35% for France as a whole; Lambin 1980: 312, and this too caused increased urbanisation. By 1790, 57% of French Flemish lived in settlements of 2000 inhabitants or greater (Lottin & Guignet 2006: 295).

#### 3.4.6 *Linguistics*

The introduction of Flemish-French bilingualism started with the upper classes in the larger towns; it wasn’t until the period between the two World Wars that everyone also in the smaller villages became bilingual (Ryckeboer 2004: 32). Until then, it would be near impossible to conduct business in French Flanders, even in slightly larger towns as Hazebrouck and Bergues, without knowing Dutch (Ryckeboer 2004: 121). The bourgeoisie in Dunkirk, leaders in the language shift, were well aware of this: ‘[They] wanted [their] children to speak French correctly, but at the same time were committed to them not forgetting Flemish, so that one day they could use it to understand the commoners or for business’<sup>7</sup> (Cabantous 1983: 115).

---

6) ‘Chassés par les soldats, enfuis par peur, la plupart des habitants étaient partis sans esprit de retour.’

7) ‘Nous désirons que nos enfants parlent correctement le françois et nous nous appliquons en même temps à ce qu’ils n’oublient pas le flamand, afin qu’ils puissent un jour s’en servir pour écouter le peuple ou pour le commerce.’

There is no clear evidence of French-speakers learning Dutch because of this necessity in rural trade, but it is likely that some of them at least did to some degree. The social pressures on Dutch speakers to learn French, the language in official domains and increasingly of the upper classes, would have been much greater.

### *Standardisation*

As mentioned above, the French Flemish did not participate in the standardisation of the Dutch written language, and the area's political isolation from neighbouring dialects is thought to have caused a greater linguistic divergence between French Flemish and other dialects. The Chambers of Rhetoric did however keep contacts with Chambers north of the border, and also other 'intellectuals' maintained such contacts (Ryckeboer 2004: 27).

One of these was school teacher Andries Steven, who wrote a primer, *Nieuwen Nederlandschen Voorschriftboek* (1713). Steven used a Hollandic-Brabantic spelling, evidence of his ties with Dutch speakers elsewhere and his conviction that French Flemish should take Northern dialects as an example. Steven's authority was debated fiercely in later years, and debaters cited Voltaire and Rousseau in their argument written in French verse (Ryckeboer 2004: 27; Coornaert 1970: 215).

The adherence to a (developing) Northern norm was more widespread among the French Flemish élite. Rhetoricians around 1760 debated spelling and word use, many advocating the use of Standard Dutch (Ryckeboer 2004: 29). Around the same time, an anonymous author published *Snoeijmes der Vlaemsche Taele*, not only arguing for a rhetorical tradition in Standard Dutch but also lamenting the French influence on the dialect (Ryckeboer 2004: 27; Coornaert 1970: 218). Steven had already signalled this Frenchification in the preface to the second edition of his primer in 1714 (Ryckeboer 2004: 31).

*Migration patterns*

There was a significant immigration to the towns of French Flanders, a general pattern at the time, made necessary for towns' persistence and growth by high mortality rates and low marriage and birth rates (Sortor 2005: 165). For example, Hondschoote grew to about 8,500 inhabitants in the first half of the 17th century through the immigration of 2,500 to 3,000 people (Coornaert 1970: 102).

Needless to say, immigrants make up a substantial part of the urban population's social networks, and from a language perspective, the origin of immigrants to French Flanders would be very interesting. This is however difficult to trace, as few studies have been done. Sortor's 2005 study on immigration to Saint-Omer in the 15th century focused on the networks of immigrants, and although some places of origin are mentioned, there is no attempt to give a concise overview of immigrant backgrounds.

This leaves the survey of immigration patterns in Dunkirk, carried out for this thesis (see Chapter 4), the earliest relevant quantitative study of French Flemish immigration. The study involves data from just before the French annexation of the town, and shows a mostly local migration from within 50 km of the town, dominated by Dutch speakers. Ryckeboer (2004: 27) claims that an immigration of French and Picard speakers caused the population of Dunkirk to double in the decades after annexation; this is confirmed by the data in this thesis, which show a much larger proportion of French names post-annexation than pre-annexation.

Cabantous (1983: 94) studies the origins of marriage partners in late 18th-century Dunkirk, and here we can see a further shift to French origins for migrants. A large proportion (approximately 45%) of the immigration is still local, from elsewhere in French Flanders, but the proportion of Dutch-speaking immigrants from the Austrian Netherlands has



diminished, while immigration from the rest of France (including Francophone parts of the French Netherlands) has grown to about 45% as well.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.4.7 *Psychology*

As far as we can tell, Dutch speakers in French Flanders had a positive attitude towards their language. The Rhetoricians mentioned above used Dutch throughout – it is thought that Dunkirk’s most famous writer Michiel de Swaen never wrote a word in French, although he was fluent in it (Coornaert 1970: 163) – but their positive attitudes were aimed primarily at a Standard Dutch; they did not think too highly of the dialect itself. The cultured status of Dutch is underlined again by the response of a Bergues school teacher to the enquiry about regional languages conducted just after the Revolution: Dutch was not a ‘patois’ but a ‘language of reason’ (Ryckeboer 2002: 25).

The cultural élite’s attitudes to the Netherlands echo this sentiment: they were generally positive (Coornaert 1970: 164). At the same time, attitudes to France were positive as well; De Swaen, for example, wrote a poem *De Glory van den Vorst* ‘The Glory of the Monarch’ about Louis XIV (161, 164). The intellectuals were all up-to-date with cultural developments in France and served a bridge function between the two cultures (Ryckeboer 2004: 24)

A minority were actively opposed to France, continuing a centuries-old anti-French sentiment, but this minority was not at all influential in society (Coornaert 1970: 157, 166). The vast majority appears to have accepted the annexation by France – in Coornaert’s words ‘the “return” to France’ (1970: 166) – as a fact of life.

---

8) The percentages in Cabantous (1983: 94) do not add up, neither in total nor for any of the subcategories, so we should not attach too much importance to the figures. However, the general trend of an increasing French, and more importantly Francophone, immigration is clear.

### 3.4.8 *Politics, law and government*

At the annexation of French Flanders, the French king Louis XIV promised to respect the privileges and customs of the area, including the area's own laws (Coornaert 1970: 167–173). Although some of the Flemish laws are said to have been difficult for the French to understand, not just because of language issues, and the area was quickly integrated into an overarching French judicial system (173), it does appear that local and provincial autonomy was practice, and not only theory (Lottin & Guignet 2006: 268).

One of the main changes in the judicial system was the installations of a small number of *intendants*, placed in the hierarchy above the local institutions and occasionally in conflict with them (Lottin & Guignet 2006: 218–219). The *intendants*, representatives of the King, were always French speakers from outwith French Flanders (Coornaert 1970: 171). The King also appointed bishops, who were all French (Lottin & Guignet 2006: 226). This effectively Frenchified both civil and ecclesiastical administration.

### *Language policies*

In the Treaty of the Pyrenees, the French authorities guaranteed freedom of language for the newly conquered areas: people would be free to speak 'the language that seems right to them, whether that is French, Spanish, Flemish, or another, without being disturbed or persecuted on this basis'<sup>9</sup> (Coornaert 1970: 212). The future for French Flemish did not seem in danger.

But at the time of the annexation, France had already had well over a century of language legislation. The key element in this tradition is the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539), according to which all official documents had to be written in French. An edict with a similar purpose was issued for Dunkirk alone in 1663, and again in 1684 for all of French Flanders. Coornaert (1970: 212) claims these decrees remained dead letters, but

---

9) 'la langue qui bon leur semblera, soit française, soit espagnolle, soit flamande ou autres, sans que pour ce sujet ils puissent être inquiétez ou recherchez'

Van Goethem (1989: 441) says they were strictly observed, with French taking over as the language of official documents almost overnight.

It is important to realise that even though these policies may have been successful in forcing a replacement of Dutch (and Latin) by French in official documents, Dutch continued to be used in literature, private writing, and in speech long after the 1680s.

#### *3.4.9 Education*

Education appears to have been widespread in the area, with four grammar schools and numerous other schools in many of the villages. Coornaert (1970: 127) asserts that the town of Hondshoote had four schools, but as he does not indicate when this situation prevailed, it is difficult to correlate this with the highly fluctuating size of the population in that town. Student numbers available for Bergues went up in the 17th century, but started to fall again after the French annexation (208); again it is uncertain whether this is correlation or causation.

Further education was initially not available in the area, and university education was sought in Leuven and Douai (123). Secondary education was started in the 17th century by the Jesuits, and by the 18th century, there were eight colleges in the different towns of French Flanders. However, despite the widespread availability of education, even at no cost to the poor, there were still many illiterate people in the area at the end of the 18th century (205–207).

The schools provided for (mainly religious) education. This was done in Flemish, or in Latin with Flemish as a learning aid (206, 209). French did have a role in education, especially after the annexation: four towns near the Artesian border made French language education compulsory in 1685, although (Coornaert 1970: 206) describes this as a ‘coincidence’. French-language schools were established after the annexation for the children of French speakers in the army and government (Ryckeboer 2002: 24).

#### 3.4.10 *Religion*

French Flanders was almost exclusively a Catholic area. The Reformation gained some initial support, with some 8% of the population of Bergues being Protestant around 1530, but never really spread widely (Coornaert 1970: 117). In the 17th and 18th centuries, there were almost no Protestants in the area; those that were there were almost exclusively in Dunkirk. Many of the Protestants there may also have been foreigners from Britain, the Netherlands and Scandinavia (230).

The Catholic Church naturally used Latin as their medium of communication, but both French and Flemish appear to have been allowed. After the Counter-Reformation, the diocese ‘remained bilingual’ (120), although from Dunkirk church documents (see Chapter 4) it appears French took over from Latin in the late 17th century, with Dutch never having played a similar role.

The church, in the person of the curate, played a big role in family life; Trenard (1972: 334) claims more so in French Flanders than elsewhere. But the people’s version of religion was different from the church’s, with a role for magic and superstition as well, much to the church’s dislike. The 16th and 17th centuries saw a large number of witch hunts in the area in an attempt to assert the church’s view on religion (Lambin 1980: 243, 246–250).

#### 3.4.11 *Economics*

The two pillars of the French Flemish economy were agriculture and weaving. Agriculture was a troubled business: the farmers could not produce enough to sustain the entire population, so there was a need to import grain from other (Francophone) areas (104). The weaving industry was sizable but of secondary importance to that in larger Flemish towns (105).

French Flemish society as a whole was quite well off, but nevertheless there was a large amount of poverty as well. At the end of the 17th century, about a third of the area's 150,000 inhabitants were classified as beggars (200), a much larger proportion of the population than in the rest of France (10%).

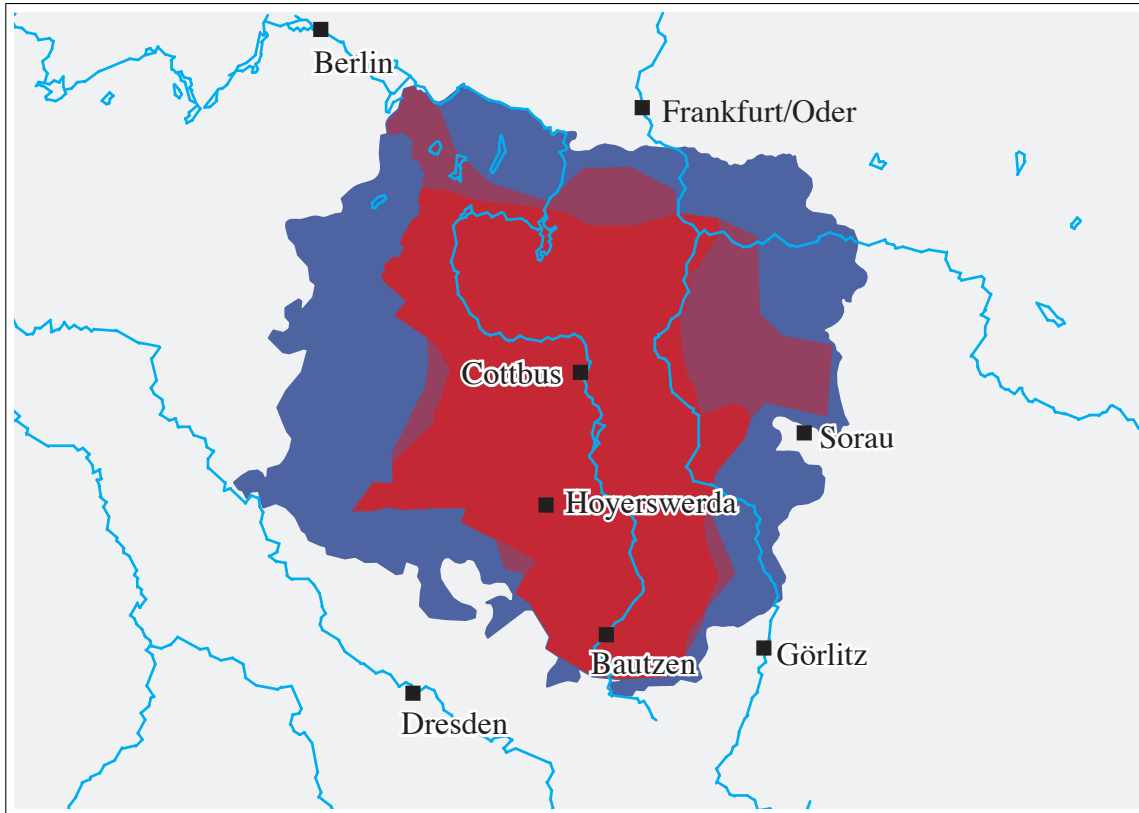
### 3.5 Sorbian in Lusatia

Sorbian, also known as Wendish and sometimes as Lusatian, is a West Slavonic language, which occupies an intermediate position between Polish and Czech (Stone 1972: 4, 92; on the different terms, see Glaser 2007: 121–122). For historical, political and religious reasons, Sorbian developed two distinct written varieties, Upper and Lower Sorbian, and some prefer to speak of two different languages (see below). The language is spoken in Lusatia, a region in the current German federal states of Brandenburg (Lower Lusatia, around the town of Cottbus) and Saxony (Upper Lusatia, around Bautzen).

#### 3.5.1 Sources

A reasonable number of linguistic sources for both Upper and Lower Sorbian survive. The oldest Sorbian text is the *Bautzen Burghers' Oath*, an oath of allegiance sworn to the Bohemian crown from 1532. The earliest surviving manuscripts from the 16th century tend to be primarily in Lower Sorbian, while the 17th-century material, which is often printed, tends to be in Upper Sorbian (Stone 1972: 116). The most significant texts will be mentioned in this section, where relevant. There are indications that more Sorbian documents survived, but that they were irrevocably lost in the 1930s (Kunze 2001: 286).

Similarly, there are sufficient historical sources about Sorbs and Lusatia in general, mostly in German and Sorbian. A first point of reference in English is Stone (1972), but the standard history is the four-volume *Geschichte der Sorben*, of which the first volume (Brankač & Měšk 1977) deals with the Early Modern period. However, a problem with the *Geschichte der Sorben*, as with much of the other work by Měšk, Schuster-Šewc



**Figure 3.3**

Map showing the decline of the Sorbian language area in Lusatia. The blue shading represents the area around 1500; the red shading around 1800, where the more faded red indicates an area where Sorbian was only spoken by the older generation. Map based on data from Brankač & Měšk (1977).

and Šořta cited in this section, is that it was written in the era of the German Democratic Republic, and is infused with state-sponsored Marxist rhetoric on ‘class conflict, socio-economic stresses and strains, or the emergence of a new bourgeoisie’ (see Cameron 1999b: 87). As the Sorbian minority was largely confined to the lower classes, such a colouring of history writing may have a significant impact on this study. Despite this, the *Geschichte der Sorben* remains an indispensable source of Sorbian history (Stone 1978; Tipton 1979).

### 3.5.2 Geography

The Sorbian language area was unified throughout the Early Modern period, although there may have been some isolated pockets of Sorbian-speakers outside the area, as well as some

German-speaking enclaves mainly in the west of the area. Lusatia was politically divided between three polities: Brandenburg-Prussia, the Habsburg empire, and the Electorate of Saxony. As such, the Sorbs can be classified as an indigenous, non-unique, adjacent, cohesive minority.

### 3.5.3 *History*

Sorbian tribes appeared in the area that is now Lusatia towards the end of the 6th century AD. The most important ones among them were the Lužici and the Milceni, who settled in Lower and Upper Lusatia respectively. It is unclear whether the area was populated before the Sorbian settlement; if so, the existing population seems to have assimilated peacefully (Kunze 2001: 167; Polański 1980: 230).

From the 8th century, the Sorbs came into military conflict with Frankish tribes to the west. They were attacked from time to time by the Frankish, other German and also Polish forces, and by the end of the 10th century, the Sorbs had lost their political independence. The area was Christianised around the same time, although resistance against the forced payment of tithes led to Lusatia still being considered heathen in the 12th century (Kunze 2001: 270–271).

The early 13th century saw the immigration of large numbers of Flemish, Saxon, Thuringian and Frankish farmers especially to Upper Lusatia (Kunze 2001: 274). Their number in the area directly west of the river Elbe was so large that the area was completely Germanised by the beginning of the 16th century, as was an area in the eastern part of Upper Lusatia, between the towns of Zittau, Löbau and Görlitz (Mětšk 1965: 40; Šofta 1976: 34; Ermakova 1987: 54).

### 3.5.4 *Language use in Early Modern Lusatia*

With large numbers of German speakers in addition to the more numerous autochthonous Sorbian-speaking population, Lusatia was an inherently bilingual area. However, this is

not to say that both languages were used equally in all domains: German was clearly the dominant language in administration and law, church, and print.

The rulers of Lusatia and the local nobility were German-speaking, and communication with and between them appears to have been in German (see e.g. the communication about the publication of Sorbian Bible translations in Mětšk 1959, 1962). I have found no evidence of Sorbian being used in administration. In legal procedures, the use of Sorbian was allowed under certain circumstances (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 165). Certain towns, however, imposed a blank ban on the use of Sorbian in court (Šořta 1976: 35); on the other hand, Sorbian speakers in the town of Bautzen had to swear the burghers' oath mentioned above in Sorbian rather than in German.

There appears to have been more room for Sorbian in the religious domain, witness religious publications in Sorbian (see below) and some direct evidence for Sorbian-language ministers in the area (Teichmann 1999). In general, Pietist congregations were more generous towards Sorbian than other denominations; the absence of Pietism from Lower Lusatia has been given as a contributing factor to the decline of the language there (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 275).

There were very few publications in Sorbian, and most of these were translations of religious works. Sorbian-language media only emerged only at the end of the 18th century, but three separate attempts at starting up a newspaper in Sorbian were short-lived, partly due to lack of cooperation from the authorities (Stone 1972: 45–46).

### 3.5.5 *Demography*

The population of Lower Lusatia was almost completely Sorbian-speaking in the 16th century, while Upper Lusatia had a large share of German-speaking immigrants. In the sources, their numbers range from between slightly less than half to about three-quarters of the population (Mětšk 1965: 40; Ermakova 1987: 54; Kunze 2001: 274). In total, the



Sorbian language area was populated by up to 200,000 people in this period, four-fifths of whom were Sorbs. There were approximately 1850 Sorbian villages, against only 22 German ones, which formed language islands in the Sorbian area (Brankač & Mětšk 1977: 161).

The Thirty Years War (1618–1648) caused a significant demographic crisis, during which warfare combined with crop failure and five plague epidemics to decrease the population by half. Population losses varied widely throughout the area, with some Upper Lusatian areas losing ‘only’ a quarter of their population, and some areas in Lower Lusatia becoming effectively depopulated (Šořta 1976: 54; Kunze 2001: 282). The areas were then repopulated, in the core of the Sorbian language area ‘through interregional balancing of the population’,<sup>10</sup> but in the more peripheral areas through immigration of German-speakers (Šořta 1976: 54).

At the end of the 18th century, the Sorbian language area had halved in size compared to the late 15th century. The decline was much stronger in Lower Lusatia than in Upper Lusatia (Brankač & Mětšk 1977: 307). In the Brandenburg-Prussian areas, the Wendish District had been largely Germanised by 1800, while in the Cottbus area all parishes, apart from the bilingual towns Cottbus and Peitz, were still Sorbian-speaking (Kunze 1999: 10).

The area was predominantly rural with little urbanisation (Brankač & Mětšk 1977: 180). The larger towns (> 10,000 inhabitants) were outside the Sorbian language area, but there were some smaller towns (2000–5000 inhabitants) in the area, most importantly Cottbus and Bautzen (see also Houston 1999: 148). The majority of the German population lived in towns, but only a sixth of Sorbian-speakers did. Nonetheless, a third of the population of Bautzen was Sorbian, and in some of the smaller towns the Sorbian population was larger than that (Brankač & Mětšk 1977: 163; Šořta 1976: 31; Kunze 2001: 278).

---

10) ‘durch zwischenregionalen Ausgleich der Bevölkerung’

### 3.5.6 Linguistics

#### *One or two languages?*

The question whether Upper and Lower Sorbian are two separate languages or varieties of the same language is often disputed (e.g. Schuster-Šewc 1959; Polański 1980; Ermakova 1987). The argument ultimately stems from the two different tribes settling in Lusatia (Polański 1980: 230). Their settlements were separated by the marshes and forests of the Lusatian Heath, which were only settled at some later (disputed) date, and would have made contact between the two populations difficult (Ermakova 1987: 49–50). Schuster-Šewc (1959: 590) describes the Upper and Lower Sorbs as ‘two separate historical communities’,<sup>11</sup> and in line with the Marxist linguistics on which he bases his argument, writes that for lack of political unity, there cannot have been linguistic unity between Upper and Lower Sorbian either (580).

Schuster-Šewc’s argument is further based on substantial linguistic differences between Upper and Lower Sorbian. He cites the early Sorbian grammarian Schmalzer, who in 1841 found the two varieties to be ‘so different, that Upper and Lower Sorbs can only make themselves understood to each other with difficulty’ (Schuster-Šewc 1959: 577).<sup>12</sup> Polański (1980: 243), on the other hand, sees a dialect continuum, which would count against an *Abstand* classification. Historically, an *Ausbau* classification seems more correct, as Sorbian was codified in three different ways due to the area’s political and religious fragmentation (see below).

Polański (1980: 242) also draws attention to the factor of national identity, based on the work of Löttsch, and advocate of the one-language interpretation. Löttsch stresses that all Sorbs call themselves Sorbian, regardless of dialect, and supposes that this implies linguistic as well as ethnic unity (see also Kunze 2001: 268). Interestingly, the earliest

11) ‘zwei getrennte historische Gemeinschaften’

12) ‘so verschieden, daß Oberlausitzer und Niederlausitzer sich einander nur mit Mühe verständlich machen können’

historiography from the 16th century dealt with Lusatia as a unit, and only in the 18th century did (predominantly German) historiographers find it more natural to separate both Lusatias (Bahleke 2001: 22–23). Whether this reflects perceptions of Sorbian ethnic unity at the time, however, is unclear.

### *Different standardisations*

Prior to the Reformation, Sorbian was not a written language (Ermakova 1987: 57). The Sorbs then participated in the growth of vernacular literacy visible across Western Europe, but because of political fragmentation and religious differences (an area west of Bautzen in Upper Lusatia remained Catholic), three separate writing traditions developed. The actors in the movements were aware of the other traditions (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 278), but mutual influences are unclear, and the three standardisations are best seen as separate developments.

The first Sorbian variety to be written was Lower Sorbian (but see Kunze 2001: 281, in a 1548 manuscript translation of the New Testament into a language based on now extinct dialects east of the rivier Neisse. The translation was modelled on a Czech Bible translation, which may have influenced the language as well (Teichmann 1995: 72, 79–80; Schuster-Šewc 1983: 807). A small number of religious texts were printed in various dialects, and a grammar was written based on the dialect of Cottbus (Polański 1980: 234). Because of repressive policies towards Sorbian elsewhere in Lower Lusatia (see below), the Cottbus dialect emerged as the standard for Lower Sorbian writing in the 18th century (Stone 1972: 117–118).

Upper Sorbian writing developed half a century later than its Lower Sorbian counterpart, but again started with religious texts (Polański 1980: 234; Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 238). After the development of Lower Sorbian writing slowed down, it is in Upper Sorbian that we find the first signs of language standardization: an orthography was devised in 1689 (Trofimovič 1987: 71), and the Upper Lusatian Diet became involved in standardisation

and the translation and distribution of Sorbian-language catechisms and hymnals in the 1690s (Mětšk 1959: 128–143; Polański 1980: 235).

The Sorbs that remained Catholic after the Reformation did not participate in the development of the Upper Sorbian (Protestant) standard, but instead developed their own system. In contrast to the other two writing traditions, the first text in this tradition was a grammar (1679), although the majority of texts were of a religious nature here as well (Trofimovič 1987: 71; Polański 1980: 234, 237; Kunze 2001: 285). Because of ties to Catholic Bohemia, the Catholic standard for Lower Lusatian was markedly different from the Protestant one: it was inspired by Czech rather than German spelling, and when the Protestant system followed German in the switch to Fraktur type in the late 17th century, the Catholic standard remained in Latin type (Polański 1980: 236).

### *Language skills*

Despite Lusatia being an enclave in a German-speaking area, and containing German-speaking enclaves itself, especially in the towns, the extent of Sorbian-German bilingualism among Sorbs appears to have been quite limited. Sources focus mainly on the first half of the 16th century, when although there is evidence of some bilingualism, the Sorbs' German skills were limited enough for it to still be necessary in legal matters to use Sorbian (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 165, 175–177; Kunze 2001: 278). Similarly, it was thought necessary to use Sorbian in church after the Reformation, rather than German which was feared not to be understood, although the use of Sorbian may also have been to aid recruitment for the Protestant church (Šořta 1976: 50; Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 193).

Evidence from later periods is considerably more sparse, but it seems that at least in the core areas the situation had not changed much by the late 17th and early 18th century. Brankačk & Mětšk (1977: 270) mention the difficulties involved in teaching the Sorbs German. Another example of Sorbs still being monolingual is the complaint about a new German-speaking minister in Friedensdorf in the 17th century: parishioners claimed not

to understand him. However, considering the geographical position of Friedensdorf on the periphery of the Sorbian language area and its proximity to monolingual German areas, this may well have been a contrivance to retain Sorbian in church rather than a reflection of the linguistic skills of the community (Teichmann 1999: 26–29).

### *Migration patterns*

Migration seems to have played a considerable role in the history of Lusatia, starting with the German ‘Ostsiedlung’ of the 13th century. This functioned as a stepping stone for further German immigration, so that by the end of the 15th century, the previously Sorbian area west of the river Elbe was completely Germanised, as was the tendency elsewhere on the periphery of the Sorbian language area (Mětšk 1965: 40; Kunze 2001: 274; Šořta 1976: 34; Ermakova 1987: 54).

A second wave of German immigration came after the depopulation in the Thirty Years War. The peripheral areas of Lusatia near the language border were repopulated with German immigrants, but especially in Upper Lusatia and the Brandenburg areas, there were also Hussite immigrants fleeing from religious persecution in Bohemia (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 224, 248; Šořta 1976: 54; Schunka 2001: 146, 148). A final colonisation movement was ordered in the mid-18th century by Friedrich II of Prussia, and brought German immigration particularly to the Wendish district. Cottbus was the designated area for Sorbian settlers, and the rest of Lusatia was not under Prussian rule, so this particular colonisation movement did not affect all of the Sorbian language area (Kunze 1999: 9; Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 287–288).

There were also waves of migration of Sorbian speakers out of Lusatia. A first major wave of out-migration came during the Thirty Years War, when people fled from the war efforts, increased taxation, and disease. Such migrations happened regularly, often connected to mistreatment by the nobility, crop failures, or war (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 222–224, 259, 284–286; Kunze 2001: 282–283).

### 3.5.7 *Psychology*

Šořta (1987: 30–31) argues that towards the end of the Early Modern period, at least the Sorbian cultural élite appears to have had a hybrid identity. He exemplifies with the poet Jurij Mjeń, who translated a poem by German author Klopstock into Sorbian to prove the versatility of the Sorbian language, but also as it ‘the grandest and most majestic poem that *we Germans* currently possess’ (emphasis in original).<sup>13</sup> This appears to be a breach with the earlier part of the Early Modern period, when the emphasis had lain on the Slavic identity of the Sorbs, expressed in cultural and educational contacts with Bohemia, Slovakia and Slovenia, and around the visit of the Russian tsar Peter the Great to Upper Lusatia in 1697 (Brankačk & Měřšk 1977: 215; Šořta 1976: 58; 1987: 31).

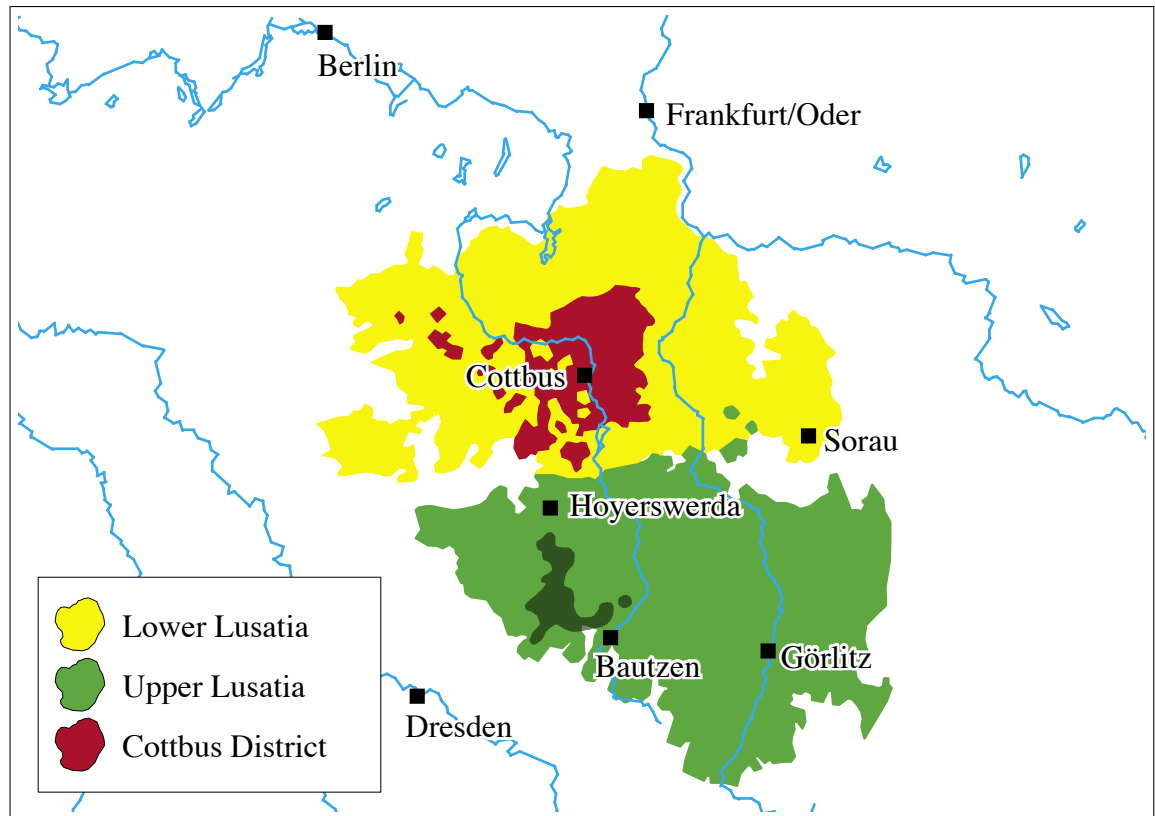
Majority attitudes towards the Sorbs were overwhelmingly negative, and grounded in a general anti-Slavic outlook going back to the 13th century. For example, Luther found the Sorbs *pessima omnium natio* ‘the worst of all peoples’, and Sorbian dancing was prohibited in the 16th century as it consisted of ‘improper twisting, shouting, and obscene gestures’ (Brankačk & Měřšk 1977: 182, 173).<sup>14</sup> Only with Pietism and Enlightenment in the 18th century did more positive attitudes surface, primarily in travel journals, but negative comments persisted as well (Brankačk & Měřšk 1977: 298, 305).

### 3.5.8 *Politics, law and government*

The Sorbian language area was divided over several political entities. Upper and Lower Lusatia were Bohemian crown lands until they were transferred to Saxony at the Peace of Prague (1635). Brandenburg-Prussia owned Cottbus, an enclave in Lower Lusatia, and the Wendish District to the north of Lower Lusatia. Saxony and Silesia owned smaller enclaves in the area.

13) ‘das erhabenste und majestätischste Gedicht . . . das *wir Deutschen* zur Zeit haben’

14) ‘ungeziemliche Verdrehen, Geschrei und unzüchtige Gebärden’



**Figure 3.4**

Map showing the political divisions of Lusatia at the time of the Reformation. Based on Kersken (2001: 128).

The degree of autonomy differed from one area to the next, with Upper Lusatia the most autonomous region (Bahlcke 1994: 51). In general, whichever polity it belonged to, Lusatia was always a peripheral area, and the local nobility tried to use that to their own advantage by exploiting the local population out of sight of the national rulers (Šořta 1976: 41). On the other hand, Lusatia's strategic geographical position between the three major political powers made it an object of rivalry, and much depended on keeping the internal peace in the region (Ermakova 1987: 61).

#### *Language policies*

Policies regulating the use of Sorbian have occurred in the area from a very early point. Several towns outside the Sorbian language area at the beginning of the Early Modern period had laws forbidding Sorbian in the preceding centuries, which were effective in

forcing a language shift to German (Šořta 1976: 35). Also in the Early Modern period, there were several language policies, which differed from area to area due to the political subdivisions of Lusatia.

In the Wendish District (Brandenburg-Prussia), the authorities' attitudes towards Sorbian varied between suppression, tolerance and support, depending on the monarch (Kunze 1999: 4–6). Intolerance came to a climax with the 'Dezemberreskript' of 1667, banning Sorbian preaching and ordering the destruction of all Sorbian writing. After a short period of tolerance from 1668 to 1713, the *Dezemberreskript* was reinstated and strictly enforced. In the mid-18th century, Friedrich II organised a colonisation movement in which German settlers founded new villages in the area, giving the final blow to Sorbian in the Wendish District.

The town of Cottbus and surrounding area also belonged to Brandenburg-Prussia, and although the greater tendencies in language policy were similar to those in the Wendish district, the details differed (Kunze 1999: 7–10). Both under Friedrich I (1668–1713) and Friedrich II, Cottbus' strategic position caused more tolerance as they preferred to limit the internal unrest a limitation of the Sorbs' linguistic rights would cause (Brankačk & Měřšk 1977: 266; Šořta 1976: 61). In Friedrich II's colonisation movement, it seems to have been policy to send all Sorbian colonists to Cottbus, so that the peripheral area in the Wendish District could be Germanised (Kunze 1999: 9; Brankačk & Měřšk 1977: 287–288).

Lower Lusatia was the heartland of Sorbian writing until the mid-17th century. As it was Saxon rather than Prussian, the *Dezemberreskript* did not apply to this area, although the Prussian policies inspired the Saxons to instate anti-Sorbian measures in the area in 1668 (Teichmann 1999: 25). These measures are often believed to have been successful, and the contrast between the relative tolerance in Cottbus and the restrictions elsewhere in (Saxon) Lower Lusatia can be seen even today: most speakers are concentrated in and around the town, rather than in the rural areas of Lower Lusatia (Kunze 1999: 10).



By contrast to the Lower Lusatian areas, language policies in Saxon-ruled Upper Lusatia were generally considerably more supportive of Sorbian (Mětšk 1959). Sorbian was generally allowed both in church and in the army, and the Upper Lusatian authorities funded and supported the printing of materials in Upper Sorbian, among these religious and linguistic texts. The reasons behind the support varied, and there have been claims that the authorities only supported Sorbian to trigger an assimilation from within, or to prevent the Sorbs from falling back on superstition (or worse, Catholicism), but the fact remains that Upper Sorbian fared much better than Lower Sorbian in the Early Modern period, and the overwhelming majority of Sorbian-language parishes did not shift to German (148).

### 3.5.9 Education

Education was available in Lusatian towns throughout the Early Modern period, although for university education Lusatia was dependent on Bohemia, Germany, Poland or even Italy. In the 16th century, gymnasiums were founded in Lusatian towns that took on some of the functions of universities (Kersken 2001: 131; Schunka 2001: 159; Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 177). In the 17th and 18th century, education changed to give a greater role to practical over academic knowledge (Schunka 2001: 158–159), although three academic-based societies were founded in Upper Lusatia in the mid-18th century (Bahlcke 2001: 25).

Sorbs likely played a very limited role in this. Very few attended the *Lateinschule*, although there were exceptions: there were Sorbian humanists educated at Polish universities, and throughout the period Sorbian clergy was educated who also branched out to the sciences (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 177, 241).

Even with Sorbs in education, the Sorbian language was virtually absent from education until the 19th century (Mětšk 1965: 48). Provisions for Sorbian were made at the Sorbian seminaries in Prague, Leipzig and Wittenberg (all located outside the Sorbian language

area). The quality of German-medium education appears to have been limited, given the reported difficulties in teaching Sorbian children German (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 270).

### 3.5.10 Religion

Lusatia was Christianised in the wake of the eastward German military expansions in the 10th century (Kunze 2001: 271). Sorbian was used alongside Latin initially, but Stone (1972: 13) by the 15th century all clergy was German, and interpreters were necessary. Teichmann (1995: 59) on the other hand only sees German come in after the Reformation as a replacement of Latin, making little impact as it was ‘just another foreign language’. The Reformation reached Lusatia in 1522–1523, and after the religious peace of Augsburg (1555), most of Lusatia became Protestant, with only the areas belonging to the bishopric or monasteries remaining Catholic (Kunze 2001: 179–180; the highlighted area in Figure 3.4).

Sorbian clergy were involved in the Reformation, among them Mikławš Jakubica, who translated the Bible into Lower Sorbian. There was room for Sorbian in church, primarily for a lack of German skills (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 192) and authorities in both Upper and Lower Lusatia took measures to ensure enough Sorbian clergy was available (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 195; Teichmann 1995: 60; Stone 1972: 15–16). However, although Sorbian was anywhere between tolerated and supported in fully Sorbian-speaking areas, ‘there were no second thoughts about banishing Sorbian from church and school’ in areas where German had already gained a foothold (Kunze 2001: 283). This only changed with the advent of pietism in the late 17th century, a new religious current preaching tolerance towards other beliefs and other languages, which became popular among the nobility in Upper Lusatia and Cottbus (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 272–275).

In the small district in Upper Lusatia that remained Catholic, there were no attempts to eradicate Sorbian (Kunze 2001: 279–280). On the whole, the Catholic church was less involved in Germanisation policies than the Protestant church (Mětšk 1965: 46), possibly

related to links to Bohemia (Kunze 2001: 285). Despite this tolerance, Sorbian literary development in this area did not start until 1670 (see above).

Šořta (1976: 53) asserts that the Reformation was mostly a political act over which the population had no influence. This does not mean religious was not important. As Schunka (2001: 154) writes:

In everyday life, they dealt with confessional matters rather pragmatically. For the country folk, anyway, confessional differences did not always have a decisive meaning. The people were subject to their personal, socio-economic constraints of life. Despite this, religion was of high significance, and therefore bad weather conditions, crop failures and wars were not seldom understood as divine punishment. The authorities therefore purposefully used these beliefs of their subjects as reason for disciplinary measures.<sup>15</sup>

The impact of language policies in church may therefore also have been significant.

### 3.5.11 *Economics*

The majority of Sorbs were tenant-farmers, who – in the Marxist view of history – were exploited by the local German nobility (Brankačk & Měřšk 1977: 156; Šořta 1976: 41). Sorbian farmers generally had a worse social position than German farmers (Kersken 2001: 120), leading them to revolt against their feudal lords in the early 1500s (Kunze 2001: 279; although such revolts were common in Germany and Europe as a whole in this period, see e.g. Gunn 1999: 104).

In the 17th century, weaving was introduced to the economic life of the Sorbs, a development sped up by immigration from Bohemia. The weaving industry brought closer trading links between Saxony and Bohemia, and also changed the weavers' social patterns: men

---

15) 'Im Alltagsleben handelte man in konfessionellen Dingen also recht pragmatisch. Für die Landbewohner hatten Konfessionsunterschiede ohnehin nicht immer eine entscheidende Bedeutung. Die Menschen waren ihren persönlichen, sozioökonomischen Zwängen der Lebensbewältigung ausgeliefert. Trotzdem besaß die Religion einen hohen Stellenwert, und deshalb wurden schlechte Witterungsverhältnisse, Mißernten oder Kriege nicht selten als göttliche Strafen verstanden. Die Organe der Herrschaft setzten diese Vorstellungen der Untertanen dan auch gezielt als Begründung für Disziplinierungsversuche ein.'

stayed at home more than before, and the workload became more evenly shared between men and women (Schunka 2001: 147).

### 3.6 Discussion and research questions

A number of interesting recurring factors arise from both the initial survey (3.2) and the more in-depth descriptions (3.3–3.5): for example, the influence of demographic change, the role of language policies, the unclarity about a target variety in the shifts, mechanisms of language change, and language attitudes.

It is not possible to investigate all of these issues in enough depth within the scope of a Ph.D. thesis, and I have had to choose to leave certain of these topics. I will for example not be looking at language attitudes, and questions of identity and sociolinguistic information that can be harvested from minority- and majority-language literature by minority-language populations (see McLeod 2003). The work of minority-language authors like Michiel de Swaen and Jurij Mjeń, who appear to have identified with both the minority- and the majority-language groups, is likely to contain interesting information about language attitudes. However, an analysis of a representative body of literature requires fluency in a number of languages and techniques that I do not have; moreover, it would be a very work-intensive project that does not guarantee workable results. I have therefore chosen three topics that are more in line with my own experience and which I believe are more likely to contribute to our knowledge of the sociolinguistics of Early Modern European minority languages within the constraints of a Ph.D. thesis.

I will be looking into the question of **target varieties**. Peripheral areas where we find minority languages, are often also peripheral with regard to the majority language. For example, the Romance variety spoken in the area adjacent to French Flanders was Picard rather than French, and Upper Brittany was mostly Gallo-speaking. (Lusatia is a notable exception, as it is geographically close to the origins of Standard German in the Saxon chancery standard and the writings of Luther.) A question on Edwards' 'language' level

is what ‘variety’ of the majority language did the shifting population shift to and why? In Chapter 6 I take two different approaches to the language minority-language speakers shifted to: I look at the Scots of Shetland in a ‘traditional’ comparative dialectological study, and at the French spoken in French Flanders using computational methods of language comparison.

Are there any characteristics that are shared by these target varieties? Can these be explained by similar sociolinguistic backgrounds, whether this is a background of shift or otherwise? Can the target varieties shed any light on the question how the shifting population acquired their new language?

Secondly, on the ‘setting’ level of Edwards’ model, the role of **language policies** is striking. In all cases, some form of language policy was in place at least during part of the Early Modern period. The language policies differed from each other in terms of the authority that instituted them, and their effectiveness. In Chapter 5 I will look at the language policies applying to Shetland, French Flanders, and Lusatia, and discuss how these policies contributed – or not – to the language shifts in these areas.

The topic of Chapter 4 is the influence of **demographic change**, a question at the ‘speaker’ level of Edwards’ model. Many of the cases where minority languages were lost were characterised by the immigration of majority-language speakers, and the cases where minority language stood strongest were not impacted by such immigrations. I will undertake quantitative studies of migrations to Shetland and French Flanders, and the integration of immigrants into these societies, to see what exactly the nature of these migrations was. Who were the immigrants? And how did the immigrations influence patterns of language use in these areas?

The three topics that I have chosen to focus on are clearly very different from each other, and require a range of different methodologies. They also touch upon different aspects of the sociolinguistics of Early Modern minority languages. When I then discuss my

findings in Chapter 7, I hope not only to have shed some more light on the reasons for and the mechanisms of language shift in this period, but also to be able to say which methodologies are fruitful in this type of study.

# The influence of demographic change

## Chapter 4

---

### 4.1 Introduction

We have seen that the Early Modern period was characterised by many population movements, among these migrations into minority-language areas of people who spoke the majority language (for a qualification of the immigrants' language, see Chapter 6). It may be that the demographic changes caused by these population movements played an important role in the language shifts.

A demography of course has many characteristics, and demographic change can involve a change in the gender make-up of a society, in age and lifespan, in professions, religions, etc. The characteristic most relevant to language shift is the ethnic, or rather ethnolinguistic, make-up of a population. If the relative sizes of two linguistic groups in a population change, this can have an effect on which of the groups is socially dominant.

In this chapter, I will look at the effects of migration on the minority language communities in Shetland and French Flanders. In particular I will investigate how immigrants integrated in the communities' social networks, as evidenced by patterns of ethnic intermarriage. I will begin the chapter with a short overview of two of the main reasons for demographic change, economic change and migration. I will then place the studies in a context of other historical demographic studies, and discuss the nature of the onomastic evidence used. I will then present and discuss the data for both studies, first separately and finally in a comparative conclusion.

## 4.2 Reasons for demographic change

### 4.2.1 *Economic change*

The Early Modern period is a transition period between the agrarian economies of the Middle Ages and the industrialised economies from the 19th century. Although economies in this period were still predominantly agrarian, there was a growing rural handicraft industry that has been termed ‘proto-industrialisation’ (Mendels 1972). In Lusatia and Flanders, this was mostly a textile industry (weaving).

Although weaving was also done by farming families in the times of year when work on the land was limited, part of the population took up weaving as their primary industry. Family situations for the weavers were different from the farmers’: the farmers depended heavily on their land and in order to keep the farm large enough for subsistence when it was split among the heirs, they had an interest in limiting the number of children they had. Weavers did not have this concern: in fact, the more hands that were available to weave, the better. Children were easily available labour, and there was no risk of splitting up the family business into unworkably small units. Farmers of course also had an interest in more hands at work, but solved that problem by hiring farmhands rather than having too many children.

If the farmers are typically the minority-language population, and the weavers are typically the majority-language population, then it is clear how this economic development could change the ethnodemographic make-up of the population: the majority population grows faster than the minority population and will eventually outnumber them.

But it does not appear that ethnic and professional divisions went along the same lines. Farmers in Lusatia were both Sorbian and German, as were the weavers (there were also many Bohemian weavers). Although Flanders was well-known for its weaving, rural industry seems to have been completely absent from ‘Maritime Flanders’, i.e. the



Westhoek (Mendels 1972: 251, *pace* Coornaert 1970), so a weavers/farmers distinction will not have existed either. In Shetland, the *odal* system of land tenure, where only the eldest son would inherit the entire farm, meant the farmers would not necessarily have had an incentive to have few children.

As there do not seem to have been any ethnic factors in this proto-industrialisation, it is unlikely that this study will benefit much from this approach, especially as detailed data which makes it possible to link people's ethnicity and their profession is extremely sparse.

#### 4.2.2 Migration

Another way to change the ethnodemographic make-up of a population, and one for which we have ample evidence from the Early Modern period, is migration. In rough terms, we can distinguish two types of migration that are relevant to language shift: the migration of minority-language speakers out of the areas they traditionally lived in, and the migration of majority-language speakers into these minority-language areas.

The out-migration of minority-language speakers is relevant for two reasons. Firstly, the migrants will move to an area where a different language is predominant, and it is possible that they will shift to the dominant language there. This is the usual pattern in modern migrations to Western countries, although there are groups that are successful at maintaining their own language. As the topic for this thesis is roughly geographically defined, I will disregard what happened to the migrants after they left their area of origin.

Secondly, if the migrants out of the minority-language area are predominantly of the minority ethnicity, that will leave the ethnic balance in the area changed in favour of the majority ethnicity. The same result is achieved by majority-population immigration into the minority-language area.

When we then look at how migration and the subsequent ethnodemographic changes in society might have been a mechanism in the language shifts, it is possible that plain

numerical strength was a major factor. Thomason & Kaufman (1991: 122) posit that a majority-language population need only be about a third of the total population to make it unnecessary for them to learn the minority language anymore. This is confirmed by a mathematical exercise in MacKinnon (2006), who claimed that the ‘watershed’ is a minority-language population of 70%.

MacKinnon posits a bilingual community where the minority language is used in conversations between minority-language speakers, but as soon as one of the conversation partners is a majority-language speaker, the default language of conversation is the majority language. The chance of both conversants being minority-language speakers is  $70\% \times 70\% = 49\%$ . If a third person is added to the conversation, the chances of the conversation being held in the minority language drop to 34.3%. This explains at least the minority language speakers’ need to learn the majority language.

We will have to assume that MacKinnon’s idea that the majority language is favoured in inter-ethnic communication, is correct. It does appear to be the normal pattern from the work of Joshua Fishman, and also Glück (2002: 60) comments, with reference to the Germanisation of Slavic areas in the Middle Ages, that Germanisation did ultimately not occur in (peripheral) areas where German settlers were numerically weakest.

But it is unlikely that this is merely a question of numbers. There are different kinds of migration, and it can be expected that they result in different patterns of social integration. Two typologies of migration are discussed in Glück (2002: 147–148). The first of these was developed by Hartmut Esser, and is criticised by Glück for being somewhat haphazard. Esser’s typology comprises four axes along which a migration can be placed:

- 
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | voluntary migration — forced migration      |
| 2 | conquest — being conquered                  |
| 3 | innovative purposes — conservative purposes |
| 4 | individual migration — group migration      |
-

This typology involves only one distinction in type of migration (4), and three continua of reasons for migration (1–3). Different points on these axes may have different consequences for people’s social networks or their efforts to maintain them. For example, people who migrate for innovative purposes, because they see new chances and a better life for themselves elsewhere, may give up their old social networks and integrate into the new community quicker than those who migrate for conservative purposes, because their old way of living is not sustainable any longer in their old location, and moving away gives them a possibility to continue their lives as before.

The breach with people’s old social networks is one of the characteristics in the typology of migration by Charles Tilly (in Glück 2002: 148). This typology is not (necessarily) concerned with the reasons for migration, and only looks at its characteristics; apart from the breach with the migrant’s old social network – the extent to which they have actually *left* their place of origin – these are the nature and distance of the migration.

|   |  | distance      | breach |
|---|--|---------------|--------|
| 1 | local migration                        | small         | small  |
| 2 | circular migration                     | small-large   | small  |
| 3 | chain migration                        | likely larger | medium |
| 4 | career migration and fleeing movements | large         | large  |

If the breach with the migrant’s old social network is small, as in local and circular migration (e.g. seasonal migration, where the migrant returns to their place of origin regularly), it is likely that, if they have moved to an area with a different language, they will continue to also speak their own language and pass it on to their children. In the longer distance migrations where the breach with the old social network is larger, the chance for language shift is bigger, although as the following examples show other factors play a role as well.

A study by Sortor (2005) of immigration to Saint-Omer in French Flanders (1413–1455) showed that many immigrants had prior connections to immigrants that had come before them. These could be familial links or, especially attractive for immigrants from far-away

places, they could simply be from the same place. This pattern corresponds to the ‘chain migration’ in Tilly’s typology. Sortor suggests immigrants could slot into their prior social networks. If we apply this to social network theory on language change, we can expect these immigrants to enter L1 networks in the new environment, which would act as a barrier against language shift.

The fate of Danish migrants who came to the Faroe Islands as administrators in the 16th to 19th centuries (career migration) appears to have differed. Although they were the people in charge, their danicising influence on the Faroese population was extremely limited, because of their small number and their geographical restriction to the capital, Tórshavn. Before the 19th century, ministers with life tenure assimilated into Faroese society; from the 19th century onwards, ministers stayed for shorter time periods, and although they did not assimilate anymore, their shorter stay in the islands prevented them from making too much of a mark. In this later period, the lack of social integration of the majority-language migrants facilitated language maintenance for the minority-language population (Nauerby 1996: 30–35; Wylie 1987: 30–31).

Finally, even social networks may not always tell the whole story. Baycroft (2005) attempted to explain the rapid shift of Flemish immigrant workers in 19th-century Lille (and surrounding towns) to the dominant French, despite some factors that one would expect to actually hamper this shift: their all doing the same type of work (class and social network factors), their large numbers, and their proximity to their area of origin. The Lille area’s French Flemish history and the use of Picard rather than French in the circles the immigrants were likely to associate with are two other reasons that make the rapid shift even more remarkable.

The two studies reported in this chapter<sup>1</sup> involve majority-language populations moving

---

1) Only the demographic developments in Shetland and French Flanders were studied for this chapter. The demographics of Lusatia would be interesting as well, in particular around the colonisation efforts of Friedrich II or with regard to religious differences within the Sorbian population. A study of Lusatia was not attempted, however, due to a lack of encouraging response from local archives in the area.

into minority-language areas. I will look at both the bare numerical facts and the more intricate patterns of social network integration to explain the influence of these migrations on the language shifts in these areas.

### 4.3 Historical demography

The systematic study of historical populations, historical demography, was pioneered in France in the years immediately following World War II, with Louis Henry generally regarded as the founder of the discipline (Rosental 1996, 2003).<sup>2</sup> Historical demography evolved from population statistical studies, used primarily for government planning purposes. After World War II the statistics showed a rise in birth rates, but unlike after World War I, the rates did not fall back to ‘normal’ levels after a few years. Henry decided to look at historical situations to try to find any patterns, so that population statistics could still be of use to policy and planning.

Henry used data from parish registers, which had been prescribed by the Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts (1539), but had thus far not been used. He described these as ‘demographic riches in a wasteland’ (Henry 1953), and developed a methodology to make the best use of these resources. This allowed him to make generalisations about patterns in fertility, birth and death rates, and marriage frequencies.

The element of historical demography that is most relevant for my study is migration, and it is exactly this element that Henry (1953: 288) is skeptical about: migrations hamper the reconstruction of the population of a parish, and it is better to focus on sedentary households. It is true that a study into migrations may require a different type of data, additional to what suffices for Henry’s objectives, and this data may not always be available. Henry’s skepticism is however misplaced, witness e.g. the historical demographic studies

---

2) Previous studies into the historical state of populations were generally less methodological. In Germany, however, historical demography was a popular field in the period between the two World Wars. Because the study of the history of local populations charted in so-called *Ortssippenbücher* lent itself to misuse by National Socialist ideology, and was therefore supported by Nazi authorities, this part of the history of historical demography is often ‘forgotten’ (Imhof 1977: 305–307).

on migration by Sortor (2005) on Saint-Omer, and Lemerrier & Rosental (2000) on intra-migration in the French department Nord. Spencer's advice with regard to bad data in historical linguistics rings true here, too: one should be aware of the limitations (and opportunities) of the available data, and tailor one's research questions to it.

Apart from a quantitative study into migration, there needs to be a qualitative element to the study as well, in particular with regard to the relations between immigrants and the original ('native') population. The social interactions of both groups may give valuable information about the sociolinguistic situation surrounding the Early Modern language shifts in this study.

Given the information available in historical sources, a viable way of looking at these relations is a quantitative study of intermarriage between immigrant and native populations. Marriage registers are often preserved and contain the necessary information to undertake such a study. Intermarriage is particularly interesting; it is one of the main examples Paulston (1986: 498–499) gives as a way of socialisation in the majority language, and such access to the majority language is a prerequisite for language shift.

Past studies of these marriage registers in a British context have focused on the parishes of origin of spouses, and the relations between them. They employed the notion of 'marriage distance' or 'marriage horizon', the distance between the parishes of residence of bride and groom at the time of marriage.

Millard (1982) pioneered this research in Britain, applying statistical methods such as chi-square tests and regression analyses to his data – marriage registers from north Buckinghamshire from the period 1754–1913. Millard's data showed significant links between urban and urban parishes, and between rural and rural parishes in the area he investigated. He found that the geographical direction of migration was not a factor in 'local' migration (migration from within a square of 40×40 km centred on the main location), but that migration over longer distances tended to depend on major transport

routes. Using similar methods to Millard, Hunter (1985) found that there were periods of the year that were more popular for marriage, especially the time around Michaelmas (late September).

In a different context, Lemercier & Rosental (2000) used data from 19th-century marriage registers in the Lille area of Northern France, and found that there was migration between parishes within larger local clusters, but very little between these clusters. This suggests an even stronger preference for 'local' migration than Millard found in England.

However, this local preference for migration may be overestimated, as Pain & Smith (1984) suggest. They cross-referenced data from marriage registers with information from baptismal records. Whereas marriage registers give the parish of residence for the spouses, baptismal records give their parishes of *origin*; Pain & Smith found these were often not the same, and that marriage registers underestimated personal mobility. This can be explained by the tendency of people to marry only after taking up residence in a new parish. A follow-up study by Bellingham (1990) found that this underestimation was especially significant in periods of rapid population growth in a parish; as migration was an important factor in the population growth in Bellingham's study, this could suggest that the more migration there was, the less representative data about this migration can be found in marriage registers.

Where these British and French studies take an exclusively geographic approach to migration, my interest is primarily in the ethnolinguistic component of marriage, either in migration or post-migration. The multi-ethnic societies on Europe's plurilingual margins came about through migration, but I am interested in what happens with the relations between both ethnic groups once these multi-ethnic societies exist – the origins and directions of migration are relevant, but only of secondary importance.

The ethnolinguistic component of post-migration marriage was the topic of studies by Stevens (1985) and Stevens & Swicegood (1987). The former study was based on data

from the Survey of Income and Education (1976) in the United States. Its results suggested that the linguistic assimilation to the (English-language) host community of children from migrant families depended on whether either or both parents had been born in the USA or abroad, and for how long they had been in the USA. Members from different minority migrant backgrounds were more likely to intermarry if they had English as a mother tongue (Stevens 1985: 81–82). A similar study based on 1982 US census data suggested that intermarriage was less likely if ethnolinguistic groups were numerically large and/or geographically segregated. Again, linguistic assimilation was shown to precede the overall assimilation of an ethnolinguistic group through intermarriage (Stevens & Swicegood 1987: 80–81).

#### **4.4 Onomastics as evidence for ethnicity**

In this chapter, I will use names as markers of linguistic ethnicity, but there are several problems connected to this practice. Ethnicity is not necessarily a marker of ‘linguistic allegiance’ (Sandnes 2004: 45, De Swaan 2003: 10), or vice versa.

Having made this qualification, there are also genealogical problems with the use of names: a surname, whether it is a modern-style surname or a traditional patronymic, only shows paternal descent, in the case of patronymics only one generation back. It is possible that a person’s name indicates one ethnicity, but that all his ancestors apart from his father were of another ethnicity. Donaldson (1983) argues that occurrences both ways equal each other out. In his research of late 16th- and early 17th-century Shetland, shortly after the Scots immigration, this is probably true, but in French Flanders, where both linguistic groups had been living side by side for many centuries before the Early Modern period, the link between name and ethnicity may be a lot more problematic.

Then there are a number of linguistic problems. Lexical borrowing is a very common process in situations of language contact, and this process includes the borrowing of names (Sandnes 2004: 45). This borrowing can obscure any ties there were between names and



ethnicity. In 16th-century Shetland, a steady decline of traditional Norse names in favour of Scots names has been observed (Hermann Pálsson 1993: 247), and this affects the reliability of the data.

Another linguistic problem is the fact that names were readily translated. Sandnes (2004: 46–47) gives examples of people using a different form of their name depending on the language of the document: a Scots version in Scots-language documents and a Norse version in Norse-language documents. Another example comes from the French Flemish data used in this chapter, where a person is called *Joannes Goetgebeur* in part of the data, and *Joannes Bon-Voisin* in the corresponding entry in another part of the data, a literal translation into French of this Dutch surname.

The two entries in this last example were written by two different scribes, which could pose another problem.<sup>3</sup> Scribes who are dominant in one language may not be familiar with some names from the other language, and adapt them to a name they are familiar with from their own language. This is especially the case if one of the languages is the ‘carrier language’ of the document. For example, Donaldson (1983) focuses on the Shetland patronymic *Sigurdsson* (a corresponding form in closely related Faroese is *Sjúrdáson* [ʃu:ɹáson]), which appears in the records as *Shewartson*, *Stewartson* or even *Stewart*; it is difficult to find a more iconic Scots name in Shetland.

Although names are by no means an unambiguous indicator of ethnicity, the loose links that do exist between a person’s name and their ethnicity have been recognised by earlier researchers and have been used in studies of both modern (Levine 1988; Mateos 2007; Webber 2007) and historical (Fellows-Jensen 1968: esp. xvi–xviii; Donaldson 1983; Lomas 2002: 179) societies. Given the data usually available in historical studies, using names is often the only way to say something about ethnicity or linguistic allegiance. The two studies reported in this chapter are no exception; onomastic evidence is therefore used

---

3) Incidentally, it is worth noting that the names of both scribes suggest they were Dutch speakers, and that the hand of especially the scribe who wrote *Bon-Voisin* is a typical Dutch secretary hand (see Figure 4.4 for an example), rather than the French-style cursive found elsewhere in the data.

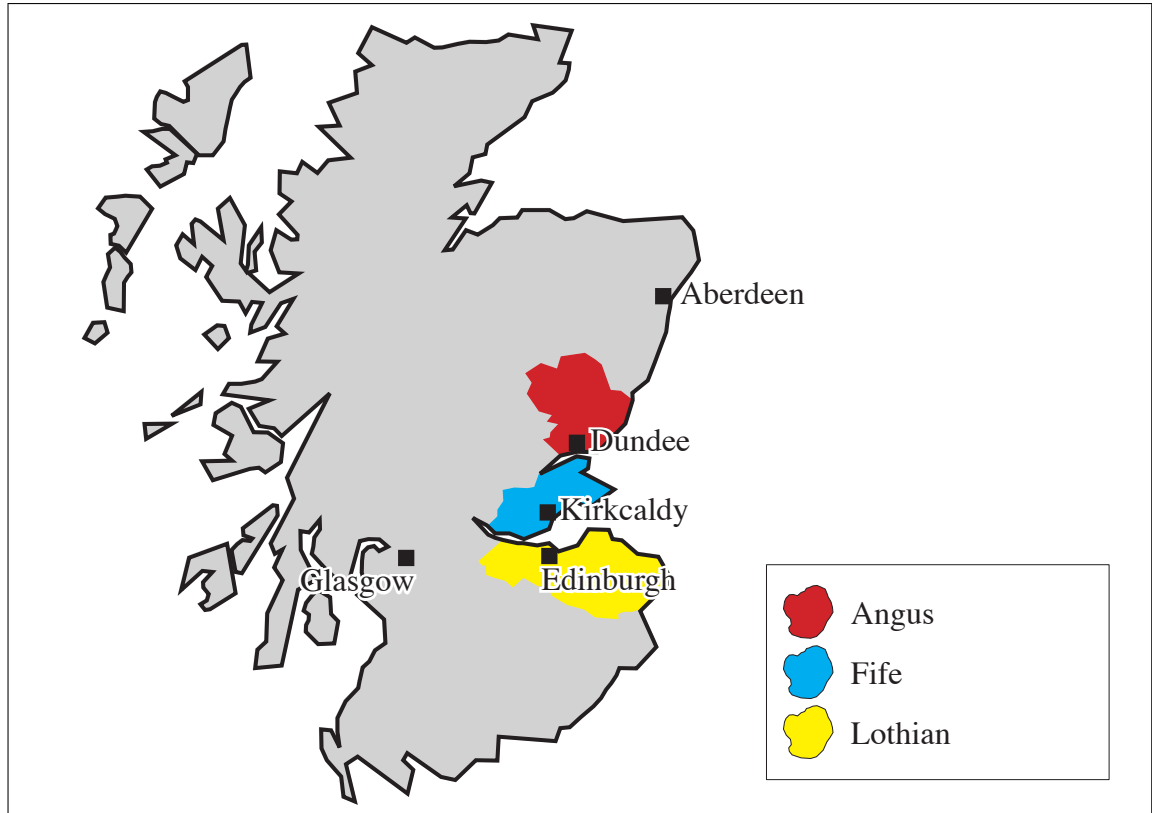
out of necessity, but also because previous studies have obtained useful results with this type of data.

## 4.5 Demographic change in Shetland

### 4.5.1 *The Scots migration to Shetland*

A basic onomastic study of the population of Shetland in the early 17th century was done by Donaldson (1983), based on the Court Book of 1602–1604 and the Register of Testaments. Donaldson found that in the Court Book, a third of the names suggested Scottish descent, with the number in the Register of Testaments slightly lower but still comparable at 30% (315 of 1050, p. 13). Donaldson explains the difference between these figures from the fact that the Register of Testaments contains people who died, and likely *settled* in Shetland, while the Court Book lists people who at any given point merely *lived* in Shetland, for example in a temporary work migration. At this point it is important to remember the estimates by MacKinnon and Thomason & Kaufman, that a majority-language population forming about a third of the total population is an important factor in the acquisition of the majority language, and possibly in language shift; the Scots population in Shetland had reached this proportion by c. 1600.

The Scottish settlers were mostly from the regions of Lothian, Fife and Angus – Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy and Dundee with their hinterlands. Among them we find those who are involved in the secular or ecclesiastical administration of the islands, but also traders and what Donaldson (1983: 12) calls specialist craftsmen: tailors, masons, shoemakers, etc. To say that the Scots language gained prestige through the prestigious jobs of the immigrants is a statement that needs qualification, for this last group will probably have been on a par with the original population and not have enjoyed high status *per se*. The spread of the Scots immigrants over such a variety of professions, and as will be shown below, over all the parishes of Scotland, will have ensured that there was regular interaction between the



**Figure 4.1**

Map of Mainland Scotland, showing the regions of origin for the Scottish migrants to Shetland.

immigrants and the original population. This interaction will most likely have been in Scots.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.5.2 Sources and data

If population registers existed in Shetland in the Early Modern period, they do not survive. However, a cross-section of the population can be derived from a variety of other written sources: a complaint from 1577 against the misrule of Bruce of Cuthmalindie signed by 760 ‘commons and inhabitants of Shetland’ (Schmidt 2006); courtbooks from 1602–1604

4) It is generally considered unlikely that large numbers of Scots speakers acquired Norn. A small number of reports about the islands (by Rev. James Kay in 1690, and by Sir Robert Sibbald in 1711; see Stewart 1964: 163–165) could be interpreted to mean that they did, but especially Kay’s report is unclear as to who he refers to. It is beyond reasonable doubt, however, that interactions in the domains of church and administration happened in Scots. Proof of this is available only for Orkney: for the religious domain, see a comment from 1605 by Sir Thomas Craig in Marwick 1929: 224; for administration, Marwick 1929: xxiii.

(Donaldson 1954), 1612–1615 (Barclay 1962, 1967), and 1615–1629 (Donaldson 1991), and the Register of Testaments from 1611–1650 (Grant 1904).<sup>5</sup>

It is a consequence of the nature of these sources that they may not give an entirely representative picture of the inhabitants of Shetland at the time. In the court books only the names have been recorded of people who had business in court. This cannot have been a representative group in the first place. Moreover, people who were not resident in Shetland had business in Shetland courts, e.g. Scottish and German merchants, and we find their names recorded in the books as well.

Most of the 760 signatories of the 1577 complaint were men, and of the approximately 1050 names in the Register of Testaments only a quarter were women, so there is a clear gender bias in the data. As the total population of Shetland is estimated at 12,000 for the late 16th century, it is clear that these sources show only a small proportion of the population. The Register of Testaments, finally, only shows the names of people whose testaments were executed. To have a testament one would need possessions to bequeath, and the list may well show only those in society who were slightly better off than average.

The only historical demographic source that is suited for research of marriage patterns is the Register of Testaments. There are almost no women's names in the 1577 complaint, and the courtbooks contain no information about marriage. The Register lists both men and women, and moreover, in the case of married or widowed women, it shows the name of their husband as well. (The reverse is not the case: information about marital status for men is only given if his wife's testament was executed and appeared in the Register.)

Some entries from the Register are shown in Table 4.1 as an example.

---

5) This section is based on data previously published in Knooihuizen (2008b). Note that some errors in the statistics were pointed out to me after the journal had gone to print. These errors have been corrected in this section, and a small number of other tests has been added.

---

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| <b>Alexander</b> , Janet, spouse to John Bannatyne, in Hillweill           | 4 July 1648   |
| <b>Alexandersdochter</b> , Marion, in Soitland, Isle of Unst               | 11 Aug. 1629  |
| <b>Allansdochter</b> , Bretta, relict of Erasmus Dikson, in Aith in Fetlar | 31 Aug. 1648  |
| <b>Anderson</b> , Gabriell, in Sicherhous in Papa                          | 16 Sept. 1635 |
| ” Harie, in Hamer. <i>See</i> Magnusdochter, Janet.                        |               |
| ” John, in Setter, par. of Waiss   | 30 July 1613  |
| ” John, in Netherdaill. <i>See</i> Gilbertsdochter, Anna.                  |               |

---

**Table 4.1**

Excerpt from the Register of Testaments (Grant 1904).

Apart from the spouses’ names and through those their ethnicities, the Register of Testament also gives dates for the women’s deaths, or rather the execution of their testaments,<sup>6</sup> and their place of residence. This makes it possible to see whether there are differences between regions in Shetland or between different generations.

Testaments were registered between 1611 and 1650, although there are considerable gaps in the data. The Register also shows a bias towards parishes in the north of Shetland, in particular Unst, and it is unlikely that this reflects major concentrations of people in those areas. Scalloway, the administrative capital of the islands at the time, and its surrounding parish Tingwall, are represented by only ten marriages, and the island of Foula is listed with two – two married women dying in the space of forty years on an island believed to have had some 200 inhabitants at the time seems rather unlikely.

The other bias in the data is towards those who had made wills. Scottish law at the time (Clyde 1937: 312) stated that ‘[n]o persone may have ane air bot he who is aither ane prelat, burges, or in fie undenueded’; also the insane, the dumb and deaf, and minors were not allowed to make wills. Women were allowed to make wills, but there were restrictions for married women: ‘Ane womane being frie, and not subject to no man, may make ane

---

6) It was suggested to me that the delay between a person’s death and the execution of their testament might be some twenty years on average, and in isolated cases as much as fifty years. This does not appear to be the case when cross-referencing the dates for the execution of the wills of Shetland clergymen and their wives with the dates of their deaths as recorded in Scott (1928). The average delay here appears to have been between one and one and a half years, although in isolated cases it could be more: the will of Euphane Cranstane, wife of Nicol Whyte, minister in the parish of Dunrossness, was executed eight years after she died. This case also suggests that women’s testaments were not executed only after their husband’s death, as there is evidence Whyte was alive eight years after his wife died.

testament, bot, if she be under the pouer of her husband, she may not dispoun upon any goods without his consent' (Clyde 1937: 285–286).<sup>7</sup>

Despite these concerns about the representativeness of the data in the Register of Testaments for Shetland society at the time as a whole, the data is very well suited to a survey of inter-ethnic marriage patterns, although the results must be seen only as general trends.

#### 4.5.3 *Names and ethnicity in Shetland*

Linking linguistic background to a person's name is difficult in this Shetland data, as the languages involved are related and share naming customs. There are however also some systematic differences which can be used in assigning ethnicity to a person based on their name. Both first names and surnames can be used for this purpose, and particular attention should be paid to name forms.

Schmidt's (2006) study of the 1577 complaint is the most extensive study of personal names in Shetland. As the vast majority of the signatories were men, the study focuses on men's names only, but his method of analysis applies to women's names as well.

First names are divided into three categories: Norse names, accounting for 30% of the people named, international names (55%), and British names (15%). Complete lists of the names can be found in Schmidt 2006; a reiteration here is unnecessary. These lists are a very useful starting point, especially in combination with the list of Norse names in Shetland by Hermann Pálsson (1993). Some criticisms can be made of this work, however.

Some names appear to be placed in the wrong category, or the categorisation does not follow logically from the discussion (see Knooihuizen 2008b: 29 for a discussion of these problematic cases). A bigger problem is that Schmidt focuses primarily on etymology, and does not necessarily recognise that the *form* of a name can be useful information as

---

7) As in only 10% of cases the wording suggests the husband had died before the wife, i.e. she is described as 'widow' or 'relict', we may conclude that husbands typically did consent to their wives making their own wills.

well: although *John* and *Hans* are cognates, it is clear that the former is an English form, the latter a Scandinavian (or Continental Germanic) form. In addition, when name forms do not give conclusive evidence, local naming preferences may also be distinguished.

There are three types of surnames in Schmidt's data: patronymics, based on the person's father's first name; by-names, which indicate a person's characteristics or profession; and habitation names, stemming from the place a person lives. All three of these categories can be subdivided into 'true' and 'false' names. Only if a name is 'true' is the system still active, and does the content of a surname apply transparently to the name-bearer. Black (1946: xxv) claims true patronymics were no longer used in Orkney and Lowland Scotland by the late 16th century; in Shetland the system persisted until the 1920s. By extension, we may conclude that in this 17th-century data, fixed surnames indicate Scottish descent, and 'true' surnames indicate local Shetland (Norse) descent.

Cross-referencing habitation names in the Register of Testaments with the bearer's place of residence suggests all of these names are false. (This is contrary to Schmidt finding true habitation names in his 1577 data.) Of the habitation names, a small number refer to a Shetland place-name – *Kirkhouse*, *Gott*, and *Inkster* – but these names may as well point at Norse origins as at Scots immigrants naming themselves after their newly acquired land. The same goes for Orcadian place names (*Halcro* and *Linklater*), bearing in mind that Orkney is thought to have been far more Scotticised than Shetland at the time.

By-names occur in Schmidt's 1577 data, but almost exclusively with English first names. Given this strong bias in this type of names, by-names should probably be counted as suggesting Scots-language background.

When it comes to patronymics, it seems relatively safe to classify at least those in *-dochter* as true, and therefore as Norse (but see below). Those in *-son* are more problematic, as many Scots surnames are ultimately derived from (male) patronymics. In these cases the fathers' first name may give an indication of ethnicity.

Finally, information can be gathered from the ‘Surname Profiler’.<sup>8</sup> This is a website showing computer-generated maps, based on data from a recent research project at University College London. The maps only show relative frequencies of names in an area compared to other areas in Great Britain, and the oldest data is from 1881, considerably more recent than the Register. The website does however show some interesting patterns concerning some of the ambiguous names:

- The names *Laurenson* and *Walterson* occur often in Shetland, but are very seldom elsewhere in Britain, despite Schmidt (2006) classifying *Walter* as a British name, and *Laurence* as an international name (although the name occurs with high frequency also in Western Norway). It is not impossible that true patronymics were formed by early Scots immigrants, but as these names hardly occur outside Shetland, a local formation suggesting a Norse language background is perhaps more likely.
- The name *Nicolson* is very frequent in Shetland and in the Highlands and Western Isles. In the latter regions, the name is the Anglicised version of *MacNeacail*, originally from Scorrybreac on Skye. Members of this family did migrate to Shetland, but they did so via Lowland Scotland and only in the late seventeenth century (Sellar & Maclean 1999: 28). The *Nicolsons* in the Register of Testaments are therefore most likely to be of Norse ethnicity.
- The names *Simonson* and *Thomason* are particular to Shetland only, at least in Scotland.<sup>9</sup> Shorter forms *Simpson* and *Thomson* (and spelling variants) are found throughout Scotland, including Shetland. It appears from Black (1946) that English patronymics in general prefer formation with a shorter form of the father’s name (see e.g. the discussion of *Christopherson* vs. *Christieson*). Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that the long forms are Norse formations; the short forms are inconclusive.

---

8) Available online at <http://www.spacial-literacy.org/UCLnames/default.aspx>.

9) Outside Shetland, *Thomason* occurs with high frequency also in Lancashire, and *Simonson* in County Durham. However, there is no evidence of a large-scale migration from Northern England to Shetland, and the English occurrences can be ignored in these cases.



The patterns that emerge from this discussion were used in assigning ethnicities to people, although it must again be stressed that the link between a name and an ethnicity is always tentative. Illustrative of this are some names that do not conform to the expected patterns. One category of these were Norse first names with a Scots surname (*Ingagarth Sinclair*, *Sinevo Fraser*). The Sinclairs had been a factor of influence in Shetland since they acquired the Earldom in 1379, and they will have been among the earliest immigrants. Similarly, the Frasers migrated to Shetland at an early stage (Donaldson 1983: 10). This suggests that there was ethnic intermarriage already from the earliest immigrants.

Another set of interesting names are those with a patronymic based on *Bothwell*. This is a surname, based on a Lanarkshire place-name, and not a first name. However, it must have been understood by the Norse population as a first name in order to form patronymics (and indeed there is a *Bothwell Erasmussen* in the Register). This may have been possible due to formal similarities with Norse names as *Thorwald*. Alternatively, these names could suggest that immigrants adopted local naming practices. However, given the attested 16th-century decline in Norse names in favour of Scots names (Hermann Pálsson 1993), the former explanation is probably more likely.

#### 4.5.4 *Statistical results and discussion*

The Register of Testaments contains the names of 266 married or widowed women, corresponding to the same number of marriages. Because of the problems in assigning Norse or Scots ethnicity to the spouses on the basis of their names, it was not possible to retain the entire data set. Even allowing for considerable leniency and educated guesswork, one or both spouses in approximately a fifth of the marriages had an ambiguous name, and this data has had to be discarded. A total of 216 marriages was left. An alternative analysis with a stricter method of assigning ethnicity to names left only 151 marriages, or 57% of the data, as opposed to the current 81%. Because there is not much data and the data may not be representative to begin with, I felt it was better to use the method that left

|             | <i>n</i> | NN | NS | SN | NN | $\chi^2(1)$ | <i>p</i>                      |
|-------------|----------|----|----|----|----|-------------|-------------------------------|
| North       | 109      | 47 | 16 | 30 | 16 | 0.7221      | 0.3955                        |
| Mid         | 63       | 28 | 9  | 9  | 17 | 8.995       | <b>0.0027</b>                 |
| South       | 34       | 4  | 2  | 5  | 23 | 3.8003      | 0.05124                       |
| Unspecified | 10       | 2  | 2  | 2  | 4  |             |                               |
| Total       | 216      | 81 | 29 | 46 | 60 | 19.1472     | <b>1.21 · 10<sup>-5</sup></b> |
| Expected    | 216      | 65 | 45 | 62 | 44 |             |                               |

**Table 4.2**

Rates of inter-ethnic marriage in late 16th-century Shetland, divided by region.

a larger part of the data intact, rather than feign a greater accuracy of results that will only ever be tentative.<sup>10</sup>

The marriages were divided into three groups: mono-ethnic Norse, mono-ethnic Scots, and inter-ethnic marriages. The latter were divided again into marriages where the husband was Norse (NS) and those where the husband was Scots (SN). The distribution of marriages is shown in Table 4.2. The table also includes the distribution one would expect if everyone in the sample would marry regardless of ethnicity.<sup>11</sup>

Inter-ethnic marriage accounts for about a third of the sample, suggesting that this shortly after the Scots immigration, both population groups were fairly well integrated. However, the expected pattern would see more inter-ethnic and fewer mono-ethnic marriages, and

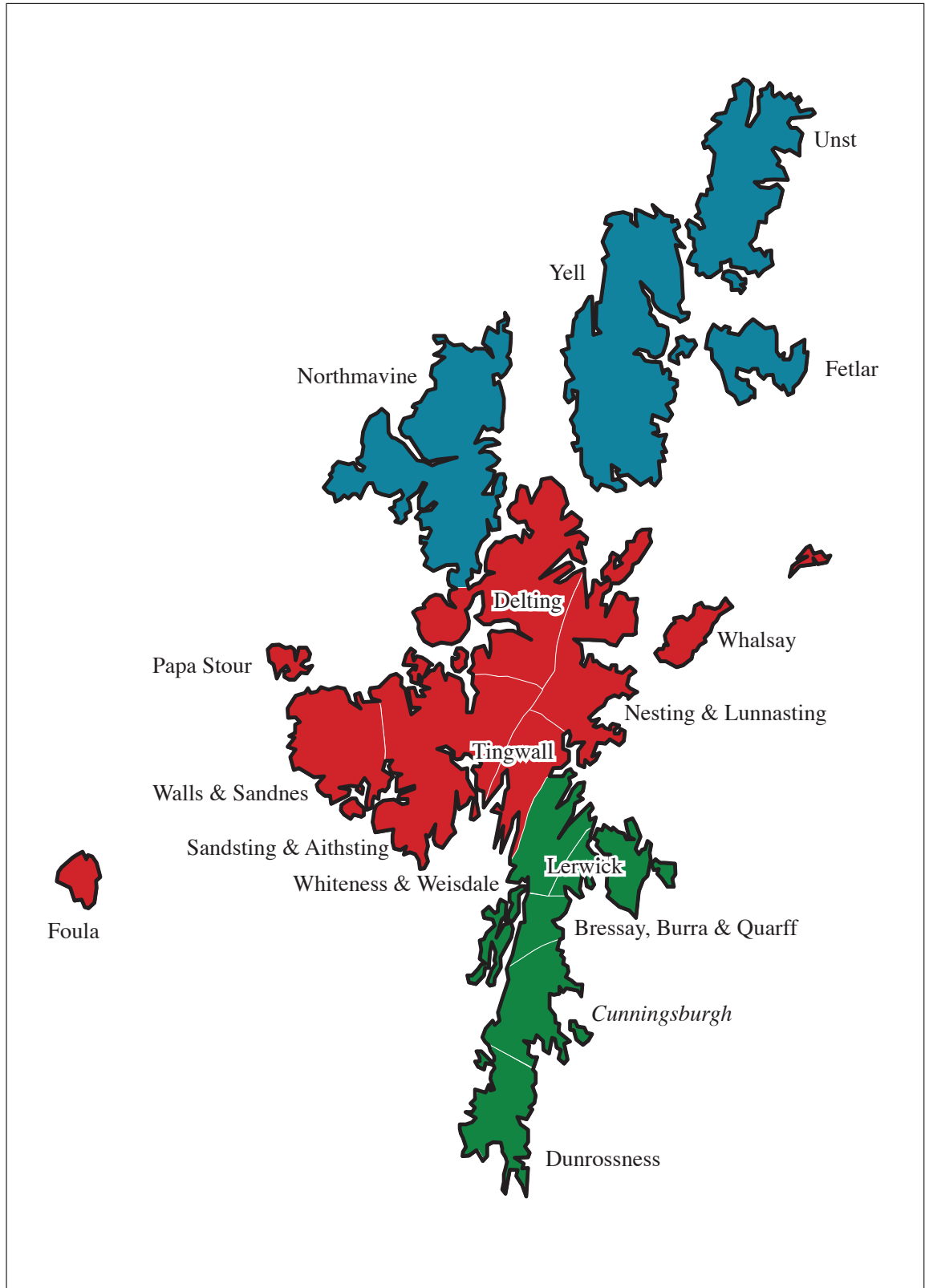
10) Statistical results will be presented in this chapter as follows.

|                       |             |      |
|-----------------------|-------------|------|
| not significant       | $p > 0.05$  | n.s. |
| significant           | $p < 0.05$  | *    |
| highly significant    | $p < 0.01$  | **   |
| extremely significant | $p < 0.001$ | ***  |

11) The expected pattern is calculated by multiplying the number of men of a given ethnicity by the proportion of women of an ethnicity in the population. For example, the expected number of mono-ethnic Norse marriages is

$$110 \times \frac{127}{127+89} = 64.676.$$

These expected patterns were calculated to three decimals for Shetland as a whole, and for each of the three regions separately.



**Figure 4.2**

The grouping of Shetland parishes into three regions. The parishes are shown in their largest (merged or undivided) states. The parish of Cunningsburgh in Southern Shetland does not appear in the data.

this deviation is statistically extremely significant ( $\chi^2(1)=19.1472$ ,  $p=1.210 \cdot 10^{-5}$ , \*\*\*). This suggests people had a preference for marrying within their own ethnic group.

There are large differences in the distribution of marriages between the three regions (see Figure 4.2), and to a lesser extent also between the various parishes that form the regions.<sup>12</sup> Especially striking is the much higher rate of mono-ethnic Scots marriages in Southern Shetland (67%), especially in the southernmost parish of Dunrossness (82%), compared to the Northern parishes of Northmavine, Unst, Yell and Fetlar (15%). (These five parishes are the best-represented ones in the Register, with the least risk of this being a sampling error.) According to Donaldson (1983), Dunrossness was an important place of settlement for Scots immigrants, who were far less numerous in the northern parishes. The different patterns may therefore be a consequence of the ethnic make-up of the population in each of these regions.

Chi-square tests on each of the regions separately suggest that this is indeed the case for the Northern ( $\chi^2(1)=0.7221$ ,  $p=0.3955$ , n.s.) and Southern parishes ( $\chi^2(1)=3.8003$ ,  $p=0.05124$ , n.s.); the deviations from the expected marriage patterns in these regions are not significant (although in the case of Southern Shetland it must be borne in mind that the numbers are extremely small). Only the Mid-Shetland data shows a highly significant preference for endogamy ( $\chi^2(1)=8.995$ ,  $p=0.0027$ , \*\*).

The proportions of both ethnic groups in the population of these areas differ quite widely, and this might be a factor in people's inhibitions to marry outside of their own group. Like MacKinnon and Thomason & Kaufman's 30% watershed for language shift, there may be a proportion of the population at which ethnicity becomes marked, at which people start to notice it and base their choices on it. The percentages of Scots in the population for the two regions where ethnicity is not a significant factor are indeed more extreme than those in the region where ethnicity is a factor, and in Shetland as a whole: in Northern

---

12) The analysis was done at parish level. The parishes were then grouped together into regions by hand, looking at both geographical proximity and similar patterning of the data. Data for separate parishes can be found in Knooihuizen (2008b).

|       | <i>n</i> | Scots     | Norse     |
|-------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Scots | 195      | 120 (62%) | 75 (38%)  |
| Norse | 237      | 75 (32%)  | 162 (68%) |

**Table 4.3**

Preference for marriage partners by ethnicity. The table reads as follows: ‘Of the 195 Scots in the data, 120 (or 62%) married a partner of Scots ethnicity, while 75 (or 38%) married a partner of Norse ethnicity’.

Shetland it is 36%, in Southern Shetland 78% (leaving the Norse population a minority at 22%), while in Mid-Shetland (41%) and overall (45%), the populations are more evenly mixed. This suggests the threshold at which ethnicity becomes a salient factor is a minority population of approximately 40%; this is almost the point at which one can no longer sensibly speak of a (numeric) minority anymore.

Table 4.3 shows 32% of the Norse population and 38% of the Scots population married across ethnic boundaries. The ethnic make-up of the population would predict that the percentages should be 55% for the Scots, and 45% for the Norse. Both groups engaged in exogamous marriage 0.7 times as often as can be expected; in other words, they disfavoured exogamous marriage equally. This tendency, again, is statistically extremely significant ( $\chi^2(1)=37.4052, p=9.597 \cdot 10^{-10}, ***$ ).

A next interesting aspect is a possible gender difference in the choice of marriage partners. As can be seen from Table 4.2, the majority (three-fifths) of the inter-ethnic marriages involved a Norse woman and a Scottish man. This is interesting in light of theories of women being more inclined to strive towards upward social mobility, and in particular of women playing a leading role in language shift or language change towards a standard or prestige variety (the ‘sex prestige pattern’, Hudson 1996: 193–199). If we assume that Scots was the socially dominant, prestigious group, a leading role for women may be expected.

However, as the proportion between Norse-Scots and Scots-Norse marriages in the data is not significantly different ( $\chi^2(1)=0.364, p=0.5466, \text{n.s.}$ ) from what we would expect (see

|          | <i>n</i> | Norse husband<br>Scots wife | Scottish husband<br>Norse wife |
|----------|----------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Actual   | 75       | 29 (39%)                    | 46 (61%)                       |
| Expected | 107      | 45 (42%)                    | 62 (58%)                       |

**Table 4.4**

Gender division in mixed marriages.

| Decade | <i>n</i> | NN | NS | SN | NN | $\chi^2(1)$ | <i>p</i>       |
|--------|----------|----|----|----|----|-------------|----------------|
| 1610s  | 67       | 37 | 3  | 18 | 9  | 5.6651      | <b>0.01731</b> |
| 1620s  | 68       | 25 | 13 | 10 | 20 | 5.8304      | <b>0.01575</b> |
| 1630s  | 36       | 13 | 5  | 7  | 11 | 2.8125      | 0.09353        |
| 1640s  | 45       | 6  | 8  | 11 | 20 | 0.0197      | 0.88850        |
|        | 216      | 81 | 29 | 46 | 60 |             |                |

**Table 4.5**

Development of marriage patterns 1611–1650.

Table 4.4), it is more likely to be a result of a possible imbalance in the gender make-up of the Scots population of Shetland at the time. Donaldson (1983: 13) writes about ‘a certain number of Scots [who] came to Shetland for a time for one reason or another but returned to Scotland’. These Scots that came to Shetland with the intention of work rather than settlement are perhaps more likely to have been male than female, and a surplus of Scots males means that women would be more likely than men to marry a Scots partner.

This absence of a clear leading role for Norse women in inter-ethnic marriage could suggest that the high status modern historians tend to assign to Scots immigrants was not perceived as such by Shetlanders around 1600.

The data do not only show clear geographical differences, but also generational differences. For Table 4.5, the data were separated by the decade in which the married woman died. (In order to get periods of equal length, 1620 was counted as part of the 1610s, 1630 as part of the 1620s, etc.) In light of the available data, this is the closest we can get to showing generational differences. The data set is spread fairly evenly over time and space, so each period in the generational data covers an equally wide range of parishes.

Firstly, the data shows a clear increase in the number of Scots over the generations, from 29% in the 1610s to 66% in the 1640s. This could be because, as inter-ethnic marriage involved predominantly Scots men, the next generation would turn up in the records with a Scots surname and be very likely to be counted as Scots in the method used. It may also indicate that immigration continued well into the 17th century, or that during the century, the class of people with enough possessions to warrant making a testament became increasingly Scotticised. It is difficult to say anything conclusive about this on the basis of this data.

The changing population had its influence on marriage patterns as well, with a spectacular drop in mono-ethnic Norse marriages over time, and a similarly dramatic rise in mono-ethnic Scots marriages. The rate of inter-ethnic marriage stayed approximately the same. Interestingly, the bias towards in-group marriage seems to disappear in the later part of the data, when the deviations from the expected marriage patterns become non-significant.

The size of the numerical minority group, which may have influenced different regional patterns, does not appear to have any bearing on this in this case. In the 1620s and 1630s both groups were of approximately equal size, but patterns were different in these decades. Similarly, the proportions of Scots and Norse were inverted in the 1640s compared to the 1610s, and these decades would have shown similar patterns if group size were a factor.

The most likely explanation is that the groups were well integrated from about 1600 onwards. (This is the time when women dying in the 1630s would probably be married.) With the bias against ethnic exogamy gone, the rapid Scotticisation of the islands in the 17th century comes as no surprise.

#### 4.5.5 *Conclusions*

Using the early 17th-century Shetland Register of Testaments as onomastic evidence for patterns of inter-ethnic marriage between the original Norse population and Scots

immigrants is a highly tentative affair due to the expected unrepresentativeness of the data and substantial difficulties in assigning ethnicities to names. Despite this, certain tendencies may still be observed:

The percentage of inter-ethnic marriage in the data is 35%. Inter-ethnic marriages constituted a large proportion of the total amount of marriage in Shetland at the time, but nonetheless the data shows a significant bias in favour of in-group marriage; the expected proportion of inter-ethnic marriages lies at 50%. The aversion to inter-ethnic marriage appears to have been equal in both the Norse and the Scots group.

Marriage patterns varied across the islands, with the South, in particular the parish of Dunrossness, the only area to show primarily mono-ethnic Scots marriages. As this was the area with the densest Scots population, this is unsurprising. In the South and the North, marriage patterns do not differ significantly from the expected patterns, suggesting that people married regardless of ethnic background. It was only in Mid-Shetland, as well as overall, that the bias appeared. It is interesting to note that the bias is absent in regions where one ethnic group is in a clear numerical majority, while it is present in regions where the groups are more evenly sized, with the smaller group in the region of 40–45%.

In both the Scots and the Norse groups, women were more likely than men to marry a Scots partner. This is probably due to a surplus of men in the Scots population. The difference is not significant and as such does not confirm patterns of women leading upward social mobility and language change. This is reason to question the higher status Scots is generally believed to have had in the islands around 1600.

In the later part of the data, the bias towards in-group marriage disappeared, suggesting that both groups were well integrated from about 1600 onwards. This finding especially can explain the rapid shift from Norn to Scots that happened in the 17th century.

Inter-ethnic marriage occurred on this scale at least from the time of second-generation immigrants onwards, and judging from a number of 'hybrid' names, already from the time



of the first-generation immigrants.

In conclusion, these data seem to confirm the theory that the Scots immigration to Shetland was a contributing factor to the language shift, not only through geographical proximity and daily interaction outside the home, but also through widespread intermarrying of both ethnic groups, bringing daily interaction in Scots inside the home.

## **4.6 Demographic change in French Flanders**

### *4.6.1 French and other migration to French Flanders*

For Early Modern towns, high mortality rates meant that immigration was necessary in order to maintain a stable population (Sortor 2005: 165). This was no different for towns in French Flanders. A number of studies have focused on various aspects of the immigration to French Flemish towns and the integration of immigrants. Sortor (2005), for example, investigated immigrants who became citizens in the town of Saint-Omer in the 15th century. She found that immigrants slotted into pre-existing social networks, whether these networks were based on family links, a common parish of origin, or shared economic interests (174). This is especially true for longer-distance migrants, who came predominantly from areas with which Saint-Omer had trade links: Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Guelders (177–178).

In this section, I will focus on immigration to Dunkirk. This town is not in the Audomarois like Saint-Omer, but in Maritime Flanders, and at the time of the area's annexation to France, it was not even the largest town in the area. However, in the second half of the 17th century, Dunkirk rapidly outgrew Hondschoote, until then the largest town: while Hondschoote was at 8500 inhabitants in 1640, Dunkirk grew from 5000 at the annexation to 14,000 in 1706. The population then fluctuated in the 18th century, but in the last decades before the French Revolution saw another spectacular growth from 15,000 in 1770 to 27,000 in 1790 (Lambin 1980: 163–164; Cabantous 1983: 89).

The town's growth was largely due to immigration. Immigration was fueled firstly by large infrastructural projects. The French extended the harbour – works that were repeated again and again after subsequent peace treaties demanded the harbour be demolished – and both harbour and town were fortified as part of the *pré carré*, a defense line that often suffered the same fate as the harbour in peace treaties (Cabantous 1983: 73; Lottin & Guignet 2006: 210). Then, the new government structure involved a governor and intendants, always people from the French interior (Lottin & Guignet 2006: 214; Coornaert 1970: 171). Finally, the town benefitted from favourable customs rates which boosted trade (Lambin 1980: 164). In summary, immigrants were workers, traders, and administrative and military personnel.

A study into the origins of migrants is reported in Cabantous (1983: 93–94), based on the parish of origin in Dunkirk marriage registers from 1770 to 1791 (note that this is the largely pre-Revolutionary period when the town nearly doubled in size). In this period, over 60% of marriages involved at least one partner not born in Dunkirk. Of the immigrants, 34.2% came from an area within 20 kilometres of Dunkirk; 33.9% from the rest of the French Netherlands; 16.2% from the rest of France; and 15.7% from the rest of Europe. The overwhelming majority in this last group came from the Flemish-speaking Austrian Netherlands.

A disadvantage of this study is that it is based on data from over a century after the annexation of Dunkirk, and as such does not show how the political change impacted social life in the town immediately. In my study, I will use data much closer to the annexation. I will analyse the data in more detail, looking not only at geographical origin of migrants, but also at other factors such as gender and language. In addition, I will analyse the marriage patterns themselves, taking into account immigration, gender and language, and also age and literacy.

#### 4.6.2 Sources and data

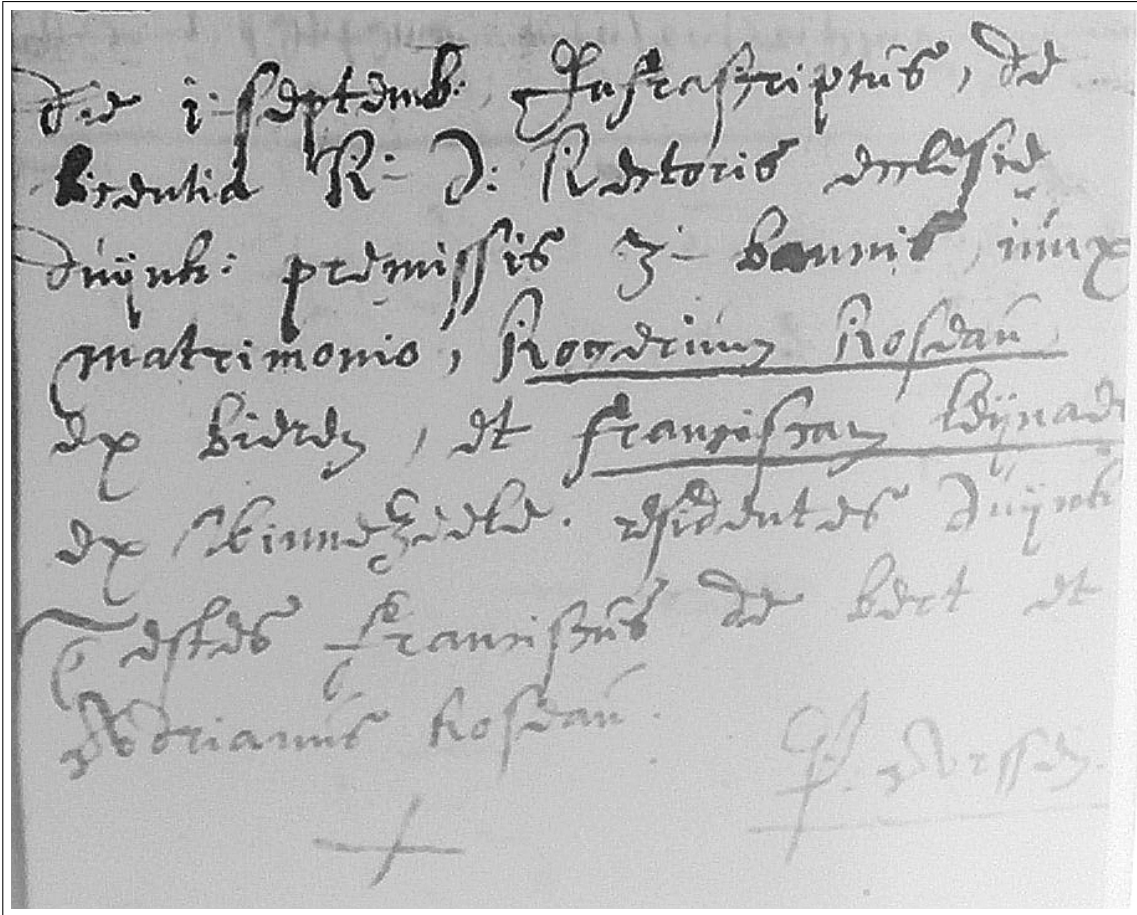
As my data corpus, I use six years of marriage registers from Dunkirk, the largest town in French Flanders. Data was collected at ten-year intervals from 1647 to 1697.<sup>13</sup> The data was selected partly randomly: although the aim was to get data from both before and after the French annexation of Dunkirk in 1662, availability of data also played a role. The earliest year for which marriage registers survive is 1647, and data was collected for every tenth year after that.

Each marriage in the data for the years between 1647 and 1687 is mentioned twice, once in the column *sponsalia* ‘banns’ on the verso page of the manuscript register and once in the column *matrimonia* ‘marriages’ on the facing recto. This reflects the procedure where a couple should normally announce their intention to get married to the congregation on three occasions before a marriage could take place. Entries are written in Latin, a typical entry in the *matrimonia* column for the years 1647 and 1657 being as follows (see also Figure 4.3).

die i septemb: Infrascriptus, de  
 licentia R: d: Rectoris ecclesie  
 duÿnk: premissis 3 bannis iunx[i]  
 matrimonio **Rogerium Roseau**  
 ex bieren, et **franciscam Wÿnaer[t]**  
 ex Winnezeele, residentes duÿnk:  
 Testes franciscus de Bert et  
 Adrianus Roseau.      P. Arssen

‘On 1 September, I the undersigned, by licence of the Revd Rector of the Church of Dunkirk, with three banns having been published, have joined in marriage Rogerius Roseau from Bierneand Francisca Wijnaert from Winnezeele, [both] resident in Dunkirk. Witnesses [were] Franciscus de Bert and Adrianus Roseau.’ (1647, fol. 10r)

13) Dunkirk marriage registers were consulted in the *Archives Municipales de Dunkerque* in Dunkirk in August 2007. They are available on microfilm, with the following shelfmarks: 6 Mi 59 (registers from 1647 to 1670), 6 Mi 60 (1670–1683), and 5 Mi 71 (1683–1703).



**Figure 4.3**

Example of an entry from the Dunkirk marriage registers for 1647.

Entries contain the names of both spouses, their status as *juvenis* ‘youth’, *puella* ‘girl’ or *viduus/-a* ‘widow(er)’,<sup>14</sup> their parishes of origin and residence, and the names of two witnesses for each of the *sponsalium* and *matrimonium* entries (which may or may not be the same). For the years 1667, 1677 and 1687, the data is not fundamentally different, apart from the fact that the origin of the spouses is no longer mentioned. There are still two witnesses for the banns, and two for the marriage itself.

The entries in the 1697 register, on the other hand, are entirely different. From 1689, the register is maintained in French, although there seems to have been a period in which both Latin and French are used – the latest entry in the Latin-language book that started

14) Less frequent descriptions include *miles* ‘soldier’ and *dominus/-a* ‘sir, lady’. In the 1697 French-language data, the most frequent statuses are *garçon* ‘boy’, *filie* ‘girl’, and *veuf/-ve* ‘widow(er)’.

in 1687 is from 1691, but the French book begins in 1689. There are no longer separate entries for banns; the marriage entry is written in a different formula and contains different information (see also Figure 4.4).

Lan de grace mille six cent quatre vingt dix sept le  
septieme jour du mois de maÿ apres la publication  
de deux bans sans opposition et avecq dispense du troi  
sieme entre **Charles de Corte** garcon et **marie  
Kiele** veufue de Cornil de potter nos paroissiens.  
Je sousigné prestre vicaire de la paroisse de duÿnkercq  
aÿ reçu le consentement mutuel des surnommes  
et les aÿ par la permission de mon̄r nostre Curé  
solemnellement conioint en mariage en presence  
de vincent vanden Howeele jean plaetenoot jaques  
Libaert et philippe de meester. Lepouse et deux  
temoins ont declaré de ne scaouir escrire

(*sign.*) C de corte

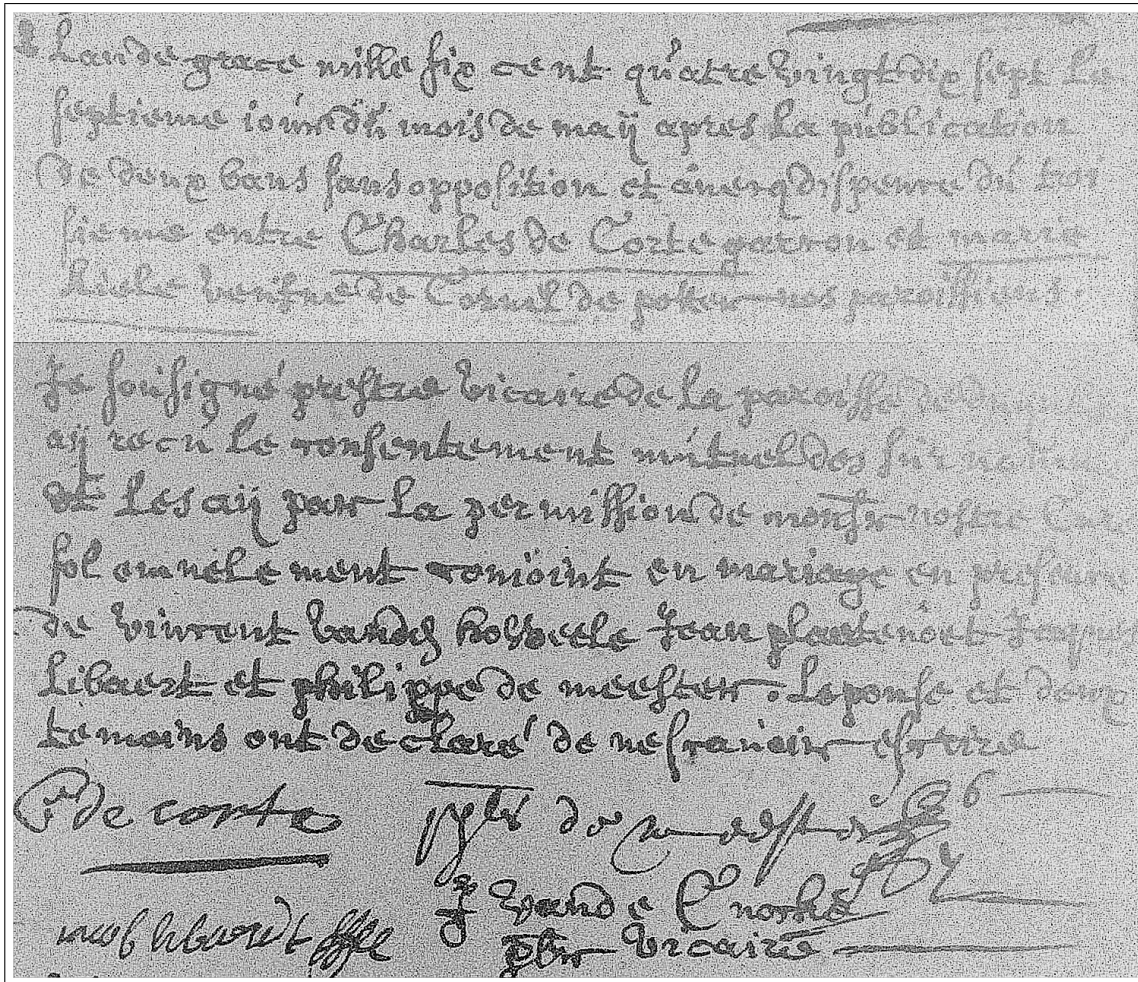
(*sign.*) phls de meester

(*sign.*) iacob libaerdt

J vande Cnocke p̄br vicaire

‘The year of grace 1697, the seventh day of the month of May, after the publication of two banns and with dispensation of a third between Charles de Corte, boy, and Marie Kiele, widow of Cornil de Potter, our parishioners, I the undersigned, priest-vicar of the parish of Dunkirk have received the mutual consent of the above persons and with the permission of our curate have solemnly joined them in marriage, in the presence of Vincent van den Howeele, Jean Plaetenoot, Jacques Libaert and Philippe de Meester. The bride and two witnesses have declared not to be able to write.’ (1697, fols. 22v and 23r, item 133)

There is a fair amount of variation in the number of marriages per year, as can be seen from Table 4.6 (see also Figure 4.5). The 1647 marriage registers start in June, so for that year only just over half a year of data is available. The dotted line in Figure 4.5 shows the amount of data from 1647 extrapolated to a full year, at an estimated 166 marriages (although it is possible marriages were not spread evenly throughout the year). The most striking deviations are 1657 and 1697. In 1657, French Flanders was the site of war efforts in the Franco-Spanish War, and this may have influenced the number of marriages (see below); by 1697, the area was peaceful and moreover, Dunkirk had grown from a small



**Figure 4.4**

Example of an entry from the Dunkirk marriage registers for 1697 (composite).

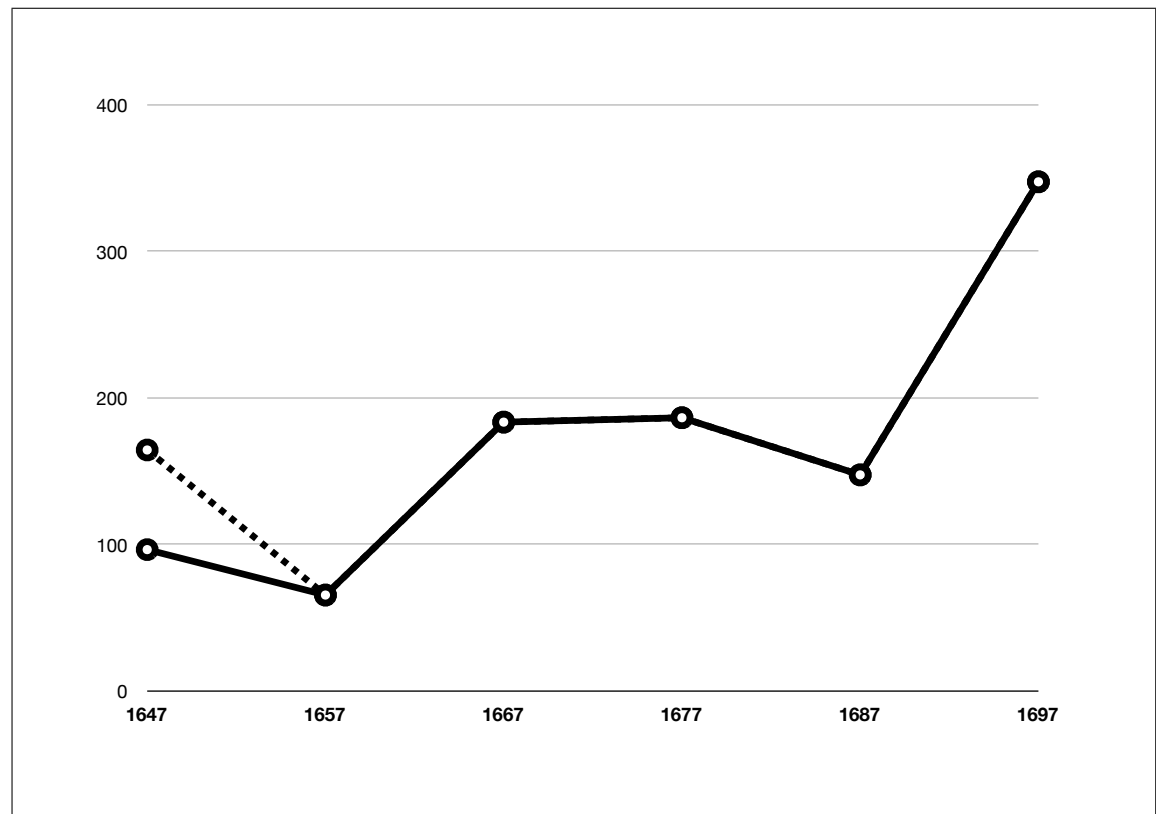
town of 5000 people to a much larger town of somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000 (Goris 2004: 332), which may account at least in part for the higher number of marriages for that year.

The type of data that can be extracted from these registers is summarised in Table 4.6. It will allow for an analysis of inter-ethnic marriage patterns, where ethnicity is assigned on the basis of names; people's preferences for marriage patterns can then be correlated to their age, for which statuses as *juvenis* and *viduus* are used as a proxy, and literacy or education, based on their ability to sign. (This last correlation is obviously only possible for the 1697 data.) An analysis of immigration patterns in the 1647 and 1657 data will also be made.

|             | 1647 | 1657 | 1667 | 1677 | 1687 | 1697 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| # marriages | 97   | 66   | 184  | 187  | 148  | 348  |
| names       | ✓    | ✓    | ✓    | ✓    | ✓    | ✓    |
| status      | ✓    | ✓    | ✓    | ✓    | ✓    | ✓    |
| witnesses   | 2–4  | 2–4  | 2–4  | 2–4  | 2–4  | 4    |
| origin      | ✓    | ✓    | —    | —    | —    | —    |
| signatures  | —    | —    | —    | —    | —    | ✓    |

**Table 4.6**

Available information in the Dunkirk marriage registers surveyed.

**Figure 4.5**

Development of number of marriages per year in Dunkirk 1647–1697.

Compared to the data from Shetland in Section 4.5, the data from Dunkirk are almost certainly more representative of the population of the town. Whereas testaments may have been restricted to a property-owning section of society, marriage is something that included all. The only restriction in these data seems to be that they are taken from marriage records of the Catholic church. This means that any Protestants in Dunkirk who may have intermarried, and who certainly contributed to the language pool, are not represented in the data. However, this does not seem to be a major problem. Although Protestantism gained some initial support shortly after the Reformation, with some 8% of the population adhering to the new faith, in the 17th and 18th centuries there were almost no Protestants in French Flanders. Those that were there resided in Dunkirk, though, and included mostly foreigners: English, Scandinavians, and (not unimportantly) Dutch (Coornaert 1970: 117, 230).

#### 4.6.3 *Names and ethnicity in Dunkirk*

The vast majority of the first names in the marriage registers are international names (see above), which do not give any clue to either Dutch or French ethnicity. Where in the Shetland data the form of the first name could suggest an ethnicity, the French Flemish data do not have that possibility, as all first names are in their Latin forms, with the exception of 1697, where all names are in their French forms. The only first names that do give a clue to ethnicity are typically Dutch first names as *Lieven* and *Briek*, whether or not in a Latinised form.

Ethnicity was therefore mostly assigned on the basis of surnames. For this I used an etymological dictionary of surnames in the area (Debrabandere 2003); the etymology and form of the surnames was decisive in assigning ethnicity. My own judgement as a native speaker of Dutch and a reasonably proficient second-language speaker of French also played a role. For the 1697 data only, where approximately half of the people signed their full name, the form of the first name in the signature overrode any other judgement of



ethnicity. Any additional information given in the data, e.g. descriptions as *miles gallus* ‘French soldier’, was also used to define ethnicity.

The vast majority of the population had names that suggesting Dutch or French ethnicity, the *forms* of the French names often betraying Picard or general Northern French origins (e.g. the lack of palatalisation of Latin ⟨c⟩ in *Cavalier* vs. *Chevalier*). A very minor part of the population (approximately 1%) appears to have had other origins. Of these, a group of Swiss soldiers in 1667 (of both Swiss-German, Swiss-French and Swiss-Italian heritage) is noteworthy, as is a number of Britons in 1697. The Britons appear from the names to be Irish or Scottish (*Malachi Donnelly*, *Catriona MacDonald*, etc.), which is unsurprising as the data derives from marriage registers from the Catholic church.

#### 4.6.4 Statistical results

##### *Migration patterns*

The data from 1647 and 1657 include the parish of origin for both spouses, as well as the parish of residence, which in most cases is Dunkirk. This means that the problem in Pain & Smith (1984), where a large discrepancy between parishes of origin and residence caused immigration to be underestimated, does not apply to this study. The pattern that emerges from this data should be more representative of actual migration to Dunkirk in this period.<sup>15</sup>

The data contain 163 marriages in total, with 326 people involved. Excluding those individuals for whom no parish of origin is mentioned, and those whose parish of origin could not be positively identified with a present-day location, this section is based on the data for 286 individuals.

Failure to identify parishes of origin will have mainly affected those immigrants that came from further afield; it was not feasible to search the map for possible matches other than

---

15) I am much indebted to Dan Dediú for his input to the statistical side of this chapter.

|                 | locals | (%)  | imm. | (%)  | total | sign. |
|-----------------|--------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| Male, 1647      | 23     | 29.5 | 55   | 70.5 | 78    | ***   |
| Male, 1657      | 22     | 38.6 | 35   | 61.4 | 57    | n.s.  |
| Male, 1647/57   | 45     | 33.3 | 90   | 66.7 | 135   | ***   |
| Female, 1647    | 36     | 40.9 | 52   | 59.1 | 88    | n.s.  |
| Female, 1657    | 37     | 58.7 | 26   | 41.3 | 63    | n.s.  |
| Female, 1647/57 | 73     | 48.3 | 78   | 51.6 | 151   | n.s.  |
| Both, 1647      | 59     | 35.5 | 107  | 64.5 | 166   | ***   |
| Both, 1657      | 59     | 49.2 | 61   | 50.8 | 120   | n.s.  |
| Both, 1647/57   | 118    | 41.3 | 168  | 58.7 | 286   | **    |

**Table 4.7**

Locals and immigrants, by gender and year.

for an area within approximately 50 km from Dunkirk, the area where the majority of readily identifiable locations could be found. This corresponds roughly to the current French departments Nord and Pas-de-Calais, and the southern part of the Belgian province of West Flanders. It can therefore be expected that there will be a slight bias in favour of local Dunkirk residents and those immigrants who came from locations closer to Dunkirk, as their data was least likely to be disregarded.

*Locals, immigrants, and gender* Over the two sampled years together, there were significantly more immigrants than local-born people in Dunkirk. There are however some striking differences between both years and both genders, as can be seen from Table 4.7. For women in both years, and for men in 1657, the proportions of locals and immigrants were roughly equal; it is only for men in 1647 that the  $\chi^2$  tests show a statistically significant difference between locals and immigrants.

When we compare gender patterns among immigrants, there is again a difference between 1647 and 1657. For both years together, there are more female locals than expected, and more male immigrants than expected, suggesting that men tended to immigrate more than women. However, this is due entirely to the pattern in 1657; for 1647, numbers of male

and female immigrants were roughly equal.<sup>16</sup>

Between 1647 and 1657, there was a large drop in immigration from 107 immigrants to 61; the number of locals remained constant for both genders. The immigration rate for men remained roughly the same, but for women there was a large drop in immigration: in 1647 there were more female immigrants than expected, but in 1647 there were fewer.

*Immigrant origins: by language* For this part of the study, immigrants were assigned a language on the basis of their parish of origin. This was the majority language in the community in question according to De Coussemaker (in Ryckeboer 2000: 90). This proxy for language is not optimally reliable for two reasons. Firstly, De Coussemaker's data refer to the middle of the 19th century, and with the slowly progressing language shift this would mean that more communities would have French as their majority language than in the mid-17th century; the amount of French speakers therefore is probably slightly overestimated. Secondly, the majority language in a community does not necessarily have any bearing on the preferred language of individuals. Although the data in this section do show interesting patterns, they can only be seen as tentative.

Of the 168 individuals in the data that have positively identifiable parishes of origin other than Dunkirk, 120 are from localities where Dutch was the majority language. French-speaking localities account for 47 immigrants. The remaining immigrant is a male from Lübeck, who presumably had German as his native language; he has been excluded from any subsequent statistics.

The Dutch-speaking immigrants were a statistically extremely significant majority, also when the data were split up according to gender and year. The ratio of Dutch-speaking to

---

16) Sortor (2005: 180) cites a study on immigration to 17th-century Nördlingen (Bavaria), where it appeared immigrant women were more likely to marry than immigrant men: some 60% of immigrant women married, versus 40% of immigrant men. If a similar pattern were to be the case in Dunkirk, then despite there being no difference between immigrant men and women in marriage registers for 1647, men would still have immigrated more than women.

French-speaking immigrants is the same for both genders and for both years, with about three Dutch-speaking immigrants for every French-speaking one.

*Immigrant origins: by location* The vast majority of identified locations, regardless of whether they were in a Dutch- or a French-language area, only supplied one migrant to Dunkirk. Although the data is only a snapshot of one year, and a more complete survey of migration patterns may shed more light on this, this suggests that migration to Dunkirk was not a ‘chain migration’.

This is possibly not very surprising. In Tilly’s typology of migration, chain migrations are characterised by being longer-distance. Looking at the average distance between immigrant locations of origin and Dunkirk, we find that the mean distance is 52.3 kilometers. We can probably classify this migration as ‘local’ migration, especially as the median distance is only 31.7 km. (The large difference between the mean and median distances is due to a few very distant locations such as Lübeck.)

When we separate the immigrant locations according to the majority language in the area, the mean distance from Dutch-speaking locations is 33 km (median: 23.1 km), and from French-speaking locations it is 72.3 km (median 52.3 km, minimum distance 20.3). This difference is explained by the geographical location of Dunkirk relative to the language border, which is about 20 kilometers south of Dunkirk.

There is a significant correlation (\*) between the distance of a location to Dunkirk and the number of immigrants from that location. This correlation is only significant in the case of French-speaking locations (\*\*), not for Dutch-speaking locations (n.s.); this, too, is a result of the geographical location of the language border: it lies slightly north of the town of Saint-Omer, which as a larger town, and with a French-speaking majority, appears solely responsible for this effect.

There are no differences between genders or between the years 1647 and 1657 with regard to the areas people came from; migration seems to have been a fairly uniform process.

|           | Dutch f. | French f. | Other f. |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Dutch m.  | 432      | 174       | 2        |
| French m. | 183      | 213       | 0        |
| Other m.  | 8        | 9         | 2        |

**Table 4.8**

The distribution of languages across marriage partners.

### *Rates of ethnic inter-marriage*

For this section, all individuals from the marriage registers for all six years were assigned a (language-based) ethnicity on the basis of their name, as described in section 4.6.3. The entire data corpus consists of just over 1000 men and 1000 women; for both genders, the ratio of Dutch- to French-language background is approximately 3:2.

The distribution of marriage partners, for all years together, is shown in Table 4.8. If we ignore the marriages involving a partner with a language other than Dutch or French, the distribution of marriages is clearly different from random ( $\chi^2(1)=62.47, p < 2.7 \cdot 10^{-15}$ , \*\*\*), with a total proportion of mixed marriages at 36% and a bias towards in-group marriage.

When the data are split up by year, the proportion of mixed marriages stays more or less the same throughout the period (see Table 4.9); none of the deviations from the overall pattern is statistically significant. However, the proportion of French speakers in the population does change throughout this period, equally for both genders (see Table 4.10). This means that for each of the years separately, the deviation from the expected pattern may or may not appear.

Indeed, as can be seen from Table 4.10, choice of marriage partner is dictated by the ethnic make-up of the community for the first three years in the sample; only from 1677 does the preference for in-group marriage become significant. It seems that this preference appears when the proportion of French speakers in the population approaches 40%; with the data

| Year | Mixed | Homogenous | % mixed |
|------|-------|------------|---------|
| 1647 | 38    | 56         | 40%     |
| 1657 | 19    | 44         | 30%     |
| 1667 | 70    | 112        | 38%     |
| 1677 | 59    | 122        | 33%     |
| 1687 | 56    | 89         | 39%     |
| 1697 | 126   | 217        | 37%     |

**Table 4.9**

Proportion of mixed marriages by marriage year.

| Year | <i>p</i>             | sign. | Prop. Fr. | Prop. Fr. M. | Prop. Fr. F |
|------|----------------------|-------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| 1647 | 0.280                | n.s.  | 0.358     | 0.400        | 0.316       |
| 1657 | 0.058                | n.s.  | 0.294     | 0.270        | 0.317       |
| 1667 | 0.120                | n.s.  | 0.272     | 0.313        | 0.231       |
| 1677 | $4.44 \cdot 10^{-5}$ | ***   | 0.373     | 0.348        | 0.398       |
| 1687 | 0.009                | **    | 0.459     | 0.462        | 0.455       |
| 1697 | $5.02 \cdot 10^{-7}$ | ***   | 0.451     | 0.440        | 0.463       |

**Table 4.10**

The proportion of French speakers in Dunkirk, and its influence on the preference for inter-ethnic marriage.

from 1647 not being significant despite 40% of men being French speakers, it would seem that this would have to be the case for both genders for this bias to appear.

*Scribes* The marriage records were written down by various scribes, who were all ministers in the parish of Dunkirk. Of the 28 ministers in the data, there were four who had a statistically significant preference for a certain type of marriage, compared to the overall distribution of marriages in the sample.

The most frequent scribe was Joannes van de Cnocke, who accounts for approximately a quarter of all marriages in the data. (As Van de Cnocke only appears from 1677, he has an even larger share of the marriages in the part of the data he was actually involved in.) The marriages that Van de Cnocke registered, though, were not different from the overall distribution in the sample. The three next most frequent scribes, however, do have a significant bias: Joannes van de Cruce (1657–77;  $\chi^2(3)=14.71$ ,  $p=0.046$ , \*) registered disproportionately many mono-ethnic Dutch marriages, while Joannes de Seck (1687–97;

$\chi^2(3)=19.75$ ,  $p=0.005$ , \*\*) and Nicolas Eckbert (1697 only;  $\chi^2(3)=16.50$ ,  $p=0.022$ , \*) had roughly equal numbers of mono-ethnic Dutch and mono-ethnic French marriages, meaning a statistical preference for mono-ethnic French marriages compared to the total sample. It is interesting to note that the surnames of all these ministers point at Dutch ethnicity.

From the earlier part of the data, only Revd. Choquel (1647–57;  $\chi^2(3)=16.00$ ,  $p=0.026$ , \*), who has a French surname, has a bias; in his case he presides over almost exclusively mono-ethnic French marriages.

*Literacy* In the marriage register for 1697, spouses and witnesses were required to sign the entry in the register. If they were illiterate, the entry mentions this (see the example on p. 145 above); otherwise they may have signed their full name, their initials, or a cross, which was then annotated by the scribe. For the purposes of this study, the focus is only on the signatures of the spouses.

The ability to sign is a common way of determining people's literacy skills from historical documents. There are several drawbacks to this use of the evidence, and it has been suggested in particular that a person's inability to sign their name, or in fact their *not doing* so, need not imply the person was illiterate (Schofield 1968: 321–322). Despite these problems it is accepted practice among historians to link signatures to literacy in this way (Houston 1982: 200), but with the caveat that this type of literacy test does not give a good overview of a population's educational level, but rather a crude indication of people having enjoyed the most basic education (Grevet 1991: 42). It is thought that – making the tacit assumption that difficulties with this method affect different population groups equally – any patterns that emerge from this type of data between different genders, social classes, or in fact different time periods, represent actual situations (Cressy 1977: 142).

Grevet (1991: 44–45) developed a six-level evaluation of people's signature skills, based on very similar data to that used here: parish registers from 17th- and 18th-century Artois,

Boulonnais and Pas-de-Calais in Northern France. The six levels form a cline with fluid boundaries between categories, but Grevet uses them as a base to assign people to three categories of literacy. Those who do not sign, or sign with a cross or almost undecipherable handwriting are deemed illiterate; irregular and cautious writing with spelling mistakes defines people as ‘medium literate’; and those whose signatures suggest fluent writing are considered fully literate. Grevet’s model is perhaps too specific for the present study; here we only make a two-way distinction. Signing initials or a cross is taken as a person being illiterate, while signing a full name, however crude the handwriting, is a sign of literacy.<sup>17</sup>

The distribution across gender and language groups of literacy, defined according to these criteria, can be seen in Table 4.11. Looking only at those with either Dutch or French as their language, it can be seen that there are many more illiterates than literates ( $\chi^2(1)=12.79$ ,  $p=0.00035$ , \*\*\*). This difference is entirely due to there being more illiterate than literate women ( $\chi^2(1)=42.78$ ,  $p=6.12 \cdot 10^{-11}$ , \*\*\*), as for the men there are approximately as many literates as illiterates ( $\chi^2(1)=2.20$ ,  $p=0.14$ , n.s.). This higher literacy rate for men than for women could be expected for this period.

There is no significant difference in literacy between both language groups, with the patterns for men, women, and both genders together being essentially the same. The lack of a difference in literacy (and by extension, education) between the Dutch and French would suggest that the French were not an upper-class layer imposed on top of Dunkirk and French Flemish society, but rather that the two groups were equals. The implications of this will be discussed below.

---

17) Another element in the signature data that could be looked at, is the *type* of hand the signature is written in. The handwriting falls into roughly two groups: secretary hands and italic hands. An informal observation suggests that people with Dutch names tend to sign in a secretary-type hand, while French names correlate more with italic-type hands. A more in-depth study of the type of hand correlated with a person’s ethnicity could give information about mixed-language or segregated schooling systems at the time, for example. Scribal hands display the same tendency for language background and handwriting type to correlate, although it is interesting to note that Eckbert, but not De Seck, writes in a French-type cursive, suggesting perhaps they enjoyed their religious education in different places.



|        |        | Illiterate | Literate |
|--------|--------|------------|----------|
| Male   | Dutch  | 81         | 102      |
|        | French | 72         | 79       |
|        | Other  | 2          | 3        |
| Female | Dutch  | 126        | 57       |
|        | French | 102        | 49       |
|        | Other  | 3          | 2        |

**Table 4.11**

Distribution of literacy by gender and language.

There is a correlation between the literacy of the two spouses in a marriage. Both overall ( $p=4.77 \cdot 10^{-10}$ , \*\*\*), and for mixed ( $p=0.0002$ , \*\*) and same-language marriages ( $p=1.08 \cdot 10^{-6}$ , \*\*\*) separately, this correlation is small ( $r=0.33$  in all cases), but significant. A person's literacy, however, does not have any influence on their partner choice; for both languages and both genders, there is no significant tendency for literate people to enter mixed marriages.

*Age* Our proxy for age is slightly dubious, as it is the description of a person in the data as *juvenis* 'youth' or *viduus* 'widower'; in other words, age has been reduced to a binary variable, which may not be indicative of real age. An excellent example of this can be found in the 1697 data: on 15 January of that year, Marie-Anne van Steene married Henri Baeteman. On 15 October of the same year, she is mentioned again, now as Baeteman's widow marrying André Ottevaere (fol. 4v, 5r, item 22, and fol. 50r/v, item 285). In this sample, she is counted as young for her January marriage, but as old for her October marriage, despite there being only nine months in between. The age distribution of the sample is shown in Table 4.12.

Overall, there are more *juvenes* in the sample than *vidui*, and this holds as well when looking at each gender separately (overall:  $\chi^2(1)=310.75$ ,  $p=2.2 \cdot 10^{-16}$ , \*\*\*). There is a difference between the genders, though, with more widows than expected, and more younger men than expected ( $\chi^2(1)=30.14$ ,  $p=4.003 \cdot 10^{-8}$ , \*\*\*). Presumably this means a

| Age class      | Gender | Language |        |
|----------------|--------|----------|--------|
|                |        | Dutch    | French |
| <i>juvenis</i> | Female | 371      | 266    |
|                | Male   | 442      | 281    |
| <i>viduus</i>  | Female | 237      | 122    |
|                | Male   | 143      | 94     |

**Table 4.12**

Age distribution across gender and language group.

| Age male       | Age female     | Marriage type |               |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
|                |                | Mixed         | Same-language |
| <i>juvenis</i> | <i>juvenis</i> | 189           | 327           |
|                | <i>viduus</i>  | 79            | 139           |
| <i>viduus</i>  | <i>juvenis</i> | 48            | 66            |
|                | <i>viduus</i>  | 43            | 82            |

**Table 4.13**

The age of the spouses by marriage type.

higher mortality rate among men than women; the fact that there are more younger men than expected would be epiphenomenal to this as well.

Compared to the overall pattern, there seem to be no differences between the language groups in the age make-up of the population when both genders are confounded, or for males separately. For the French-speaking population, there are fewer *viduae* than expected. This is possibly a result of different gender patterns in immigrant groups. Following a name-based ethnicity (see Table 4.15 below), it appears that French-speaking immigrants to Dunkirk were mostly women (24:5) and that French-speaking men are much more likely to be locals than immigrants (50:5). If we assume that immigrants, especially those from more distant areas as the French speakers, are probably younger, then the relative lack of older French women can be traced back to immigration patterns.

There is no correlation between age and literacy. All values for *r* in various sub-samples are extremely small and not at all significant.

| Case    | Contingency table |                |     | % imm. | $\chi^2$ vs.<br>50:50 | $\chi^2$ vs.<br>overall |
|---------|-------------------|----------------|-----|--------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
|         | Local             | Imm            | N/A |        |                       |                         |
| Overall | 117               | 197            | 2   | 63%    | ***                   | N/A                     |
| Males   | 45<br>(58.50)     | 112<br>(98.50) | 1   | 72%    | ***                   | *                       |
| Females | 72<br>(58.50)     | 85<br>(98.50)  | 1   | 54%    | n.s.                  | *                       |

**Table 4.14**

The distribution of locals and immigrants in the sample.

There is a positive correlation between the ages of spouses in a marriage, with more *juvenis* couples and more *viduus* couples than expected (\*\*\*, see Table 4.13). This correlation exists also for mixed and same-language marriages separately. The age of a person has no effect on the type of marriage they enter into; for both men and women, the  $\chi^2$  tests return non-significant results (data not shown).

*Immigration* It is possible to connect the data on immigration to the information on marriage patterns as well. The vast majority of the data on immigration comes from the years 1647 and 1657, and has been analysed above. In later years, information on immigration is sparse, and a person's origin is only given when a person is not from Dunkirk; it appears that we should take this to mean that they are not *resident* in Dunkirk, which leads to problems of interpretation as discussed by Pain & Smith (1984). With the data for later years only giving positive information about some of the immigrants, but not on locals, this means that if we would take all available data into account for the following section the proportion of immigrants would be slightly exaggerated. Therefore, we only looked at 1647 and 1657.

The distribution of locals and immigrants in the part of the sample for which this data is reliably available (the years 1647 and 1657) is shown in Table 4.14. There are more immigrants than locals both overall and for men separately; for women this pattern is very weak and not significant. (The numbers in this table differ slightly from those in Table 4.7 in the discussion of immigration patterns. This is because that section was only

| Language | Origin    | Gender |      |
|----------|-----------|--------|------|
|          |           | Female | Male |
| Dutch    | Immigrant | 48     | 39   |
|          | Local     | 59     | 62   |
| French   | Immigrant | 24     | 5    |
|          | Local     | 26     | 50   |

**Table 4.15**

Immigration patterns by gender and language.

based on individuals for whom we could positively identify the parish of origin, while here we take everyone whose parish of origin is *not* Dunkirk as an immigrant, regardless of whether we can identify the location.) Compared to the overall pattern, there are more male immigrants than expected, and fewer female immigrants. (The expected patterns per gender following the overall distribution are in brackets in the table.) This suggests a difference in the migration patterns of both genders, which the  $\chi^2$  test confirms as being extremely significant ( $\chi^2(1)=22.70$ ,  $p=1.885 \cdot 10^{-6}$ , \*\*\*).

If we take a person's name as a sign of their native language, rather than the majority language in their community of origin as we did in the previous section, we can look again at immigration patterns by language – and we get a slightly different picture (Table 4.15). Overall there are more Dutch-speaking immigrants and fewer French-speaking immigrants than expected ( $\chi^2(1)=5.44$ ,  $p=0.019$ , \*), but this pattern is based almost entirely on male immigrants ( $\chi^2(1)=13.90$ ,  $p=0.00019$ , \*\*\*); among female immigrants, the proportions of Dutch- and French-speakers roughly mirror those in the sample as a whole ( $\chi^2(1)=0.038$ ,  $p=0.84$ , n.s.).

Where the location-based approach found the ratio of Dutch-speaking to French-speaking immigrants to be the same for both genders and for both years, at about 3:1, the name-based study finds the same ratio overall, but very different ratios for both genders separately. For women, there are about twice as many Dutch-speaking immigrants as French-speaking immigrants, and among male immigrants the Dutch-speakers outnumber the French-speakers by a factor 8.

| Place of origin | Name type   |            |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|
|                 | French name | Dutch name |
| Dunkirk         | 29          | 88         |
| French          | 31          | 15         |
| German          | 0           | 1          |
| Dutch           | 30          | 95         |

**Table 4.16**

The relationship between the two proxies for language classification.

| Gender | Year |        |      |      |      |      |
|--------|------|--------|------|------|------|------|
|        | 1647 |        | 1657 |      | Both |      |
| Male   | 0.20 | (n.s.) | 0.64 | (**) | 0.37 | (**) |
| Female | 0.26 | (*)    | 0.39 | (**) | 0.31 | (**) |
| Both   | 0.23 | (**)   | 0.50 | (**) | 0.40 | (**) |

**Table 4.17**

The correlation between the two proxies for language classification for each of the two genders and each of the two years.

This suggests the two approaches do not come up with equivalent data, and that there is not much of a link between a person's linguistic heritage (the language assigned to them based on their name) and the majority language in their parish of origin. Indeed, the correlation between the two proxies for languages is not very big –  $r=0.40$  overall, 0.64 at most – although it is very significant (overall  $p = 5.176 \cdot 10^{-8}$ ). The degree of correlation underlines once more the problems involved in assigning a language category to people on the basis of other characteristics, but the high significance of the correlation does suggest we can attach some value to our conclusions.

We then looked at the interaction between language, immigration and marriage. Collapsing the data into a  $2 \times 2$  table – mixed vs. same language marriages and mixed vs. same immigration status marriages – there are no significant patterns. This suggests that people who marry outside their own language group do not also tend to marry people with a different immigration status from themselves.

Breaking up the pattern into four different types of marriage, however, significant patterns ( $\chi^2(9)=27.04$ ,  $p=0.0013$ , \*\*) do emerge (Table 4.18). Dutch immigrant men appear

| Marriage type<br>(male-female) | Male      | Female     |            |
|--------------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|
|                                |           | Immigrant  | Local      |
| Dutch-Dutch                    | Immigrant | 28 (35.57) | 15 (18.26) |
|                                | Local     | 9 (4.80)   | 23 (16.34) |
| Dutch-French                   | Immigrant | 8 (12.33)  | 11 (6.33)  |
|                                | Local     | 1 (1.66)   | 6 (5.66)   |
| French-Dutch                   | Immigrant | 21 (14.70) | 7 (7.55)   |
|                                | Local     | 0 (1.98)   | 3 (6.75)   |
| French-French                  | Immigrant | 17 (11.38) | 5 (5.84)   |
|                                | Local     | 0 (1.53)   | 2 (5.23)   |

**Table 4.18**

Immigration patterns by gender and language.

to marry fewer immigrant women than expected, while French immigrant men marry more immigrant women than expected. This cannot be due to a bias towards mono-ethnic marriage and a higher proportion of Dutch speakers in the local population, as this pattern goes across language boundaries. It may however still suggest that Dutch-speaking immigrants integrated into the (predominantly Dutch-speaking) town quicker than French-speaking immigrants.

#### 4.6.5 Discussion and conclusion

*Immigration and population change* Perhaps one of the most striking findings from the study of immigration patterns in Dunkirk in 1647–1657 is that there appear to have been more people in Dunkirk who were born outside the town than there were locally-born people. In other words, there was a significant amount of immigration into Dunkirk, which will have contributed to its attested growth (although the numbers from Goris 2004 do not start until the annexation of Dunkirk in 1662). There was a drop in immigration in 1657, which was mostly due to a drop in female immigration. This drop may be explained by ongoing war efforts in the area – e.g. the neighbouring town of Mardyck was under siege for two months in this year –, although why this would only affect female immigration is

unclear. The conditions in 1647 were definitely more favourable to immigration, as the warring parties had come to an armistice after a siege of the town the year before.

Among the immigrants, Dutch speakers were a significant numerical majority, at approximately a 3 to 1 ratio following a location-based approach to assigning language. A name-based approach gives a similar ratio overall, but here the two genders have vastly different ratios separately: 2 to 1 for women, but 8 to 1 for men.

There is a small but significant correlation between the two approaches to assigning language. This suggests that although there was a clear numerical majority language in a location, the two language groups had mixed to a large extent already. With regard to the link between a person's name and their preferred language, communities were either bilingual (this is *societal* bilingualism rather than necessarily *individual* bilingualism) and/or people had assimilated linguistically so that the link between name and language had weakened.

The migration is mostly local migration, with the vast majority of immigrants coming from within 50 kilometres of Dunkirk. Linguistically, this means that the varieties the immigrants took into Dunkirk were a local Dutch variety (which one would not expect to have had much effect on the Dutch spoken in Dunkirk), and a local Romance variety, similar to peripheral Picard varieties. This study only applies to years before the annexation of Dunkirk, and immigration patterns may have changed after 1662. If the local variety suggests that there was a lot of influence from Central Picard or even other French (Francien) varieties (see Chapter 6), this would indicate a change in immigration patterns after 1662.

The ratio between people with Dutch and French names among the locally-born population in Dunkirk for the years 1647–1657 is approximately 3:1. In the complete data set from 1647 to 1697, it is approximately 3:2. The proportion of French speakers must have grown since 1662, presumably through immigration.

Comparing these results to those found by Cabantous (1983) suggests that this is the case. Although our 17th-century data and Cabantous' late 18th-century data show a similar degree of local migration, at approximately a third of all migrants, our data show considerably less longer-distance migration, focusing primarily on French Flanders and the Austrian Netherlands. In Cabantous' data, migration from the French interior had become much more frequent.

*Marriage patterns* The data set in its entirety shows a significant bias towards in-group marriage, but this bias only appears in later years, from 1677 onwards. Before then, marriage patterns were dictated by the ethnolinguistic make-up of the population, and language does not seem to have played a role in the choice of marriage partners. The appearance of a bias against out-group marriage co-occurs with a growth of the French part of the population to approximately 40%.

Some scribes (ministers) have a preference for a certain type of marriage. The minister who was involved in the most marriages did not, but the three next frequent ministers did have a preference, and not necessarily a preference that can be linked to their name type. This may mean that there was some form of segregation of marriage, or that – in modern terms – the church provided 'facilities' to marry in the language of your choice. It may also indicate the people coped with societal bilingualism, and – especially for ministers, but also for individual people like Joannes Goetgebeur a.k.a. Joannes Bon-Voisin – individual bilingualism.

A very interesting find is the lack of a difference in literacy between the two population groups, suggesting that the French were not merely an upper-class layer placed on top of a pre-existing Dunkirk society, and their language may not have been as prestigious as sometimes assumed. Could this have been a reason why the language shift in French Flanders took a long time to complete? The lack of prestige does take away an incentive to learn it, perhaps, but on the other hand, if the two populations were equal, there were no barriers to interaction and the language shift could well have proceeded faster.



Apart from the bias in favour of same-language marriages that occurs from 1677 onwards, the data also show people preferably married someone who was the same age as them, was equally literate (tested for 1697 only) and had the same immigration status (tested for 1647–1657 only). Among immigrants, there was no link between immigration and mixed-language marriage.

#### **4.7 Conclusions**

In this chapter, I have investigated demographic change in two minority language communities – Shetland, and Dunkirk in French Flanders – and attempted to show how the immigration of majority language speakers and their integration in the minority language communities could have influenced the language shifts taking place. The focus has been mainly on patterns of inter-ethnic marriage, not only because this is often mentioned as a reason or trigger for language shift, but also because marriage gives an insight into social networks: it is unlikely a person will marry someone from a different ethnic group if they do not have significant everyday contact with this ethnic group.

An analysis of marriage patterns in late 16th- and early 17th-century Shetland, as evidenced in a Register of Testaments (1611–1649) shows a significant bias towards in-group marriage. This pattern was the same regardless of gender. There was however a regional difference: the areas where one ethnic group was in a clear majority did not show this preference for endogamy, and the bias only appeared when the two groups were numerically equal. The threshold for this appears to be a minority population of approximately 40%.

The data from mid-to-late 17th-century marriage registers from Dunkirk allows for a more fine-grained analysis. Also this data shows a significant preference for marrying within your own language group. None of the factors looked at – gender, literacy, age, and immigration status – came up as significant for ethnic endogamy or exogamy. The year of marriage, however, did, and this can be correlated with the proportion of majority

language (French) speakers in the data. The bias only appears in later years, when the proportion of French-speakers in the population for both genders approaches 40%.

Comparing the two studies from Shetland and Dunkirk, the most striking finding is exactly that. The overall bias towards in-group marriage in both cases can be broken down into periods (Dunkirk) or places (Shetland) of marriage along the lines that the ethnic make-up of the population dictates, and others where ethnicity does play a role. In these latter cases, the numerical minority population is always approximately 40%.

Should further studies suggest this 40% mark to be a universal phenomenon, it is unclear what exactly its significance is. A minority population of this proportion can almost not be called a minority anymore, but it is unlikely that the bias against exogamy appears because it is only at this point that the minority becomes 'salient' or 'a threat'. (For example, the size of a 'not very different' minority population like Polish in Britain lies far below this mark, yet this group is very salient and perceived by some as a threat.)

It is also tempting to make a link between the 40% mark and the critical size of a majority language population put at 30% by MacKinnon and at a third by Thomason & Kaufman, even though these two population sizes signal rather quite different things. With a majority language population of this size, the majority language would be omnipresent in public life according to MacKinnon – the difference of 10% can be explained by people not always meeting randomly in the street, but often according to social networks, which may be language-specific – and perhaps to be able to maintain the minority language, the speakers resort to more closed social networks. Data from historical studies may not be able to shed more light on this, but perhaps parallel contemporary studies are.

This demographic study appears to be a good explanation of why the language shift in Shetland happened relatively fast. Despite a preference for in-group marriage, there was still a significant amount of inter-ethnic marriage, which would have contributed to a rapid language shift. On the other hand, it is rather curious that the language shift in Dunkirk,

where the data shows very similar patterns of inter-ethnic marriage, should have taken much longer. This suggests that, while demographic changes are undoubtedly important, and perhaps even a deciding factor in language shift, the *rate* of shift is also dependent on other factors contributing to ethnolinguistic vitality.

The only difference between the Shetland and Dunkirk data is the development of marriage patterns over time. Where the bias towards in-group marriage disappears in the later part of the Shetland data, the later part of the Dunkirk data sees this bias appear rather than disappear. This can be an initial explanation of the difference in rate of shift between the two cases.

Another major difference between Shetland and Dunkirk is not in their local social networks, but in their supra-local networks. In both places, the local network, with the integration of immigrants by intermarriage with the local population, was a force working towards language shift. The different supra-local networks, however, may give a possible explanation for the different rates of shift.

In Shetland, first of all the influence of outside networks was probably less due to the islands' isolated geographical location. The local network existed in more of a vacuum. The outside influences that were there all supported the local network's drift towards language shift: trade and other contacts were with Scotland, while contacts with Norway were lost, and the continuing immigration involved Scots immigrants only.

Dunkirk on the other hand was not at all isolated, and it is likely that outside networks played a greater role here than in Shetland. Dunkirk's trade and immigration links were not only to France, but also to the surrounding countryside – where although there was French immigration and Frenchification, it was less pervasive than in Dunkirk, and Dutch lasted much longer – and the Austrian Netherlands. Remember that in Cabantous' data on immigration in the late 18th century, 12% of Dunkirk's immigrants came from the Austrian Netherlands and a further 34% from an area within 20 km of Dunkirk; together these

account for almost half of the immigration in this period, and with a high likelihood of these immigrants being Dutch speakers, they would have helped keep up social networks in which Dutch was a desired language.

Exactly what the role of demographic change was may become clearer if this study is extended further, among other things to include these outside influences. The Shetland data does not lend itself for any further analysis; the Dunkirk data can be extended both in time, space and scope. Looking at a period much longer after the annexation, perhaps even until after the French Revolution, would allow for a detailed charting of both the growth of the French-speaking part of the town's population and the changing origin of immigrants. A comparison with other towns in the area could also be made to control for Dunkirk's idiosyncrasies. Of particular interest would be the historical demographics of Fort-Mardyck, a town specifically targeted for immigration, and Hondschoote, the pre-French centre of the area that fell into decline after the annexation. The scope of the study could also be broadened by including witnesses, and cross-referencing to birth and death (or baptismal and burial) records. An important addition would also be to correlate demographic findings with (reports of) language competence in both the minority and majority languages.

More can also be gained from a study of migration and marriage patterns elsewhere, as the inventory of minority languages in Early Modern Europe showed that many of them were affected by an immigration of majority language speakers. The demographics of Lusatia seem an obvious extension.

In conclusion, it is often asserted that demographic change in a minority language area can be an important factor in language shift, for example when this change takes the form of immigration of majority language speakers. The mechanism of shift here would be the social interaction and integration of immigrants and the local population. This assertion, though plausible, is rarely backed up by evidence. In this chapter I have given such evidence of this process in quantitative studies of integration through widespread

inter-ethnic marriage in both Shetland and French Flanders, showing that demographic change is indeed highly influential. The exact forces playing a role are as yet unclear, but may be exposed by taking the current studies out of the isolation in which they have been performed, and putting them in a wider context of both demographic and linguistic developments.



# Language policies

## Chapter 5

---

### 5.1 Introduction

Many of the commentaries about minority languages in the Early Modern period mention language policies as a factor in the shift. In most cases described in Chapter 3, a form of language policy against the minority language was in place, although the exact details – the institution implementing the policies, their content, and their effects – varied.

In his discussion of the dynamics of language shift and maintenance, in particular in modern situations, Edwards (2006: 7) appears rather unconvinced about the effects of language policies designed to aid minority languages endangered by shift. ‘Formal language planning on behalf of beleaguered languages often can do very little to stem the forces of urbanisation, modernisation and mobility, the forces which typically place a language in danger and which lead to language shift.’

Edwards also thinks that ‘historically and linguistically, change rather than stasis is the norm ... whether one looks at ... contemporary times or historical ones’ (7). In modern days, then, the social pressures to shift language are strong enough to result in a language shift, in spite of language policies designed to stem that development. In historical situations, language policies would stereotypically work *against* minority languages, rather than in favour of them; language policies and social pressures worked in the same direction. The prominence given to restrictive language policies given in many commentaries about Early Modern language shift implies that the policies were

important and successful, but if in modern situations, social pressures are enough to trigger a language shift, to what extent did Early Modern restrictive language policies really contribute to language shift?

In this chapter I intend to explore the role language policies played in Early Modern language shift. I will discuss the language policies that were in effect in the three focus areas Shetland, Lusatia, and French Flanders. To put the policies in context, each section will be preceded by a sketch of the discourse about language use, especially the majority language, in the respective countries, and a short overview of language policies regarding other minority languages in the same country.

## **5.2 Language policies in Scotland and Shetland**

### *5.2.1 The language discourse in Early Modern Scotland*

The political situation in Scotland during the Early Modern period can be divided into three periods of nearly equal length. During the 16th century, Scotland was a fully independent country with its own cultural and political institutions. The 17th century saw a union with England, when the Scottish King James VI succeeded to the English throne as James I in 1603. Finally, at the beginning of the 18th century, the Union of Parliaments (1707) completed the political union of Scotland and England. In broad terms, the Early Modern period in Scotland can be seen as a period of strengthening the political and religious ties with England.

The closer ties between Scotland and England were paralleled in the development of the Anglo-Saxon-derived language of Scotland. From the 16th century onwards, we can see a trend in the terminology used for the different languages and varieties spoken in Scotland: more and more, a distinction was made between *Scottis* and *Inglis*. Whereas previously all ‘Anglo’ varieties were referred to as *Inglis*, Scots and English were now seen as two



separate languages (Görlach 2002: 5). This opened the door also for a comparison of the two varieties in the discourse about language.

Because of the closer political and cultural ties with England – most of the books available in Scotland in the 16th and 17th centuries came from England, and even those printed in Scotland were often in Standard English (Görlach 2002: 9) – a growing number of English features were adopted by Scots writers. This resulted often in a ‘mixed’ language. The use of Scots and English features may not have been very systematic, but there are signs that writers had both Scots and English features at their disposal, and occasionally used specific features for effect (Görlach 2002: 168; for more on the Anglicisation of the written language in various types of texts written in Scotland, see Devitt 1991).

The difference between Scots and English was one people were aware of, and during the 17th and 18th centuries the language discourse became dominated by the question of what varieties were appropriate in different contexts. During the late 17th century, there was a debate about the appropriateness of Scots in church, with the Episcopalians arguing against it (Scotland used a Standard English translation of the Bible) and the Presbyterians arguing in favour (Scots was closer to the people’s own speech) (Jones 2002: 100–101).

We also see the appearance of guidelines on the correct use of language, where ‘correct’ means ‘English’. Görlach (2002: 223–225) cites two texts, both with the title *Scotticisms*, which are typical of this genre. The text by David Hume (1760) gives advice on the English counterparts to many Scots terms, while that by James Beattie (1779) ridicules the extensive use of Scottish phrases. By this time it is only the lexicon and morphosyntax of written texts there is controversy about; Standard English spelling had already taken over completely by 1700 (Görlach 2002: 170).

There was an additional discourse concerning the pronunciation of English in Scotland, which paralleled a similar discussion in England at the time (Görlach 2002: 170). Although the later discourse, especially during the 18th and 19th centuries, claimed Southern

British pronunciation was used as a model, it was actually a local Scottish middle class model, close to a reading pronunciation, that became the pronunciation aimed for (Jones 2002: 101).

### 5.2.2 *Language policies in Early Modern Scotland*

The Anglicisation of written and spoken language in Scotland did not involve any formal language planning or policies on the part of the government (although as we have seen, different churches may have been more or less prescriptive with regard to language use). But this does not mean a complete absence of language policies: the government was not involved in the prescription of English rather than Scots, but they were active in the proscription of Scottish Gaelic.

Gaelic had become a political issue because the Scottish authorities saw the language as a barrier to effective control over the Gaelic-speaking, clan-structured Highland society. The Anglicisation of the Highlands would make the area more loyal to the Lowland-based government. Similarly, the Church of Scotland saw the promotion of Protestant (Presbyterian) religion and the English language as going hand in hand, although the links between Protestantism and English, and between Catholicism and Gaelic, were only tendencies (Withers 1988: 110–111).

Towards the end of the 17th century James Kirkwood commented on the attempts to replace Gaelic by English. He distinguished four themes in these policies: populating the Highlands with colonies of English speakers, resettling Gaelic speakers to English-speaking Lowland Scotland, English-language education, and temporary work-migration – particularly of the younger generation – to other parts of the country. Kirkwood did not endorse any of these methods, and moreover argued they could never be effective (Withers 1984: 101). However, Kirkwood was the only one to doubt the effectiveness of these measures (119).

The earliest attempts to Anglicise the Highlands by building new towns populated with English speakers, so-called ‘colonies of civility’, were only marginally successful. Some attempts at colonising were successful in initiating a shift to English among the local population, but most planned towns failed to do so because of their small size. In some cases, for example in Kintyre, the English-speaking immigrants had even shifted to Gaelic (Withers 1988: 89–90).

Later schemes for colonisation in the 18th century were more successful, but these coincided with another element from Kirkwood’s list: a large-scale resettlement of Gaelic-speakers elsewhere in Scotland. The Highland Clearances took place in the very late 18th and early 19th century. People were forcibly removed from their homes to make room for the grazing of sheep, which was more profitable (MacKinnon 1991: 61–62) and resettled either to Lowland Scotland or to the new planned villages in the Highlands themselves (Withers 1988: 91–92).

Anglicisation was also a prime aim in the Scottish government’s education policies, although this aim was twinned with that of preaching the Reformation. The first aim set forward in the Education Act of 1616 (Görlach 2002: 211–212) was ‘that the trew religioun be advanceit and establisheit in all the pairtis of this kingdome’; only afterwards came ‘civilitie, godlines, knowledge, and learning’. These aims were to be reached by ensuring ‘that the vulgar Inglishe toung be universallie plantit, and the Irishe language, whilk is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may he [*sic*] abolisheit and removit.’ The idea of political and religious subjugation through English-medium education is clear also in the Statutes of Iona (1609), which stipulated among other things that the eldest sons of wealthy Highlanders be educated in Lowland schools (Withers 1984: 29). In contrast to the anti-Gaelic laws, however, there was no legislation ordering the replacement of Scots by English in the Lowlands.

Under the 1616 Act, schools were established in every parish of Scotland, to the extent that financial means were available. Teaching was to be done in English, but at the same time Gaelic-speaking clergy were appointed to these parishes to ensure the parishioners actually understood the Protestant sermons (Withers 1988: 114). The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), founded in 1709, took private initiative in establishing schools in Scotland, as despite legislation many parishes were still without schools. They too had an overt anti-Gaelic agenda, although individual teachers did use Gaelic as a teaching help, as the students hardly understood any English. This was later turned into official policy (Withers 1988: 122–125). The language difficulties in schools persisted throughout the 18th century (MacKinnon 1991: 54–59), suggesting that Kirkwood was correct in his assumption that schooling a population in and through a language they did not understand was unlikely to be very fruitful.

### 5.2.3 *Language policies in the Northern Isles*

The Education Act of 1616 and its later incarnations may have referred primarily to incivility in the Highlands and Islands (i.e., the Western Isles), but they did apply to Orkney and Shetland as well, as the Act states that King James VI and I ‘hes thocht it necessar and expedient that *in everie parroche* of this kingdome . . . that a scoole salbe establisheit’ (Görlach 2002: 211, my emphasis). Because of the lethargic attitude of church and local authorities on the matter, it was up to the SSPCK to establish the first school in Shetland. This was as late as 1713 (Graham 1998: 19, 25).

Whereas references to Gaelic abound in the minutes of the SSPCK, Norn is hardly mentioned at all. The only reference relates to Orkney rather than Shetland: a letter from 1725 highlighting the need for an SSPCK school in the parish of Sandwick ‘where the old broken Danish Language is used among many of the people which occasions Ignorance in the place’ (Campbell 1954: 175). This comment has been used to argue for the persistence of Norn in Orkney until well into the 18th century. For our present

purposes, however, the more interesting aspect is that there are no other comments about Norn. This suggests that monolingual Norn speakers were generally not numerous enough to be a problem; the islanders' English proficiency has been commented on extensively (Marwick 1929: 224–227; Stewart 1964: 165–167). We must also remember that the Northern Isles were Protestant and, because of either loyal local authorities or their remote geographical location, did not pose a threat to the centralist Scottish government.

The Shetlanders appear to have shifted from Norn to Scots rather rapidly, and without any pressure from the government's or the church's language policies. In Chapter 5.5 I will compare the Shetlanders' situation to that of the Sorbs and the French Flemish, as well as to that of their Gaelic-speaking compatriots.

### **5.3 Language policies in the Holy Roman Empire and Lusatia**

#### *5.3.1 The language discourse in Early Modern Germany*

Germany was in a special position in the Early Modern period, as, contrary to many other language groups, the Germans did not form into one single nation-state during these centuries (Von Polenz 2000: 104). Instead, Germany was a collection of independent states loosely organised into the Holy Roman Empire. (Interestingly, from 1512 the specification *deutscher Nation* was appended to the name of the Empire, perhaps implying a budding national identity.) The decentralised nature of Early Modern Germany meant that there was no geographical or institutional focal point for the development of a German national language.

As the move from Latin to the vernacular happened also in Germany, people focused more on locally and regionally oriented written forms rather than on emerging national standards as in many other European countries (Von Polenz 2000: 122). At the beginning of the Early Modern period, there was still the possibility that the various regional written languages would focus on two separate standards, High and Low German. Economic,

political and religious developments hampered the development of Low German as a standard (see also Chapter 3.2.1), and caused a focusing on a High German standard only (Von Polenz 2000: 160).

Publications cultivating the emerging High German standard focused on spelling (Von Polenz 2000: 173) and pronunciation (176), for which the norm was generally Saxon in origin: either the chancery standard from Meißen or the writings of Luther (Von Polenz 2000: 117, 147). The other emphasis was on writing ‘good language’ (Von Polenz 1994: 107): not only writing clearly and unambiguously, but also avoiding loanwords from other languages or regional dialects. These language cultivating activities centred on language societies (*Sprachgesellschaften*), groups of socially very diverse membership whose work – grammars and dictionaries, among other things – functioned as an example to others (Von Polenz 1994: 112–113, 149, 181).

After Latin had been replaced by the vernacular, people not only noticed the differences between different dialects of German, but also the co-existence of German speakers with speakers of different languages became more of an issue. Von Polenz (2000: 253–254) sees policies regulating the use of different languages – German and what we would now see as minority languages – emerge in this period, although only in a very rudimentary form. Policies were not centrally and systematically planned, but were rather more opportunistic and often only appeared as ‘collateral damage’ to other regulations or events.

In fact, policies regulating the use of Sorbian occurred from a much earlier period. The *Sachsenspiegel*, for example, is a document dating from the 13th century, describing the legal status of Sorbian speakers. Sorbs and Germans were not allowed to judge each other, but they could only judge people from their own group. Interpreting was provided, but once a Sorb had spoken German in court, he would be treated as a German speaker afterwards (Von Polenz 2000: 275; Šolta 1976: 34; Mětšk 1962: 93; Brankač & Mětšk 1977: 165). There are laws banning the use of the language in court from 1293 in Bernburg am Saale, from 1327 in Altenburg, Zwickau and Leipzig, and from 1423 or

1424 in Meißen. All these towns lie outside the Sorbian language area at the beginning of the Early Modern period, and the laws are thought to have been effective in forcing a language shift to German, as ‘there would have been no need to proscribe a dead language’ (Šolta 1976: 35).<sup>1</sup>

Language policies continued to exist throughout the Early Modern period. Because of the political subdivisions of the area, but also due to strategic differences within realm of particular rulers, there was extensive variation in policies with vastly differing consequences for Sorbian speakers. This warrants a separate discussion of language policies in the various areas.

### 5.3.2 *Language policies in the Brandenburg-Prussian areas*

A minority of the Sorbs (20%) lived in areas belonging to Brandenburg-Prussia. These areas were exclaves of Brandenburg in Saxon-ruled Lower Lusatia, and had been acquired by the Hohenzollern during the 15th and 16th centuries (Kunze 1999: 4). The Brandenburg-Prussian areas in Lusatia were administratively divided in two. The Wendish District consisted of five fiefdoms incorporated in the Kurmark. A larger area around the town of Cottbus was administered as a separate ‘Kreis’. Although the ethnic make-up of the population in both areas differed very little, policies towards the Sorbs and their language were significantly different between these two areas.

#### *Language policies in the Wendish District*

The Wendish District was made up of the five towns of Zossen, Beerwalde, Teupitz, Beeskow and Storkow. Sorbian speakers were in a clear majority here, totalling three quarters of the population of the area. Kunze (1999) analysed the nature and effect of Sorbian policies in the District, and paints a picture of four different periods, between

1) ‘Eine ausgestorbene Sprache hätte nicht verboten werden müssen.’

which the authorities' attitudes to Sorbian varied between suppression, tolerance and support.

For a prolonged period after the Reformation, the authorities were tolerant of Sorbian and even supported efforts to create a written standard for the language. It was now up to the authorities to ensure the new religion was brought to the people in their own language. This led to financial support to the printing of the catechism *Enchiridion Vandalicum*, translated by Handroš Tara, in 1610, and four further religious texts in the mid-1650s.

The period of tolerance came to an abrupt end in December 1667, when Elector Friedrich Wilhelm issued an edict ordering the destruction of all existing Sorbian writing and banning Sorbian preaching in church. This move is all the more remarkable as it was the same Friedrich Wilhelm who had granted funding for the printing of Sorbian books a decade earlier. Kunze (1999: 5) places this 'Dezemberreskript' in a religious and political context: The local nobility was Lutheran and opposed to the centralist policies of the Elector, who had converted to Calvinism in 1613. The Sorbian religious texts from the 1650s were Lutheran and therefore had to be banned as heretical. But as Friedrich Wilhelm had supported the printing of Lutheran texts after he had converted to Calvinism, it is unlikely religion was the real reason for the Dezemberreskript; more probably, religion was used as a proxy for a centralist agenda. At the same time an uprising of farmers, among them many but not exclusively Sorbs, in 1667–68 (Šořta 1976: 57) may have played a role in the ban, making it part of a wider repression of the farmers' movement.

The Dezemberreskript was immediately effective. Sorbian was replaced by German in church, and Sorbian writing was no longer tolerated (Kunze 1999: 5). Friedrich Wilhelm died in 1688. His son and successor Friedrich III, the later King Friedrich I of Prussia (1701), did not continue his father's strict anti-Sorbian policies. On the other hand, he was not explicitly supportive of Sorbian either, although part of the reason for this may have been a lack of money (Kunze 1999: 5).



Friedrich I died in 1713 and was succeeded by Friedrich Wilhelm I, who promptly returned to the *Dezemberreskript* and followed it to the letter. Repeated edicts ensured the use of German in churches to the exclusion of Sorbian, so that by the end of his reign in 1740 Sorbian had as good as disappeared from the churches in the Wendish District. Also military service was a factor in the Germanisation of Sorbian speakers (Kunze 1999: 6). Why Friedrich Wilhelm I decided to return to his grandfather's strict anti-Sorbian policies is unclear, but another farmers' uprising in 1715–18 (Šořta 1976: 61–62) may again have played a role.

Friedrich II (1740–1786) continued the theme of anti-Sorbian policies. He organised an immigration of German-speaking settlers to his Sorbian and other Slavic-language domains. This 'Friderizianische Kolonisation' can be understood primarily in terms of economic development (Szultka 2006: 160), but with up to 300 000 settlers involved in the colonisation, it also had severe demographic consequences. The colonisation in the Wendish District only made up a small fraction of this number, but in the second half of the 18th century, a total of sixty-one villages were founded in the area. The majority of settlers came from Western German regions such as Württemberg, the Palatinate, and Hessen. The impact of this migration was substantial: already in 1757 the royal court commented that 'the German language has settled everywhere, the attraction of Palatinate and other colonists having contributed to its spread' (Kunze 1999: 6).<sup>2</sup> The demographic blow to Sorbian proved decisive, and Sorbian had disappeared from the area by the mid-19th century.

#### *Language policies in the Cottbus area*

Kreis Cottbus was a larger area centred on the town of the same name. Approximately 80% of the population of the area was Sorbian-speaking, although there were large differences within the area. German speakers were a very small but economically powerful minority

2) '... daß sich "die deutsche Sprache überall eingewöhnt und die Zuziehung der Pfälzer und anderer Kolonisten deren Verbreitung weiter gefördert habe"'.

in the countryside, but they made up a much larger part of the population in the towns of Peitz (45%) and especially Cottbus (70–80%) (Mětšk 1962: 11–17). As Cottbus was also part of Brandenburg-Prussia and the demographic situation was similar, we may expect the Sorbian policies to mirror those in the Wendish District. In reality, although the larger tendencies were similar, the details of the policies often differed between the two areas (Mětšk 1962; Kunze 1999).

While Kunze (1999: 7) characterises Sorbian language policies in Cottbus as largely tolerant, Mětšk (1962: 95) emphasises that although the policies may from time to time have been tolerant, the underlying goal was always the Germanisation of the entire area.

The restrictions from the *Dezemberreskript* also affected Cottbus. When Friedrich I followed them by a somewhat indifferent attitude to Sorbian in the Wendish District, his policies in Cottbus were particularly tolerant Mětšk (1962: 97). Part of this tolerance can be traced back to the elector's pietist religion, which preached tolerance towards people of other cultures, languages and religions. Moreover, there was also a clear underlying foreign policy.

Lusatia is situated on the crossroads between three of Germany's major dynasties: the Habsburgs of Austria-Hungary, the Wettins of Saxony, and the Hohenzollern of Brandenburg-Prussia. Friedrich I had clear intentions of expanding his territory eastwards, and depended on keeping the internal peace in Cottbus. Tolerance rather than a limiting of the Sorbian inhabitants' linguistic rights was the best way to ensure this (Mětšk 1962: 98; Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 266; see also Šořta 1976: 61).

During Friedrich I's tolerant reign, Cottbus emerged as the new centre of Lower Sorbian writing. The New Testament and Luther's catechism were translated into Sorbian, and Sorbian-language schools were founded and equipped with books (Kunze 1999: 7). The standardised written form of Lower Sorbian that emerged in this period was based heavily on the Cottbus dialect.

The policies of Friedrich Wilhelm I after 1713 were as intolerant in Cottbus as they were in the Wendish District, and among other things consisted of German-language schooling (1714) and marriage restrictions for those who did not speak German (1731). The restrictions proved unworkable and were weakened soon afterwards. The local nobility used the change of government to tighten their control over and abuse of the country folk, but this led to farmers' uprisings, protests from ministers and teachers, and a substantial emigration. On the whole, Friedrich Wilhelm's Germanisation policies proved little successful (Kunze 1999: 8–9; Mětšk 1962: 99).

The biggest contrast between Sorbian policies in Cottbus and the Wendish District was under Friedrich II. Whereas he closely followed the *Dezemberreskript* in the Wendish District, his policies in Cottbus were much more tolerant. Again it was foreign policy that underlay this tolerance (Kunze 1999: 9), but it also helped to appease the Sorbs and win them over in the power struggle between centralist Prussia and local nobility (Mětšk 1962: 99).

The colonisation movement also targeted Cottbus, but it had a very different nature. Rather than being a main instrument in the Germanisation of the area, it helped conserve the Sorbian character of Cottbus. The vast majority of settlers, from 70% to 85% in some areas (Kunze 1999: 9), were Sorbian. Many of these had come from Saxon-ruled areas of Lower Lusatia, where policies were not as tolerant (see below). The attraction to Lower Lusatians was so strong that the government there took active measures to stop the emigration (Mětšk 1962: 100). Cottbus was specifically singled out for the migration of Sorbs; Sorbian speakers wanting to settle in the Wendish District were advised to settle in Cottbus instead (Kunze 1999: 6). Brankačk & Mětšk (1977: 287–288) see in this a deliberate policy to ensure the margins of the Sorbian language area, viz. the Wendish District, could be Germanised.

This tolerance continued also under Friedrich Wilhelm II, who even funded the translation and printing of the Old Testament. But the repressive undertones did surface from time to

| Years     | Monarch               | First ed. | Later ed. | Total | Per decade |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 1706–1713 | Friedrich I           | 3         | –         | 3     | 4.3        |
| 1713–1740 | Friedrich Wilhelm I   | –         | 2         | 2     | 0.7        |
| 1740–1786 | Friedrich II          | 11        | 14        | 25    | 5.4        |
| 1786–1797 | Friedrich Wilhelm II  | 8         | 1         | 9     | 8.2        |
| 1797–1806 | Friedrich Wilhelm III | 5         | 1         | 6     | 6.7        |
|           |                       | 27        | 18        | 45    |            |

**Table 5.1**

The number of Sorbian-language first and later edition print publications that appeared in Cottbus during the 18th century, by monarch. Table adapted from Mětšk (1962: 110), averages per decade added.

time, and it seems that the authorities were somewhat surprised by their own support for Sorbian and had to remind themselves that Sorbian was not to be supported or elevated to the level of a written language (Mětšk 1962: 101).

An overview of the number of Sorbian-language print publications in Cottbus during the 18th century (Table 5.1, from Mětšk 1962: 110) gives a good picture of the tolerance and support for the language during this period. In particular, it contrasts the repressive policies of Friedrich Wilhelm I, with the more tolerant approach from the other Kings of Prussia. When we look at the average number of publications per decade under each of the rulers, the lack of support during his 27-year rule becomes clearly visible. Although the publication record for the other monarchs may not look particularly impressive either, the literacy skills and demand for books among the small and poor Sorbian community in Cottbus will not have been very high (Mětšk 1962: 110).

### 5.3.3 *Language policies in the Saxon areas*

The majority of Sorbs (80%) lived in the two margraviates of Upper and Lower Lusatia, which had come into Saxon hands at the Treaty of Prague in 1635 (Kunze 1993: 20). Although the two areas bordered on each other (see Figure 3.4 on page 107), they were administered separately and had separate Diets. Language policies differed significantly between Upper and Lower Lusatia.

*Language policies in Upper Lusatia*

Upper Lusatian policies with regard to Sorbs and Sorbian are generally characterised as lenient, and even supportive. Mětšk (1959: 125–127) discusses how this leniency has been interpreted by earlier commentators: It has been claimed that the local authorities tried to win over the Sorbian intelligentsia and build a loyal Sorbian population ‘from within’. But the policies have also been seen in light of pietist religion, implying a more genuine tolerance. Later commentators – Mětšk cites one from the late 1920s in particular – stated that if Sorbian needed constant support from the Upper Lusatian estates, it could by itself not be a very viable language. Mětšk then proceeds to analyse sixty years’ worth of legislation from the Upper Sorbian Diet and local church authorities.

The documents Mětšk discusses (1959: 128–143) are mainly concerned with the translation of catechisms and hymnbooks into Upper Sorbian, the standardisation of the written language, and the distribution of the printed books. There is a clear religious bias in the material Mětšk discusses; he connects this to the estates’ wish to bring the educational level of the Sorbian population up to par with that of the German speakers in Upper Lusatia (144).

This wish for schooling could lead to two policies, which were both considered by the Diet: either a Germanisation of the area, or a further development of Sorbian as a written language. The latter option was chosen in the end, in Mětšk’s view (145) for reasons of evangelisation: the most important objective was to prevent the Sorbs from returning to heathenism or Catholicism. This objective was to be reached both by preaching Protestantism in Sorbian and by granting the Sorbs language rights. Of the three earlier interpretations mentioned earlier, Mětšk’s most closely resembles that of pietism-inspired tolerance. In marginal areas, where German already had a foothold, the policies were towards Germanisation rather than a strengthening of Sorbian.

The tolerant policies were reconsidered from time to time, but once the Diet had opted for tolerance, there was no way back. The support was however not unlimited. In the sixty years surveyed by Mětšk (1959: 146), ten proposals for Sorbian printing were put forward, of which eight were granted. (In total, 31 Sorbian titles were printed between 1668 and 1728 (Mětšk 1959: 148), with many being funded by other means. This includes the two – linguistic – proposals rejected by the Upper Sorbian estates.) In total, the authorities granted some 700 Taler to Sorbian printing, which Mětšk calls a modest amount. In comparison, his sources for Cottbus (Mětšk 1962: 21–92) only explicitly mention 360 Taler, but this is divided over only two occasions. The total amount granted in Cottbus will have been much higher than that, and possibly higher than the 700 Taler from Upper Lusatia as well.

But in Mětšk's view, the importance of the Upper Lusatian authorities' tolerance was not so much their financial support for Sorbian printing, but rather their general tolerant attitude towards Sorbian. This allowed for the development of Sorbian printing through private initiative. The liberal policies in Upper Lusatia had an obvious effect: Sorbs managed to maintain their language, and only in the marginal areas did language shift occur.

#### *Language policies in Lower Lusatia*

Lower Lusatia had been the heartland of Sorbian written culture until the middle of the 17th century. When the area came into Saxon hands in 1635, the political structures changed significantly. Whereas Upper Lusatia was still ruled by the local nobility, Lower Lusatia was transformed into a dukedom, where Christian I – brother of the Saxon elector – ruled in an absolutist system (Brankač & Mětšk 1977: 251).

The Dezemberreskript did not apply to the Saxon areas of Lower Lusatia, but it did inspire Christian I to instate similar anti-Sorbian measures in 1668. The reasons given for these policies differ. Teichmann (1999: 25) writes the policies were motivated by “a very

old rooted hatred” and “vicious hardening and disobedience” of the Sorbs against the authorities’,<sup>3</sup> but different reasons may have been at play as well. Where in Brandenburg-Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm had issued the *Dezemberreskript* partly against the Lutheran opposition against his rule, Christian I’s anti-Sorbian measures may well have been inspired by orthodox Lutheranism (Brankačk & Mětšk 1977: 265).

The policies of Christian I and his successors are ill-described and have not been the subject of specific surveys like the situations in Upper Lusatia and Brandenburg-Prussia. They must however have been fairly harsh, since a substantial proportion of the migrants in the *Friderizianische Kolonisation* were Sorbs from Lower Lusatia. Emigration was such a large factor that the Lower Lusatian authorities took active measures to stop it: they made it illegal to emigrate or to help others emigrate, and spread horror stories about the fate of emigrants to Prussia – all this without any effect (Mětšk 1962: 100).

#### 5.3.4 *Concluding remarks*

Surveying the language policies in Early Modern Lusatia suggests that there is at least a kernel of truth in Von Polenz’ claim that the period lacked centrally organised language policies. Attitudes to Sorbian were influenced by religious views – religious views were at the basis of oppressive policies in Lower Lusatia, as well as of tolerant approaches shortly after the Reformation, and in Mětšk’s view of later Upper Lusatian policies. They were also secondary to regional power politics: the restrictive *Dezemberreskript* was partly inspired by the need to curb the local nobility’s claim to power, but similarly, tolerant policies were needed to appease the Sorbs in their militarily strategic homeland.

This is not to say that policies as collateral damage cannot be succesful. Many of the restrictive policies obviously were: the contrast between the tolerance in Cottbus and the restrictions elsewhere in Lower Lusatia can be seen even today. Sorbian speakers are concentrated in and around the town while Lower Sorbian is hardly spoken elsewhere

---

3) “‘einem gar alten eingewurzelten Haß” und “boshafter Verstockung und Ungehorsam” der Sorben gegen ihre Obrigkeit’

(Kunze 1999: 10). The difference between tolerated Upper Sorbian and restricted Lower Sorbian is also echoed by speaker numbers and ethnolinguistic vitality today (Glaser 2007: 102). This trend has clear beginnings in the Early Modern period, as the maps of the language area in Brankač & Mětšk (1977) show. Comparing the situations at the beginning and the end of the period, Sorbian recedes substantially in Lower Lusatia, but not in Cottbus and Upper Lusatia.

The question remains to what extent the language policies, especially the restrictive ones in Brandenburg-Prussia, were effective in forcing the Sorbian population to give up their language, and what elements of the policies played a role in this. I will address these questions in Section 5.5 after a comparison with the situations in Scotland and France.

## **5.4 Language policies in France and French Flanders**

### *5.4.1 The language discourse in Early Modern France*

As in other countries in Early Modern Europe, the vernacular language took over roles from Latin also in France. As part of this process appeared a number of publications praising the qualities of French over Latin. Two of the titles listed by Burke (2004: 65–66) as examples of this current are Joachim du Bellay's *Deffense et illustration de la langue française* (1549) and Henri Estienne's *Precellence de la langue française* (1579). The titles illustrate much of the content of the debate: the use of the vernacular rather than Latin had to be defended, and this was done by illustrating how the vernacular was more suitable (or precellent) than Latin – or indeed the other vernaculars in Europe.

But this positive attitude towards French did not necessarily mean a negative attitude towards other vernacular languages in the country. Contemporary writers were well-aware of the linguistic diversity of France. Geoffroy Tory for example, valued it highly, comparing the situation to ancient Greece:



Our language is as easy to regulate and to order as was previously the Greek language in which there are five varieties of language, which are the Attic language, the Doric, the Aeolic, the Ionic, and the Common. . . We could well do exactly the same with the language of the Court and Paris, the Picard language, the Lyonnais, the Limousin, and the Provençal.<sup>4</sup>  
(1529, cited in Trudeau 1983: 466, my translation.)

Cohen (2003: 167-168) gives a range of other examples of positive attitudes towards non-Parisian French vernacular varieties from both a scientific and a political perspective. He concludes that although the legal, scientific, and administrative elites may have dreamt ‘of refashioning French as a language of literary and learned discourse, of courtly sociability and legal eloquence, [. . .] they never nursed hopes for a monolingual society.’

However positive the attitudes to linguistic diversity in the 16th century, the 17th century saw a greater standardisation in French, in which the founding of the Académie Française played an important part (Bell 1996: 99). Battye et al. (2000: 20–21) link this to an insecurity of linguistic and social identity among the social elite and a subsequent call for norms. They mention the ideal of the *honnêtes hommes*, whose language was considered *le bon usage*, a term from Vaugelas’ *Remarques sur la langue française* (1647). Vaugelas’ normative work appears to have been picked up by the higher classes, judging from their portrayal in contemporary plays (Battye et al. 2000: 28).

The normative approach to language from the 17th century was continued in the 18th. Vaugelas and other 17th-century authors functioned as linguistic models for the elite, but whereas Vaugelas had mentioned variation (although not unequivocally positively), 18th-century opinion had no room for deviation from the norm. A change towards an idea of written primacy in language can also be noted (Battye et al. 2000: 32–33).

Attitudes towards French when compared with other languages continued to be positive also in the 18th century. This is shown in that when French (rather than Latin) was

4) ‘Nostre lunge est aussi facile a reigler et mettre en bon ordre que fut jadis la langue Grecque en laquelle y a cinq diversites de langage, qui sont la langue Attique, la Dorique, la Aeolique, la Ionique & la Commune. . . Tout ainsi pourrions nous bien faire de la langue de Court & Parrhisienne, de la langue Picarde, de la Lionnoise, de la Lymosine, & de la Prouvensalle.’

recognised as the international language of diplomacy in the Treaty of Rastatt in 1714, this was considered an obvious development in the French discourse. After all, French was inherently the clearest, most natural, most logical language and therefore superior to other languages and the prime candidate for the post (Szulmajster-Celnikier 1996: 41).

#### 5.4.2 *The politics of language in Early Modern France*

France has a reputation for strictly enforcing French-only language policies. The link between the country and the language is so strong that Eloy (1994: 403) writes that ‘In the case of France, language has always been linked to the state.’ The division in 842 of the Frankish Kingdom into an East and a West Frankish Kingdom, which later were to become Germany and France respectively, was symbolised by a declaration in both a Germanic and a Romance variety. The ascension to the throne in 987 of Hugh Capet, the first King of France to speak a Romance rather than a Frankish (Germanic) variety, is another example of the symbolism Eloy invokes. His imagery is fetching, but we must be wary not to project our post-National Romanticist views on language and (national) identity onto the Frenchmen of the 8th and 9th centuries, or indeed the Early Modern period.

The different regimes of the French state tried to influence language use on its territory to varying extents, enough for the history of French not to be a spontaneous development, but not enough to speak of ‘dirigist interventionism’ (Szulmajster-Celnikier 1996: 38). Grillo (1989: 29) claims that there were no language policies during the Ancien Régime, but a number of government decrees and other policy decisions may be interpreted as exponents of an underlying language policy.

The early 16th century saw a number of decrees concerning the language of law (Boulard 1999: 56): in 1490, 1510, 1531, 1533, and 1535. Except the 1510 decree, all of these applied to Southern French regions (Languedoc and Provence), where *langue d’oc* varieties were spoken but where Latin was predominant in legal texts. The aim of these decrees

seems to have been to oust Latin. The decrees varied in the exact wording of what variety Latin was to be replaced by:

- **1490:** *en langage François ou maternel* ‘in French or the mother tongue’
- **1510:** *en vulgaire et langage du país* ‘in the vernacular and language of the country’
- **1531 and 1533:** *en langue vulgaire des contractants* ‘in the vernacular language of the contractants’
- **1535:** *en français, ou à tout le moins en vulgaire du pays* ‘in French, or at least the vernacular of the country’

The prescribed language was only vaguely and perhaps even ambiguously defined. This has caused a debate among scholars attempting to explain Early Modern French language policy, especially with regard to the next decree in sequence, that of Villers-Cotterêts.

*The Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts (1539)*

The Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts from 1539 is a much disputed piece of language policy in French history. Articles 110 and 111 of this decree, which has 192 articles in total, are concerned with language use in the legal system. They state that the language of all legal procedures and related documents shall be the *langage maternel françois et non autrement* ‘the French mother tongue and not otherwise’:

(110) And so that there be no reason to doubt the intelligibility of said arrests, we wish and ordain that they be made and written so clearly, that there be nor can be any ambiguity or uncertainty nor room to demand interpretation.

(111) And because such things often happen because of the intelligibility of Latin words contained in said arrests, we wish henceforth that all arrests, including all other procedures, be they of our sovereign courts and other subordinate and inferior [courts], be they registers, enquiries, contracts, commissions, sentences, testaments, and other such acts and deeds of justice, or

those which depend on it, be pronounced, registered and delivered to the parties in the French mother tongue and not otherwise.<sup>5</sup>

(Cited in Boulard 1999: 46, my translation.)

Villers-Cotterêts has been the subject of considerable debate, starting only decades after the decree was issued (Fiorelli 1950: 285), but gaining in intensity in the 20th century. The debate focuses on two main questions: what exactly is meant by *langage maternel françois* and what was the purpose of the Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts, linguistic and otherwise?

Two rival interpretations of the phrase *langage maternel françois* have been put forward, one of which Boulard (1999: 47) dubs ‘liberal’, the other ‘limitative’. In the **limitative** interpretation, the phrase refers only and exclusively to Parisian French, the language of the court. Several documents support this reading. Firstly, in previous decrees about the language in the judicial system, the difference between Parisian French (*la langue françoise*) and the local vernacular (*le vulgaire du pays*) is explicitly made. These earlier decrees cater for the possibility to use the local vernacular in law. In Villers-Cotterêts, the local vernacular disappears from the scene, and the imposition of Parisian French is enforced by the phrase *et non autrement* ‘and not otherwise’ (Boulard 1999: 57).

A second argument in favour of the limitative interpretation is the linguistic practice in law in *langue d’oc* areas after 1539. Brun (1951: 82–83) cites a number of examples where the language in legal documents changes after 1539, explicitly in compliance to the Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts. It is a change to Parisian French, although it must be noted that the earlier documents in this area were in Latin, not in a *langue d’oc* variety.

---

5) (110) ‘Et afin qu’il n’y ait cause de douter sur l’intelligence desdits arrêts, nous voulons et ordonnons qu’ils soient faits et écrits si clairement, qu’il n’y ait ni puisse avoir aucune ambiguité ou incertitude ne lieu à demander interprétation.’ (111) ‘Et pour ce que telles choses sont souvent advenues sur l’intelligence des mots latins contenus esdits arrests, nous voulons d’oresnavant que tous les arrests, ensemble toutes autres procédures, soient de nos cours souveraines et autres subalternes et inférieures, soient de registres, enquestes, contrats, commissions, sentences, testaments, et autres quelconques, actes et exploits de justice, ou qui en dépendent, soient prononcés, enregistrés et délivrés aux parties en langage maternel françois et non autrement.’

Supporters of the **liberal** interpretation, on the other hand, choose to see Villers-Cotterêts as a continuation of policies set out in the earlier decrees rather than a break with tradition. They highlight the consistent opposition between Latin on the one hand and vernaculars on the other, stressing that the decree is primarily aimed at the unintelligibility of Latin phrases in legal texts, and explain the exclusivity of *et non autrement* by incorporating local vernaculars, which were previously mentioned separately, into the *langage maternel françois*.

An additional argument for the liberal interpretation is that the language discourse at the time of Villers-Cotterêts was not unfavourable to local varieties (see above). The liberal argument that local varieties are understood as part of the *langage maternel françois* is convincing, and places the decree in the context of the early 16th-century debate about language like the comment by Tory cited earlier. The limitative argument that the use of Parisian French in Southern France after 1539 indicates that Parisian French was the target in Villers-Cotterêts, is less convincing. We are interested in the intentions of the policy, and the results can turn out to be quite different; the outcome must not be projected back onto the intentions. Restricting ourselves to a literal reading of the decree, however, the limitative reading is perhaps the more obvious one. The change from previous phrasings, which were written against the same background of ideas about language, is striking.

Boulard (1999) discussed Articles 110 and 111 in the wider context of the Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts, to clarify the intentions of the linguistic paragraphs. The Ordonnance was to reform and streamline legal procedures throughout the kingdom. Boulard (1999: 66) sees in this a ‘centripetal enterprise’; in other words, Villers-Cotterêts was part of a centralisation and consolidation of state power. The other 190 articles in the decree leave less room for discussion than the two articles about language, and they have clear absolutist tendencies (Martel 2001: 18).

In Boulard’s analysis, the linguistic component of this centralisation works on multiple levels. In replacing the former legal language Latin with the vernacular, the King demys-

tified the legal apparatus for the people, which reflected well on his reputation (64). At the same time, he delivered a blow to some of his opponents, who used the social barrier of Latin to their own advantage (71). Finally, by replacing Latin by Parisian French in particular – Boulard seems to subscribe to the limitative interpretation here – the King made the language of the court a central point of reference for the entire country (62). Language, in other words, was not directly a subject of policy, but rather a tool in a wider policy of centralisation.

Boulard (1999: 61) gives another argument against the liberal reading: minority languages are not recognised in the decree, not officialised or even forbidden – they are simply not mentioned at all. The intended audience for the Ordonnance, those involved in the judicial process, will have been proficient in Parisian French regardless of whether they lived in a *langue d'oïl* or *langue d'oc* area (59). Villers-Cotterêts decreed that they were to use Parisian French in their work; whatever they did outside of that was deemed irrelevant.

#### *Language policies aimed at new annexations*

The first politicisation of French as a state language comes with the annexation of Béarn in 1620 (Cohen 2003). The Béarnais authorities had politicised Occitan in their records (also in the Basque-speaking Navarre) as a symbolic act of independence from France, even though the aristocracy was heavily Frenchified. When France annexed the area, they imposed French, supposedly for ease of justice and to symbolise allegiance to the King through allegiance to his language (178).

Only after the annexation of Béarn did language become a political issue, but never very heavily imposed. In Roussillon, Frenchification was encouraged through bilingual Catalan-French education. In Alsace (annexed 1685), it was mentioned that the use of German was 'contrary to the love of serving His Majesty'; and in Flanders, French was ordered in court proceedings. All in all, there was no single language policy, but a whole range of policies based on previous experiences.

Van Goethem (1987: 59) notes that the 17th- and 18th-century decrees imposing the use of French were specifically aimed at newly annexed areas. In some of these – Alsace, Lorraine, French Flanders, and Corsica – the vernacular was the language of government in a neighbouring country.<sup>6</sup> Instead of a measure for administrative convenience, Van Goethem claims, Frenchification became a matter of state security. This was the reason that Frenchification efforts were intensified.

There are a number of problems with this interpretation. The first lies in the comparison of Béarn (and to a certain extent Roussillon) with Alsace. According to the state security hypothesis, the Gascon (*langue d'oc*) of Béarn and the Catalan of Roussillon did not constitute a national security risk, as they were not government languages in neighbouring countries. We would expect a more lenient linguistic policy. The German of Alsace was the language of government in the Holy Roman Empire. This would have constituted a greater risk, and we would expect strict measures against the use of German in Alsace. Reality was quite different: the language policies in Béarn and Roussillon were much stricter than those in Alsace. (See below for more on Alsatian policies.)

A greater problem is again the possible projection of the post-Romanticist link between language and ethnic or national identity on a pre-Romantic period. If the Early Modern Frenchman assigned himself an identity as part of a larger 'imagined community' beyond his immediate local community, it will more likely have been a religious community or a dynastic empire (Anderson 1983: 12, 19; Bell 1996: 93; Battye et al. 2000: 17) than an identity based on linguistically defined nationhood. A case cited in Bell (1996: 105–106) serves to exemplify the point: The inhabitants of a Catalan-language village in the Pyrenees identified as French citizens not because of their language, but because of self-interest. The support they would receive as French citizens came in useful in local conflicts.

---

6) The Catalan of Roussillon is a special case. Although it was a language also spoken in a neighbouring country, Catalan had lost its functions as a language of government to Castilian Spanish in the 15th and 16th centuries, and was in much the same position in Spain as it was in Roussillon in France.

The relative leniency of Frenchifying language policies in the Alsace has been connected to religious differences between the Protestant Alsace and the rest of France, which was Catholic (Van Goethem 1987: 67; Kibbee 2002: 320). By maintaining a language difference between Germanophone Protestantism and Francophone Catholicism, inhibiting contacts between the two faiths, the authorities hoped to keep Protestantism out of France.

This short overview indicates that language policies during the Ancien Régime were highly localised. It was not until after the French Revolution that a uniform policy was put in place. During the early years of the Revolution, revolutionaries had used the local languages in order to get their message across. An enquiry in 1794 by Barère however suggested that rural resistance to the Revolution was caused by the people's ignorance of French, and Abbé Grégoire argued that a uniform French was needed to clearly express the ideas of the Revolution. Language policies, although short-lived, were accepted by the National Convention to eradicate linguistic variation, and ensure the *égalité* of the French citizens (Van Goethem 1987: 77–81). Both the explicit hostility towards non-Parisian vernaculars and the uniformity of the policies throughout France meant a departure from the practice in the Ancien Régime.

When we return to Grillo's claim (1989: 29) that there were no language policies during the Ancien Régime, that statement needs qualification. Language policies did exist, but they were secondary to a higher aim of, for example, standardisation of legal practice or the protection of Catholicism. Bell (1996: 98) sees in this an absence of *systematic* language policies, a view much more in accordance with reality.

Another point Bell makes is that the policies aimed to Frenchify only the élites in the newly annexed areas. His evidence for this is that language policies ceased about two generations after the annexation, 'the time it took for the elites of the new provinces to become bilingual' (1996: 98). This too suggests that standardisation of legal practice was the main aim of the policies: all it takes for that is that those involved are proficient in Parisian French. Even the symbolic value of Frenchification as allegiance to the King



requires only the local *élites* – those in power – to shift; the language of the powerless masses was never subject to Frenchification policies until after the Revolution.

In general, then, French language policies seem to have been patchy and although they were successful in changing at least the language of writing in a number of domains, their influence on the people's vernacular seems to have been limited. In the following section, I will turn the spotlight on French Flanders. I will discuss the specific pieces of language policy in place there, and their influence on the language of both the *élites* and the rest of the local population.

#### 5.4.3 *French language policies in French Flanders*

By 1659, French Flanders had already had a longer history of contact with French (Kibbee 2002: 324).<sup>7</sup> French had been used in communications with the central state power already when the area was still ruled by the Dukes of Burgundy in the 14th and 15th centuries (Coornaert 1970: 211). In local communications, Flemish was used *as well as* French: many official documents were written in French (137).

The Treaty of the Pyrenees, in which French Flanders was annexed by France, contained a liberal language paragraph: people were allowed to use whichever language they wanted (Coornaert 1970: 212). The liberal nature of the treaty is underlined by the fact that King Louis XIV signed a decree in Flemish in 1674.

But in spite of the treaty's liberal intentions, the legal profession was subject to different, centralist policies. A series of decrees from 1663 stipulated that legal acts in Dunkirk had to be written in French (Goris 2004: 339) and the magistrate in Bergues received similar orders (Coornaert 1970: 212). Another edict from 1684 ordered the use of French in the royal courts of law. How successful these decrees were is a subject of disagreement.

7) In this section I use the term 'French' for both written and spoken varieties. The relevant spoken *langue d'oïl* variety in the area is most likely to have been Picard, but the written variety was Parisian French. Although Picard survived longest of the localised written *langue d'oïl* varieties (*scripta*), it was superseded by Parisian French in the 15th century (Martel 2001: 22).

Coornaert claims they remained a dead letter, and Lambin (1980: 254) says they were not strictly enforced. On the other hand, Van Goethem (1987: 64) sees a greater success for the policies. The decree was followed in Bergues immediately, and in Hazebrouck it took a mixed-language period of some twenty years before all legal matters were dealt with in French. The decrees only applied to the royal courts. Lower-level courts continued to use Flemish. ‘The difficult Frenchification of the seigneurial justice system is a good example of the strength of the stubborn survival of Dutch in French Flanders’ (Van Goethem 1989: 442).

The judicial system quickly shifted to French under the pressures of centralisation. Similar pressures were exerted on the clergy and, as it was the clergy that was responsible for schools, on education. Together with the 1663 decrees about language use in law came a decree ordering the appointment of French-speaking clergy to teach the catechism to the children of Dunkirk (Goris 2004: 339). To what extent these policies were effective is again subject to debate. Goris (2004: 341) claims that the Jesuit clergy – sent to Dunkirk to counteract local clergy that would potentially still be loyal to the old Habsburg regime – chose French as the language in their schools and were a major force in the Frenchification of Dunkirk. Cabantous (1983: 115) on the other hand sees the Jesuits use Flemish with the support of the local upper classes, who saw the usefulness of Flemish in trade.

It does appear that education remained predominantly Flemish-medium also in the 18th century (Ryckeboer 2002: 24), but French-medium schools were also established in Gravelines, Bourbourg, and Dunkirk for the benefit of French-speaking administrative and military personnel that had migrated to these towns (Ryckeboer 2000: 86).

French was introduced as a subject in Flemish-medium schools after the annexation, but the exact year of introduction differed from place to place. In communities close to the Artois region, French was introduced in 1685, but in Dunkirk it was not until 1737, despite the earlier annexation of that town (Coornaert 1970: 206). It must be mentioned that after

initial Flemish-medium education, Latin gained a dominant role in higher classes (209). This may also have been the case in French-medium schools.

Flemish appears to have been left alone in the cultural domain, with only one attempt at restricting its role here in the literature. In the second half of the 18th century, authorities in Cassel prohibited the local Chamber of Rhetoric from staging farcical plays in Flemish. More than a measure against Flemish however, this was rooted in the Chamber's subversive nature and the criticism in their plays of the abuse of power by the local authorities (Trenard 1972: 248, 338).

Language policies in French Flanders seem to have been very similar to those in France in general. Pressure to standardise the legal system caused a shift to French in that domain, and the Frenchification of the church appears to have had political rather than linguistic-ideological reasons. Although French played a role in education after the annexation, Flemish was never forbidden, and the only measure against Flemish-language culture had a political background as well. In all, the policies seem to have influenced the language of supra-local communication, but the language of the people was left alone.

Lambin (1980: 255) notes that 'even though Louis XIV [did] not seek to make the *entire* Flemish-speaking population adopt the language of the Kingdom, Flemish retreated and French progressed. ... This is all the more remarkable as French was taught in only a few schools.'<sup>8</sup> If language policies did not influence the language people spoke, some other factor must have been at play that did trigger the shift. I will discuss this further in the next section.

---

8) 'Même si Louis XIV ne cherche pas à faire adopter la langue du royaume par *toute* la population flamingante, le flamand recule et le français progresse. ... C'est d'autant plus étonnant que le français n'est enseigné que dans quelques rares écoles.'

## 5.5 Conclusions

The minority language policies discussed in this chapter were set against similar discursive backgrounds about language. In Scotland, Germany and France alike, the vernacular language was taking over domains from Latin, and this change was accompanied by publications praising the qualities of the vernacular. The attitude to language in publications, especially towards the later half of the Early Modern period, was rather prescriptive. The centre for the prescribed norms lay far from the minority language areas in the case of Scotland and French Flanders, where the centres were in England and Paris, respectively; Lusatia, on the other hand, was closer to the normative centre for High German in Saxony.

Whereas the discourses about the majority languages appear rather similar across these three countries, the discourses about minority languages were very different. Scotland displayed an explicit negative discourse about one of its minority language groups, with speakers of Scottish Gaelic being described as barbarians in need of civility, but such negative attitudes are not attested for Norn. Attitudes towards Sorbs in Lusatia were also predominantly negative, but such explicitly negative comments about French Flemish were almost entirely absent.

Despite the differing attitudes to minority languages in the three countries, the language policies expressed by church authorities were rather similar. In all three countries, the church aimed to promote the majority language, but often used minority languages as well, if that was helpful to the higher aim of spreading the 'right' faith. Church language policies therefore took a utilitarian approach to minority languages.

This utilitarian approach can also be found in the different governments' language policies. This shows most clearly in policies about the use of French in French Flanders: the main goal was an administrative assimilation of the newly acquired areas into the Kingdom. The use of English in Wales after the annexation in 1536 is a parallel to the French case (Brennan 2001; Wright 2004: 30).

Even those policies that were explicitly aimed at forcing a language shift among the minority-language population had higher aims that were not linguistic. The anti-Gaelic measures in Scotland were to ensure the population's loyalty to the central government and the Protestant church *through* Anglicisation, and in Kunze's (1999) view, the restrictive policies against Sorbian also had a religious and political background.

The language policies discussed here all had slightly different intentions and different results. In the areas of Lusatia where language policies were repressive against Sorbian, there was some 'success' in rooting out the language. The anti-Gaelic measures in Scotland, however, were also explicit in their aim of language shift, but they were mostly unsuccessful in causing large-scale shift. Only with the use of force, for reasons of government and land management, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, was Gaelic dealt a significant blow. On the other hand, the policies regarding French Flanders did not show the intention of making people shift language, but a shift from Dutch to French happened anyway; while in Shetland, where there is no sign of any language policy at all, language shift occurred very quickly. We are left with an apparent contradiction: in the cases where there were no strict language policies, we see language shift, while strict language policies are by no means a guarantee for shift.

In Chapter 4 I looked at French Flanders and Shetland, which turned out to be two of the areas where language shift did occur. The language shift was correlated with the immigration and integration of a sizeable population of majority-language speakers, suggesting that demographic change and a subsequent change in the minority-language speakers' social networks to include many majority-language speakers were influential in triggering a language shift.

We can find a similar pattern in the language policies that I characterised above as 'successful'. Returning to Kirkwood's list of methods for the replacement of Gaelic by English, three of his four methods were about forcing a change in people's social networks,

two of these about demographic change in particular. The lack of success for early anti-Gaelic policies through the settlement of the Highlands with ‘colonies of civility’ may simply be due to a lack of numbers; recall Thomason & Kaufman’s and MacKinnon’s rule of thumb that a majority-language population will not acquire the minority-language if they make up approximately 30% of the population (cf. Chapter 4.2.2). The later policies in Scotland did work, and they involved a replacement of people into an English-language context.

We see the same in Lusatia, where the Friderizianische Kolonisation brought many German speakers into the minority-language area. This can explain the disappearance of Sorbian from the Wendish District and its survival in Cottbus. How the colonisation movement affected Lower Lusatia, which was not under Brandenburg-Prussian jurisdiction, is unclear. Here we find harsh policies which appear effective at rooting out Sorbian, but there is no direct evidence of demographic change. There is the possibility that it was a by-product of the Brandenburg-Prussian policies: we have evidence of many Lower Lusatian Sorbs emigration to Cottbus in this period, which could leave a surplus of Germans in their area of origin, but further study is needed both to confirm this and possible consequences for Sorbian in Early Modern Lower Lusatia.

In the introduction to this chapter, I cited Edwards (2006), who said that language policies on behalf of minority languages were not very successful at preventing language shift, as shift was likely to happen anyway due to urbanisation, modernisation and mobility – processes that bring about changes in people’s social networks. We can draw a similar conclusion for the Early Modern period: language planning to the detriment of minority languages was not necessarily influential, and whether shift happened depended – as it does today – on people’s social networks. The only language policies that were ‘successful’ in their aim of triggering a language shift were those that successfully introduced the majority language into the minority-language speakers’ networks.

If the impact from language policies in the Early Modern period was limited, their prominence in commentaries about minority languages in this period needs to be explained. Contrary to modern-day language policies, where cultural-demographic pressures and policies point in opposite directions, the aims in Early Modern policies were similar to the natural effects of cultural-demographic changes. Especially if the intention of making the population shift was explicitly pronounced, it is tempting to see the attested shift as the result of these language policies. In reality, however, it is likely that the Early Modern language policies were as much in vain as their 20th- and 21st-century counterparts.

However, even if language policies may not have directly triggered a language shift, they were still part of the social and sociolinguistic landscape that could have influenced shift. Especially in historical studies, where information on language attitudes is often minimal, language policies and their backgrounds can fill a void in the available evidence. As such, minority language policies remain a worthwhile object of study.





# Target varieties in language shift

## Chapter 6

---

### 6.1 Introduction

A population undergoing language shift is bound to come into contact with several different varieties of the target language, in a variety of ways, and they may acquire the target language from any one or more of these different sources. For example, one may expect that in interpersonal contacts the population will be exposed to a more vernacular variety of the target language, whereas through more formal contacts – education, government, etc. – they will encounter a more standard variety. Therefore it may be possible from the resulting target variety, the variety the population shifts towards, to identify through which channels the target language has reached the population.

Some studies on language shift comment explicitly on the type of target variety. For example, in her study of the Hungarian-speaking population of Oberwart in Austria, Gal (1979: 68–69) describes the available repertoire of styles in the community. This ranges from Standard Austrian German (the supra-local standard in Austria; note that there is no High German) to local Oberwart German on the German side of the spectrum, and on the Hungarian side from local Oberwart Hungarian to Standard Hungarian.

Although everyone in Oberwart is bilingual, Gal noted individual variation in the ranges of styles people control. In particular, older people were unlikely to use ‘prestige’ forms of Standard Austrian German, while younger people were unlikely to use Standard Hungarian

‘prestige’ forms. People in the middle age range had the broadest spectrum of variation in both languages.

Apart from age, Gal correlated the speakers’ capability of variation to their education – the language of their education is the language they have a larger range of stylistic variation in, and the longer they have spent in school, the more variation (in the direction of the standard language of education, presumably) they are capable of – and to their contact with monolinguals which has ‘provided linguistic models for those *who want them*’ (69, my emphasis).

Similarly, Landrecies (2001: 54), looking at the Frenchification of Flemish immigrants in Roubaix in the 19th century, claims that ‘we must constantly keep in mind that the “French” assimilated to on the job is most often Picard.’<sup>1</sup> This is a clear example of a shifting population acquiring a vernacular variety through personal, informal contacts with (lower-class) speakers with similar social standing and social networks. Landrecies also writes that knowledge of Picard ‘thus can hinder the acquisition of French,’<sup>2</sup> implying that contrary to the Hungarian shifters in Gal’s study, the Flemish immigrants did *not* acquire a wide range of stylistic variation.

This may have to do with the lack of enforcement of (Standard) French in education, which Landrecies (2001: 61) hints at, although his comment on education is made to show that there was no repression of Flemish and he explicitly opposes this situation to the repression of Picard in schools in Bailleul and Dunkirk.

Gal correlated the use of formal varieties of Hungarian or German in Oberwart to age. It is well-known that the use of formal varieties of a language correlates with age in so-called ‘age-grading’ – middle-aged speakers use a higher proportion of standard (formal) variants than younger or older speakers do (Chambers 2002: 358). In the case of Oberwart, however, we see a more linear pattern. Age correlates not with the use of formal varieties

---

1) ‘Il faut garder sans cesse à l’esprit que le “français” assimilé sur le tas est le plus souvent du picard.’

2) ‘... peut alors entraver l’apprentissage du français’

as such, but with the use of (and by extension, competence in) formal Hungarian versus formal German. But this age correlation may actually be correlation with education and contact with monolinguals. The correlation with age would then be an artefact of this. This is a likely explanation if we can find a social change towards more use of formal German that took place in Oberwart around the 1940s; and such a change can easily be found in Austrian history.

The evidence from Gal's and Landrecies' studies appears to confirm the initial expectation that people acquire the standard variety through formal channels (such as education) and non-standard varieties (including the variation therein) through informal channels such as contact with other speakers of the language.

But there are also examples of the opposite, cases where shifting populations acquired a standard variety when we have evidence or at least a strong suspicion that education did not play a significant role in the acquisition of the target language. Catford (1957b: 115) writes that 'the variety of Scots which replaced Gaelic in Galloway was "standard" Scots, rather than a neighbouring local dialect, just as, at a later date (18th century onwards) it is "standard" English which replaces Gaelic in the Highlands'. Similarly, Pée & Blancquaert (1946: ix) stress that bilingual French Flemish, beside their native Flemish, spoke French, and *not* either of the local varieties, Walloon and Picard.

A study by Pooley (2006) on Flemish immigrants in Lille between 1800 and 1914 – not unlike Landrecies' study – may go some way towards explaining this discrepancy. Although the predominance of Picard in the shifting population is found also by Pooley – witness the almost systematic use of a number of Picard features in corpora from the beginning of the 20th century, shifting to predominantly French features at the end of the century – he notes (228) that 'a considerable proportion of Flemish-speaking migrants would have been assimilated linguistically through varieties that might (have) be(en) perceived by some as Picard, but *which they themselves perceived to be French*' (my

emphasis). Only in the 20th century did migrants to the area become more aware of a distinction between French and Picard forms (229).

Pooley (2006: 228) also sees a role for the Flemish immigrants in an accelerated process of convergence between varieties in the area. This suggests that the minority language population also exert influence on the target language. In his model of language death, Sasse (1992: 18–19) mentions that the ‘abandoned language’, A, may ‘leave a substratum influence ... in the dialect of [the target language] T which the former speech community of A continues to speak’; in other words, they continue a  $T_A$  dialect. In the studies by Pooley, Pée & Blancquaert and Catford, part of the influence the shifting population has had on the target variety appears to have been some form of standardisation. Whether it is because of a confusion between standard and non-standard varieties of the target language, or otherwise, we may posit a link between language shift, shifting populations and dialect levelling or standardisation.

Wiggen (2002: 63) writes that ‘after English became the general language of education in 1872, Scots gave way to English faster in Orkney and Shetland than in the rest of Scotland.’<sup>3</sup> This claim is unfortunately erroneous – the local dialects are clearly Scots, and the bidialectal islanders’ ‘high’ (formal, non-local) variety is Scottish Standard English, presupposing a Scots base – but the thoughts behind it are interesting. Wiggen claims Scots had only been in effective use since the mid-17th century, before when ‘the local islanders had heard not a locally developed or rooted, but an imported normative variety of Scots, established on the mainland.’<sup>4</sup> In short, Wiggen claims the acquisition of a normative Scots, which then does not take root and is quickly replaced by a standard English.

---

3) ‘Etter at engelsk blei allment skolespråk i 1872, kom skotsken til å vike for engelsk fortere på Orknøyene og Shetland enn i Skottland for øvrig.’

4) ‘Tidligere var det ikke noen lokalt utvikla eller rotfesta, men en importert, fastlandsetablert skotsk normvarietet de innfødte øyboere hadde hørt ...’

Considering these different accounts, an investigation of target varieties in language shift is interesting for several reasons. Target varieties can tell us about how the shifting population acquired the target language, as there appears to be some truth to the correlation between the type of target variety and the mechanism of acquisition. A more in-depth study of the history of the target variety can also inform us more about the link between language shift and standardisation, and the factors that play a role in this. Finally, the history of the target variety in itself is a topic worth investigating, too.

There are three types of evidence for the target variety that we could look at: metalinguistic comment, written evidence, and spoken evidence. All three can give valuable information, but there are also problems connected to each of them. Metalinguistic comment, for example, is not always available, and is often difficult to interpret both in and out of its original context.

Evidence from writing focuses on non-standard features in majority-language writing by minority-language authors, but also this is not straightforward. In Northern France, for example, the supposed golden age of Picard literature does not appear to have been in Picard at all, but rather in Francien (Parisian French) with some minor Picard characteristics, or at best a levelled oïl variety. Writing in Picard did not take off until the 18th century (Auger 2003: 145), and it is important to realise that a Standard French was already well on its way to being developed at that point. It is therefore unlikely that any localisms are to be found in Flemish-French writing of the time.

Evidence from spoken language is the most direct, but in this case we must posit that very little language change has happened since. Especially, we must assume that any significant pressure on the local variety since the language shift has been in the direction of the standard variety, so that any relic non-standard forms must have been part of the original target variety. This also means that there can not have been a post-language shift influx of people sizeable enough to change the dialect spoken in the area – Trudgill's adaptation for new-dialect formation of Mufwene's 'founder principle of creole genesis'

(see below, and Sudbury 2004: 405). With these thoughts in mind, we can compare the target variety to other dialects, and suggest likely ways the target variety was adopted.

In this chapter, I will take two different approaches to this question, making use mainly of evidence about spoken varieties. Because sufficient historical information about spoken language was available, it was not necessary to use modern data. Such modern data would have been first-hand, but also further removed from the actual target variety in language shift. The first of the two studies I will report on is a historical dialectological study on the origins of Shetland Scots, using traditional methodology. The second is a study of French Flemish French, using computational methods of language comparison. In the conclusion to this chapter, I will discuss what both cases tell us about the mechanism of language acquisition and the link between language shift and standardisation.

Note that the conclusion will compare the *results* of the two studies, and not the methodologies. Both methods have their merits, and which method is the best applicable depends on the type of data. Descriptive data we have on Shetland Scots allows us to use Trudgill's paradigm of new-dialect formation, while dialect atlas data from Northern France is suitable for the computational paradigm.<sup>5</sup>

## 6.2 Shetland Scots

Van Leyden (2004: 16), in her characterisation of Insular Scots varieties, emphasises the Scots elements in today's dialects, and the continuation with the 16th-century immigrants' speech:<sup>6</sup>

- 
- 5) Neither dialect descriptions nor phonetic dialect atlas data are available for the German spoken in Lusatia. This chapter is therefore based only on the Shetland and French Flemish case studies.
  - 6) Millar (2008) is a different account of the development of Shetland Scots in Trudgill's framework of new-dialect formation. Our studies differ significantly in the source, scope and analysis of the data. Millar deals in depth with historical metalinguistic commentary and attempts to link lexical, phonological and structural features to their origins in different Mainland Scots dialects, whereas my study attempts to derive Shetland Scots phonology and morphology from the variation in the Mainland Scots input dialects. Nonetheless, our conclusions are broadly similar, which can be seen as support for both our analyses.

Orkney and Shetland dialects are conservative varieties of Lowland Scots, with a substantial Norn substratum. It is notable that the vowel system of these dialects is still quite similar to that of Older Scots, and it is comparable to that of other peripheral Scots areas, such as Galloway in south-west Scotland. Scots was apparently taken to the Northern Isles by immigrants from Central Scotland in the sixteenth century at about the same time as it replaced Gaelic in Galloway. Furthermore, many Older Scots words that have been lost for some time in the Fife and Lothian area are still in everyday use in Orkney and Shetland, at least by the older generation.

This presentation of Shetland Scots as essentially Older Scots with a Scandinavian substratum is extremely common, and can be found elsewhere as well (Melchers 2004b: 37; Flom 1928–1929: 145; Rendboe [1985] cited in Smith 1996: 39; Barnes 1991: 454–455; Grant & Dixon [1921] cited in Pavlenko 1997: 89; Robertson & Graham 1991: vii) although the extent to which the Scandinavian influence on the dialect is foregrounded differs considerably depending on the context in which the characterisation is made.

Some of the characteristics of Shetland Scots in particular have been linked to the Norn substratum. In phonology, these include the pronunciation of [θ] and [ð] as [t] and [d] (th-stopping), the lack of a distinction between /hw/ and /kw/ (hw-confusion), the vowel [ø], and particular patterns in prosody and vowel length. Morphosyntactic features with a supposed Scandinavian influence include the generalised use of BE as a perfect auxiliary, a distinction between polite and familiar forms of the second person singular pronoun, and pronominal reference with *he* and *she* rather than *it*. These features will be discussed in more detail below, but serve here as an indication of the phenomena I attempt to explain in this section.

In most characterisations, the Scandinavian substratum is described as strongest in lexicon and phonology, while other areas of grammar are mostly described as (Older) Scots. What none of the characterisations have attempted to explain, however, is how this particular mix of features has come to be. Grant & Dixon's characterisation of the dialect as 'Mid Scots grafted upon an original Scandinavian stock' suggests a mechanism that I have the impression underlies much of the thinking about Shetland Scots:

- (6.1) The Norn-speaking population in Shetland acquired Scots, but did so imperfectly. This second-language variety, Scots influenced by features carried over from Norn, was the basis for Shetland Scots.

This process seems to be implied in the traditional accounts of Norn and its influence on Shetland Scots, where absence of certain Lowland Scots contrasts in Shetland Scots is linked to Norn not having these contrasts. It is true that some features of the dialect are probably best explained with reference to Norn and imperfect second-language learning. But this process ignores the fact that a large proportion of the Shetland population, generally assumed to be about a third by 1600, were native speakers of Scots. An account of the development of Shetland Scots that is blind to the possible influence of such a sizable group, whose language additionally is believed to have enjoyed high prestige in the community, is rather problematic,<sup>7</sup> especially as it is not unlikely that the language shift and the Norn speakers' acquisition of Scots in the first place was triggered by the immigration of large numbers of Scots in the mid-16th century.

An alternative explanation of the origins of the dialect, which to my knowledge has never been proposed, would place more emphasis on the continuation of 16th-century Scots:

- (6.2) The Scots settlers from different parts of Scotland formed Shetland Scots as a compromise variety between their different dialects. Any Norn influence on the dialect could have come from Scots acquiring Norn as a second language, which in turn influenced their native language, resulting in Shetland Scots.

Just as the first explanation ignored the substantial Scots minority, this explanation puts the Norn-speaking majority on the sideline. It is also unclear whether large numbers of Scots speakers acquired Norn, as this explanation posits. A small number of reports about the islands (by Revd. James Kay in 1680, and by Sir Robert Sibbald in 1711; see Stewart 1964:

---

7) But note that the absence of a sex prestige pattern in inter-ethnic marriage at the time could suggest that the status usually ascribed to Scots in this period might be a modern back-projection (see p. 138).



163–165) could be interpreted in that way, but especially Kay’s report is unclear as to who it refers to. Smith (1996: 32–33) stresses the Shetlanders’ multilingualism in the 17th century, and this includes the Scots, but it is beyond reasonable doubt, that interactions between Scots and Norn speakers in the domains of church and administration happened in Scots. (For the religious domain, see a comment from 1605 by Sir Thomas Craig, pertaining to Orkney rather than Shetland, in Marwick 1929: 224. For administration, again in Orkney, see Marwick 1929: xxiii.)

In an attempt to come to a possible explanation of the origins of Shetland Scots, I will first discuss issues of second-language acquisition and the development of language-shift varieties (parallel to the first explanation) and new-dialect formation (the second explanation), before suggesting a way in which the two processes can be linked together in an explanation that does justice to both population groups in the islands.

### 6.2.1 *Second-language acquisition and language-shift varieties*

In his typology of varieties within the ‘English language complex’, Mesthrie (1992: 3, 2006: 383) describes language-shift English as a variety ‘that develop[s] from when English replaces the language of a community as the main (and often sole) language of daily interaction’. He argues that the distinction between a language-shift variety and a social dialect, often an ethnolect, is not clear-cut, but the distinction in terminology signals a focus on ‘the process of shift and acquisition, rather than the ultimate “social dialect” product’ (2006: 385). There is often a sense of continuity between the former community language, the language-shift variety, and the resulting social dialect.

According to Sasse’s theory of (gradual) language death (1992: 18), the shifting community ends up speaking a version of the target language which may have substratum influence from the abandoned language. Sasse claims this influence is primarily lexical, but some well-known examples of language-shift varieties turned social dialects, Hiberno-English (Mesthrie 2006: 383) and Chicano English (Fought 2003: 1), suggest that there

may also be significant phonological and syntactic influence. In this section, I will discuss problems in the acquisition of second-language sounds, and in what way a learner's second language (L2) is affected by their first language (L1) and vice versa.

*Difficulties in the acquisition of L2 phonology*

Brown (2000) looks at the acquisition of contrast in consonantal systems. Her experiments focused on the acquisition of a number of consonantal contrasts in (L2) English by speakers of (L1) Chinese, Japanese and Korean. The consonantal systems of these three languages differ from English in different ways, which allowed Brown to make generalisations on the basis of her results. She hypothesised (23–27) that learners would be successful in acquiring the L2 contrast if they could map the 'new' L2 sound on an existing L1 phone. For example, Japanese learners of English can be expected to acquire the contrast between English /p/–/f/, despite [f] not being a sound in Japanese, because they can successfully map English [f] onto Japanese [ϕ] (an allophone of /h/). English /p/ corresponds to Japanese /p/ and should not cause any problems in L2 acquisition.

Even when the L2 sound or a near-enough equivalent is absent from the L1 system, Brown hypothesised that the L2 contrast may still be learned if the distinguishing features are used in the L1. (Brown developed her theories in a framework of Natural Phonology.) For example, Korean learners, who do not have /f/ in their L1 system, nor any L1 sound to map it onto, are still expected to successfully acquire the /p/–/f/ contrast, because the relevant distinguishing feature CONTINUANT is active in Korean to distinguish /t/ and /s/; L1 Korean speakers are 'programmed' to be sensitive to this feature and will be able to make contrasts based on it also outside their L1 phonological system.

Both of Brown's hypotheses were borne out by her experiments (2000: 52), but the experiments also suggested that the absence or presence of relevant features is a more reliable predictor of a learner's ability to acquire a contrast than the possibility to map L2 sounds onto L1 ones.

Work by Paradis & LaCharité (2001, LaCharité & Paradis 2005) suggests, however, that even if a sound is present in both the L1 and the L2, the L2 sound may still not be acquired correctly. They show that [h] is not retained in English loanwords even by speakers of those dialects of Québec French that have [h] as an allophone of /ʃ/ or /ʒ/; and that French speakers substitute Moroccan Arabic [r] in loanwords with [ʁ] (and vice versa), while Arabic [ʁ] is substituted by French [g].

Much may also depend on the pairs of languages in question and on other, sometimes extra-linguistic, factors, as a survey of some studies on production and perception in L2 acquisition shows. Guion (2003) has shown that early Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in Ecuador were more successful in acquiring a full Spanish vowel system than later bilinguals. The age of language acquisition and the amount of exposure to the L2 are also relevant factors in a number of studies where there were realisational differences between the 'same' sounds in the L1 and L2 (Caramazza et al. 1973; Major 1992; MacKay et al. 2001; Flege et al. 2003; Baker & Trofimovich 2005). In addition, Flege et al. (2003) suggested that there may be a sociolinguistic explanation for early Italian-English bilinguals in Canada to maintain two different realisations for /e/ in Italian and English: they may want to stress their identification with Canada, and therefore stress the difference in diphthongisation between Italian and English tokens of /e/. Considering the nature of the historical data on Shetland Scots, it will be difficult to identify relatively small realisational differences from the historical sources. I will therefore limit the discussion to very broad phonetic and the more obvious systemic (phonological) differences.

#### *Reciprocal influence between first and second language*

As we have seen above, it is likely that people who learn another language, acquire an L2 that is more or less influenced by their L1. This is perhaps less the case in institutionalised language learning, where the need for communication in the L2 is minimal and there is an expressed aim to acquire the language with as little L1 influence as possible, and

more so in real-life acquisition, where the need for communication is much greater, and there is no structure in place that aims to minimise L1 influence (Van Coetsem 1988: 19). In many historical cases, and the evidence suggests Shetland was among these, there was no language education. People were likely to have acquired their L2 in face-to-face interaction. In this process, there was ample opportunity for transfer of features from one language to another; the Shetland Scots evidence can inform us whether this was in fact the case.

Van Coetsem (1988: 9–12) distinguishes between two types of transfer: *imposition* and *borrowing*. The distinction is based on the agentivity of the transfer: it lies either with the speaker of the language from which the feature is transferred (imposition), or with the speaker of the language into which it is transferred (borrowing). In Van Coetsem's terms, imposition involves *source language (SL) agentivity*, while borrowing involves *receiving language (RL) agentivity*.

There is evidence that some parts of language are more stable than others. In the transfer of features, this means that the less stable parts of language are more prone to change, while the more stable parts are likely to stay unaffected (Van Coetsem 1988: 34). This is reflected, for example, in Thomason & Kaufman's 'borrowing scale' (1991: 74–76), on which they place types of borrowings according to how 'easily' they are borrowed. Less stable parts of language are easily borrowed, and require less intense contact between languages, while borrowings into more stable parts of language are much rarer, and only occur when language contact is very intense (see Table 6.1).

Thomason & Kaufman's borrowing scale, as well as Van Coetsem's discussion, suggest that the least stable part of language is the lexicon, while the phonology is among language's most stable parts. We can apply this to RL and SL agentivity to come at the most stereotypical examples of borrowing and imposition.

| Class | Type of contact          | Types of borrowing  |
|-------|--------------------------|---|
| I     | Casual                   | Lexicon: content words  |
| II    | Slightly more intense    | Lexicon: function words<br>Minor syntactic and phonological borrowing   |
| III   | More intense             | Lexicon: adpositions, derivational morphology<br>Phonemisation of borrowed phones                             |
| IV    | Strong cultural pressure | New phonological contrasts<br>Extensive word order changes<br>Borrowed affixes and categories in native words |
| V     | Very strong pressure     | Major structural features   |

**Table 6.1**

The 'borrowing scale', adapted from Thomason & Kaufman (1991).

The agent in **borrowing** is a native speaker of the RL, or rather, an RL-dominant bilingual (Van Coetsem 1988: 10). For them, the least stable part of language is the RL lexicon, whereas the RL phonology is resistant to change. A typical case of borrowing, then, is when the RL lexicon is adapted under the influence of the agent's knowledge of the SL; in other words, borrowing words from one language into another.

In **imposition** the agent is not a native speaker of the RL, but rather an SL-dominant bilingual (Van Coetsem 1988: 11). In this case, the RL lexicon remains intact; after all, this is an unstable part of language where the agent can easily substitute RL items for their native SL items. Their native SL phonology (or other more systemic parts of the grammar) are more stable, however, and the agent may carry over some of their SL system into the RL. This may result, for example, in a 'foreign accent'.

Thomason (2001: 250) makes a difference between borrowing and 'shift-induced interference', where the latter appears to be synonymous with 'imposition'. Whether imposition or interference, as Thomason's term suggests, must always be induced by a language shift, seems unlikely, seeing as imposition appears to occur in any second-language learning situation. The nature and extent of the phenomenon may differ in different situations of second-language learning, but an intuitive difference would be that in shift-induced interference, there may be less (rather than more) interference than in a situation of more

casual language learning, because there is a greater exposure to the target language and a greater need to ‘get it right’.

### 6.2.2 *Dialect contact and new-dialect formation*

The second possible way Shetland Scots may have been developed is as a compromise between the dialects of Scots spoken by the Scots settlers to Shetland. We have no detailed evidence of the numbers of immigrants from the three areas Angus, Fife and Lothian, and we may probably assume roughly similar numbers from each of these regions. Also we assume that none of the varieties enjoyed significantly higher prestige than the others. In a situation where all varieties in the mixed input have equal prestige (Hinskens 2001: 206) and there are no demographic reasons for either of the varieties to serve as a target or model language (Siegel 2001: 182), we may expect koinéisation to occur. In this case, we are dealing with an immigrant koiné, which does not affect the dialects in the immigrants’ places of origin (Kerswill 2002: 671).

A comprehensive model of the formation of such immigrant koinés, or ‘new dialects’, was proposed by Peter Trudgill (2004). It is based mostly on recordings made in the 1940s of the speech of immigrants to New Zealand and their descendants, with reference to the development of other Southern Hemisphere Englishes and North American French.<sup>8</sup> Through the Apparent Time hypothesis (see e.g. Bailey 2002), the speech of the oldest of the informants is thought to be indicative of English in late 19th-century New Zealand. Trudgill posits a three-stage model (2004: 83–128), with each stage roughly corresponding to one generation (see also Meyerhoff 2006: 178).

STAGE I involves adult speakers, the original immigrants. In this stage we see accommodation between speakers, leading to rudimentary levelling: minority, highly localised (or otherwise socially marked) traditional-dialect features are lost (Trudgill 2004: 89) because speakers accommodate away from them to facilitate easier communication. It is important

---

8) But note the similarities between Trudgill’s model and that proposed by Blanc (1968) for the development of modern Israeli Hebrew (Kerswill 2002: 694).

to note that what is lost or retained are *features*, not *varieties* in their entirety. Also in this stage we find the development of so-called ‘interdialect’ features, on which more below.

STAGE II involves the first generation of children born in the new location, and displays a high degree of inter- and intra-speaker variation. The large amount of variation means that there is no uniform ‘new dialect’ yet. Minority features do not survive in this stage either, but although this looks like the levelling from the previous stage, it is not the same thing. The minority features were not lost due to speakers accommodating to each other, they were not acquired by Stage II speakers at all because they were not frequent enough in the input (Stage I speakers’ speech). Only those features from the speech of Stage I speakers frequent enough to pass the ‘Threshold Rider’ found their way into Stage II children. Trudgill (2004: 111) calls this process ‘apparent levelling’.

In STAGE III, involving the second generation of children, the new dialect is focused. The variation present in Stage II is levelled out and we arrive at a stable, mostly uniform variety. The levelling of features in this stage is again based on numerical factors: majority forms are selected, while forms that are in the minority disappear from the mix. In the terms of Labov (2007), the levelling that takes place in Stage I involves language change through ‘diffusion’,<sup>9</sup> while that in Stages II and III (more precisely, the levelling between Stages I and II, and II and III) involves language change through ‘transmission’ of language from one generation to another.

A large part of new-dialect formation is koinéisation, in which levelling, unmarking and the development of interdialect features are important processes (Trudgill 2004: 84–87). Levelling refers to the loss of highly localised features mentioned above and is mostly a question of numbers: those features which are supported by a majority of speakers (and which are not highly localised) will be taken up, others will be dropped. In a situation

---

9) Kerswill (2002: 671) defines diffusion as ‘the spread of linguistic features across a dialect area’. Labov limits this to the spread of features through face-to-face interaction between adult speakers. Kerswill appears less restrictive as to the method of diffusion, and seems to allow for inter-generational transmission as well as Labovian diffusion.

where none of the features has a majority, a feature that is linguistically (or socially) unmarked or simple may be taken up at the expense of more marked or complex forms. In this context, Trudgill (86) mentions the adoption of the Awadi optative first-person plural verb ending [-i:] in Fiji Hindi, at the expense of Bhojpuri [-ĩ:] and Standard Hindi [-ẽ:], because non-nasal vowels are less marked than nasal vowels.

An alternative is the development of interdialect features, where instead of any of the input features being selected, a new feature is formed as a compromise. Trudgill (2004: 94–95) cites examples from Québec French and Cape Dutch (later Afrikaans). Another example is the development of the sounds spelled ⟨ei⟩ and ⟨ij⟩ in Dutch after large migrations to Holland of upper-class speakers from different (especially Southern) regions of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century (Howell 2006: 218–219). The contributing dialects either had a merger of these two sounds or not, and displayed a wide variety of phonetic realisations. The interdialect feature that was developed had a merger (the simpler system), realising both as [ɛɪ], the least locally marked realisation. This system was different from all of the input varieties.

These processes are not limited to phonology, and morphosyntactic examples of interdialect features have also been attested. An example is the development of the second person plural pronominal clitic *-kum* in the Arabic vernacular of Amman, capital of Jordan (Al-Wer 2003). In Al-Wer's analysis, Ammani Arabic was formed as a new dialect in a contact situation between various Jordanian and Palestinian varieties. With regard to the feature *-kum*, the traditional Jordanian dialects showed a gender distinction while the newer, koinéised Jordanian varieties and Palestinian Arabic have a gender-neutralised form (Table 6.2). Ammani Arabic unsurprisingly adopted the simpler, gender-neutralised system. The Ammani form *-kum*, however, did not appear in any of the input dialects. Al-Wer (2003: 65) posits that the form may have developed using regular phonetic correspondences between the 2nd and 3rd person forms. Ammani *-kum* as such is an example of morphosyntactic simplification leading to the development of an interdialect feature.



|                                | 2pl.masc | 2pl.fem. | 3pl.masc. | 3pl.fem. |
|--------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| <b>Input</b>                   |          |          |           |          |
| Traditional Northern Jordanian | -ku      | -kin     | -hum      | -hin     |
| Koinéised Northern Jordanian   | -ku      | -ku      | -hum      | -hum     |
| Traditional Southern Jordanian | -ku      | -kan     | -hum      | -han     |
| Koinéised Southern Jordanian   | -kun     | -kun     | -hun      | -hun     |
| Palestinian Arabic             | -kun     | -kun     | -hun      | -hun     |
| <b>Output</b>                  |          |          |           |          |
| Ammani Arabic                  | -kum     | -kum     | -hum      | -hum     |

**Table 6.2**

Comparison of input varieties and Ammani Arabic: the case of the 2nd person plural pronominal clitic (from Al-Wer 2003: 65).

The process of new-dialect formation seems to be subject to two restrictions. The first of these is the so-called ‘founder effect’ mentioned above. This is the idea that the language of the initial immigrant population – the founders of the colony – has the most influential and lasting effect on the new dialect, and will not be changed by subsequent or ongoing immigration, unless the new immigrants’ numbers and density are high enough to ‘swamp’ the original immigrants (Trudgill 2004: 163–164). (The concept of the ‘founder effect’ stems from creole studies; see a review of Trudgill’s adaptation of the term in Mufwene 2006: 184).

The second restriction is that Trudgill’s model is meant for so-called *tabula rasa* situations, where the migrant population arrives in a location where the language in question is not spoken (Trudgill 2004: 26). The two restrictions are clearly connected, as a pre-existing population could disproportionately influence the new dialect through the founder effect. The model has been designed to analyse situations where there were no previous speakers, and where the process of new-dialect was not disturbed or superseded by large-scale demographic changes after the initial immigration wave.

### 6.2.3 *L2 variety influence through dialect contact*

In the previous two sections, I discussed the theory behind each of the two monogenetic hypotheses individually. As said, the social history of Shetland suggests that both monogenetic processes took place, but that neither took place in isolation. Rather, the development of Shetland Scots appears to have been a combination of the two processes. In this section, I will discuss how the two may have interacted, and how second-language varieties influence first-language varieties in a process of dialect contact in general, and new-dialect formation in particular.

An extreme case of this is the emergence of Modern Hebrew after the immigration of Jews from various regions in Europe into Palestine (later Israel) in the 20th century. This process is described by Blanc (1968) and appears to map seamlessly onto Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation. It is a three-stage or three-generation process, where the first generation of immigrants displayed the widest range of variation: they spoke L2 versions of Hebrew, with different degrees of fluency, and influence from different first languages. With every subsequent generation the range of variation decreased. Although Blanc's account is too early to incorporate the effects of mass immigration after World War II and the creation of the State of Israel, his prognosis based on informal observation of school children (1968: 240) is that the process of levelling would accelerate. This would suggest a particularly strong Founder Effect in this case, able to withstand pressure from a large, albeit very diverse, new portion of the speaker population.

But the development of Modern Hebrew is not parallel to the development of Shetland Scots. In the Hebrew case, all input was from second-language speakers – Hebrew was not a natively spoken language – and the language was ideologically charged. Nothing in Shetland suggests that either Scots or Norn had any religious or other ideological meaning, and a large proportion of the speakers involved in the development of Shetland Scots spoke a variety of Scots as their native language.

It may not matter whether the input varieties are first- or second-language varieties, but it is likely that in a situation where both play a role, they have different social connotations. In a case such as Shetland, the second-language variety may have carried less prestige, and features strongly attached to this variety may have been disfavoured because the variety was socially marked (although it was more likely to be marked as a group variety than as a second-language variety in particular).

Another difference between the Hebrew and Shetland cases is that the learners of Modern Hebrew came from a wide range of backgrounds, and had many different first languages. This means that it was more imperative for them to shift away from their L1 in order to be able to communicate. If, like Norn speakers in Shetland, there are many other speakers of the same L1 background, the need to shift is less pressing (Thomason 2001: 255). As Thomason also notes, a situation with L2 speakers of diverse L1 backgrounds requires a negotiation of interference features, while if the speakers all share the same L1, the interference features in their version of the L2 are likely to be the same – this is another difference between the emergence of Modern Hebrew and that of Shetland Scots. (Although, as Siegel (2001: 189) notes, many of the substrate languages in Israel were typologically similar, and the frequency of the similar interference features this generated caused ‘a clear Eastern European substrate influence’ in Modern Hebrew.)

Despite the differences between the development of Modern Hebrew and that of Shetland Scots, Blanc’s discussion and his conceptualisation of the process in a three-stage model do suggest that a situation of new-dialect formation where some or all of the input varieties are second-language varieties is not inherently different from the native variety-only processes Trudgill’s model has been based on.

Moving on to situations where both native and non-native varieties played a role, a number of studies have looked at the influence of immigrants’ second-language varieties on the first-language variety spoken by the sedentary population. For example, Trudgill (1997) argues that the lack of morphological marking of the third person singular on present

tense verbs in East Anglian English – *he make* rather than Standard English *he makes* or earlier *he maketh* – stems from contact with Dutch and French second-language speakers of English who settled in East Anglia's main town Norwich in the 16th and 17th centuries. They are thought to have failed to acquire verbal morphology properly, and their L2 system, where person was not marked on the verb at all, was then taken up through *dialect* contact by the rest of the community, who were native speakers, and from there spread outwards to rural East Anglia.

Key elements in the spread of this feature from L2 English to L1 English are (1) the existence of *two* foreign-language communities in Norwich, that used English as a lingua franca between them, and (2) already existing variability among L1 English speakers between the local *-th* ending and an incoming *-s* variant (Trudgill 1997: 146). The second element is mirrored in Shetland, where the Scots immigrants spoke different dialects of Scots, but as discussed above, the first element was not.<sup>10</sup>

Another, more tentative, example is a collection of subtle changes in the vowel system of younger speakers of Latvian, described by Bond et al. (2006). The authors appear to have set out to chart the influence of bilingualism in Russian on native speakers' Latvian since the Soviet annexation of Latvia in 1940, but a perhaps more likely explanation is mentioned as an aside. The Russian influences seem most prominent in the speech of the youngest speakers. These did not grow up while Russian was the predominant language in Latvia, but due to Russians now having to learn Latvian, 'they would be expected to hear a considerable amount of Latvian produced with a Russian accent' (169) and this 'exposure to Russian-accented Latvian would provide speech targets that would differ from the speech of previous generations' (175). In other words, their language is influenced by the L2 Latvian spoken by Russians.

---

10) The presence of Hanseatic merchants and Dutch fishermen in Shetland may suggest there was also a second-language variety of Scots with interference from the Dutch and Low German continuum. It is unclear whether Scots was used as a lingua franca between the native Shetlanders and the Dutch and Low Germans; previous accounts of the language shift suggest the presence of another Continental Germanic variety may have supported Norn (Smith 1996: 33), which implies they groups did not use a Scots lingua franca.

Of the three changes Bond et al. expected to occur under Russian influence, only two were actually found: a diminished distinction between long and short vowels, and a centralisation of unstressed vowels. The third change, the loss of the distinction between /æ/ and /e/, was not found; all this together might suggest that while the phonetics of Latvian may have changed under Russian influence, the phonology has not.

These two cases are concerned with the spread of features from a second-language variety to a first-language variety, something Van Coetsem (1988: 78) suggests can happen: ‘The two phases of interference should be distinguished. In speech, it occurs anew in the utterances of the bilingual speaker as a result of his personal knowledge of the other tongue. In language, we find interference phenomena which, having frequently occurred in the speech of bilinguals, have become habitualized and established. Their use is no longer dependent on bilingualism.’

Whereas Trudgill’s and Bond et al.’s examples deal with isolated features transferred from a second-language variety to a first-language variety, Van Coetsem (1988: 132) uses the same idea to explain entire varieties (which, of course, are nothing more than collections of features); in his case, these are Middle English, which he describes as the imitation by native English speakers of the English spoken as a second-language by people whose first language was French, and Afrikaans, which is the imitation of Dutch as spoken by the native population at the Cape. Especially in the case of Middle English, he does so in quite general terms. Some features of Afrikaans are explained in more detail.

These two examples show that it is possible for a second-language variety to influence the speech of native speakers. The idea is confirmed by contemporary metalinguistic commentary which suggests that Van Coetsem’s idea about the origin of Afrikaans is correct. In 1685, the then Commissioner-General of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape, baron H.A. van Rhee de tot Drakenstein, wrote:

There is a custom here among all our people that when these natives [Hottentots] learn the Dutch language and speak it, in their manner very badly and

hardly intelligibly, our people imitate them in this so that, as the children of our Dutchmen also fall into the habit, a broken language is founded which it will be impossible to overcome later on.<sup>11</sup>

(translation by Valkhoff [1972], cited from Van Coetsem 1988: 132)

But native speakers of the target language do not necessarily take up the second-language variety wholesale. Thomason (2001: 261, n. 7) suggests it is ‘probably much more common’ for ‘original T[arget] L[anguage] speakers [to] acquire some, but not all of the shifting group’s interference features, and the interference features that they do acquire may be modified rather than identical to those in the shifting speakers’ version of the TL. ... The last step in this complex sequence of events ... resembles koinéization ... rather than contact-induced language change involving sharply divergent linguistic systems.’

The fact that Thomason likens second-language influence to koinéisation suggests that such interference can be incorporated into a model of new-dialect formation. It is this approach I will take in the next section, where I discuss a number of features of Shetland dialect and how they became a part of Shetland Scots in a process of L2-influenced new-dialect formation. It is therefore necessary to establish that the history of Shetland Scots satisfies the two restrictions on Trudgill’s model: that it starts off in a *tabula rasa* situation, and that there is no substantial further immigration between the formation of Shetland Scots and the data we have for it.

In sixteenth-century Shetland, Scots may not have been spoken by more than a small number of church and government officials, and as such Shetland Scots can be thought of as having been developed in a *tabula rasa* situation. However, it is likely that many native Shetlanders had at least some passive competence in Scots, due to the language being used in administration, law, and church, and they may even had some active competence. The extent of this competence is likely to have been fairly restricted, although reports of

---

11) ‘Hier is een gewoonten onder al ons volck, dat lerende dese inlanders de Nederduydsche spraek, en dat deselve die op haar manieren seer krom en by nae onverstandelijck spreken, soo volgen de onse haer daer in nae, ja soodanigh, de kinderen van onse Nederlanders haer dat mede aenwendende een gebroken spraek gefondeert wert, die onmogelijck sal wesen nae de hand te verwinnen.’

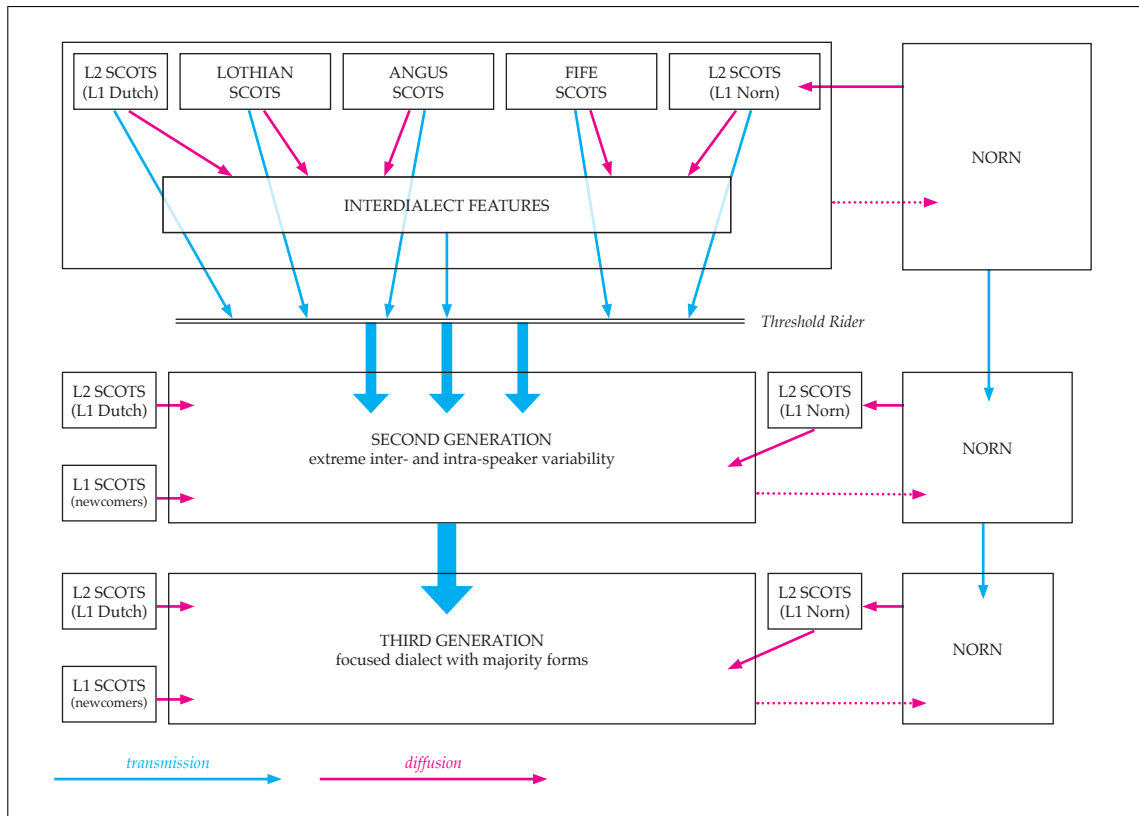
Norn being an absolute necessity in church in some areas as late as the 1590s are likely to be overstated (cf. references to Magnus Norsk on p. 76).

Widespread active competence in Scots, eventually leading to a language shift away from Norn, was certainly achieved within three generations of the Scottish immigration, before the process of new-dialect formation was completed. The *effective* use of Scots by the Norn population, however, only started upon the Scottish immigration to the islands. This suggests that we are dealing with a tabula rasa, but that as early as Stage I of the new-dialect formation process, learner or language-shift varieties of Scots were part of the mix of input dialects.

The requirement that the original, late 16th-century, immigrants formed a ‘founder population’ also appears to be met. Although some immigration may have continued, the 18th century in particular was a period of growing isolation for the islands (Smith 1990), and it was not until the oil boom of the late 20th century that the islands’ population changed significantly because of a renewed immigration from the British mainland (Van Leyden 2004: 17).

A graphic representation of Trudgill’s model of new-dialect formation as it applies to the development of Shetland Scots is shown in Figure 6.1. The model details the input varieties involved in each stage of the process, and also shows whether features are spread through the community through inter-generational transmission (blue arrows) or Labovian diffusion (pink arrows).

In the first generation, we see people speaking their respective dialects of Scots, whether these are native or non-native. Face-to-face interaction between speakers of different dialects leads to the creation of interdialect features. Features from the various dialects and interdialect features alike are then transmitted to the next generation, subject to them being frequent enough to pass the Threshold Rider. (The loss of marked and minority features through face-to-face interaction is not shown in the model.)



**Figure 6.1**

The development of Shetland Scots in Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation.

The difference between the variability in the language acquired by the second generation and the focused dialect acquired by the third is represented by the number of blue arrows pointing towards the generations: the single arrow pointing towards the third generation implies a single Shetland Scots by the time of the third generation.

Small boxes with different first- and second-language varieties of Scots represent the influence that speakers of these varieties may still have had on the dialect in Stages II and III. Because of the Founder Effect, we can expect these influences to be negligible; they are included in the model for the sake of completeness.

Norn is shown in the model for the same reason, including its inter-generational transmission and its influence on Shetland Scots and vice versa. Note that following the theory presented in 6.2.1, Norn influences Shetland Scots only indirectly through a second-language variety. Features 'imposed' on L2 Scots are shown as (intra-speaker) diffusion,



they are then diffused into the mix of Scots varieties, and may or may not be taken up by the next generation through inter-generational transmission.

In the next section, I will return to the features specific to Shetland Scots that I referred to earlier. Using the combination of the theory set out in the previous three sections that resulted in the model in Figure 6.1, I will chart the diachronic development of Shetland Scots and its characteristics.

#### 6.2.4 *Characteristics of Shetland Scots*

Van Leyden (see above) classified Shetland Scots as lexically conservative, with many words that have disappeared from the Scottish mainland still in use in Shetland. However, it is unlikely that the lexical particularities in Shetland Scots can tell us much about the origins and development of the variety. All accounts of language contact, whether it is between mutually intelligible varieties (e.g. Chambers 1992) or between varieties possibly further apart (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1991), suggest that '[l]exical replacements are acquired faster than pronunciation and phonological variants' (Chambers 1992: 677). Lexical items are relatively easy to borrow, and may not even necessarily have come in with the development of the variety. Even though there is a large quantity of Scandinavian lexical material in Shetland Scots (Jakobsen 1928–1932), that need not mean that the local population's Norn had any influence on phonology, morphology or syntax.

Shetland lexicon is potentially useful for dating the origins of the dialect. If we find Older Scots lexical items in Shetland Scots that have been lost on the Mainland, this would give us a rough estimate of the date before which Scots must have come to the islands, viz. the date of the last attested occurrence of the word on the Mainland.

Also, the lexicon is a salient marker underlining the (self-)perceived Scandinavian identity of the islanders. We must note that among the lexical material that is seen as typical for Shetland, there is a large proportion of Older Scots words, and not just words taken

from Norn (see Burgess 2007: 12). This is not to say that the Shetlanders mistake all identity-bearing lexicon for Norn: Melchers (1981: 261) reports on the Shetlanders' ability to identify lexical material with a Scandinavian background faultlessly.

Because of the unstable nature of the lexicon and the lack of systematicity therein, I will not pursue Shetland lexicon any further here. Instead, I will focus on phonological and morphosyntactic features, which are more stable and as such more likely to reflect the state of the dialect after its formation. I will connect these Shetland features to characteristics from the formative varieties of the dialect – the Lowland Scots varieties of Angus, Fife, and Lothian – and the language involved in the language shift, Norn. Where 16th-century data is available, I have chosen to use this; even though it is often based on reconstruction, it is still likely to reflect the 16th-century situation better than data from modern varieties does.

#### *Phonology: consonants*

I start my discussion of Shetland Scots features with consonantal features in the phonology. First I compare the reconstructed consonant systems of Older Scots and Norn. The discussion of consonantal features that follows is based partly on features one would expect to occur from the comparison of the systems, and partly on attested features in Early Shetland Scots.

The consonant inventory of 16th-century Scots has been reconstructed by Johnston (1997a: 98). Johnston posits an absence of regional variation in consonant inventories. His system (Table 6.3) is rather similar to the system in Modern Scots with the exception of the palatal consonants /ʎ/ and /ɲ/. These were restricted to loanwords from French and Scottish Gaelic (Johnston 1997a: 98, 106, 108).

We can compare the Older Scots system to that of Norn. Both Barnes (1998: 358–359) and Rendboe (1987: 90) have attempted to reconstruct the consonant inventory of Norn,

|     |     |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |   |   |
|-----|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|---|---|
| p   | b   |   |   | t | d |   |   | k  | g  |   |   |
|     |     | f | v | θ | ð | s | z | ʃ  | ʒ  | x | h |
|     |     |   |   |   |   |   |   | tʃ | dʒ |   |   |
|     | m   |   |   |   | n |   |   | ɲ  | ŋ  |   |   |
| (ʌ) | (w) |   |   |   |   |   |   | j  | ɰ  | w |   |
|     |     |   |   |   | r |   |   |    |    |   |   |
|     |     |   |   |   | l |   |   | ʎ  |    |   |   |

|   |     |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |    |     |   |
|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|----|-----|---|
| p | b   |   |   | t | d |   |   | k   | g  |     |   |
|   |     | f | • | • | • | s | • | ʃ   | •  | (ɣ) | h |
|   |     |   |   |   |   |   |   | tʃ  | dʒ |     |   |
|   | m   |   |   |   | n |   |   | (ɲ) | ŋ  |     |   |
|   | (w) |   |   |   |   |   |   | j   | •  | w   |   |
|   |     |   |   |   | r |   |   |     |    |     |   |
|   |     |   |   |   | l |   |   | (ʎ) |    |     |   |

**Table 6.3**

The consonant inventory of Older Scots (top), reconstructed by Johnston (1997a), and of Norn (bottom), reconstructed by Rendboe (1987) and Barnes (1984). Black dots in the Norn inventory represent sounds present in Older Scots but not in Norn.

working from different angles. Barnes took the consonant inventory of 12th-century Icelandic, likely to be similar to the ancestor variety of Norn, as a starting point, and implemented those changes for which there is evidence in the scarce Norn linguistic material. Rendboe, on the other hand, based his reconstruction on a 30-item Norn word list collected by George Low in 1774 (Low 1879), using both Low's spelling and phonological information about Norn words in the Shetland Scots of the 1890s (Jakobsen 1928–1932).<sup>12</sup> The reconstructed consonantal system of Norn shown in Table 6.3 is based on both reconstructions.

There are some differences between Barnes' and Rendboe's reconstructions. Barnes omitted [ɲ], possibly because it could be regarded as an allophone of /n/ before velar stops (Barnes' discussion suggests he aims to reconstruct the consonant phoneme system), and the approximants [j] and [w], possibly because he regards these as semi-vowels. The

12) Norn, if alive at all, was standing on its last legs in 1774, and was definitely a dead language in the 1890s. As there is evidence for the phonological system of a dying language converging to some extent with that of the target language in the language shift (Bullock & Gerfen 2004), the evidence Rendboe is working with can be argued to be unreliable, and we should perhaps instill more faith in Barnes' conservative reconstruction.

palatal consonants [ʃ] and [ɲ] included in Barnes' but not in Rendboe's reconstruction have an unclear status. Barnes (1991: 438) cites evidence from Gunnel Melchers that these sounds may not be real palatals, but rather related to dentalised realisations. To what extent though these two sounds had phonemic status outside of (Scots) loan words, is uncertain.

Also the status of [ɣ] in the Norn consonant system posited by Rendboe is unclear. In 12th-century Icelandic, it was an allophone of /g/ in intervocalic and postvocalic final position (Barnes 1984: 358), and Rendboe posits a similar status for the sound in Norn. Given variable spellings in the *Hildina Ballad* of the personal pronoun 'I' as *yag* and *yach* (Old Norse *ég*, with breaking), this seems likely. The presence of a [ɣ] allophone may have facilitated the acquisition of the Scots /x/ phoneme.

*Lack of voiced fricatives* Rendboe's and Barnes' reconstructions are both based on a minimal amount of data, and disagree on a number of minor points. The features reconstructed by both do however seem representative of the Norn consonant system, and we can use those in our discussion. A striking characteristic of the reconstructions is that neither Barnes nor Rendboe posits voiced fricative phonemes for Norn. We can expect this to cause difficulty for Norn speakers in the acquisition of the phonemic difference between voiced and unvoiced fricatives in Scots. A 1774 anecdote in Low (1879: 104–105) on the speech of Foula suggests that this was in fact the case:

Here the Pronunciation differs a good deal from the rest of Schetland, both in the tone and manner, and pronouncing particular words. To a man they misplace the aspirate, affixing it where it should not be, and leaving it out where it should, *e.g.*, one of the most sagacious of the natives was teaching his son to read the Bible, and to know the numbers of the Psalms; he told the boy the Vorty'th and Zaxt Z'am, XLVI, was a Hex, a Hell, a Hu, and a Hi.

The hypercorrected use of voiced fricatives in *vorty'th* and *zaxt z'am* 'fortieth and sixth psalm', where Standard English and Lowland Scots have unvoiced fricatives, suggests a problem with the acquisition of these Scots sounds by the Shetlanders. This could be

problematic for Brown's hypothesis, as Norn did have a voicing contrast in stops and the speakers should have been able to use this feature in distinguishing the Scots voiced and unvoiced fricatives. However, this may not be as problematic as it seems, as the active feature in distinguishing what we call voiced and unvoiced stops in Norn may not have been VOICE, but ASPIRATION (see the discussion of fortis and lenis stops in closely related Faroese in Höskuldur Thráinsson et al. 2004: 43). In that case, the lack of a feature VOICE would predict Norn speakers would fail to acquire the voicing contrast in Scots fricatives.

The problems with the acquisition of voiced fricatives may also be related to contact with the Dutch and Low German fishermen and tradesmen that frequently visited Shetland in that period. This is unlikely to be an explanation, though, because Dutch speakers at the time most probably did have this voicing contrast in their L1: the devoicing of fricatives (in Standard Dutch) is a 20th-century phenomenon (Van de Velde et al. 1996, 1997). There may of course have been dialects of Dutch which had devoiced fricatives already at the time of the formation of Shetland Scots, but these cannot have been typical. The stereotypical Dutch speaker of English, as portrayed in Early Modern English drama (Eckhardt 1911: 54–55), does not seem to have had problems with voiced fricatives; the same goes for Germans speaking English (72–73). Had they had problems, then Early Modern English playwrights would probably have used this features in their stereotyping of Dutch-accented speech, as Low's comment suggests it was a noticeable and noteworthy deviation from L1 English pronunciation.

*(h)-dropping* Low's comment above tangentially mentions the hypercorrection of voicing in fricatives, but its main content concerns (h)-dropping, the loss of initial /h/ and the connected hypercorrected prefixing of an /h/. This appears to have been a feature of Norn, at least as a variable process at some point in the history of the language. Barnes (1998: 13) mentions the Norn form *æita* (< Old Norse *heita* 'are called') in a 14th-century Orkney Norn document, and in Low's word list (1879: 106) we find *hoissan* 'the haddock' (acc., < Old Norse *ýsan*, but cf. Faroese *hýsan*) as a remnant of Foula Norn.

There is some evidence for (h)-dropping in Older Scots varieties in Northern Scotland, but this did not become a solid feature of any Scots dialect outside the Black Isle (Johnston 1997a: 105). Note, though, that this feature appears to have been variable in both Older Scots and Norn at the time of the formation of Shetland Scots, and may have continued to be variable in the earliest Shetland Scots, at least in some parts of Shetland.

The evidence taken from Low's comment shows that it is important to engage with contemporary meta-linguistic commentary. These features are no longer a part of Shetland Scots, and without this comment we would not have evidence of the difficulty with voiced fricatives that we could expect from the comparison of both consonant inventories. On the other hand, we must also realise the limits of such commentary both because of their incidental and amateur nature, and because of their limited applicability to only one specific area of Shetland, where the speech moreover is said to differ from the rest of Shetland.<sup>13</sup>

*(th)-stopping* Moving to features that are more widespread in Shetland, and continue into the modern-day dialect, one of the most striking features of the Shetland Scots consonant system is that the dialect displays (th)-stopping: Scots /θ/ and /ð/ are realised as [t] and [d] respectively. This is not surprising as the fricatives are not posited to have been part of the Norn consonant system. But Barnes (1991: 436) notes that

this sits rather ill with Hægstad's view ... that Old Norse *t* develops to *th* (denoting [θ] and [ð]) in medial intervocalic ([ð]) and final postvocalic position ([θ]). Did Norn, or at least Shetland Norn, have [θ] and [ð] even though they were not the reflexes of their Old Norse counterparts? And if so, why did Shetlanders have trouble with the same or similar sounds in Scots?

---

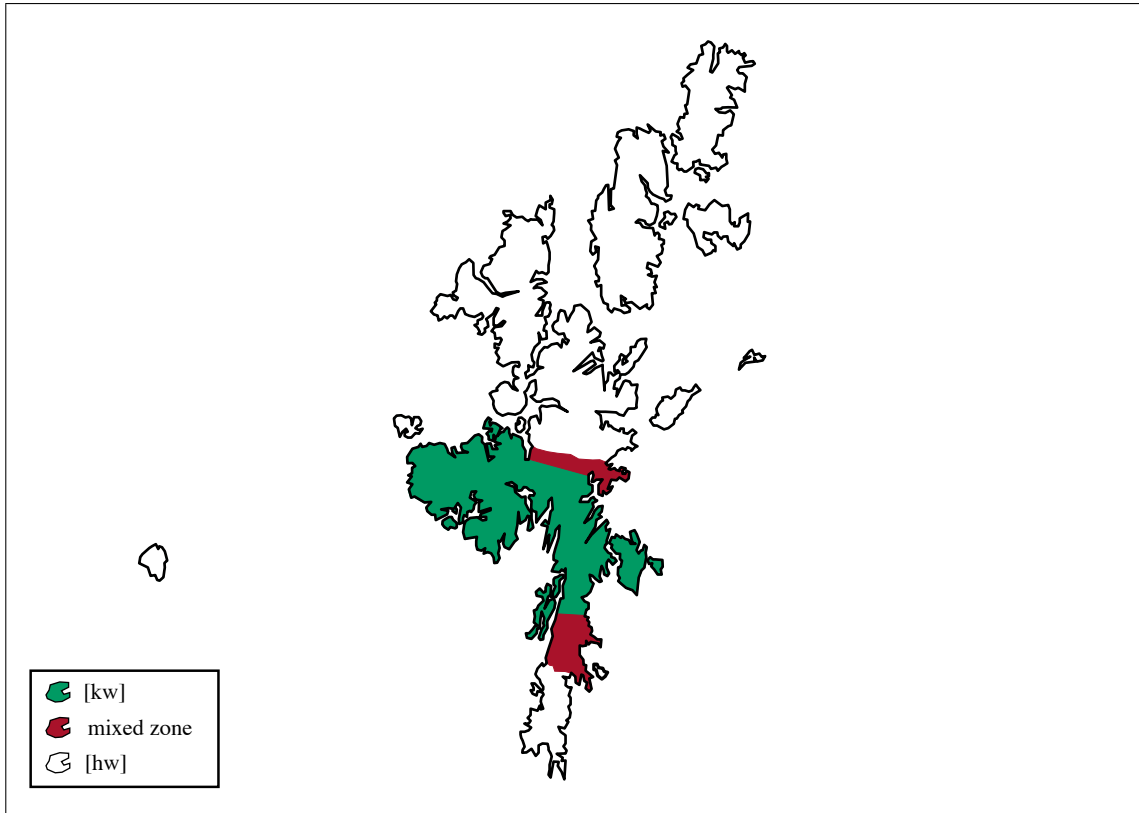
13) Foula Scots differs from the speech of the rest of Shetland for two reasons. Firstly, it is an outlying island with possibly fewer contacts with the other islands. It also has a vastly different population history: a smallpox epidemic in 1720 wiped out the entire population of the island, with only six survivors of an original 200 inhabitants (Razzell 1977: 118). The island was subsequently repopulated, but it is unclear from where. Although smallpox raged through Shetland on several occasions in the 18th century, and with devastating results, there is no evidence in contemporary sources for the depopulation and re-population of Foula (Smith 1998: 396, 405 fn. 14). There is therefore no information about the origins of the supposed new settlers of Foula (Smith, by e-mail of 15 September 2008).

It does indeed appear that reflexes of Old Norse /t/ are written ⟨th⟩ in the *Hildina Ballad*, which would have been Hægstad's main source as this is the material he edited (Hægstad 1900, original version in Low 1879: 108–112). The use of ⟨th⟩ in this text appears systematically in the positions mentioned by Barnes, although ⟨t⟩ is used in prevocalic position and in consonant clusters. Material from Jakobsen's dictionary (1928–1932) does not suggest this was a widespread feature in Norn, nor is there any mention of fricative realisations in Foula speech.<sup>14</sup> The fact that the Scottish Vowel Length Rule applies to historical [ð] > [d] contexts (see below, p. 247) *could* however suggest that (th)-stopping is a later, post-language shift, development.

According to Brown's hypothesis, we should expect /θ, ð/ to be successfully acquired by Norn learners of Scots, as the feature CONTINUANT, which distinguishes these sounds from /t, d/ was active in Norn (as shown by the /p–f/ contrast). It is possible that the sounds were even present in Norn themselves, but with allophonic status, however. This makes them a parallel to the [h] that Québec French speakers failed to acquire in LaCharité & Paradis's study, and (th)-stopping in Shetland Scots could be explained in that way. It must also be borne in mind that /θ/ and /ð/ in Scots are phonemes with a relatively low functional load – the loss of these phonemes would perhaps not noticeably impair communication – and that the phonemes are also linguistically marked, as they are relatively infrequent in the world's languages (Haspelmath et al. 2005: 83). The latter means the sounds may be lost in dialect contact (cf. the loss of nasalised verb endings in Hindi), the former that there is no significant pressure to stem that development.

In this case, the loss of the /θ, ð/ phonemes – probably due to these sounds not existing as phonemes in Norn – may have been reinforced by the speech of visiting Dutch and Low German speakers. (Th)-stopping is a salient feature of a Dutch and Low German accent in English, and was generally ridiculed in Early Modern plays (Eckhardt 1911: 54–55).

14) Jakobsen's material was collected in the 1890s and contains Norn words that survived in Shetland Scots. The phonological representations apply to a Scots, not a Norn, context. Apart from this, the phonology of Shetland Scots is likely to have changed in the centuries between the language shift and Jakobsen's fieldwork.



**Figure 6.2**

Geographical distribution of the pronunciation of the merged /hw/ and /kw/, after Catford (1957a: 73).

*(hw)-confusion* Another salient feature of Shetland Scots is (hw)-confusion, the merger of the reflexes of Old English *hw* /hw/ and *cw* /kw/. The merged phoneme may either be pronounced as [hw] (more precisely, [ʌ]) or [kw]. According to Catford (1957a: 73, see Figure 6.2) the realisations have a geographical distribution: [kw] is found on the Westside and part of the Central Mainland, and [hw] elsewhere. Transition zones exist both on the Northern (Lingness) and Southern (Cunningsburgh) border of the [kw] area. In these transition zones, but also stereotypically in Shetland dialect in general, a word like *queen* is variably pronounced as [kwɪn] or [ʌɪn], and *what* as [kwɔt] or [ʌɔt].

The merger has often been claimed to be a result of the lack of the /hw/–/kw/ distinction in Faroese, Icelandic and West Norwegian dialects (Sandøy 1996: 149; Höskuldur Thráinsson et al. 2004: 404). But citing 16th-century Norn evidence, Barnes (1998: 14) notes that ‘[i]t also seems likely that the <quh-> in <quarium> (i.e. ON *hverjum* ‘each, every’, Shetl. c.



1550) is the traditional Scots written form of earlier English [hw-] rather than a reflection of the common West Scandinavian sound change [hw-] > [kv-].<sup>15</sup> It is unclear when to date this merger in Norn – there is evidence for it in Faroese from the 14th century, but in Icelandic not before the 18th (Höskuldur Thráinsson et al. 2004: 405) – and it may well still have been a variable process in Norn in the 16th century.

It is not certain that /hw/ and /kw/ were not merged in the Scots input, either. Kniezsa (1997: 31, 38) notes the spelling ⟨qu(h)⟩ for reflexes of both Old English ⟨cw⟩ and ⟨hw⟩ in Older Scots texts, following on from a similar merged use of ‘allographs’ ⟨wh⟩ and ⟨qu⟩ for Old English /hw/ and /kw/ in the Northern Middle English precursor of Older Scots spelling. It is not unthinkable that a merger in pronunciation underlay this phenomenon; in particular, words spelt with ⟨qu⟩ may have been pronounced with [kw]. There are examples of ⟨qu⟩ spellings of words beginning with a reflex of Old English /hw/ in the LAOS (Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots) corpus for both Angus, Fife, Lothian and the Northern Isles, as in (6.3):<sup>15</sup>

- (6.3)     a.    To the **quilk** lorde I geiwe my schipe (1506 *Orkney & Shetl. Rec.* 248)  
           b.    For ilk tuelff lespound butter **quilk** was pait of auld, fyvetene lespund  
                   (1576 *Ork. Oppr.* 86)

It is unclear what exactly the input was from the three Scots varieties, and to what extent the merging of /hw/ and /kw/ was a variable process in either Norn or any of the Scots varieties. The evidence from Shetland Scots indicates that at least one of them must have had the merger, and traditional accounts are probably correct in their assumption that the merger was more likely to be a feature of Norn than of any of the Older Scots input varieties.

15) Thanks to Keith Williamson for alerting me to these examples. Williamson (by e-mail of 3 September 2008) suggests these ⟨qu⟩ spellings are likely to represent a pronunciation with /kw/; /hw/ is typically spelt with ⟨quh⟩. In the LAOS corpus, ⟨qu⟩ spellings decline during the 15th century, while ⟨quh⟩ spellings increase. Spellings with ⟨qu⟩ continue as a minor variant in the 16th century. LAOS is available online at <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laos1/laos1.html>.

When the realisations of the merged phoneme focused, Shetland was divided into a *hw* zone and a *kw* zone. This division is likely to have depended on sociolinguistic factors such as the proportions of the different population groups, or gender and age differences, which may have varied in the different regions. The mixed zones in Lingness and Cunningsburgh are similar to the transition zone in the English Fens between split FOOT /ʊ/ ≠ STRUT /ʌ/ to the South and unsplit FOOT = STRUT /ʊ/ to the North of the area. The Fens display an unsplit system with a wide, unfocused, range of realisations between the extremes [ʌ] and [ʊ]. However, the explanations given for the Fenland situation (Britain 1997) do not apply to Lingness and Cunningsburgh. The Fens were a relatively inaccessible marshland while the Shetland transition zones are easily accessible from both central and peripheral areas of Shetland, and whereas the FOOT–STRUT split is a complex rule, mostly lexically rather than phonologically based and therefore difficult to acquire, the Shetland situation does not require the acquisition of a new system. The fact that Cunningsburgh and Lingness have not focused on one particular realisation can probably only be explained with reference to their communication links to both the *hw* and *kw* zones.

*Alveolar consonant cluster simplification* Both Shetland and mainland varieties of Scots show simplification of consonant clusters involving alveolars – /nd/ and /ld/ – although the extent of the phenomenon varies. Johnston (1997b: 502–503) gives an overview of the regions where the simplification rule applies in the modern dialects; an overview for the relevant varieties based on his discussion is given in Table 6.4. Note that Johnston (1997a: 101–102) argues the phenomenon to have been more widespread in the Older Scots period than nowadays; his discussion of the Older Scots geographical situation however is too brief to get a full overview.

According to Johnston, the clusters [nd] and [ld] are always simplified (to [n], [l]) in Angus Scots; Fife and Lothian Scots always simplify [nd] clusters, but [ld] clusters only non-medially; and in Shetland Scots both are simplified non-medially only.

|                             | /-nd/ | /-nd-/ | /-ld/ | /-ld-/ |
|-----------------------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| <b>Input</b>                |       |        |       |        |
| Angus Scots                 | [-n]  | [-n-]  | [-l]  | [-l-]  |
| Fife Scots                  | [-n]  | [-n-]  | [-l]  | [-ld-] |
| Lothian Scots               | [-n]  | [-n-]  | [-l]  | [-ld-] |
| Faroese ( <i>for Norn</i> ) | [-nd] | [-nd-] | [-ld] | [-ld-] |
| <b>Output</b>               |       |        |       |        |
| Shetland                    | [-n]  | [-nd-] | [-l]  | [-ld-] |

**Table 6.4**

Comparison of input varieties and Shetland Scots: the case of consonant cluster simplification.

Also included in the table is Faroese, which as the closest relative to Norn functions to give an idea of the extent of this feature in the islands' Scandinavian speech. Although simplification of these clusters is widespread in Continental Scandinavian (Sandøy 1996: 147), it does not appear to be so in Insular Scandinavian, and Jakobsen's dictionary suggests it was not a feature in Norn – although to what extent a dictionary, even with such precise phonetic representations as Jakobsen's, reflects connected speech phenomena remains to be seen. Simplification of these clusters is thought to have spread from East Scandinavia; in parts of Norway where this feature is only partially present (Nord-Gudbrandsdalen and Sør-Trøndelag), exactly these two clusters [ld] and [nd] are retained intervocalically, but simplified word-finally. According to Sandøy (1996: 148), 'here we may see a model of what the first phase in the assimilation process has been.'<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, the two Norwegian dialects pattern in exactly the same way as Shetland Scots, suggesting that perhaps simplification is a change still in progress, or a change halted after it completed the first stage.

When we then try to explain the Shetland pattern through the model of new-dialect formation, the first finding must be that, as Norn does not seem to have had a rule that changed underlying medial or final /nd/ to [n] (and likewise for /ld/), second-language speakers cannot have influenced the existence or the patterning of this rule in Shetland Scots. We must therefore find the answer in the three Scots input varieties.

<sup>16</sup> 'Her ser vi kanskje eit mønster for korleis første fasen i assimilasjonsprosessen har vore.'

For /ld/ clusters this is unproblematic: all three varieties simplified these clusters finally, and two out of three retained the cluster medially. The final simplification and medial retention in Shetland Scots can be distilled from these patterns purely in numerical terms. /nd/ clusters are not as transparent, however. In final position, all three input varieties dictate simplification, which is what we find in Shetland Scots as well. We should expect to find the same patterning for medial clusters, but instead find [-nd-] in Shetland Scots. With all three input varieties having [-n-], it would be impossible to learn that some of these realisations represent underlying /-nd-/. In this case, the Shetland realisation is not possible to explain from an acquisition point of view.

This means that one or more elements in the data must be incorrect. A likely explanation is that /-nd-/ clusters were actually pronounced [-nd-] in the majority of the input, a pattern that would lead to [-nd-] realisations in Shetland Scots as well. Williamson (by e-mail of 3 September 2008) suggests that this is the case: he finds orthographic evidence for /nd/-simplification sporadically in Angus and Fife, and not in Lothian. Even with such a (connected speech) feature not necessarily being represented in the orthography, Williamson's evidence would suggest a much higher proportion of retained /-nd-/ clusters in the input, and a greater likelihood of the resulting pattern in Shetland Scots.

*Concluding remarks* As far as the consonantal features of Shetland Scots are concerned, the influence of Norn phonology appears to have been quite substantial. More salient features like (th)-stopping and (hw)-confusion, as well as highly localised features as (h)-dropping and problems with voiced fricatives that we find in Low's comments, may be ascribed to Norn influence. In the case of alveolar consonant cluster simplification, Norn influence is improbable, and this is more likely to be a result of variation between (or in) the three Scots input varieties. The Shetland pattern could be an interdialect feature, although the available data cannot satisfactorily explain the pattern.

*Phonology: vowels*

*The Norn vowel system* Both Barnes and Rendboe also attempted to reconstruct the Norn vowel system. As with their reconstructions of the consonant system, Barnes took a conservative approach with a basis in 12th-century Icelandic, while Rendboe worked with post-language shift material. Whereas the two mostly agreed on their consonant systems and differences could easily be explained, the two vowel systems that they reconstructed are markedly different.

Barnes (1984: 358–359) posits an eight-vowel stressed monophthong system /i e ø ε u o ɔ a/, and two unstressed vowels, one of which was /a/. Original Old Norse diphthongs had been monophthongised, and original long vowels may have diphthongised, although apart from Old Norse /a:/ > [ɔa], this does not appear to be the case in all the available evidence (Barnes 1998: 20). Barnes (1984: 359) cites evidence suggesting possible mergers of /e/ with /ε/, and /o/ with /ɔ/, but this too is variable.

Rendboe's vowel system is much larger than Barnes', consisting of fourteen vowels [i ɪ e ε æ a ə ɔ: ø y u o ɔ å] (1987: 90).<sup>17</sup> Rendboe places all his vowels in phonetic rather than phonemic brackets, not attempting to find systematic correspondences between the proposed Norn vowels and their Old Norse counterparts, whereas Barnes' discussion and notation suggest his reconstruction is phonemic. In this context it is worth mentioning Barnes' comment about the wide range of phonetic realisations of reflexes of Old Norse short /o/ in Norn (1991: 435). Opinion on their status differs widely, and the situation is reminiscent of John Stewart's criticism of Jakobsen's dictionary as 'phonetics run riot' (1964: 172).

*Older Scots vowel systems* A discussion of the Older Scots vowel systems in Shetland can take a much more systematic approach. Since the use of the concept of standard lexical

17) [å] is not a symbol in the IPA and it is unclear what sounds this is supposed to denote. Danish å, both in spelling and in the Danish phonetic system *Dania*, is usually equated with IPA [ɔ] which is already part of Rendboe's reconstruction. The most likely candidate for this is [ɒ].

sets by Wells (1982), these have been the preferred way of talking about vowel systems in varieties of English. Wells' sets are designed to account for a range of varieties of English, and varieties may use the same vowel in more than one set. It has however been argued that Wells' standard lexical sets are not optimally suitable to discuss varieties of Scots, and different sets have been developed by Catford (1957b, before Wells' standard) and Johnston (1997a,b).<sup>18</sup> The sets by Johnston are the most detailed, and I will use these in my discussion of vowels in this section.

Johnston (1997a) has reconstructed the monophthong vowel systems and realisations for varieties of Older Scots, including sixteenth-century values for the varieties under consideration here. His values are represented in Table 6.5. All four varieties show a clear thirteen-vowel system, with only a few cases of possible mergers of lexical sets (keeping in mind that Johnston only lists the typical realisation in a set). Looking at the proposed realisations, the similarities between Shetland and Angus Scots are striking. It is tempting to draw the conclusion that the origins of Shetland Scots are primarily Angus-based, and that, in the words of Catford (1957a: 75), 'the majority of S[c]ots settlers in Shetland came from the glens of Angus'. But as Catford also realised, there are a number of problems with such a conclusion.

Johnston (1997a: 47–50) discusses the methods through which he arrived at his 16th-century vowel systems and realisations: written representation, rhyme patterns, contemporary dialect data, and historical linguistic reconstruction. The representations for the different dialects are therefore rather tentative. This goes especially for the Shetland representations, as Johnston admits (p. 49–50) his methods may be problematic for this area:

---

18) Johnston's sets have been developed further by Millar (2007), whose sets arguably work better for a Scots data set. Millar's data on Northern and Insular Scots varieties, however, is contemporary, and because it is further removed from the situation in Older Scots than Johnston's reconstruction, is unlikely to shed further light on the present discussion. I will therefore use Johnston's data, and rather than re-labelling the data with Millar's lexical sets, will retain Johnston's lexical sets for ease of reference.

|        | Shetland     | Angus        | Lothian | Fife    |
|--------|--------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| BOOT   | ø:           | i:           | ʏ: ~ ø: | ø:      |
| MEET   | i:           | i: ~ ëi      | i:      | i: ~ ëi |
| BEAT   | e:           | e:           | e: ~ i: | e:      |
| MATE   | ɛ:           | e:           | e:      | ɛ:      |
| BAIT   | æ:           | æ:           | ɛ:      | æ: ~ ɛ: |
| BET    | e:           | e:           | ɛ       | ɛ       |
| CAT    | a ~ ɐ        | a ~ ɐ        | a ~ ɐ   | a ~ ɐ   |
| BIT    | ɛ̃ ~ ĩ      | ɛ̃ ~ ĩ      | ë       | ɛ̃      |
| CUT    | [ʊ ~ ö] / ʊ̃ | [ʏ ~ ɔ] / ʊ̃ | ö̃ ~ ʏ  | ö̃ ~ ʏ  |
| OUT    | u:           | u:           | u:      | u:      |
| COAT   | ɔ:           | ɔ:           | ɔ:      | ɔ:      |
| CAUGHT | a:           | a:           | ɐ: ~ ä: | ɔ:      |
| COT    | ɒ            | ɒ            | ɔ       | ɔ       |

**Table 6.5**

Vowel realisations by lexical set in 16th-century regional varieties of Scots, after Johnston (1997a). Where two realisations are separated by a tilde (~), this indicates variation; two realisations separated by a slash (/) are allophones. See the main text for details.

... the regions which, in Older Scots times, were primarily inhabited by speakers of other languages, such as the Northern Isles, which have to be counted as Norn-speaking until the very end of the period.<sup>19</sup> Even in these cases, the modern reflexes of sounds and grammar should give clues about the dialect of those Scots settlers who came to Shetland and Orkney and how the dialects of today grew up as a second-language version of that variety. The task is only a little harder, largely because of unevenness of data, ...

The vowel system of Shetland Scots, in other words, was reconstructed on the basis of relatively little data. Johnston is also explicit in his view of (modern-day) Shetland Scots being originally a second-language variety based on the dialect of the Scots settlers, whose dialect he has tried to reconstruct. With this in mind, it should not be surprising that early Shetland Scots resembled Lowland Scots varieties. That Johnston's data do show such convincing similarities to Angus Scots remains a fact in need of an explanation.

*Origins of Shetland Scots vowels* If we then look at how the Shetland Scots vowels may have originated in a process of new-dialect formation, two of the sets present no

19) It is not made explicit in Johnston's article exactly what period is under investigation, but from his discussion I get the impression the end of the period will be around 1700. In that case, the suggestion that the islands were (even predominantly) Norn-speaking is not confirmed by most evidence.

problem for the analysis. The three input varieties had the same realisations in the OUT [u:] and COAT [ɔ:] sets, and it is only expected that these realisations appear in these sets in Shetland Scots as well.

The MEET and BEAT sets are unproblematic as well. Although there was variation in one or two of the input varieties, all three did share a common realisation in both of these sets, and it is these consensus variants that were adopted as the single realisation in Shetland Scots. The BAIT set also displayed variation in the input varieties, and in this case Johnston's reconstructions show no clear majority for either of the variants [æ:] and [ɛ:]. The reason for the selection of [æ:] may lie in the avoidance of a merger with (most likely) the MATE class.

The CAT class poses a problem of a different kind. All three input varieties showed the same realisation here: variation between [a] and [ɐ]. We would expect that also in this case, the new-dialect in Stage III would focus on one particular variant. Instead we see that the variation is retained in Shetland Scots. This could suggest that speakers cannot only focus on a single realisation, but also on variation between two realisations. Whether it is a prerequisite that the variation is shared in all the input varieties, is a question that this single example cannot answer.

Three more lexical sets correspond to two of the three Lowland Scots varieties. Two of these are shared with Angus and Fife (BAIT and BIT), and one (BOOT) with Fife and Lothian. Of these it must be said that BAIT corresponds fully to Angus, but only to one of two variants in Fife. BIT displays variation in both Shetland and Angus, with only one of the variants reinforced by Fife; and BOOT corresponds to Fife and one of the Lothian variants. It must be noted that the short and long [ø] realisations in Shetland BOOT words are often accredited to 'a Norn relic' (Barnes 1998: 28, see also Melchers 1981: 258–259); this idea goes unchallenged to the extent that Pavlenko (1997: 88) says the sound is



‘obviously of Scandinavian origin’, but Johnston’s data give an alternative explanation of this vowel, and one that takes both the Norn and the Scots input into account.<sup>20</sup>

The remaining five sets share realisations with only one Lowland Scots variety. In one case (MATE) this is Fife, in the others (BET, CUT, CAUGHT and COT) Angus. The CUT set is particularly interesting here, as Shetland and Angus have two positional allophones for this set: one before voiced stops, fricatives and labials (left of the slash in the table), and one elsewhere. Johnston (1997a: 79, 84) calls this a ‘split CUT’ system. Lothian and Fife did not have a split CUT system, yet this feature was adopted in Shetland Scots. This is unlike what one could expect in a process of levelling or the development of interdialect features, where less complicated systems are preferred and splits unlikely to be introduced if the input also contains unsplit varieties. Similarly, the merger of BEAT–MATE and the tentative merger of BOOT–MEET in Angus Scots were not adopted in Shetland Scots, which is contrary to expectations, especially as the BEAT–MATE merger would have been reinforced by a tentative merger of these sets in Lothian Scots.

This short analysis shows that despite the striking resemblances between Shetland and Angus Scots, we should not posit a monogenetic origin for Shetland Scots in the language of settlers from Angus. Such a monogenesis would also be problematic in light of historical evidence of the Scots settlement in Shetland: the Scots settlers are known to have come from Angus *and* Fife and Lothian. Within Angus, contacts were strongest with Dundee, but the Shetland vowel system shows most similarity with that of Northern Angus (Catford 1957a: 75). Exact information about the proportions of settlers from the different areas is not available, but it is unlikely that there was a ‘founder effect’ with Angus settlers arriving earlier than others, and in such large numbers that no subsequent group of immigrants

20) Note that Jakobsen (1921: 86), in his entry for the word *bød* ‘booth’, gives etymologies going back to both ON *búð* and English *booth*, but notes that ‘the vowel [ø] almost implies English *oo*’ (‘vokalen ø forudsætter nærmest eng. *oo*’).

was numerous enough to ‘oust’ Angus linguistic features from Shetland speech.<sup>21</sup>

Catford (1957a: 75; 1957b: 115) has posited that the peripheral dialects of Shetland and (Northern) Angus, as well as the Scots of Galloway in South-West Scotland, may represent remnants of an archaic 16th-century ‘Standard’ Scots, from which the more central Fife and Lothian varieties had already deviated by the period Johnston’s reconstructions apply to, and he explains the similarities in that way. This seems an attractive explanation, but this theory requires that Scots must have established itself in Shetland *before* the 16th century, for which there is no convincing historical evidence. It also fails to explain how a Standard Scots could have been adopted in Shetland, especially in a period in which even written language displayed regional variation.

*Concluding remarks* Although it is still not entirely clear why Shetland Scots appears to have adopted minority rather than majority variants in some of the lexical sets, one of the striking conclusions from the discussion about Shetland vowels must be that all realisations can be traced back to a source in a Scots variety. This confirms the traditional idea that the Norn influence is limited in the Shetland Scots vowel system (to the realisation of the vowel [ø], and perhaps not even that), but much more visible in the consonant system. However, the traditional explanation for this, viz. that ‘Norn speakers with their rich vowel system but relatively small number of consonant phonemes could more readily imitate the vocalic than the consonant distinctions of Scots’ (Barnes 1998: 28), does not seem to hold in light of this evidence. The Norn consonant systems as reconstructed by Barnes and Rendboe do indeed show some gaps compared to Older Scots, but also the vowel system Barnes posits is much more limited than the Older Scots one, and with six to eight monophthongs hardly merits the description ‘rich’, especially compared to ten or more vowels in the reconstructed Older Scots systems.

---

21) Among the families of early migrants to Shetland mentioned in Donaldson (1983) are the Sinclairs, with lands in Midlothian, Orkney and Caithness; the Frasers from Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire; the Tullochs from Angus; and the Nisbets from Berwickshire in the Scottish Borders. Although this list is far from complete, this would not suggest there was an Angus ‘founder effect’.

*Phonology: suprasegmental features*

In the transition zone between vowel features and suprasegmental features in phonology lies the question of vowel length. Vowel length is allophonic in both Scots and in modern Scandinavian languages, and we can assume that it was in Norn, too.<sup>22</sup> But the allophonic rules are different: in Scots, vowel length is determined by the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR), or Aitken's Law, while in Scandinavian, it depends on the length of the following consonant or consonant cluster.

In Scandinavian compensatory lengthening (Barnes 1984: 359), the length of the vowel and that of the syllable-final consonant in stressed syllables are mutually dependent (Torp & Vikør 1993: 52): a syllable has either a long vowel or diphthong and a short consonant (V:C) or a short vowel and long consonant or consonant cluster (VC:). With the exception of some archaic dialects, which retain the Old Norse system which also allowed short (VC) and over-long (V:C:) syllables, this pattern is seen in all Scandinavian languages except Danish; deviations can be explained by analogy (Torp & Vikør 1993: 55–56; Lorentz 1996: 112).

Vowel length according to the SVLR is allophonic in a different way. Most vowels are short, whether they are lax or, unlike in Southern British English, tense. Some of the tense vowels can have long realisations when before a voiced fricative /v ð z ʒ/, /r/, or a morpheme boundary. (There is dialectal variation in the phonological contexts that trigger vowel lengthening and the vowels that undergo it, see below.) Hence, *brood* is /brʊd/, but *brew|ed* is /brʊ:d/, as the vowel is immediately followed by a morpheme boundary.

Instrumental-phonological work on syllable structure in Orkney and Shetland Scots by Van Leyden (2002; 2004: 23–40) showed that both insular varieties as well as Edinburgh Scottish Standard English (SSE) display a pattern in which long vowels precede short

22) The change from phonemic to allophonic vowel length in Scandinavian languages, the so-called *kvantitetsomlegging*, is generally dated to the 13th to 16th centuries (Lorentz 1996: 114), and thought to have affected all Scandinavian languages. It is also a feature of (Southern) Faroese, with which Norn shares many traits.

consonants and vice versa. However, the correlation is much stronger in Shetland than in Orkney or SSE: a change in vowel duration of 100 milliseconds correlates with an inverse change in consonant duration of 49 ms in Shetland, but only 29 ms in Orkney and 30 ms in SSE. Compared to values from South-Western Norwegian (57 ms), this suggests that the inverse correlation between vowel and consonant length in Scandinavian compensatory lengthening is (more or less) retained in Shetland, but lost in Orkney (Van Leyden 2004: 37, 39).

Although there is a correlation between consonant and vowel length, vowel length is not *dependent* on consonant length. Van Leyden showed that the SVLR is active in both Orkney and Shetland Scots. She found that it applies to the traditional SVLR-long contexts, but also to contexts that were historically SVLR-long, but are not so synchronically, for example, *blide* < *blithe*, with (th)-stopping (38).

I analysed data on vowel length from the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (LAS, Mather & Speitel 1986) to see whether the SVLR-long contexts and the affected vowels in Shetland Scots and the input varieties support a reading of the development of Shetland Scots as new-dialect formation. Data was collected from the Atlas for five Shetland varieties and three varieties each from Angus, Fife, and Lothian (see Table 6.6).

For each of these locations, the LAS gives vowel quantity and quality in eleven different phonological environments (Table 6.7). The data are presented not by particular vowel quality or by lexical set, but in slightly broader categories indicated by a capital letter in inverted phonemic brackets. The LAS distinguishes seven monophthong categories and three diphthong categories; here I will focus only on the monophthongs. The categories \A\, \I\, \O\ and \U\ are fairly straightforward. \E\ conflates the /e/ and /ɛ/ phonemes, which is unfortunate as these phonemes tend to pattern differently in the SVLR. The \Y\ category appears to consist of items with Old English \*/u/ that have undergone various degrees of fronting, and roughly corresponds to the BOOT lexical set. \W\, finally, corresponds to the BUT lexical set and contains vowels of an [ʌ]-like quality.

| Location      | Region       | LAS Reference |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Papa Stour    | Shetland     | 1.4           |
| Walls         | Shetland     | 1.5           |
| Foula         | Shetland     | 1.6           |
| Dunrossness   | Shetland     | 1.8           |
| Scousburgh    | Shetland     | 1.9           |
| Migvie        | Angus        | 12.1          |
| Kirriemuir    | Angus        | 12.5          |
| Arbroath      | Angus        | 12.9          |
| Leuchars      | Fife         | 14.1          |
| Auchtermuchty | Fife         | 14.4          |
| Cowdenbeath   | Fife         | 14.13         |
| Newhaven      | Midlothian   | 21.1          |
| Stow          | Midlothian   | 21.2          |
| Tranent       | East Lothian | 22.1          |

**Table 6.6**

Locations surveyed in the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (LAS) for the comparison of Scottish Vowel Length Rule contexts.

| No. | Environment                       | No. | Environment                         |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| 0.  | __t                               | 6.  | __k, __g (velar stops)              |
| 1.  | __d                               | 7.  | __l                                 |
| 2.  | __#                               | 8.  | __n                                 |
| 3.  | __r                               | 9.  | __f, __θ, __s (unvoiced fricatives) |
| 4.  | __v, __ð, __z (voiced fricatives) | 10. | __x                                 |
| 5.  | __p, __b, __m (bilabial stops)    |     |                                     |

**Table 6.7**

Scottish Vowel Length Rule phonological environments in the LAS data.

The data for Foula (Shetland) and Migvie (Angus) was mostly ignored, as the patterns for vowel length in these varieties were very different from those in other varieties in the same area. Foula was divergent in that vowel lengthening occurred significantly less than in other Shetland varieties, and Migvie seemed to conform more to an English pattern with vowel lengthening before all voiced segments. As the LAS data is based on a single informant per location, there is a high chance of idiosyncracies in the data. These have been smoothed over in the analysis to come up with as clear a picture of the SVLR in the different varieties as the presentation of the data allows.

The categories \Y\ and \W\ are unproblematic for the model of new-dialect formation. In both the input varieties and the Shetland Scots varieties, vowels in these categories are always short.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the input varieties and the Shetland varieties agree on the \I\ and \U\ sets, where the ‘classic’ SVLR as described above applies.

In Fife, much of Angus, and Newhaven (Lothian), the vowels in the \E\ category are lengthened in all environments. The other Lothian varieties have much more restricted lengthening: Stow applies the ‘classic’ SLVR, while Tranent does not have any lengthening in this category. In the Shetland varieties, lengthening seems to be generalised for \E\, which is an example of a simple pattern from the input being preferred over a more complex pattern. However, there does seem to be an effect of vowel quality: in Dunrossness and Scousburgh, lengthening in non-‘classic’ SVLR environments appears to apply to /ɛ/ only, not to /e/. In Foula, \E\ appears to undergo lengthening outside ‘classic’ SVLR contexts only in the BAIT lexical set, although the presentation of the data makes this difficult to verify.

Vowel lengthening in the \A\ and \O\ categories does seem to pose a problem for the idea that Shetland Scots arose in a process of new-dialect formation. For the \O\ set, Fife and Newhaven have lengthening across the board, Tranent applies the ‘classic’ SVLR, and Angus displays mostly short vowels. Shetland shows vowel lengthening here in the ‘classic’ SVLR environments, before /l/ and before nasals. In the \A\ set, the lengthening context is expanded the further North we go on the Scottish mainland, from always short in Tranent to always long in Kirriemuir. In Shetland, vowels from this set are long in the ‘classic’ environments, as well as when they derive from historical /au/ or /al/.

The input in these two categories is extremely diffuse, and we would expect the new dialect to focus on one of the simple patterns from the input, i.e. Kirriemuir’s generalised lengthening or Tranent’s generalised non-lengthening. The Shetland system seems much more

---

23) The only exception are words from Norn in the \Y\ set in Walls: *bööd* ‘booth’ (ON *búð*), *rööd* ‘refuse, waste’ (ON *hrjóða*), *tööd* ‘suck’ (ON *þjóta*, contamination of the vowel with ON *tauta*) and *brööl* ‘bellow’ (ON *braula*) (Jakobsen 1921).

complicated that that, but may still be explained by a process of simplification. A possible explanation could be that speakers involved in the focusing of the dialect applied the ‘classic’ SVLR system that was transparently at work in other vowel categories, especially \I\ and \U\, to these categories as well – and thus simplified vowel lengthening across vowel categories. Other processes must then explain vowel lengthening in non-‘classic’ environments, viz. compensatory lengthening of the vowel in the monophthongisation of a diphthong (either an original diphthong or one that originated through /l/-vocalisation). This explanation is supported by the patterns in \E\, which also has a core of ‘classic’ SVLR with some, in this case realisationally or lexically based, exceptions. (Note that one could argue for compensatory lengthening in various processes of monophthongisation in the BAIT lexical set as well.)

The rules governing vowel lengthening in Shetland Scots, then, support the theory that the variety developed in a process of new-dialect formation. Input from different systems in the various input dialects was focused to what can be argued to be a fairly regular system. Input and output were mostly invariant in \Y\ and \W\ (always short) and in \I\ and \U\ (‘classic’ SVLR); in the other sets the different systems gave rise to a ‘classic’ system, possibly by analogy with \I\ and \U\, with additional contexts accounted for by other processes.

With the Scottish Vowel Length Rule governing vowel length in Shetland Scots, the retention of a correlation between long vowels and short consonants (and vice versa), which reminds of Scandinavian compensatory lengthening, is curious. Van Leyden’s data shows that this effect is much stronger in Shetland Scots than in Orkney Scots or Edinburgh SSE, despite the contrast no longer serving the same purpose as it did in Scandinavian. It is possible that learners of Scots whose L1 was Norn applied their native difference in length between short and long vowels to the corresponding categories in Scots. This would then have been taken up by L1 speakers of Scots, similar to the diminishing contrast between long and short vowels in Latvian because of Russian-accented influence (Bond

et al. 2006, see above). Unfortunately, Van Leyden (2004: 30) only contrasts short and long vowel length for Shetland Scots, which makes a comparison with Orkney Scots or Edinburgh SSE to test this hypothesis impossible.

*Prosody* The second part of Van Leyden's study dealt with the prosody of Orkney and Shetland dialects (2004: 41–95, see also Van Leyden & van Heuven 2006). In a judgement task, she presented participants from Orkney and Shetland with speech samples that had artificially been rendered unintelligible, so that the only available information was intonation. Participants were to place these samples on a scale from 'from here' to 'from elsewhere'. The experiment showed that Shetlanders were unable to distinguish Shetland Scots from (Edinburgh) SSE on the basis of intonation alone (Van Leyden 2004: 58). Instrumental work then confirmed that Shetland intonation is similar to that of SSE in terms of pitch-rise alignment (73).

Orcadian intonation, which is perceptually and objectively different from Shetland and SSE, is often believed to be Scandinavian in origin, even though Shetland Scots in other respects is often the more Scandinavian-like of the two Insular Scots varieties (Van Leyden 2004: 100). As no instrumental research into this feature has been done on South-West Norwegian – or in fact Scottish Gaelic, which Van Leyden also suggests as a possible influence (101) – it is not sure this belief is based on fact. For the transfer of a 'stable' feature such as intonation, which moreover is likely to be socially marked, from L2 Scots to the new dialect in Orkney, we must posit a prolonged period of L1 Scots speakers being significantly outnumbered by L2 speakers during the new-dialect formation. Although we have no detailed demographic evidence from Orkney for this period, such a situation is unlikely to have occurred. Moreover, we would then have to explain why Orkney Scots is usually more Scots than Scandinavian.

Prosodic features in Shetland Scots do not give any evidence against the possibility of the dialect having arisen through new-dialect formation. A comparison with Orkney does cast some doubt on the scenario, but there are other theories to explain the Scandinavian-like



prosody of Orkney Scots. Until those hypotheses have been tested, we cannot use the Orcadian prosodic evidence to disprove new-dialect formation in Shetland.

*Morphosyntactic features*

*Generalised perfect auxiliary BE* Traditional descriptions of the grammar of Shetland Scots, such as Robertson & Graham (1991: 11), claim that perfects are constructed with the auxiliary BE rather than HAVE. This use of BE has generalised across verb categories, including transitive verbs: for example, *I am eaten da bread* corresponds to Standard English *I have eaten the bread* rather than to *I am eating the bread*. (Note that in other languages that are said to have ‘generalised’ BE, this is restricted to intransitive verbs; cf. Danish *Jeg har spist brødet* vs. \**Jeg er spist brødet* (grammaticality judgment based on Allan et al. 1995: 263–266)).

Auxiliary use with perfects is actually variable in Shetland Scots. Robertson & Graham suggest perfects with a contracted auxiliary *a*, presumably a form of HAVE, occur after other auxiliary verbs:

- (6.4) a. I wid *a* laek’d till *a* bune a moose i’ da waa.  
 b. Doo soodna *a* buddered.  
 c. If it *hed a* been me, I wid *a* geen and met her.

This contracted form of HAVE can also occur independently (as in a). HAVE can also occur in a non-contracted form (as in c). Recent work on Shetland Scots (Durham & Smith 2007) has also found perfects to be variably constructed with auxiliary HAVE or BE.

Generalised BE perfects have sometimes been connected to influence from Norn, which is assumed to have had the standard Germanic split auxiliary pattern, with BE perfects for (intransitive) verbs of motion or change of state, and HAVE perfects elsewhere. This is the view of Pavlenko (1997), for example. However, Older Scots had a similar contrast, although there was variability, and verbs of motion could also take HAVE perfects (Moessner

1997: 113), suggesting a change towards the modern English/Scots pattern of generalised HAVE was already underway. The fact that auxiliary selection was similar in Norn and Older Scots, and in neither case involved generalised HAVE perfects, is problematic for either monogenetic approach: it should not be difficult for learners of Scots to acquire the auxiliary pattern, nor should L2 knowledge of Norn influence L1 Scots speakers.

According to Melchers (1992: 604), Jakob Jakobsen did not see BE perfects as a relic from Norn. While his aim was to chart the Scandinavian influence on the Shetland dialect, there is only one mention of this feature in his account, in a footnote, and BE perfects do not get any discussion at all. Perfects with contracted 's appear to be interpreted as instances of HAVE, although whether these are expansions or translations is unclear (607).

There are no obvious signs that generalised BE perfects have come from Older Scots or a Norn-influenced L2 variety of Scots. But Trudgill's paradigm of new-dialect formation allows for the development of inter-dialect features, and it could be worth considering whether the Shetland auxiliary use could be one, especially given the variability in the Older Scots input. As a reminder, inter-dialect features are 'compromises' between the input dialects; they tend to be simpler, and not as locally or linguistically marked as the input varieties, but crucially are different from each of the inputs.

First of all, we need to establish whether this is actually a development from the time directly after the Scots immigration to Shetland and incipient language shift, when inter-dialect features were formed in Stage I of the new-dialect formation process. Pavlenko (1997: 95) claims that the current variation between BE and HAVE perfects arose after Standard English influence grew stronger after the second half of the 19th century, but 'by the time of the final formation of the modern Shetland system (i.e. the second half of the nineteenth century) the perfect constructions were formed almost exclusively by means of the *be*-auxiliary'.<sup>24</sup> What evidence Pavlenko bases this view on, is unclear. Jakobsen

---

24) Also note that Pavlenko appears to date the development of Shetland Scots to a much later date than I am doing here.

saw the generalisation to BE perfects as a recent development when he was writing in the 1890s, but Melchers (1992: 607) questions this assumption.

The variability in perfect auxiliary selection found by Durham & Smith (2007) follows certain patterns. BE perfects tend to be favoured with intransitive verbs of motion and change of state, a preference that complies neatly with the rules from Older Scots. This is an argument against BE ever having been a generalised perfect auxiliary: it is extremely unlikely that a merger becomes unmerged again, or splits in exactly the same categories as were active before the merger. We should therefore understand ‘generalised BE’ as the extension of BE as a *possible* perfect auxiliary for transitive verbs and intransitive verbs other than those of motion and change of state (which selected BE already).

There does not seem to be a convincing case made for BE perfects either as a recent development or as a feature of the ‘original’ Shetland dialect after Stage III of the language shift cum new-dialect formation process. With nothing to rule out BE perfects as an inter-dialect feature, I will look at some aspects of perfect auxiliary selection in both Scots/English and Scandinavian to see whether a development as an inter-dialect feature is plausible.

The loss of the distinction between BE and HAVE perfects in Standard English is often linked to the lack of a distinction between the contracted forms in the third person singular: *'s < is, has*. The influence from this merger would be even stronger in Scots varieties than in English varieties, because according to the Northern Subject Rule (see below) Scots selects this form of the verb in a much wider range of contexts than Standard English does. The merger has also been used as an explanation of BE perfects in other varieties of English (Wolfram 1996, though more restricted than in Shetland) and in the South-West Norwegian dialect of Hamre (Rundhovde 1964 in Melchers 1992: 604). But Melchers notes that ‘although the merger may have *supported* the use of [BE], it does not suffice as an *explanation*’ (604, emphasis in original), although the findings in Hamre are relevant

to the Shetland situation, since most of the early settlers in the Northern Isles came from this area (608).

Another part of the explanation, according to Melchers (1992: 608), is the phonological similarity between certain past participles ending in *-en* (*taken*, *eaten*, dial. *putten*) and the present participle, which – whether we claim an underlying *-ing* or *-and* – surfaces as something similar to [ən], and which selects the auxiliary BE in a progressive construction. The collocation of verb forms that could be interpreted as a past participle with the auxiliary BE might be another way in which BE perfects spread to verbs that selected HAVE in Older Scots.

A problem with these explanations, however, is that in other dialects of Scots, where the same factors were at play, perfects levelled to the HAVE auxiliary. A complete explanation of BE perfects in Shetland Scots should not only explain how the auxiliary became levelled, but also why it levelled to BE rather than HAVE as in most other English and Scots varieties. This may have something to do with influence from Standard English on Mainland Scots. English seems to have levelled to HAVE before Scots, and was more likely to do so because of the absence of the Northern Subject Rule. However, although this usage is widespread in Orkney and Shetland, it is only very incidental elsewhere in Scots, and contrary to expectations also occurs sporadically in English (Cambridgeshire; Melchers 1992: 603).

Old Norse allowed HAVE perfects with intransitive verbs of motion and change of state; the BE involved resultative aspect. This division has been kept in Icelandic and Western dialects of Norwegian, cf. *ho er kommen heim* ‘she has come home’ (BE) and *ho har komme hit kvar dag* ‘she has come here every day’ (HAVE; Sandøy 1996: 164). Sandøy also notes that ‘Danish and Faroese have developed in the other direction by having extended the use of BE in perfects’.

The situation in Faroese is especially relevant, as Norn was very similar. Höskuldur Thráinsson et al. (2004: 73) claim that the extended use of BE is a change in progress, and

BE perfects have an iterative reading: *Eg haldi hann er farin illa við henni í nógv ár* ‘I think he has treated her badly for many years’ (BE) vs. *Eg haldi hann hefur farið illa við henni* ‘I think he has treated her badly’ (HAVE). Although this is a recent development, and likely not a part of the Norn system, it is interesting to note that this is contrary to Norwegian (above) and also Early Modern English, where iterative readings prefer HAVE significantly more often than other constructions (Kytö 1997: 58).

Kytö’s study (1997: 50–51) also showed gender differences. In the Late Middle English period, women were more likely to construct perfects with HAVE than men. In the Early Modern English period, and the earliest subdivision of the Modern English period (1650–1700), women and men used the same proportions of BE and HAVE perfects. After 1700, women used more BE perfects than men. If the change from BE perfects to generalised HAVE perfects in Scots happened in similar ways to English, but if Scots was more conservative – in other words, if Scots lagged behind English a little – then the male-dominated Scottish immigrants to Shetland may have formed more BE perfects than average. However, there is no direct evidence for this, and it would only explain a *retention* of the split auxiliary pattern, and not an *extension* of the use of BE perfects.

All in all, there seems to be little that suggests the development of generalised BE perfects as an inter-dialect feature is likely, even if we define this as ‘not quite a merger’. Both the Norn and Scots inputs were variable, but in much the same way, and any incipient change (‘drift’), especially in the Scots inputs, was probably in the direction of generalised HAVE perfects. Add to this the supposedly high functional load of HAVE perfects because of a possible confusion of BE perfects with other constructions such as the passive (BE + past participle) and the progressive (BE + present participle), which also should have prevented the generalisation of BE perfects.

I must therefore disagree with Melchers, as analogy with obscured *'s < is, has* is the only *possible* explanation for this development. It may therefore have been more than just supporting the generalisation of BE as the perfect auxiliary, but rather initiated it.

The dating of this development is still uncertain: it may have been during the period of new-dialect formation, but does not have to be.

*T-V distinction in pronouns* Shetland Scots has two different pronouns in the second person singular: an informal *du*, and a formal *you*, which is formally identical to second person plural pronoun (Robertson & Graham 1991: 4). This contrasts with Standard English, which has lost the distinction between informal and formal pronouns. Older Scots, however, did have this so-called T-V distinction (from French *tu* and *vous*). The distinction and was still in widespread use in Scots and Northern English in the 18th century (King 1997: 171), and some dialects retain it today (Kortmann 2006: 615).

To what extent Norn had a T-V distinction is unclear. There is no direct evidence of it in the surviving texts, and the distinction is not included in the overview of Norn personal pronouns in Barnes (1998: 7), but as other Scandinavian languages, including Faroese, display the distinction, it is not impossible that it was present in Norn as well. The available (written-only) evidence may simply not contain enough stylistic variation to show this.

The Shetland form of the second person singular pronoun *du* is a natural phonological development from the Older Scots *thou* [ðu:], with [ð] becoming [d] as elsewhere in Shetland Scots. It is possible that the retention of this form may have been reinforced by a phonetically similar form in Norn (*du* in the *Hildina Ballad*, *do* in the Foula Lord's Prayer; Low 1879: 105, 108). The loss of the T-V distinction is dated to long after the emergence of Shetland Scots, but Norn may still have been spoken in Shetland when the distinction disappeared from many other Scots and English varieties. In that case, the Norn form may have helped retain the feature in Shetland Scots; however, the argument that Shetland Scots is simply archaic and Norn had no influence on the retention of the T-V distinction is also possible.

*Northern Subject Rule* Verbal inflection in Older Scots was governed by the Northern Subject Rule (or Northern Present Tense Rule). According to this rule, the present tense verb ending across person and number categories is *-s*, unless the verb is directly preceded or followed by a plural or first person singular personal pronoun subject (King 1997: 175). For example, —

- (6.5)
- a. I read a book.
  - b. I never reads a book.
  - c. Thou (never) reads a book.
  - d. They read a book.
  - e. They read a book and writes a summary.
  - f. The butcher and the baker reads a book.

Not much is known about verb morphology in Norn. In the standard varieties of present-day Continental Scandinavian languages, all present tense endings have been levelled across person and number, although some dialects still maintain a number distinction (Sandøy 1996: 68). Faroese, the language most closely related to Norn, typically has separate endings for 1SG, 2/3SG, and 1/2/3PL. Norn seems to have had an in-between pattern, with a number distinction only, and this not even in all verbs (Barnes 1998: 7).

The system as it is active in Shetland today is the standard Northern Subject Rule, without any adaptations (Robertson & Graham 1991: 12–13). There is no convincing evidence that the Norn verb inflection system had any influence on the Shetland system, and it must therefore be seen as a purely Scottish development.

*Demonstrative pronouns with plural reference* Shetland Scots uses singular demonstrative pronouns *dis*, *dat* with plural referents, and does not have separate plural forms (Robertson & Graham 1991: 7). Scandinavian varieties do have different forms for plural demonstratives, so Scandinavian influence is unlikely here, too. Beal (1997: 350) cites

a source from 1788 about singular forms being used with plural nouns in the North of Scotland, and claims this was still in use in the North-East in 1921.

*Pronominal reference* A final marked feature of Shetland Scots is its use of the pronoun *he* in some constructions where other Scots varieties would use *it*, such as talking about the weather: *He's a cowld day*. As this construction is also found in Insular Scandinavian and non-standard Norwegian, Melchers (2004a: 43) suggests this may be a Norn substratum influence.

Pronominal reference may also be with *he* or *she* instead of *it*. The gender distinction does not pattern with the Scandinavian (or, a less likely influence as it was already defunct by the 16th century, the Old English) gender distinction. Melchers (2004a: 43) claims a distinction between tools (masculine) and natural phenomena (feminine); Wales (1996: 138) argues the distinction is between dynamic (masculine) and non-dynamic (feminine) entities, or (149) between powerful (masculine) and gentle (feminine). This is by no means a feature restricted to Insular Scots; it is also found in the English West Country, and in overseas varieties in Newfoundland and Australia (Wales 1996: 139), and is perhaps more likely to be an independent cultural development than Norn substratum influence.

#### 6.2.5 Discussion

In this section I have attempted to explain the development of Shetland Scots in a way that does justice to the two main elements that re-occur in most characterisations of the variety: the idea that Shetland Scots is essentially an archaic variety of the Scots brought to the islands by 16th-century immigrants, and the notion of a second-language variety heavily influenced by Shetland's earlier vernacular, Norn. I suggested that the model of new-dialect formation developed by Trudgill would be suitable for such an explanation, if we allow for a Norn-influenced L2 variety to be an equal input in the dialect mixture along with the immigrants' varieties from Angus, Fife and Lothian (Figure 6.1).



In order to test this hypothesis, I discussed a range of features of Shetland Scots in comparison with Scots varieties from the Mainland, and Norn. Because contemporary varieties mask several centuries of development after the new-dialect formation process would have taken place, the comparison is based primarily on reconstructions of the 16th- and 17th-century varieties that were actually involved in the process. The features discussed are both those in which Shetland Scots differs from Mainland Scots varieties, and features that we could expect to arise from the input mixture in the new-dialect formation process.

**Consonant phonology** is the area where the influence from the supposed L2 variety is clearest. Imposition of the Norn consonant system on the new dialect is visible in (th)-stopping and (hw)-confusion. Note that both these developments eliminate a contrast in Scots with a relatively low functional load. Moreover, in the case of (th)-stopping we find the selection of the phonologically least marked variant ([t] vs. [θ], [d] vs. [ð]), while in (hw)-confusion the most easily learnable system (a merger of /hw/ and /kw/) is selected. Both are processes we expect to find in the koinéisation of new-dialect formation.

Other features where Norn influence is visible are (h)-dropping and a confusion with voiced and unvoiced fricatives, but these features are only attested in 17th-century metalinguistic commentary and appear to have been highly localised. They can no longer be found in Shetland Scots.

Finally, alveolar cluster simplification poses a problem for the hypothesis, as the reconstructed Shetland Scots system cannot be acquired on the basis of the input from the reconstructed varieties from Angus, Fife and Lothian. Because of doubts about the accuracy of the reconstructions on this point, this need not mean the hypothesis should be rejected. It is likely the input was more variable than suggested, in which case it could have led to the Shetland system.

The analysis of **vowel phonology** is complicated by the fact there is very little consensus about the Norn vowel system. It is nonetheless remarkable that every single vowel realisation in the proposed Shetland Scots system can be traced back to a realisation in the Scots input. However, the expectation would be that majority variants would be selected from the input mixture, and merged categories would be preferred over unmerged or split categories. Instead we see many similarities with vowel realisations in Angus Scots, even where Lothian and Fife Scots form a majority in favour of another realisation. Shetland also adopted a ‘split CUT’ system from Angus where Fife and Lothian had unsplit CUT. Shetland also did not focus on a merged BEAT = MATE system that was the input from both Angus and Lothian. Most of these discrepancies can only be explained by settlers from Angus being either the largest or the earliest group, but there is no evidence for either of these possibilities.

While the new-dialect formation model may not successfully account for the range of vowel qualities in Shetland Scots, it does seem to be able to explain **vowel quantity**. Shetland Scots applies a version of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR); the contexts in which the rule applies and the vowels it affects can be explained through koinéisation of very diffuse systems in the input, especially the process of simplification and the development of interdialect features. Shetland Scots adopted a clear ‘core’ system that is visible in some vowel categories across input varieties. This core system was then also adopted in vowel categories where the input was much more variable, resulting in a system different from all input varieties which is more regular from one vowel category to another. Irregularities in the Shetland Scots system can be explained by other, perhaps later, processes of vowel lengthening interfering with the SVLR.

There is no conclusive evidence for any Norn influence in **morphosyntax**. The T-V distinction in pronouns was adopted, as could be expected since both Older Scots and – most probably – Norn distinguished between formal and informal forms of second-person pronouns. The Older Scots and Norn systems in the input were also very similar when it

comes to perfect auxiliaries, and there are no indications of any factors that could have triggered the generalisation of BE as a perfect auxiliary in this way. This is most likely to have been a separate development, as is also the case with the question of pronominal reference.

With regard to the Northern Subject Rule and the use of formally singular demonstrative pronouns with plural reference, there are some problems for the new-dialect formation hypothesis. Despite different systems existing in Norn, and (in the case of the Northern Subject Rule) the Scots system being more complex than the Norn system and therefore presumably more difficult to acquire, the Scots system appears to have been adopted wholesale.

Despite the unexplained adoption of more complex systems in both vowel phonology and morphosyntax, the discussion of Shetland Scots features does not give conclusive evidence against the hypothesis that the dialect originated in a process of new-dialect formation, and we must see this process as a suitable explanation. New-dialect formation works better for explaining the consonant system and vowel length than it does for vowel quality, and overall it works better for phonology than for morphosyntax.

A relevant issue is that where new-dialect formation appears problematic, Shetland Scots usually shares the features with Angus Scots, or with Northern Scots in general. In addition, Shetland Scots is said to form a dialect continuum with the varieties in Orkney, Caithness, and the Northern Mainland. This need not be a problem for the hypothesis of new-dialect formation: also Orkney and Caithness were formerly Scandinavian-speaking, and especially for Orkney a new-dialect formation process may be posited. The similarities between Orkney and Shetland Norn and a shared input from Mainland Scots varieties can then explain the similarities between Orkney and Shetland Norn.

An alternative or additional option is that the dialect continuum is based on archaisms, in Orkney, Shetland and Caithness perhaps on an archaic ‘standard’ Scots (I will return

to the question of standardisation in language shift in section 6.4). As both the formerly Scandinavian-speaking areas and the Northern Mainland are peripheral areas, subsequent changes originating in Lowland Scotland may not have reached there, resulting in gradually more archaic varieties as we proceed further North.

Because my interest in this study was to see whether new-dialect formation is a process likely to have occurred in the development of Shetland Scots, the focus has only been on Shetland Scots in combination with the three input varieties from Lowland Scotland. Further research into the history of Scots in Shetland should also look at the dialects of Orkney and Caithness, as well as dialects from the Northern Mainland, to better address this tension between new-dialect formation and the Northern Scots dialect continuum.

In addition, the discussion on morphosyntactic features in particular was based on representations of the features in very clear rules and patterns. In reality, like the regional differences in the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, it is unlikely these morphosyntactic patterns were present this neatly in the input varieties – especially the L2 variety of Scots spoken by Norn speakers may have displayed a lot of variation. Working with a text corpus of 16th- and 17th-century texts from different areas of Scotland, such as the LAOS corpus, would give better data to base a comparison on.

### **6.3 French Flemish French**

Whereas historical and contemporary descriptions of mainland and insular varieties of Scots are readily available and contain enough information to do a comparative dialectological study, no such sources exist for the French spoken in French Flanders, making a direct counterpart to the previous section impossible. A recent Ph.D. thesis (Dawson 2006) focuses on the phonology of Picard dialects in Northern France, but the area around Dunkirk that my study focuses on is ignored there. An older Ph.D. thesis on Flemish influence, most of it lexical, on the dialects of Northern France (Poulet 1987) focuses on

the Calais and Saint-Omer areas directly adjacent to French Flanders, but again no data is given for the Dunkirk area.

Dialect atlases do however include data on the varieties in French Flanders, which can be compared to data on varieties outwith the area from the same sources. The atlas data can be interpreted as both lexical data or phonetic data; for the purposes of this study, I have chosen to make a phonetic analysis, which is likely to be more informative (see below). The phonetic data from the atlases is very suitable for a computational comparison of dialects. As will become clear from the discussion below, such a paradigm asks different questions than traditional dialectology does: in particular, where traditional dialectology asks how varieties are different, computational comparison of varieties can answer the question of how different varieties are (McMahon et al. 2007: 113).

### 6.3.1 *Computational methods of language comparison*

The question how different languages are from each other is a relevant one for the classification of languages into families, and it is in this field that computational methods for comparing languages were first used. Many of these studies – a selection is discussed in McMahon & McMahon (2005: Chapter 4) – are based on cognate judgements for lexical items from a basic meaning list. Languages that share many cognates are then judged to be more closely related than languages that share very few cognates, or none at all. Later studies, e.g. Nakhleh et al. (2005), incorporate non-lexical items in the comparison as well, such as the presence or absence of phonological and morphological features, or their specific form. Results from computational language comparison can be compared with results from historical research or comparative genetics (McMahon & McMahon 2008: 265). Such comparisons can sometimes prompt unexpected new insights into pre-history, as e.g. in Heggarty's (2007; 2008) study of Andean languages.

Where lexical comparisons can be very informative for grouping languages, the method is close to useless when the aim is to group *dialects*: although there are exceptions,

dialects of the same language generally use cognate words, and only the actual form of the cognates differs from one dialect to another (Heggarty et al. 2005: 43). If we want to look at similarities between dialects, we should make a comparison of phonetic realisations of words that we already know are cognates. The resulting analysis of synchronic similarity need not say anything about the historical development of the varieties (McMahon & McMahon 2008: 277), but we may find small but meaningful patterns that traditional dialectology would not spot (McMahon et al. 2007: 116).

Computational comparison requires a means of quantifying similarities between sounds. Early work in this paradigm used a crude measure of so-called Levenshtein distance (see Heeringa 2004: 121–143 for a discussion), where sounds can be either identical or different, with no further quantification of the degree of difference. Levenshtein distance could be applied in two ways. The first of these is sequence comparison, which is very problematic as will be discussed in more detail below. The second is the minimum number, or ‘cost’, of operations (insertions, deletions and substitutions) needed to change the realisation in one dialect into that in another.

As Heeringa (2004: 23) notes, however, such a crude measure does not take into account that some sounds are more similar to each other than to others. The Levenshtein cost of lengthening [a] to [a:] is identical to the cost of devoicing [b] to [p]. This need not be a major problem, but it seems unlikely that common sound changes like these should be as costly as an odd and unexpected change from [a] to [p].

Heeringa (2004: 27–78) therefore focused on quantifying phonetic similarity on the basis of phonetic features such as place and manner of articulation (for consonants), and vowel height and backness. He compared three sets of feature classifications, which differed in the number of features specified and the number of gradations in these features. The numerical values given to the gradations in the different feature specifications appear rather arbitrary, or at least more informed by a computational than a phonological background.

Another quantification is the one by Heggarty et al. (2005: 51–55), who tackle the issue from ‘a principled approach’. They, too, look at phonetic features of consonants and vowels. The similarity between a pair of consonants or vowels is determined by the number of features they share. Feature parameters are weighted according to how many distinctions are typically made for this feature crosslinguistically, and how often the feature bears the weight of a phonemic contrast. Interactions between different features are also taken into account; e.g., a front-back distinction is found more frequently in high vowels than in low vowels (53). Heggarty’s method results in similarity values for all pairs of vowels and consonants between 0 (completely dissimilar) and 1 (identical).

Both Heeringa (on Dutch and Norwegian, 2004) and Heggarty et al. (on English, McMahon et al. 2007) have found results that comply with traditional dialectologists’ views, suggesting that both methods are sufficiently accurate. Heeringa (2004: 193–194) found that the differences between the different feature classifications in his study were very small indeed, and although no direct comparison has been made between his method and Heggarty et al.’s, the successful application of both methods would suggest that the latter method would perform similarly. The choice for Heggarty et al.’s method in this study is therefore based on its being more readily available to me rather than on its superiority having been proved empirically.

### 6.3.2 *Data*

Data for this comparison was taken from two sources, the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF, Gilliéron & Edmont 1902–1915) and the *Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique Picard* (ALPic, Carton 1989–1997), according to selection criteria discussed below. The two dialect atlases use a phonetic transcription system that is different from the IPA, developed for ALF by Rousselot and Straka (Dawson 2006: 101). For use with the software, the transcriptions from the atlases had to be converted to IPA. A description of

the Rousselot-Straka system was included in ALPic, which greatly facilitated conversion. Nonetheless, a small number of problems arose here.

The Rousselot-Straka system allows for semi-nasalised vowels, while vowels in IPA transcription can only be nasalised or non-nasalised. Dawson's suggestion (101) to use the IPA symbol for creaky voice (e.g. [̠]) in narrow phonetic transcriptions would not be suitable here, as the feature 'creaky voice' is probably more different from 'nasalised' than 'semi-nasalised' would be. I have therefore followed his suggestion for broad phonetic transcriptions, to collapse nasalised and semi-nasalised vowels together as nasalised.

Similarly, the Rousselot-Straka system distinguishes three forms of ⟨a⟩, where the IPA only distinguishes two. In Dawson's narrow transcriptions, he used [ɐ], but again, this would imply a different difference (on a height dimension rather than a front-back dimension) for the software programme. Again, I have followed Dawson's suggestion for broad transcriptions, and only maintained a two-way distinction between [a] and [ɑ], with would-be [ɐ]s read as [a].

The ALF and ALPic transcriptions allow for two symbols to be placed on top of one another to indicate an 'intermediate sound'. The IPA does not have this possibility, and in this case Dawson (101) only problematises this without suggesting a conversion method to IPA. In isolated cases, the IPA allowed for a transcription of such intermediate sounds; for example, the sound intermediate between [s] and [ʃ] could be transcribed as [s̠] or [ʃ̠], depending on whether [s] or [ʃ] was the base symbol. In cases where such use of IPA diacritics was not possible, for example a sound intermediate between [k] and [n], two transcriptions were made with each of the extreme sounds, and used as equal input for the variety in question.

Finally, an important difference between ALF and ALPic transcriptions is that only the former explicitly indicates vowel length. Using this information in the IPA transcriptions for the programme carries the risk of creating an artificial rift between the localities for



which an ALF was used and those for which data was taken from ALPic. I therefore disregarded all indications of vowel length from the ALF transcriptions.

### *Reliability of atlas data*

The use of atlas data is sometimes criticised because, in contrast to collecting one's own data set, there are several factors out of the researcher's control:

One also needs to know the level of language of the collected data, positioning them on a continuum from 'Frenchified *patois*' to '*patois*-ised French'. Even when the *patois* is targeted, as is the case with linguistic atlases, the interviewing technique can influence the result (cf. the data collection methods of ALF and ALO [*Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de l'Ouest*]); when regional varieties of French are targeted directly, the *patois* substrate maybe stronger or weaker depending on the interviewer.<sup>25</sup>

(Flikeid [1994: 312], cited in Martineau 2005: 175–176)

The influence of different researchers in the ALPic data is likely to be relatively restricted, as the data for the majority of the locations in the sample was collected by the same interviewer, and the overall set of interviewers is quite small. The introduction to the ALF does not mention the identity of the interviewer. Instead it gives some information about the informants, who ranged from young women to the non-mobile older rural males (NORMs) targeted in the later Survey of English Dialects. The occasional comment is made, revealing the type of variety that was targeted. For example, the sample from Le Plessis-Piquet is described as 'a *patois* that hardly anyone speaks anymore, apart from the occasional old man'.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from interviewer effects, there is also the question of how idiosyncratic the realisations are that are elicited from that occasional old man. All the atlas data is based on interviews with a single informant, and may not necessarily be representative of the

25) 'Il faut aussi connaître le niveau de langue des données recueillies, en les situant sur le continuum "patois francisé – français patoisé". Même quand c'est le patois qui est visé, comme dans les cas des atlas linguistiques, la technique d'enquête peut influencer le résultat (cf. le mode de collecte de l'ALF vs l'ALO); lorsque le français régional est visé directement, le substrat patois peut être plus ou moins fort selon l'informateur.'

26) 'Patois qui n'est plus guère parlé que par quelques rares vieillards.'

variety in question. A final issue is that atlas data is collected over a longer period of time, some eighty years between the oldest data collected for ALF and the youngest data in ALPic. Because we can expect realisations to have changed in this period, we may not be comparing like with like.

Despite these obvious issues with the use of atlas data, it appears that such data can give reliable results using computational comparison. (Heeringa 2004: 213–226) based his analysis of Dutch dialects on data from RND (*Reeks Nederlandse Dialectatlassen*), which is based on recordings made between 1921 and 1975 by a variety of interviewers. His results nevertheless complied with the traditional classification of Dutch dialects, although transcriber effects could not be entirely eliminated (277).

#### *Data selection*

The **localities** from which data was used in this comparison were selected non-randomly. Unfortunately ALPic marks French Flanders as a large white space marked ‘Flandre’, with no data points in the area. This could suggest (erroneously) that no French was natively spoken in this area. As the bulk of the data that ALPic is based on was collected in the 1960s and onwards, this is simply a misrepresentation, because French was the predominant and often probably the only language in the area at the time already. An alternative interpretation, and one that is supported by (Pée & Blancquaert 1946: ix), is that no *Picard* was spoken in the area, but French, which justifiably is not included in an atlas of Picard varieties. This does, however, make a direct comparison between the Romance varieties of French Flanders and those of neighbouring areas more difficult.

Because the ALF spans a much larger geographical area, the data points in this atlas are necessarily further apart. It does however have a locality in French Flanders: Fort-Mardyck (ALF 297). Fort-Mardyck is part of the Dunkirk conglomeration, but was possibly still an independent village at the time of the research for ALF. Unfortunately, it may not be entirely representative of French Flanders as a whole, or even of Dunkirk. The town

is an extension of a medieval fishing village Mardijk, with the fort having been built in 1622, and the town founded as Fort-Mardyck by Louis XIV in 1670. The town is characterised as ‘entirely French’, and ‘an old colony of Picard sailors in Flanders, from Étaples and Cucq’ (Van Overstraeten 1969: 251). The social conditions under which the Fort-Mardyck dialect developed were therefore different from those in the rest of French Flanders: 17th-century Fort-Mardyck had a large French-speaking majority with its roots in two single towns – a clear ‘founder population’ in terms of new-dialect formation – while elsewhere in French Flanders native French-speakers were numerically inferior to the shifting Dutch-speaking population, and more heterogeneous at that. To what extent the dialect of Fort-Mardyck can shed light on the target variety in the French-Flemish language shift remains to be seen. It is likely that a good two centuries of dialect contact with adjacent varieties, such as that from Dunkirk, levelled out some of the differences. As Fort-Mardyck is the only variety for which data of this sort is available, we have to assume that the variety is more or less representative.

The other locations were chosen to test a number of hypotheses. We could imagine that shifting French-Flemish acquired their French from neighbouring French-speaking communities. Such a scenario fits well with the findings from Chapter 4 about a local migration to Dunkirk in the 1647 and 1657 marriage registers. According to this hypothesis, the new variety should fit onto the periphery of the Picard dialect continuum. A number of varieties were selected from ALPic that were geographically adjacent to the area marked as French Flanders, and could have served as sources for this extension of the continuum.

The marriage registers from 1667 onwards did not contain any information on immigration, but secondary sources suggest that after the annexation of French Flanders by France, more people from further afield may have immigrated. If we imagine that these were people with different (mostly) Picard varieties and that some kind of koinéisation took place before or during the shift, the features that were most localised will have disappeared from the variety, and we could imagine a more standard, or central, Picard variety as

the result. In such a scenario, Fort-Mardyck would show most similarity to varieties from places in central Picardy. I selected varieties from ALPic closest to important cities in Picardy, viz. Amiens (Cagny, ALPic 88), Beauvais (Bresles, ALPic 123), and Laon (Bourguignon-sous-Montbavin, ALPic 127). Because of the explicit links made with immigration from Étaples and Cucq, I also included a variety close to these towns (Tubersent, ALPic 17). If immigration from these towns was so predominant, the ‘founder effect’ would predict we find most similarity with Tubersent.

A number of locations outside of Picardy were selected to test ideas of koinéisation on a larger scale, that is, levelling out Picard features as highly localised, too, and focusing on a more standard French (Francien) variety. The inclusion of non-Picard varieties also places the study into a wider context of French dialects. The dialect of Paris and Île-de-France is represented by Le Plessis-Piquet (ALF 226, now Le Plessis-Robinson). I also included a variety of Swiss French, partly because of the evidence we have for Swiss presence in Dunkirk from Chapter 4.

Finally, it was necessary to find a control to see whether the data from ALF and ALPic can as easily be compared as I do in this comparison. After all, the ALF data was collected at the turn of the 20th century, while the ALPic data is five or more decades younger than that. In the intermediate period, there will have been significant social change, including two World Wars, and continuity between the two data sets may have been lost. Therefore I have taken data from the four localities in the department of Nord that were surveyed for both atlases. The similarities between the two data sets for these localities should give an indication of how comparable the two atlases are as a whole.

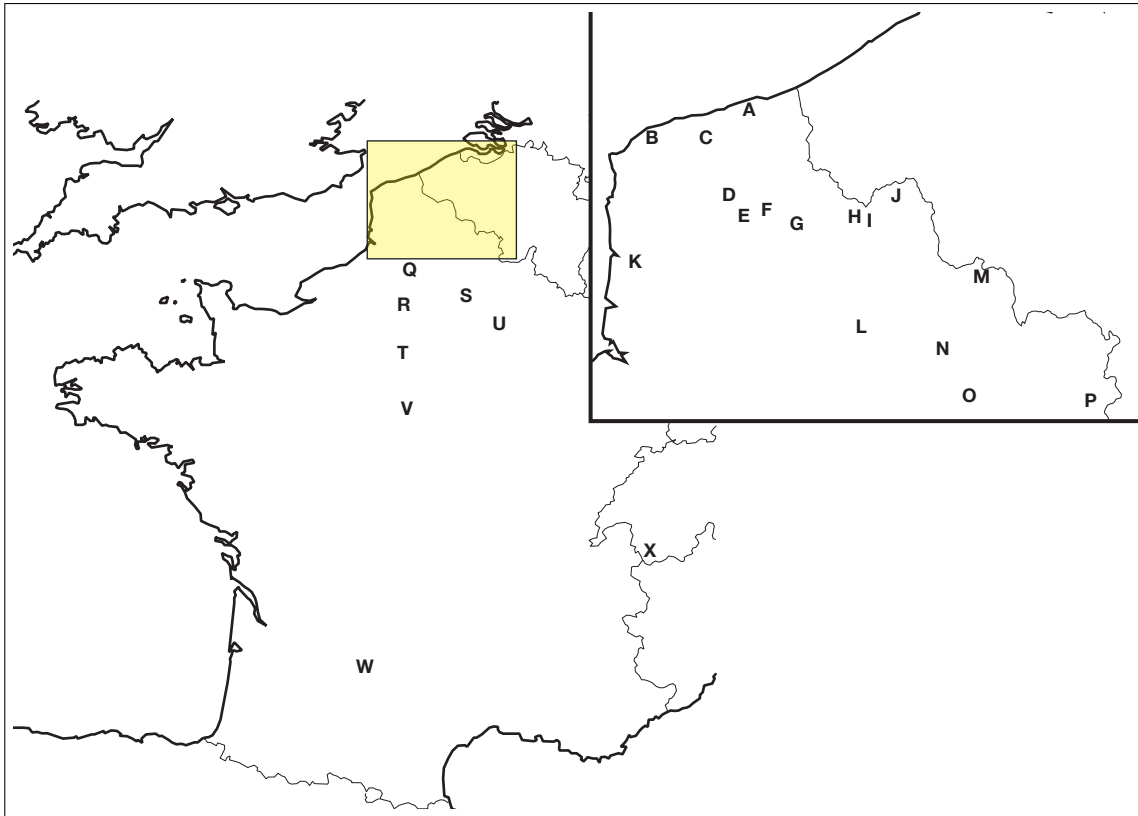
The final list of localities, their geographical location, and their reference in ALF and/or ALPic can be found in Table 6.8 and Figure 6.3.

A total of sixty **lexical items** was selected for the comparison, on a partly random basis. Because we have seen conflicting reports about the nature of the Romance variety spoken

| Map ref. | Location                    | Abbrev. | Dept.         | Atlas ref. |
|----------|-----------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|
| A        | Fort-Mardyck                | FTM     | Nord          | ALF 297    |
| B        | Coquelles                   | COQ     | Pas-de-Calais | ALPic 1    |
| C        | Vieille-Église              | VEG     | Pas-de-Calais | ALPic 2    |
| D        | Tatinghem                   | TAT     | Pas-de-Calais | ALPic 5    |
| E        | Ecques                      | ECQ     | Pas-de-Calais | ALPic 10   |
| F        | Blaringhem                  | BLA     | Nord          | ALPic 11   |
| G        | Haverskerque                | HAV     | Nord          | ALPic 12   |
| H        | Erquinghem-Lys              | ERQ     | Nord          | ALPic 21   |
| I        | Prémesques                  | PRE     | Nord          | ALPic 14   |
| J        | Linselles (older)           | LIO     | Nord          | ALF 295    |
|          | Linselles (newer)           | LIN     | Nord          | ALPic 15   |
| K        | Tubersent                   | TUB     | Pas-de-Calais | ALPic 17   |
| L        | Fampoux                     | FAM     | Pas-de-Calais | ALPic 41   |
| M        | Bruille-Saint-Amand (older) | BSO     | Nord          | ALF 281    |
|          | Bruille-Saint-Amand (newer) | BSN     | Nord          | ALPic 35   |
| N        | Iwuy                        | IWU     | Nord          | ALPic 50   |
| O        | Maurois (older)             | MAO     | Nord          | ALF 271    |
|          | Maurois (newer)             | MAN     | Nord          | ALPic 63   |
| P        | Glageon (older)             | GLA     | Nord          | ALF 270    |
|          | Glageon (newer)             | GLN     | Nord          | ALPic 66   |
| Q        | Cagny                       | CAG     | Somme         | ALPic 88   |
| R        | Bresles                     | BRE     | Oise          | ALPic 124  |
| S        | Bourguignon-sous-Montbavin  | BSM     | Aisne         | ALPic 127  |
| T        | Le Plessis-Piquet           | LPP     | Seine         | ALF 226    |
| U        | Verzenay                    | VER     | Marne         | ALF 148    |
| V        | Nibelle-Saint-Sauveur       | NSS     | Loiret        | ALF 209    |
| W        | Cahors                      | CAH     | Lot           | ALF 720    |
| X        | Le Châble                   | LCH     | Valais (CH)   | ALF 977    |

**Table 6.8**

Localities used in the comparison, with department and reference to ALF or ALPic. Map references refer to Figure 6.3, three-letter abbreviations are used elsewhere in this study.



**Figure 6.3**

Map of the locations used in the comparison. See Table 6.8 for a key to the symbols.

by shifters in French Flanders – strong claims that they spoke a variety of Picard alongside claims that they did *not* speak Picard or Walloon, but French (Francien) – I decided to specifically select some items where the distinction between Picard and French is especially clear (see below). The list of words was then filled up to sixty words, both to have a reasonably sized sample and to make the input to the programme more representative by not only including words with the possibility for salient Picard features. This was done by randomly selecting words from ALPic, provided that (1) the relevant data points in the ALPic had mostly cognate words, rather than lexical equivalents, and (2) the word was listed both in ALPic and ALF. References to ALF map numbers in ALPic, where available, facilitated this process with regard to the last criterion.

A list of salient differences between Picard and French was compiled by Pooley (2002: 38). In the following, I repeat Pooley's list and include the lexical items selected to match

the features in question:

1. Phonology: segmental features – vocalic features
  - (a) Diphthongisation of close *o*: *qu'il est beau* [k i e b<sup>œ</sup>o] → **veau**
  - (b) [ɛ̃] for French [ã]: *manger* [mɛ̃ʒe] → **manger**
  - (c) Denasalisation: *enfant* [afã] → **enfant**
2. Phonology: segmental features – consonantal features
  - (a) [ʃ] for French [s]: *garçon* [gaʁʃɔ̃] → **maçon, chemise**
  - (b) Lack of palatalised *l mouillé*: *travail* [tʁaval] → **feuille**
  - (c) Word-final consonant devoicing: *sage* [saʃ] → **chemise, orage, coude**
3. Phonology: linking features
  - (a) Assimilation of the definite article: *la bile* [b bil]
  - (b) Intrusive *d*: *il n'y en avait pas* [i n d avo nɛ̃]
4. Morphological features
  - (a) *-ot* ending in IMPF (and some other forms): *je connais* [ʒ kono] → **était**
  - (b) Picard possessives *min, 'm*: *mon garçon* [mɛ̃ gaʁʃɔ̃], *ma femme* [əm fɛm] → **son**
  - (c) Picard pronouns *mi, ti, li* (French *moi, toi, lui*) → **moi, lui**
  - (d) Metathesis of reiterative prefix: *ils recommencent* [iz aʁkmɛ̃ʃt] → **re-**
5. Syntactic features
  - (a) Use of negative particles *nin* and *point* → **pas**
  - (b) Use of *qu'elle* in relative clauses: *la femme qu'elle habite là*

Another feature that is characteristic of non-standard varieties in Northern France, but which is not mentioned by Pooley, is the lack of palatalisation of Latin ⟨c⟩ and ⟨g⟩: *chemise, cheval, génisse*, etc. (see Dawson 2006: 107–113 for an initial discussion of this feature). Because this is a non-standard feature that occurs in Northern French varieties, I have included some of these items in the comparison as well.

The nature of this type of lexical atlas data is that it does not show connected speech, and therefore it was impossible to include any of the linking features in the comparison. Information about the definite article was available for all data points, and in some cases it did show assimilation to the following noun that it was collocated with in the questionnaire, but the atlas data do not show whether this assimilation is a general process, and therefore the feature was excluded from the comparison. Also the relative marker with feminine antecedent does not occur in the comparison because no atlas data is available for this feature.

The list of words used in the comparison is shown in Table 6.9. So-called ‘Pooley words’ – the words selected specifically because they exhibited the particular Picard features discussed by Pooley, including non-palatalised ⟨c⟩ and ⟨g⟩ – are indicated in bold type. A number of the filler words also showed ‘Pooley features’, but because they were not specifically selected, they are not indicated as such in the table. A complete list of IPA transcriptions based on the atlas data can be found in Appendix A.<sup>27</sup>

#### *Data entry and processing*

IPA transcriptions of the different words were entered into a database. The programme allows for up to three realisations per word per locality. Although the atlas data usually only gives a single realisation, it does in some cases indicate variation, which we could take into account in this way. Mostly, however, the possibility of multiple realisations was used to deal with Rousselot-Straka transcriptions that did not have a single possible IPA counterpart (cf. above).

*Slotmatching* Once the data is entered, we need to ensure that the right segments are compared to each other. This is done in a slotmatching procedure illustrated in Figure

---

27) At a later stage in the study, the words *était* and *étions* were deleted from the database because of the high degree of irregularity in these words, which caused difficulties for the comparison. The word *pas* was divided into two, *pas* and *point*, to allow for this lexical variable to be taken along in a phonetic comparison.



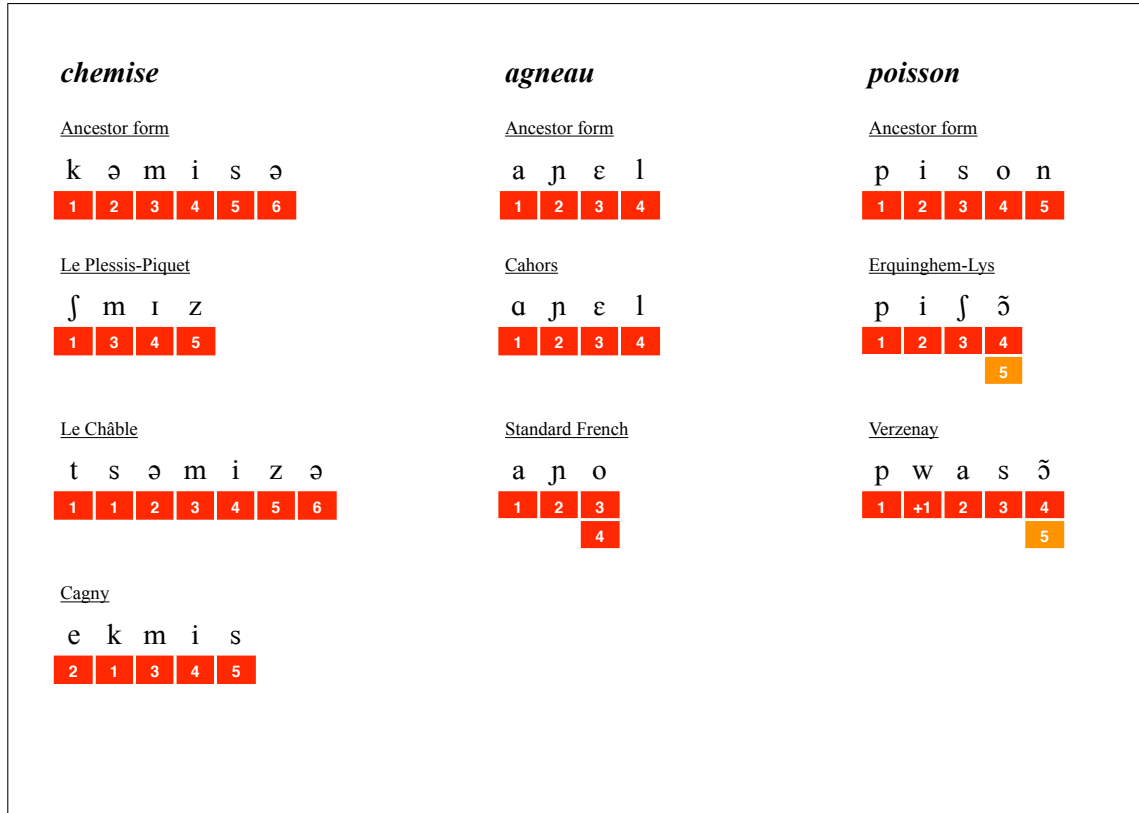
| Item           | French      | ALF  | ALPic | Item               | French    | ALF  | ALPic |
|----------------|-------------|------|-------|--------------------|-----------|------|-------|
| agneau         | [aɲo]       | 11   | 183   | herse              | [ɛRS]     | 689  | 103   |
| aiguille       | [egɥij]     | 14   | 459   | jarretières        | [ʒartjɛR] | 714  | 452   |
| arbre(s)       | [arbR]      | 52   | 239   | jeune(s)           | [ʒœn]     | 722  | 489   |
| armoire        | [armwar]    | 58   | 381   | <b>lui</b>         | [lɥi]     | 784  | 631   |
| bœuf           | [bœf]       | 141  | 161   | <b>maçon</b>       | [masɔ̃]   | 791  | 311   |
| cendres        | [sɑ̃dR]     | 210  | 395   | maison             | [mɛzɔ̃]   | 801  | 374   |
| chaîne         | [ʃɛn]       | 221  | 156   | <b>manger (-é)</b> | [mɑ̃ʒe]   | 809  | 494   |
| champs         | [ʃɑ̃]       | 226  | 96    | <b>moi</b>         | [mwa]     | 863  | 16    |
| charpentier    | [ʃarpɑ̃tje] | 244  | 300   | Noël               | [no.ɛl]   | 914  | 362   |
| chaud          | [fo]        | 254  | 320   | noyau              | [nwajo]   | 926  | 273   |
| <b>chemise</b> | [ʃəmiz]     | 264  | 450   | œuf                | [œf]      | 935  | 209   |
| <b>cheval</b>  | [ʃəval]     | 269  | 158   | <b>orage</b>       | [ɔRɑʒ]    | 945  | 334   |
| chien          | [ʃjɛ̃]      | 277  | 188   | pain               | [pɛ̃]     | 964  | 424   |
| cimetière      | [simtjɛR]   | 288  | 570   | <b>pas</b>         | [pa]      | 896  | 652   |
| copeaux        | [kɔp]o      | 319  | 291   | pigeon             | [piʒɔ̃]   | 1016 | 218   |
| <b>coude</b>   | [kud]       | 330  | 471   | poireau            | [pwaro]   | 1048 | 262   |
| couteau        | [kuto]      | 341  | 307   | poisson            | [pwasɔ̃]  | 1052 | 226   |
| coutre         | [kutR]      | 1523 | 109   | puits              | [pɥi]     | 1104 | 51    |
| <b>enfant</b>  | [ɑ̃fɑ̃]     | 461  | 488   | <b>re-</b>         | [Rə]      | 1138 | 463   |
| ensemble       | [ɑ̃sɑ̃bl]   | 464  | 658   | roitelet           | [Rwatlɛ]  | 1697 | 584   |
| essieu         | [esjø]      | 484  | 81    | roue               | [Ru]      | 1170 | 80    |
| <b>était</b>   | [etɛ]       | 510  | 15    | sac                | [sak]     | 1336 | 461   |
| étions         | [etjɔ̃]     | 512  | 640   | semaine            | [səmɛn]   | 1214 | 352   |
| faucille       | [fosij]     | 543  | 126   | soleil             | [solɛj]   | 1241 | 318   |
| faux           | [fo]        | 546  | 119   | <b>son (mon)</b>   | [sɔ̃]     | 316  | 13    |
| feu            | [fø]        | 558  | 405   | table              | [tabl]    | 1273 | 384   |
| <b>feuille</b> | [føej]      | 559  | 241   | trou               | [tru]     | 1336 | 461   |
| frisson        | [frisɔ̃]    | —    | 519   | vache              | [vaʃ]     | 1349 | 162   |
| génisse        | [ʒenis]     | 637  | 163   | <b>veau</b>        | [vo]      | 1354 | 164   |
| grenouille     | [grənɥj]    | 668  | 227   | voir               | [vwar]    | 1408 | 502   |

**Table 6.9**

Words used in the comparison. References to the relevant ALF and ALPic maps are given, as well as the Standard French pronunciation. ‘Pooley words’ are indicated in bold type.

6.4. Taking realisations of the word *chemise* ‘shirt’ as an example, it is clear that a simple sequential comparison would give a distorted picture of the similarity between forms. If we simply compare the first segment in the Cagny realisation to the first segment in the Le Châble realisation, then the second segments, the third, etc., we would compare [e] to [t], [k] to [s], [m] to [ə], etc. This would give a similarity rating for Cagny and Le Châble that is unrealistically low.

A more realistic rating would arise if we could apply our knowledge of the history of these varieties. We would then want to compare the [ts] from Le Châble to [k] from Cagny, [ə] from Le Châble to [e] from Cagny (suggesting that there has been a metathesis in one of

**Figure 6.4**

Slotmatching ensures the right phonetic items are compared to each other.

the two varieties), then both [m]s, both [i]s, [z] and [s], and finally the [ə] from Le Châble to no segment from Cagny.

In a computational method, this procedure would need to be automated. This is done by matching each of the segments in a word to segments in an ‘ancestor form’. This ancestor form need not be a historically attested form; all is needed is ‘an idea of vowel and consonant order, and major gestures like nasals’ (McMahon & McMahon 2005: 219). The exact vowel and consonant qualities are not important, since no segments are compared *to* the ancestor form. A comparison is made *through* the ancestor form by comparing only those segments that are matched to the same segment in the ancestor form. For this data set, rather than using Latin (which is historically too distant) or Old French (which would make comparison with some of the outlier varieties more difficult) as an ancestor form,

artificial node forms were constructed that aligned as clearly as possible with the majority of the forms in the data.

Returning to our example, the ancestor form used for *chemise* is \*[kəmisə]. In Heggarty's programme, the segments in this form are numbered 1 through 6. Slotmatching is then done by entering the appropriate ancestor slot number for all segments in the varieties we want to compare. In the realisation from Le Plessis-Piquet, [ʃ] corresponds to segment 1, [m] to 3, [ɪ] to 4, and [z] to 5. No segments in this word are matched to segments 2 and 6 in the ancestor form. Any segments from a variety that does have segments matched to these slots, will be compared to zero.

In the realisation from Le Châble, we find a many-to-one relationship: two segments, [ts], are matched to the same slot in the ancestor form. The inverse one-to-many relationship can be seen in the Standard French [aɲo] for *agneau* 'lamb', where [o] corresponds to two segments \*[ɛl] in the ancestor form. Two slot numbers are therefore entered for [o]. Similarly, in *poisson* 'fish', the nasality on the final vowel in both examples comes from a final \*[n] in the ancestor form, and the vowel is therefore also matched to this \*[n]. (The programme deals with nasality in a slightly different way from normal slotmatching, hence the different background colour of this match in the figure.) Finally, segments that have been added in relation to the ancestor form are marked accordingly by matching them to a '+1' slot, as the [w] in Verzenay [pwas̃].

*Processing* The phonetic realisations with appropriate slotmatchings are then analysed by the software,<sup>28</sup> which computes similarity scores between the different varieties per word. It also computes an overall similarity score between varieties, which is an average weighted by the number of segments in the ancestor form. These similarity scores can then be analysed further, notably by visualisations in trees or networks (see below).

28) I thank Paul Heggarty for running the software on my dataset, and also for his help in preparing the data in general. More information about the software is available on Heggarty et al.'s project website at <http://www.soundcomparisons.com/>.

### 6.3.3 *Results and discussion*

A matrix with the similarity scores between all varieties, including the hypothetical ancestor form and Standard French, can be found in Appendix A.2.<sup>29</sup> All further analysis in this section is based on the entire matrix, but specific parts will be highlighted for discussion.

*Atlas compatibility* First, we need to ensure that the data from ALF and ALPic can be compared despite the large time difference, and that over half a century of language change does not distort the picture too much. In order to check this, I included four localities that appeared in both atlases. If no language change had occurred at all, the ALF and ALPic realisations for each variety would be completely similar. For language change not to distort the picture, we are looking for relatively high similarity scores between the two realisations.

Table 6.10 shows the similarity scores between the ALF and ALPic realisations for the four localities. The scores, ranging from 839 (where 1000 means the two are identical) for Linselles to 912 for Glageon, do not suggest that the two realisations are more similar than two realisations from different locations could be; in fact, several pairs of varieties have higher similarity scores than Glageon, the highest score being 937 for Blaringhem and Haverskerque.<sup>30</sup>

This would mean that similarities we may find between the ALF realisations for Fort-Mardyck and ALPic realisations for nearby localities are unreliable. However, when we look at the similarity scores for the four control varieties in context, the unexpectedly low scores may not be as problematic. With the exception of Linselles, the ALF and ALPic

29) Some realisations present in the raw data were omitted from the comparison, because they were not perfectly cognate or had missing or additional morphology. The two forms of the verb *être* were also omitted because the large amount of variation within these words made a straightforward comparison impossible.

30) Heggarty's software produces similarity scores between 0 and 1. For ease of reference I have re-scaled them to whole numbers between 0 and 1000. Some of the figures are based on Heggarty's original output data and therefore have decimal similarity scores.

|                     | ALF–ALPic | ALF–FRA | ALPic–FRA |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| Linselles           | 839 (2/5) | 679     | 683       |
| Bruille-Saint-Amand | 857 (1/2) | 710     | 710       |
| Maurois             | 887 (1/1) | 721     | 702       |
| Glageon             | 912 (1/1) | 754     | 749       |

**Table 6.10**

Similarity scores (1000 = identical) between ALF and ALPic data for the same locality, and a comparison to Standard French.

realisations are the most similar variety to each other, as indicated by the rank numbers in brackets in Table 6.10. (The first number is the rank order for the ALPic realisation compared to the ALF realisation.) This suggests that although the varieties did change through time, in general they remained more similar to each other than they became to any other variety.

Finally, it would be useful to know how linguistic change through time influences the similarity scores. Because of the strong position of Standard French in France, we may expect that the later ALPic realisations would be more similar to Standard French than the earlier ALF realisations. As Table 6.10 shows, this hypothesis was not borne out. Only the Linselles variety became slightly more similar to Standard French; Bruille-Saint-Amand remained equally divergent, while the ALPic realisations from Maurois and Glageon are more different from Standard French than the ALF realisations. Of course the similarity scores are averages; the varieties may have become more similar to Standard French with regard to some features, but more different with regard to others.

#### *Fort Mardyck on the French-Picard continuum*

We now turn our attention to the variety from Fort-Mardyck. The similarity scores between Fort-Mardyck and the other varieties in the study are shown in Table 6.11. Although the picture may be somewhat distorted by a clear bias towards the inclusion of Picard varieties in the sample, some patterns are already visible. The dialect of Fort-Mardyck is more similar to the Picard varieties than it is to the (more standard-like) French varieties. Within

| Location                      | Score | Location                       | Score |
|-------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Coquelles                  | 870   | 15. Glageon (ALF)              | 787   |
| 2. Tatinghem                  | 856   | 16. Prêmesques                 | 784   |
| 3. Blaringhem                 | 822   | 17. Glageon (ALPic)            | 780   |
| 4. Ecques                     | 816   | 18. Iwuy                       | 777   |
| 5. Haverskerque               | 807   | 19. Maurois (ALPic)            | 776   |
| 6. Cagny                      | 803   | 20. Nibelle-Saint-Sauveur      | 768   |
| 7. Maurois (ALF)              | 802   | 21. Le Plessis-Piquet          | 767   |
| 8. Fampoux                    | 801   | 22. Standard French            | 765   |
| 9. Vieille-Église             | 800   | Bruille-Saint-Amand (ALPic)    | 765   |
| 10. Bruille-Saint-Amand (ALF) | 796   | 24. Bourguignon-sous-Montbavin | 762   |
| 11. Tubersent                 | 795   | 25. Verzenay                   | 751   |
| 12. Bresles                   | 794   | 26. Linselles (ALPic)          | 748   |
| 13. Linselles (ALF)           | 790   | 27. Le Châble                  | 590   |
| 14. Erquinghem-Lys            | 788   | 28. Cahors                     | 548   |

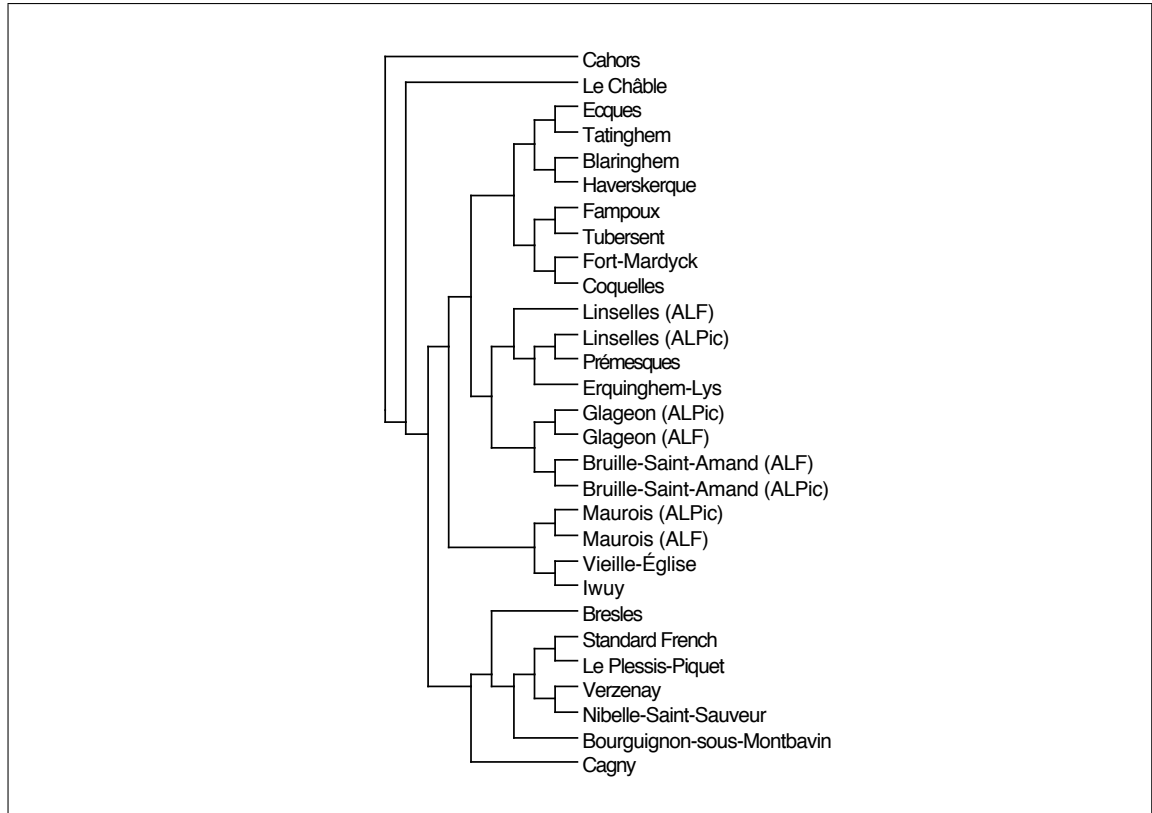
**Table 6.11**

Similarity scores (1000 = identical) between Fort-Mardyck and the other varieties in the data set, ranked in order of similarity.

Picard, varieties that are spoken in geographically nearby localities, such as Coquelles, Tatinghem and Blaringhem, tend to have higher similarity scores than those that are further apart, such as Bruille-Saint-Amand, Iwuy, Maurois and Glageon. Some relatively high similarity scores for varieties further afield, notably Cagny and Maurois (ALF), seem to break with this pattern.

The patterns in the data become clearer in a visualisation. Using the full similarity score matrix as input, the software programme SplitsTree (Huson & Bryant 2006) can compute different visualisations in cladograms, trees and networks. A cladogram (Figure 6.5). is a visual representation most historical linguists will be familiar with, as it is very similar to the family ‘trees’ used to show ancestral relationships between languages (but note that I use ‘tree’ here for a different type of visual representation). In this case, however, the cladogram does not show which varieties are most closely related historically, but which ones are most similar phonetically.

Because the cladogram is based on the full similarity matrix, it is not directly compatible with the similarity scores for Fort-Mardyck. That is, although it recognises Coquelles as



**Figure 6.5**

Similarity between the varieties in the data set expressed as a cladogram.

the most closely related variety to Fort-Mardyck, the branching directly up the tree does not lead to Tatinghem. In fact, the four varieties that are the second to fifth most similar to Fort-Mardyck form a cluster another branch further removed. In order to find a node shared with the next most similar variety, Cagny, we need to go even further up the tree. Conversely, the varieties from Tubersent and Fampoux are much closer to Fort-Mardyck in the cladogram than their phonetic similarity scores would suggest. It is clear that the cladogram gives a distorted picture of how to classify the Fort-Mardyck dialect.

Note, however, that the cladogram does give a clear visual representation of the close similarities between the ALF and ALPic realisations of the four control varieties. With the exception of Linselles, for which the realisations are much further removed, the two realisations for each location share the same nearest node in the cladogram. This gives additional confidence that tentative conclusions may be drawn from this study.

Two aspects of the cladogram in particular are problematic. Firstly, this representation forces binary splits. If there is a cluster of more than two varieties, it will attempt to break up the cluster into binary groups, sometimes based on very minimal evidence. This means that the cladogram may suggest that two varieties are clearly more related to each other than to another variety, when in reality they are more or less equidistant. The other problem with cladograms is that they do not indicate how closely or distantly related varieties on different branches are. Branch length in a cladogram is essentially meaningless.

A representation in a tree has neither of these problems. Figure 6.6 shows such a tree, calculated using the Neighbor Joining method (Saitou & Nei 1987). This method is believed to give the best results when the input data is a distance matrix like the phonetic similarity scores from this study (Nakhleh et al. 2005: 174).<sup>31</sup> In this tree, non-binary splits are allowed when the data does not suggest a binary split. Moreover, branch length is indicative of linguistic distance: the linguistic distance between two varieties is equal to the length of the route from one variety to the other along the branches of the tree. A scale for (decimal) similarity scores is provided in the figure.

A tree representation, however, is still not ideal. It forces varieties to be placed in specific clusters on specific branches of the tree, even when there may not be a great deal of evidence in favour of one grouping over another. In other words, it forces to commit to one reading of a complex situation, where other readings are also possible. All likely trees, that is all likely readings of the situation, can be combined into one graphic representation as a network, as shown in Figure 6.7. This network was drawn using Neighbor Net (Bryant & Moulton 2004), also used in the work of Heggarty c.s. (McMahon et al. 2007). As in the Neighbor Joining tree, branch length is meaningful. The linguistic distance between two varieties is the shortest distance between them along the branches of the network.

---

31) The Neighbor Joining method was also the basis for the cladogram in Figure 6.5.





**Figure 6.6**  
 Similarity between the varieties in the data set expressed as a Neighbor Joining tree.

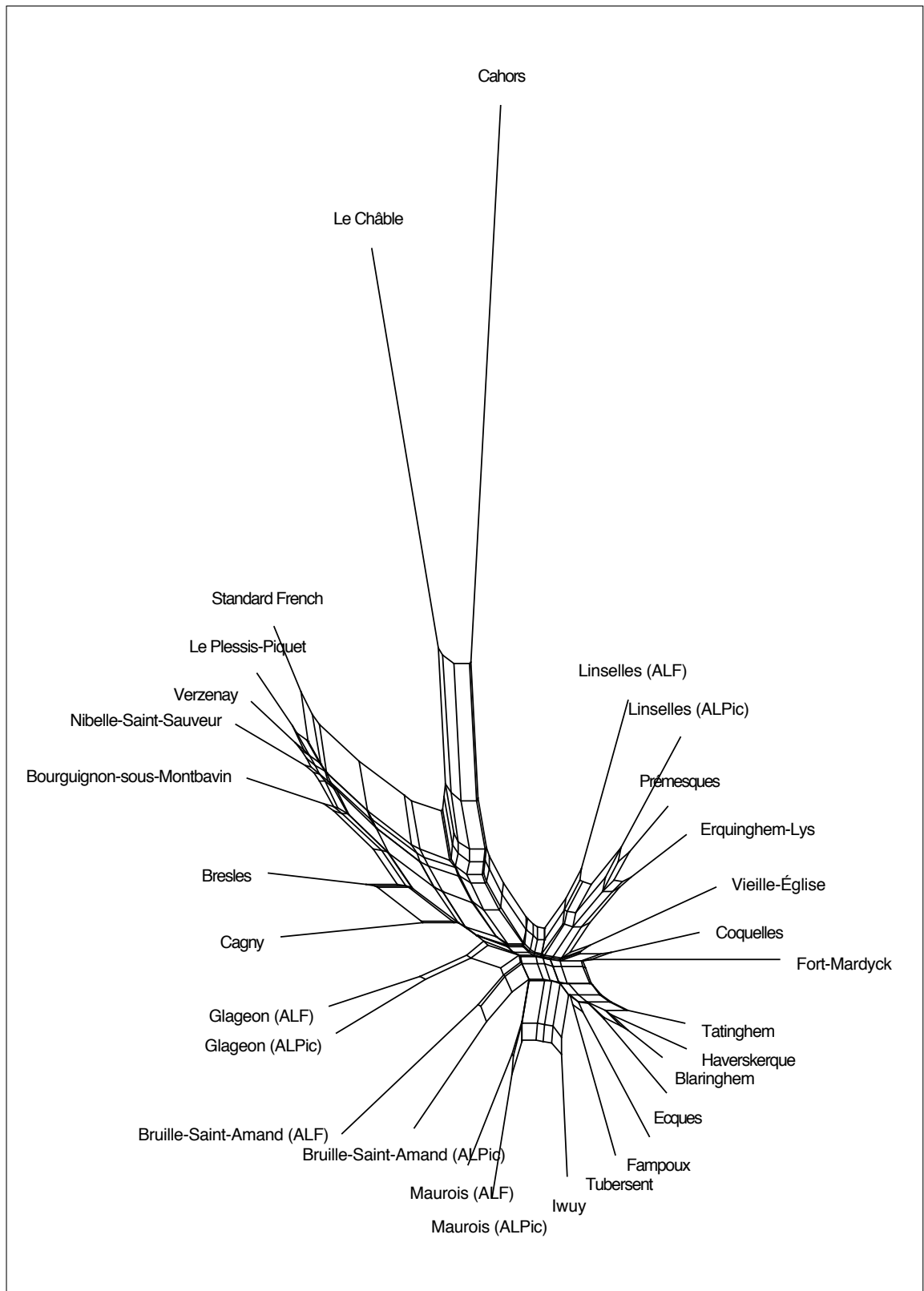
Because both grouping and distance indicate similarity in trees and networks, similar varieties are not only found in adjacent positions in a cluster, but also ‘across’ a network.

The Neighbor Joining tree in Figure 6.6 shows Fort-Mardyck on a branch with the varieties it was most similar to in the cladogram. However, the tree shows a three-way split on that branch and does not imply that Tubersent and Fampoux are more similar to Fort-Mardyck than the Tatinghem cluster is. Rather, the shorter branch lengths in that cluster indicate that these varieties are more similar to Fort-Mardyck. They also show that varieties within the cluster are very similar to each other.

The Tatinghem cluster has been placed adjacent to Fort-Mardyck in the network representation in Figure 6.7, giving a picture that is intuitively more in line with the similarity scores for Fort-Mardyck. However, it is important to remember that the main indication of similarity is branch length, and that the fact that similar varieties are often adjacent in a network is only a side-effect of this. In this respect, the network does not give any additional information to the tree representation.

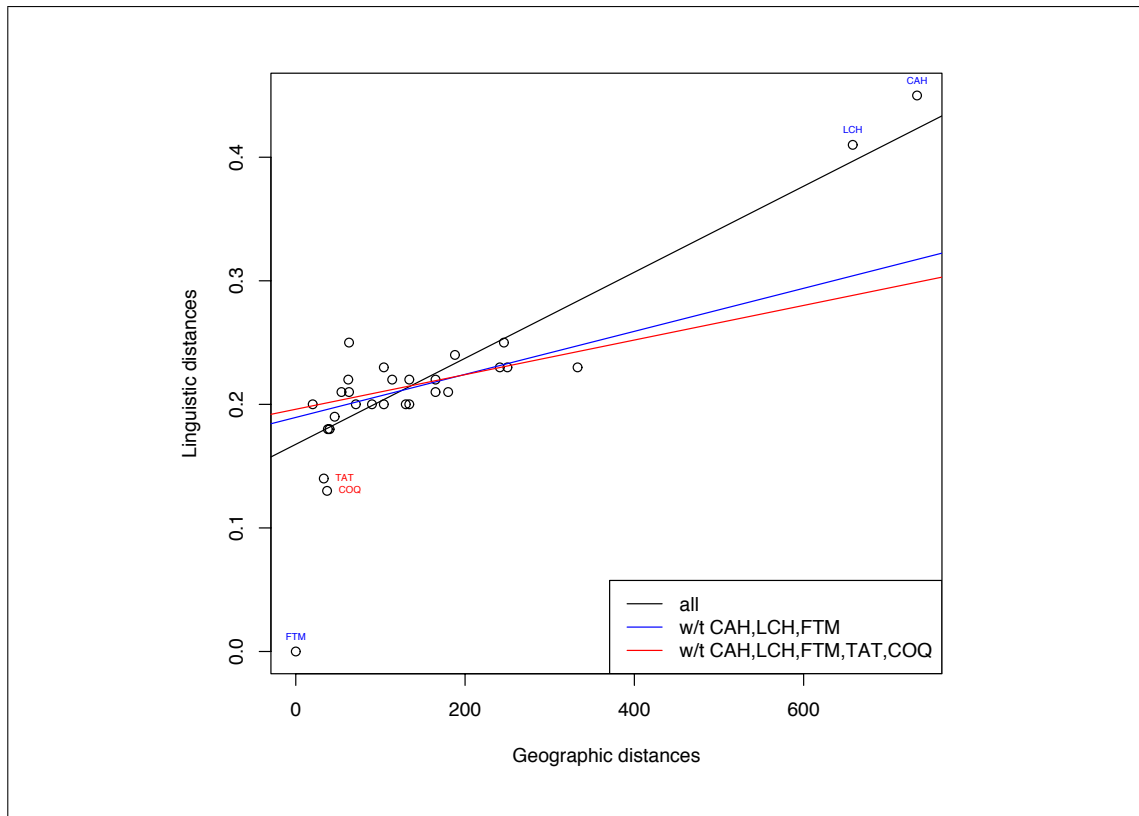
One of the most informative advantages of a network representation is that it clearly indicates major splits in the network. They are represented by a row of larger quadrilaterals. An example is the split that is visible between Maurois (ALPic) and Iwuy at the bottom of the network. In rough terms, this seems to represent a split between Eastern and Western varieties of Picard. Of particular interest here would be a split between more Picard-like and more Francien-like varieties, and the position of Fort-Mardyck in relation to such a split.

A series of larger quadrilaterals can be found in the upper left quarter of the diagram. Below this split we find varieties from the area covered in ALPic; the varieties above and to the left of the split are Francien varieties. Fort-Mardyck is clearly below and to the right of the split, and – if we assume that these quadrilaterals do indicate a Picard-Francien split – this characterises the variety as Picard. The similarities between Fort-Mardyck



**Figure 6.7**

Similarity between the varieties in the data set expressed as a network.



**Figure 6.8**

Correlation between geographical and linguistic distance to Fort-Mardyck.

and Cagny are reflected in the fact that Cagny is placed exactly at the bottom of this split, on the Picard side, although on the left-to-right dimension it is on the left side with the Francien varieties.

In order to see how Fort-Mardyck relates to other Picard varieties, I analysed the relationship between linguistic distance (the inverse of the values for linguistic similarity) and geographic distance.<sup>32</sup> Although there are many social and geographical factors that make a straightforward linear correlation between linguistic and geographic distance in a dialect continuum an unlikely illusion, the two distances in this data do in fact correlate extremely significantly (Mantel correlation:  $r = 0.912$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ), as shown in Figure 6.8.

However, the correlation is skewed by two obvious outliers, Le Châble and Cahors. Without these, the correlation is less strong ( $r = 0.68$ ) but still highly significant ( $p =$

32) I thank Dan Dediú for his help with the statistics in this section.

0.0018), as indicated by the blue line in Figure 6.8. Following this regression line, Le Châble and Cahors are linguistically more divergent than would be predicted from their geographical distance to Fort-Mardyck. Also this regression has two outliers, however: Tatinghem and Coquelles, linguistically the most similar to Fort-Mardyck, are in fact more similar to Fort-Mardyck than expected on the basis of their geographical location. Eliminating also these two varieties from the equation, the correlation between linguistic and geographical distance remains strong and highly significant ( $r = 0.575$ ,  $p = 0.0041$ ). This correlation is indicated in Figure 6.8 by a red line. This strong and significant correlation suggests that the dialect of Fort-Mardyck fits neatly onto the dialect continuum in the area.

#### *Qualitative analysis of Fort-Mardyck dialect data*

Thus far, the analysis has been purely quantitative and aimed at answering the question of how similar or different the dialect of Fort-Mardyck is to other Picard and French varieties. The quantitative analysis showed Fort-Mardyck as an unambiguously Picard variety. However, the similarity scores are based on a weighted average of 58 word scores per pair of varieties, and these averages can hide a significant amount of variation between individual words. In order to come to a more precise picture, and answer the question of how the Fort-Mardyck dialect compares to Picard and French, I will give a brief qualitative analysis of the dialect with regard to the typically Picard features from Pooley (2002: 38, see above).

Pooley first mentions **vocalic features** of Picard, beginning with the diphthongisation of /o/, as in *beau* [b<sup>œ</sup>o]. This feature seems to be mostly absent from Fort-Mardyck, with the only example of diphthongisation being in *était* [etwo:]. Some other tokens in this class also show a form of diphthongisation – *couteau* [kutjœ:<sup>u</sup>], *poireau* [porjœ:<sup>u</sup>], *trou* [tr<sup>ə</sup>œ:<sup>u</sup>], *veau* [vjø:<sup>w</sup>] – but in most of these cases, with the exception of *trou*, the diphthongal element is added after /o/ rather than in front. (The /j/ is unlikely to

|              | 1 |   |   | 2 |   |   | 3 |   | 4 |   |   | 5 |   | P |   |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|              | a | b | c | a | b | c | a | b | a | b | c | d | a |   | b |
| Picard       | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| French       | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Fort-Mardyck | - | + | ± | ± | ± | ± |   |   | + | + | + | + | - |   | ± |

**Table 6.12**

The occurrence of the typically Picard ‘Pooley features’ in the Fort-Mardyck data. Numbers refer to the discussion of Pooley features above, ‘P’ stands for lack of palatalisation.

correspond to the diphthongisation in Pooley’s list, because the lip rounding of [œ] is absent in [j].)

The second vocalic feature in Pooley’s list is the correspondence between Picard [ɛ̃] and French [ɑ̃]. Although the data only contains only few tokens in this category – *manger* [mɛ̃ʒ-], *cendres* [sɛ̃dʁ], *ensemble* [ɛ̃sɑ̃n] – Fort-Mardyck seems to pattern with Picard here.

A final Picard feature is the loss of nasalisation in words like *enfant* [afã]. Although in this particular word, Fort-Mardyck does show denasalisation [efã], it does not do so in many other words in the data set: *cendres* [sɛ̃dʁ], *champs* [kã], *charpentier* [karpɛ̃tje], and *pain* [pɛ̃ʝ]. However, extra nasalisation occurs in *chaîne* [ʃɛ̃n], *ensemble* [ɛ̃sã̃n] and *pigeon* [pɛ̃ʝõ̃], and this seemingly haphazard process may indicate a form of hypercorrection: speakers in Fort-Mardyck were faced with immigrants who spoke different dialects, some with denasalisation, others without, and failed to distil the correct patterns of nasalisation from this input.

Of Pooley’s vocalic features, then, the diphthongisation of /o/ seems to be absent from Fort-Mardyck, indicated with a ‘-’ in Table 6.12. When it comes to the [ɛ̃ ~ ɑ̃] correspondence, the dialect does show Picard features (a ‘+’ in the table), while with regard to nasalisation, it appears that Fort-Mardyck has taken the input from both French and Picard patterns (‘±’).

The first of the **consonantal features** Pooley mentions as typically Picard, is the correspondence between Picard [ʃ] and French [s]. In most of the data, Fort-Mardyck patterns with the French realisations: *cendres* [sɛ̃dʁ], *cimetière* [simetjɛ:ʁ], *faucille* [fusi], *génisse* [ʒeni:s], *herse* [ɛ:ʁs], *maçon* [masɔ̃] and *maison* [mazɔ̃n]. Only in *poisson* [piʃɔ̃] do we find [ʃ] corresponding to French [s]; it is worth noting that also the vowel [i] here is different from Standard French [wa].

Possibly more informative is the occurrence of the reverse pattern here: *chemise* [səmɪ:z] and *orage* [ORɪ:z]. This may be explained with reference to the absence of phonemic /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in Dutch (L1 interference) or, alternatively, as hypercorrection. The latter explanation would imply that speakers of the Fort-Mardyck dialect were aware of this difference between Picard and Standard French. However, his data alone cannot answer the question of whether it is the ALF informant that is hypercorrecting in these cases, or whether the forms with [s] and [z] are part of the dialect, in which case the hypercorrection occurred at an earlier stage.

Pooley's second consonantal feature is the absence of so-called *l mouillé* from Picard, i.e. the pronunciation of original /il/ as /j/. Fort-Mardyck appears to have this *l mouillé* in *aiguille* [agɥiːʃ], *faucille* [fusi], and *soleil* [sole]. Pronunciations with [l] do not occur, although pronunciations with [ʎ] as in *feuille* [føʎ] and *grenouille* [gɛʁnu:ʎ] may represent an intermediate stage.

Word-final consonant devoicing also appears to be mostly absent from Fort-Mardyck. The only example of this feature is *coude* [kœ:t]. The data set restricts our analysis of this feature, however. Word-final voiced fricatives occur, e.g. *chemise* [səmɪ:z], but word-final voiced plosives occur in the sample only when in an original consonant cluster: *arbres* [ɑ:b], *table* [ta:b]. It is difficult to discern any patterns of word-final consonant devoicing in Fort-Mardyck on the basis of this minimal data set.

The absence of palatalisation in words with original ⟨c⟩ or ⟨k⟩ also seems to be variable in the dialect. The original stops are preserved in *jarretières* [gɑrtʰje] and *vache* [vɑ:k], but we do find palatalisation in *cheval* [ʃeval], *génisse* [ʒeni:s], *chemise* [səmɪ:z], and – possibly an intermediate form – *chien* [tʃjẽ].

The occurrence of typically Picard consonantal features, even more so than vocalic features, is highly variable in the atlas data for Fort-Mardyck, as indicated with ‘±’ in Table 6.12. By contrast, the **morphosyntactic** features in Pooley’s list all occur with their Picard form in the dialect. In summary, these features are the *-ot* verb ending in the imperfectum (*était* [etwo:]), the possessive pronouns *min*, *sin* etc. (*son* [sẽ]), the personal pronouns *mi* (*moi* [mi:]) and *li* (*lui* [li:]), and metathesis in the iterative prefix *re-* [aR]. Of course, all these examples are based on a single elicitation, and may have been variable in use. The same is true for the use in Fort-Mardyck of the French negation particle *pas* [pa:] rather than the Picard *point*.

### *Concluding remarks*

In this section, I conducted a quantitative study of the Romance variety spoken in Fort-Mardyck in comparison to a number of other varieties of French and Picard. Data for the study was taken from two dialect atlases, ALF and ALPic. The fact that the data on which these atlases are based spans a period up to 80 years may be problematic, but a built-in control in the comparison using data for four localities from both atlases, suggests the effect is not so large as to be a major disruption to the findings.

The computational comparison showed that the Fort-Mardyck variety is phonetically most similar to the geographically closest varieties on the Northern periphery of the Picard speech area. Visualisations of the phonetic similarities between all 29 varieties in the study as a tree and as a network show that in addition, there are similarities between Fort-Mardyck and Tubersent, a more central Picard variety. The similarities to this variety in particular are interesting, as it served in the comparison as a proxy for the



dialects of Étaples and Cucq, two towns from which it is thought many migrants settled in Fort-Mardyck.

Despite the similarities to Tubersent and another central Picard variety, Cagny, a strong and highly significant correlation between geographic and linguistic distance from Fort-Mardyck suggests that Fort-Mardyck fits onto the Picard dialect continuum, and that the migrations did not cause a disruption of this continuum. One can ask, however, whether the small-distance migrations attested in the history of Fort-Mardyck and Dunkirk would cause such disruptions at all.

A brief qualitative analysis of the occurrence of Picard features in the Fort-Mardyck dialect shows that despite the variety's place on the Picard dialect continuum, there are many similarities with French (as opposed to Picard) that the quantitative analysis did not show. This is particularly the case for sound features, where both consonantal and vocalic similarities with French occur variably in the dialect; the morphosyntax appears to be more consistently Picard.

Both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis of the Fort-Mardyck dialect are synchronic, and can only inform us about linguistic similarity. They do not give any direct information about the diachronic development of the dialect, although the results do give some indications. For example, the similarities to nearby Picard varieties and to the dialects of migrants to the town suggest the dialect was acquired informally, although the presence of some standard features – especially the attested hypercorrections – suggest that there was some awareness of a Standard French, and of the differences between the Picard vernacular and the standard. A detailed history of the variety, however, cannot be written on the basis of this data alone.

## 6.4 Discussion

In the introduction to this chapter, I discussed a number of comments about the type of variety that minority language speakers shift towards when they abandon their language for the majority language. I suggested that the type of variety can tell us about the mechanisms of language acquisition, and also proposed to investigate a purported link between language shift and standardisation of the target variety that some authors have posited.

Both Shetland Scots and French Flemish French appear to stem from a mix of different inputs. In Shetland Scots, influences from three different Mainland Scots dialects can be identified in addition to substratum influence from Shetland Norn. The data on French Flemish showed similarities to both local Picard varieties and some standard French features. Because of the nature of atlas data, it was not possible to identify any influence from Dutch on this variety; even if similar data to the Shetland case was available, it would still be difficult to tease apart what was Picard and what was Dutch influence, as some of the Picard features correspond to phonotactic features in Dutch.

The occurrence of non-standard features suggest that the shifting population did not acquire their target language through formal education aimed at language learning. The successful application of Trudgill's model of new-dialect formation in the case of Shetland supports a reading of the history of the variety in which the population acquired Scots through face-to-face interaction with the Scottish immigrants. The synchronic data for Fort-Mardyck does not give any information about the origins of the variety, but the phonetic similarities to nearby dialects also suggest face-to-face acquisition.

Interestingly, the discussion on Shetland Scots and the qualitative analysis of Picard features in the Fort-Mardyck dialect suggest that morphosyntactic features in both dialects have monogenetic origins: there is no convincing evidence of Norn influence in the Shetland Scots morphosyntax, and the morphosyntax of Fort-Mardyck is exclusively

Picard. By contrast, the evidence for a mixture of different inputs is much clearer in the phonology. This suggests that morphosyntax is less likely to be influenced in a contact situation than phonology. As this difference is not reflected Thomason & Kaufman's borrowing scale (cf. above), the scale may need to be adapted, although further cross-linguistic research is needed before strong conclusions can be drawn.

There may not be a direct link between language shift and standardisation. Where Shetland Scots appears to be similar to a 'standard Scots', this can be explained by the model of new-dialect formation, through processes of simplification and the development of interdialect features. The development of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule in Shetland Scots is a case in point: from a highly variable input, the most locally marked features were removed, and the system was simplified to a gross common denominator. The Shetland SVLR system corresponds to an idealised version of the rule, but not to any of the individual input dialects. In this way, the new-dialect formation gave rise to a system similar to what could be arrived at through a standardisation process.

The dialect of Fort-Mardyck is also more similar to Standard French than any of the other peripheral Picard varieties: only the three south-central Picard varieties of Cagney, Bresles and Bourguignon-sous-Montbavin have a higher similarity score to Standard French than Fort-Mardyck (765/1000). Again, this quantitative analysis is only synchronic in nature; a process similar to that in Shetland, however, is not unthinkable. Some examples of hypercorrection – the over-application of phonological rules to change Picard realisations into French – do however suggest the awareness of a Standard French, and Standard French may in fact have been a target here, especially given the insistence of the local authorities on the use of French in certain domains.

Both case studies of Shetland Scots and French Flemish French suggest that the shifting population acquired their new language through personal interaction with speakers of that language. In the case of Shetland, these were immigrants from Mainland Scotland; in Fort-Mardyck they will have included immigrants as well as people from nearby villages. The

target varieties show a higher degree of standardisation than the input varieties, which may largely be due to the simplification of rules that takes place in long-term accommodation to a varying linguistic input. In French Flanders, more so than in Shetland, the presence of a standardised language may also have played a role.

The methodologies used were chosen because of the availability of different types of linguistic data for Shetland Scots and French Flemish French. It appears that the most informative methods for the research questions in this chapter – the historical development of the variety, its acquisition by the shifting minority population, and the links between language shift and standardisation – were qualitative rather than quantitative. Because in some cases, only quantifiable data is available, it necessary to develop ways in which contemporary quantitative-comparative data can be interpreted in a diachronic way, for example by doing both quantitative and qualitative studies of the same variety. If similar patterns occur in a range of case studies that are similar in their diachronic development, the development may be extrapolated from the contemporary patterning. Alternatively, different ways of presenting and analysing the quantitative data may be developed to expose more meaningful patterns with a diachronic interpretation.

# Conclusion

## Chapter 7

---

I began this thesis with a general intention to further our knowledge of the sociolinguistics of minority languages and language shift in Early Modern Europe. After a discussion of theories and methodologies for research into language shift, I gave a brief description of the social history of selected minority language groups in Early Modern Europe. Three of these were surveyed in more detail, using Edwards's (1992) model of ethnolinguistic vitality: speakers of Norn in Shetland, of Dutch in French Flanders, and of Sorbian in Lusatia (Germany).

The discussion of these three case studies led to three topics that I chose to look into in more depth: the influence of migration and demographic change on minority language groups, the influence of language policies on minority languages, and the nature of target varieties in language shift.

**Demographic change** was identified as an interesting topic because all three case studies showed a migration of majority-language speakers into the minority-language area. Studies on migration and language shift in modern settings, discussed in Chapter 4.2.2, have indicated that if the majority-language immigrant group is sizeable enough, and if they are well integrated with the minority-language population, for example through intermarriage, such demographic change can be a causal factor in language shift.

In order to chart the influence of demographic change, I analysed the integration of Scots-speaking immigrants in Shetland and of French-speaking immigrants in Dunkirk in French

Flanders. The analysis was based on the Shetland Register of Testaments 1611–1649 (Grant 1904) and a sample of marriage registers from Dunkirk 1647–1697, using names as a proxy for ethnicity and linguistic allegiance.

In both cases, the data show a high degree of intermarriage between immigrants and locals, although there is a significant preference for in-group marriage. Intermarriage with majority-language immigrants may have triggered a language shift in the local minority-language population. The differences between Shetland and Dunkirk in the strength and development of the bias towards in-group marriage may have been a factor in the rate of shift.

In addition to the integration of migrants in Dunkirk, I also analysed their origins. (The Shetland data did not allow for a similar analysis.) Immigration to Dunkirk was predominantly local, with migrants coming predominantly from within a 50 kilometre radius from the town. This catchment area includes French-majority as well as Dutch-majority locations, highlighting the role French is likely to have played in Dunkirk even before the language shift.

I then looked at **language policies**, since many commentaries on minority language shift in the Early Modern period highlight the existence of policies restricting the use of minority languages to the benefit of the majority language in the country in question. I surveyed the language legislation in Shetland, French Flanders and Lusatia, looking in particular at the intentions, implementation and effects of the language policies.

The language legislation was predominantly utilitarian, aimed at using the majority language in administrative domains and streamlining government. It was seldom aimed explicitly at forcing a language shift among the minority-language population; and even where it was, there were other, non-linguistic aims as well. The lack of a clearly implemented mechanism for language shift, however, caused these policies to be rather unsuccessful.

In the Scottish Highlands and in Lusatia, some policies of populating the minority-language area with majority-language speakers, for reasons of economic development as well as bringing ‘civilisation’ to the area, did have the intended linguistic consequences. These large-scale organised migrations changed social networks in the minority-language areas, much along the lines described for demographic change above, and could trigger language shift.

Finally, I investigated the nature of **target varieties** in language shift. The history of these varieties is interesting in itself, but the type of language may also inform us about mechanisms of language acquisition in shift: language education is associated with more formal, standardised varieties of language. I also set out to explore the connection between language shift and standardisation that is posited in some of the literature.

I first looked at the development of Shetland Scots. I combined theories of traditional dialectology, second-language interference, and new-dialect formation to hypothesise an adaptation of Trudgill’s (2004) model of new-dialect formation in which the input from both immigrant Scots varieties and Norn is acknowledged. I then apply this theory to features from the input varieties in order to find out whether new-dialect formation could have given rise to the Shetland Scots dialect.

The model is a satisfactory explanation for the development of Shetland Scots, particularly with regard to phonological features. This suggests Norn-speaking Shetlanders acquired Scots in face-to-face interaction with immigrant Scots; Scots and native Shetlanders together then developed the particular variety of Scots spoken in Shetland.

If features in Shetland Scots appear standardised, then this is an untargeted by-product of the koinéisation that takes place in the new-dialect formation. The lack of any formal education in Shetland would also mean language acquisition targeted at a standardised variety was an unlikely process.

I then looked at the Romance dialect spoken in French Flanders. In the absence of similar data to what was available for Shetland, I did a computational comparison (Heggarty et al. 2005) of phonetic data taken from dialect atlases (Gilliéron & Edmont 1902–1915; Carton 1989–1997) for various locations in the North of France. This analysis was supported by a brief qualitative comparison of a few salient features in Picard (Pooley 2002).

The analysis of the synchronic data suggested that the Flemish French dialect fits onto the Picard dialect continuum. The dialect is especially similar to dialects of areas from which migration to French Flanders is attested. This pattern suggests that also Flemish French was acquired by the Dutch-speaking local population in face-to-face interaction with French (or Picard) native-speaker interlocutors.

Because the atlas data is synchronic, it does not give any information about the way Flemish French originated in this interaction, but a process similar to the new-dialect formation in Shetland is conceivable also here. The fact that the data contains examples of hypercorrection of Standard French features suggests Flemish French speakers are aware of the standard; this may indicate elements of more formal language education.

In general, however, language acquisition in face-to-face interaction is the most likely mechanism of language shift in these two cases. The standardisation claimed to occur in target varieties can be explained through koinéisation; although signs of more formal language acquisition in French Flanders can be correlated with the presence of education there (opposed to a lack of significant education in Early Modern Shetland) and a stronger normative discourse about the standard language in France.

The essence of historical linguistic research is to bring together findings on social and linguistic history. The three studies on demographic change, language policies, and target varieties have been done largely in isolation. Together, they suggest that minority language shift in the Early Modern period was largely an organic process. The presence of majority-language speakers in individual minority-language speakers' social networks could trigger



a language shift; also the rate of language shift and the target variety in this shift are influenced by the presence of majority-language speakers in a person's social network. Prescription of the majority language and/or proscription of the minority language may not have been direct causal factors in a language shift, but may have directly or indirectly influenced the introduction of majority-language speakers in minority-language speakers' networks or the minority-language population's cultural or utilitarian views towards the immigrants.

### *Data and methodologies*

A frequent buzzword in the literature on historical sociolinguistics is '**bad data**' (Labov 1994; Nevalainen 1999). For a study on minority languages in particular, the limitations set by the badness of the data were a concern. However, my research has given more evidence for Spencer's (2000) claims that bad data need not be as bad as to be uninformative, and that as long as the research questions and methodologies are appropriate, making the most of the available data can be a worthwhile enterprise. It is essential to match research methodologies to the nature of the available data.

An example to illustrate this point are the two research methods used in Chapter 6. As very little primary data survives for Norn, and what survives may not correspond to the available documents in early Shetland Scots or 16th-century Mainland Scots dialects, it would be nearly impossible to do a phonetic comparison of Norn and Scots data. The descriptions of features of these varieties, generalisations over what is available, do however make it possible to apply traditional theories of dialect contact to this situation. Conversely, few descriptions of relevant varieties in Northern France are available to apply such theories to, but the available finegrained atlas data is suitable for phonetic comparison. Applying the wrong method to the data would not have given the results I have obtained in my study.

With regards to individual **methodologies** and their applicability to historical sociolinguistics, I have found that Edwards' model of ethnolinguistic vitality is fully applicable to

historical and diachronic research. Individual sections of the model may be more or less affected by the bad data problem, as discussed in Chapter 2.6.2, but the model is still an effective tool to ascertain a language's ethnolinguistic vitality and to identify the major factors influencing this vitality.

The statistical methods used in historical demography have previously been applied to historical data with considerable success, and also in my study produced results that could be interpreted in combination with our knowledge of the historical situation. I applied the methods to a particularly poor data set – the Shetland data contained just over 200 marriages – but also in that case, the results appeared to correlate well with other historical findings.

The traditional dialectological methods used descriptions of dialects that are generalisations over data that may have been less than ideal in certain domains. As these methods work with generalised patterns to begin with, they are not affected a great deal by the bad data problem. Only cases where there is hardly any data available at all pose a problem for traditional dialectology. An example of such a case is the BE perfect in Shetland; we have very little evidence of its historical development, and its origins therefore remain a mystery.

Computational comparison of language varieties has previously given interesting results that challenged assumptions about pre-history (such as Heggarty 2007, 2008). In contrast to Heggarty's lexical comparison, my study of Flemish French was a phonetic comparison. Its results did show some clear patterns, but where a lexical study makes clear suggestions about historical developments, it is more difficult to see how the phonetic similarities can be related to diachronic rather than synchronic affinity. As this method is currently still being refined, these issues may or may not be resolved in future.

*Further research*

As I noted when introducing the research questions for this thesis, the sociolinguistics of Early Modern European minority languages form a large and diverse field of study which it is impossible to cover fully within the scope of a single Ph.D. thesis. Naturally, therefore, although my thesis clarifies some important aspects of the sociolinguistics of this period, there remains significant scope for further research.

Firstly, some elements of my research could be investigated in more detail. The amount of extra information in the marriage registers from Dunkirk springs to mind here: the names of the witnesses to each could be used to reconstruct more fine-grained social networks, and paleographic detail in witnesses' signatures could inform us more about educational backgrounds. Similarly, whereas the theory of new-dialect formation was unable to explain the existence of BE perfects in Shetland Scots, a study into the diachronic appearance of this feature in Shetland Scots (dialect) texts could give more information about its origins and spread.

Secondly, the studies in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 could be replicated for other historical minority language communities. Since my research has only been minimally comparative, with two or three cases for each study, its conclusions could be strengthened by data from other situations. Alternatively, if those situations show different patterns, the differences in socio-historical backgrounds could suggest factors that influence minority language shift.

The recurring issues that I identified at the end of Chapter 3, but did not proceed to look at in more depth, could also offer alternative explanations for language shift. Especially an analysis of the portrayal of language attitudes in literature could add a significantly different type of evidence to this research, as well as possibly involve scholars from a different field.

McMahon & McMahon (2008: 265) call for a ‘new synthesis’ (after Renfrew 1999) of evidence from genetics, archaeology and linguistics in order to shed light on human pre-history. I repeat their call here in similar terms for historical sociolinguistics. Because the historical sociolinguist depends on data from various disciplines, the ‘bad data’ problem appears a significant threat. In reality, the strength of historical sociolinguistics lies in its interdisciplinarity: linguistic evidence can suggest answers where historical evidence is lacking, and vice versa. For this reason, cooperation between historians, (socio)linguists and other scholars remains absolutely imperative.

## References

---

- Abrams, D. M. & Strogatz, S. H. (2003). Modelling the dynamics of language death. *Nature* **424**. 900.
- Al-Wer, E. (2003). New dialect formation: the focusing of *-kum* in Amman. In Britain, D. & Cheshire, J. (eds.), *Social dialectology: in honour of Peter Trudgill*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins. 59–67.
- Allan, R., Holmes, P. & Lundskaer-Nielsen, T. (1995). *Danish: a comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Allardt, E. (1984). What constitutes a language minority? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* **5**. 195–205.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, P. (1996). Earl William to Earl Patrick: a survey of the history of Orkney and Shetland from 1468 to 1615. In Waugh, D. J. (ed.), *Shetland's Northern links: language & history*, Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies. 174–185.
- Auger, J. (2003). The development of a literary standard: the case of Picard in Vimeu-Ponthieu, France. In Joseph, B. D., DeStefano, J., Jacobs, N. G. & Lehiste, I. (eds.), *When languages collide: perspectives on language conflict, language competition, and language coexistence*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 141–164.
- Ayres-Bennett, W. (2004). *Sociolinguistic variation in seventeenth-century France: methodology and case studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baggioni, D. (1997). *Langues et nations en Europe*. Paris: Payot.
- Bahlcke, J. (1994). *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit: die Länder der böhmischen Krone im ersten Jahrhundert der Habsburgerherrschaft (1526–1619)*. München: Oldenbourg.
- Bahlcke, J. (2001). Die Oberlausitz: historischer Raum, Landesbewußtsein und Geschichtsschreibung vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. In Bahlcke, J. (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz: Herrschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag. 11–53.
- Bailey, G. (2002). Real and apparent time. In Chambers, J. K., Trudgill, P. & Schilling-Estes, N. (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, Oxford: Blackwell. 312–332.
- Baker, W. & Trofimovich, P. (2005). Interaction of native- and second-language vowel system(s) in early and late bilinguals. *Language and Speech* **48**. 1–27.
- Ballantyne, J. H. & Smith, B. (eds.) (1994). *Shetland documents 1580–1611*. Lerwick: Shetland Islands Council and Shetland Times.
- Ballantyne, J. H. & Smith, B. (eds.) (1999). *Shetland documents 1195–1579*. Lerwick: Shetland Islands Council and Shetland Times.
- Barbour, S. (2000). Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Luxembourg: the total coincidence of nations and speech communities? In Barbour, S. & Carmichael, C. (eds.), *Language and nationalism in Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 151–167.

- Barclay, R. S. (ed.) (1962). *The court book of Orkney and Shetland 1612–1613*. Kirkwall: Mackintosh.
- Barclay, R. S. (ed.) (1967). *The court book of Orkney and Shetland 1614–1615*. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- Barnes, M. P. (1984). Orkney and Shetland Norn. In Trudgill, P. (ed.), *Language in the British Isles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 352–366.
- Barnes, M. P. (1991). Reflections on the structure and demise of Orkney and Shetland Norn. In Ureland, P. S. & Broderick, G. (eds.), *Language contact in the British Isles: proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*, Tübingen: Niemeyer. 429–460.
- Barnes, M. P. (1998). *The Norn language of Orkney and Shetland*. Lerwick: Shetland Times.
- Barnes, M. P. (2004). Review of Matthew Townend, *Language and history in Viking England: linguistic relations between speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (Turnhout, 2003). *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* **28**. 129–134.
- Barnes, M. P. (2008). Review of Graeme Davis, *The Early English settlement of Orkney and Shetland* (Edinburgh, 2007). *The New Shetlander* **244**. 39–40.
- Battye, A., Hintze, M.-A. & Rowlett, P. (eds.) (2000). *The French language today: a linguistic introduction*. London: Routledge, 2nd edition.
- Baycroft, T. (2005). The Versailles settlement and identity in French Flanders. *Diplomacy and Statecraft* **16**. 589–602.
- Beal, J. (1997). Syntax and morphology. In Jones, C. (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 335–377.
- Bec, P. (1963). *La langue occitane*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Bell, D. A. (1996). Recent works on Early Modern French national identity. *Journal of Modern History* **68**. 84–113.
- Bellingham, R. A. (1990). The use of marriage horizons to measure migration: some conclusions from a study of Pocklington, East Yorkshire in the late eighteenth century. *Local Population Studies* **44**. 52–55.
- Berresford Ellis, P. (1971). *The story of the Cornish language*. Truro: Tor Mark Press.
- Berresford Ellis, P. (1974). *The Cornish language and its literature*. London, Boston: Routledge.
- Black, G. F. (1946). *The surnames of Scotland: their origin, meaning, and history*. New York: New York Public Library.
- Blanc, H. (1968). The Israeli koine as an emergent national standard. In Fishman, J. A., Ferguson, C. A. & Das Gupta, J. (eds.), *Language problems of developing nations*, New York: Wiley. 237–251.
- Blanchet, P. (2002). La politisation des langues régionales en France. *Hérodote* **105**. 85–101.
- Bond, Z. S., Stockmal, V. & Markus, D. (2006). Sixty years of bilingualism affects the pronunciation of Latvian vowels. *Language Variation and Change* **18**. 165–177.
- Boulard, G. (1999). L'ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts: le temps de la clarté et la stratégie du temps (1539–1992). *Revue historique* **609**. 45–100.
- Bourhis, R., Giles, H. & Rosenthal, D. (1981). Notes on the construction of a “subjective vitality questionnaire” for ethnolinguistic groups. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* **2**. 145–155.

- Brankač, J. & Mětsk, F. (eds.) (1977). *Geschichte der Sorben. Band 1: Von den Anfängen bis 1789*. Bautzen: Domowina.
- Bree, C. van (2001). “Stadtfriesisch” und andere nichtfriesische Dialekte der Provinz Fryslân. In Munske, H. H. (ed.), *Handbuch des Friesischen*, Tübingen: Niemeyer. 129–138.
- Brennan, G. (2001). Language and nationality: the role of policy towards Celtic languages in the consolidation of Tudor power. *Nations and Nationalism* **7**. 317–338.
- Briggs, R. (1999). Embattled faiths: religion and natural philosophy in the seventeenth century. In Cameron, E. (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: an Oxford history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 171–205.
- Britain, D. (1997). Dialect contact, focusing and phonological rule complexity: the koineisation of Fenland English. *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* **4**. 141–169.
- Broderick, G. (1999). *Language death in the Isle of Man: an investigation into the decline and extinction of Manx Gaelic as a community language in the Isle of Man*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Brown, C. (2000). The interrelation between speech perception and phonological acquisition from infant to adult. In Archibald, J. (ed.), *Second language acquisition and linguistic theory*, Oxford: Blackwell. 4–63.
- Brun, A. (1951). “En langage maternel français”. *Le français moderne* **19**. 81–86.
- Bryant, D. & Moulton, V. (2004). NeighbourNet: an agglomerative algorithm for the construction of planar phylogenetic networks. *Molecular Biology and Evolution* **21**. 255–265.
- Bullock, B. E. & Gerfen, C. (2004). Phonological convergence in a contracting language variety. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* **7**. 95–104.
- Burgess, B. (2007). Observations on the extent to which vocabulary is being weakened, eroded or lost in the dialect of Shetland. Undergraduate dissertation, University of Edinburgh.
- Burke, P. (2004). *Languages and communities in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cabantous, A. (ed.) (1983). *Histoire de Dunkerque*. Toulouse: Privat.
- Cameron, E. (1999a). Editor’s introduction. In Cameron, E. (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: an Oxford history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. xvii–xxxi.
- Cameron, E. (1999b). The power of the word: Renaissance and Reformation. In Cameron, E. (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: an Oxford history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 63–101.
- Campbell, J. L. (1954). The Norse language in Orkney in 1725. *Scottish Historical Review* **33**. 175.
- Campbell, L. (1994). Language death. In Asher, R. E. (ed.), *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, Oxford: Pergamon. vol. 4, 1960–1968.
- Campbell, L. & Muntzel, M. C. (1989). The structural consequences of language death. In Dorian, N. C. (ed.), *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 181–196.
- Caramazza, A., Yeni-Komshian, G. H., Zurif, E. B. & Carbone, E. (1973). The acquisition of a new phonological contrast: the case of stop consonants in French-English bilinguals. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* **54**. 421–428.
- Carton, F. (ed.) (1989–1997). *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique picard*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

- Catford, J. C. (1957a). Shetland dialect. *Shetland Folk Book* **3**. 71–76.
- Catford, J. C. (1957b). Vowel-systems of Scots dialects. *Transactions of the Philological Society* **56**. 107–117.
- Chambers, J. K. (1992). Dialect acquisition. *Language* **68**. 673–705.
- Chambers, J. K. (2002). Patterns of variation including change. In Chambers, J. K., Trudgill, P. & Schilling-Estes, N. (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, Oxford: Blackwell. 349–372.
- Clausén, U. (1978). *Nyord i färöiskan: ett bidrag till belysning av språksituationen på Färöarna*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Clyde, J. A. (ed.) (1937). *Hope's Major Practicks 1608–1633*, vol. 1. Edinburgh: Stair Society.
- Coetsem, F. van (1988). *Loan phonology and the two transfer types in language contact*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Cohen, P. (2003). Linguistic policies on the periphery: Louis XIII, Béarn, and the making of French as an official language in Early Modern France. In Joseph, B. D., DeStefano, J., Jacobs, N. G. & Lehiste, I. (eds.), *When languages collide: perspectives on language conflict, language competition, and language coexistence*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 165–200.
- Coornaert, É. (1970). *La Flandre française de langue flamande*. Paris: Éditions Ouvrières.
- Crawford, B. E. (1967–1968). The Earldom of Orkney and Lordship of Shetland: a reinterpretation of their pledging to Scotland in 1468–70. *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* **17**. 156–176.
- Crawford, B. E. (1977). The fifteenth-century “Genealogy of the Earls of Orkney” and its reflection of the contemporary political and cultural situation in the earldom. *Mediaeval Scandinavia* **10**. 156–178.
- Cressy, D. (1977). Literacy in seventeenth-century England: more evidence. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* **8**. 141–150.
- Davis, G. (2007). *The Early English settlement of Orkney and Shetland*. Edinburgh: Donald.
- Davis, G. (2008). A response to Michael Barnes. *The New Shetlander* **245**. 43–44.
- Dawson, A. (2006). *Variation phonologique et cohésion dialectale en picard: vers une théorie des correspondances dialectales*. Ph.D. thesis, Université de Toulouse II - Le Mirail, Toulouse.
- Debrabandere, F. (2003). *Woordenboek van de familienamen in België en Noord-Frankrijk*. Amsterdam, Antwerpen: Veen.
- Dennison, W. T. (1880). *The Orcadian sketch-book, being traits of Orkney life written partly in the Orkney dialect*. Kirkwall: Peace.
- Devitt, A. J. (1991). *Standardizing written English: diffusion in the case of Scotland 1520–1659*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donaldson, G. (ed.) (1954). *The court book of Shetland, 1602–1604*. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society.
- Donaldson, G. (1958). *Shetland life under Earl Patrick*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
- Donaldson, G. (1983). The Scots settlement in Shetland. In Withrington, D. J. (ed.), *Shetland and the outside world 1469–1969*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 8–19.
- Donaldson, G. (1984). Problems of sovereignty and law in Orkney and Shetland. In Sellar, D. (ed.), *The Stair Society: Miscellany Two*, Edinburgh: Stair Society. 13–40.



- Donaldson, G. (ed.) (1991). *Court book of Shetland, 1615–1629*. Lerwick: Shetland Library.
- Dunk, T. von der (2005). *Buren? Een alternatieve geschiedenis van Nederland/Duitsland*. Amsterdam: Veen.
- Durham, M. & Smith, J. (2007). *Be perfect: “Something I’m no seen afore”*. Poster presented at NWA 36, University of Pennsylvania.
- Daae, L. (1953). About contacts between the Orkneys and Shetland and the motherland Norway after 1468 (1895). In Tait, E. R. (ed.), *Two translations from the Dano-Norwegian*, Lerwick. 3–16.
- Eckhardt, E. (1911). *Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren englischen Dramas. Vol. 2: Die Ausländertypen*. Leuven: Uystpruyst.
- Edwards, J. (1992). Sociopolitical aspects of language maintenance and loss: towards a typology of minority language situation. In Fase, W., Jaspaert, K. & Kroon, S. (eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 37–54.
- Edwards, J. (2006). Players and power in minority-group settings. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 27. 4–21.
- Ehala, M. (2005). The role of MTE in language maintenance and developing multiple identities. In Kiefer, S. & Sallamaa, K. (eds.), *European identities in mother tongue education: texts from the EUDORA Intensive Programme MTE during the summer school in Tolmin, Slovenia, 2004*, Linz: Trauer. 36–49.
- Ehala, M. (forthcoming 2008). An evaluation matrix for ethnolinguistic vitality. In Pertot, S., Priestly, T. M. S. & Williams, C. H. (eds.), *Rights, promotion and integration issues for minority languages in Europe*, Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 201–217.
- Ehala, M. & Niglas, K. (2007). Empirical evaluation of a mathematical model of ethnolinguistic vitality: the case of Võro. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 28. 427–444.
- Eloy, J.-M. (1994). La langue française, objet de politique linguistique. *The French Review* 67. 403–414.
- Ermakova, M. I. (1987). Problems of development of the Sorbian language in context with the specific character of the historical development of the Sorbs. In Kasper, M. (ed.), *Language and culture of the Lusatian Sorbs throughout their history*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 48–68.
- Feitsma, A. (1973). Die Stellung des westerlauwerschen Friesischen bis zum Jahre 1700. In Meijering, H. D. (ed.), *The position of the old, relatively less influential vernaculars in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Ljouwert (Leeuwarden): Ynteruniversitaire Stúdzjerie Frysk. 69–73.
- Feitsma, A. (1990). The Reformation and the vernacular. In Gorter, D., Hoekstra, J. F., Jansma, L. G. & Ytsma, J. (eds.), *Fourth international conference on minority languages*, Clevedon and Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters. vol. 2, 1–10.
- Fellows-Jensen, G. (1968). *Scandinavian personal names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*. København: Akademisk forlag.
- Fenton, A. (1968–1969). The tabu language of the fishermen of Orkney and Shetland. *Ethnologia Europaea* 2–3. 118–122.
- Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *Word* 15. 325–340.
- Fiorelli, P. (1950). Pour l’interprétation de l’ordonnance de Villers-Cotterets. *Le français moderne* 18. 277–288.

- Fishman, J. A. (1966). Language maintenance in a supra-ethnic age: summary and conclusions. In Fishman, J. A. (ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States: the maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups*, Den Haag: Mouton. 392–411.
- Fishman, J. A. (1972). The sociology of language: an interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society. In Fishman, J. A. (ed.), *Advances in the sociology of language*, Den Haag: Mouton. vol. 1, 217–380.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (1993). Reversing language shift: successes, failures, doubts, and dilemmas. In Jahr, E. H. (ed.), *Language conflict and language planning*, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 69–82.
- Fishman, J. A. (2008). Rethinking the *Ausbau–Abstand* dichotomy into a continuous and multivariate system. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* **191**. 17–26.
- Flege, J. E., Schirru, C. & MacKay, I. R. A. (2003). Interaction between the native and second language phonetic subsystems. *Speech Communication* **40**. 467–491.
- Fleischman, S. (2000). Methodologies and ideologies in historical linguistics: on working with older languages. In Herring, S. C., van Reenen, P. & Schøsler, L. (eds.), *Textual parameters in older languages*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins. 33–58.
- Flinn, M. (ed.) (1977). *Scottish population history: from the 17th century to the 1930s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flom, G. T. (1928–1929). The transition from Norse to Lowland Scotch in Shetland, 1650–1800: a study in the decay of one language and its influence upon the language that supplanted it. *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* **10**. 145–164.
- Fought, C. (2002). Ethnicity. In Chambers, J. K. (ed.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, Oxford: Blackwell. 444–472.
- Fought, C. (2003). *Chicano English in context*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Friedland, K. (1983). Hanseatic merchants and their trade with Shetland. In Withrington, D. J. (ed.), *Shetland and the outside world 1469–1969*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 86–95.
- Gal, S. (1979). *Language shift: social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.
- Garner, M. (2004). *Language: an ecological view*. Bern: Lang.
- Gellner, E. (1997). *Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- George, K. (1993). Cornish. In Ball, M. J. & Fife, J. (eds.), *The Celtic languages*, London: Routledge. 410–468.
- Gernentz, H. J. (1973). Das Vordringen des Hochdeutschen in Norddeutschland: ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der deutschen Hochsprache. In Meijering, H. D. (ed.), *The position of the old, relatively less influential vernaculars in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Ljouwert (Leeuwarden): Ynteruniversitaire Stúdzjerie Frysk. 57–68.
- Giacalone Ramat, A. (1983). Language shift and language death: a review of Nancy C. Dorian, *Language death* and Susan Gal, *Language shift*. *Folia Linguistica* **27**. 495–507.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y. & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In Giles, H. (ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*, London: Academic Press. 307–348.
- Gilliéron, J. & Edmont, E. (eds.) (1902–1915). *Atlas linguistique de la France*. Paris.

- Glaser, K. (2007). *Minority languages and cultural diversity in Europe: Gaelic and Sorbian perspectives*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Glück, H. (2002). *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.
- Goris, J.-M. (2004). La francisation à Dunkerque du temps de Jean Bart. *Revue historique de Dunkerque et du littoral* **37**. 331–344.
- Görlach, M. (1990). Scots and Low German: the social history of two minority languages. In Görlach, M. (ed.), *Studies in the history of English*, Heidelberg: Winter. 144–162.
- Görlach, M. (2002). *A textual history of Scots*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Govindasamy, S. & Nambiar, M. (2003). Social networks: applicability to minority communities in multilingual settings. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* **161**. 25–45.
- Graham, J. J. (1998). *A vehement thirst after knowledge: four centuries of education in Shetland*. Lerwick: Shetland Times.
- Grant, F. J. (ed.) (1904). *Commisariat Record of Orkney and Shetland: Register of Testaments*. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society.
- Grenoble, L. & Whaley, L. J. (1998). Toward a typology of language endangerment. In Grenoble, L. & Whaley, L. J. (eds.), *Endangered languages: language loss and community response*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 22–54.
- Grevet, R. (1991). *École, pouvoirs et société (fin XVIIe siècle–1815): Artois, Boulonnais/Pas-de-Calais*. Lille: Université Lille III.
- Grillo, R. D. (1989). *Dominant languages: language and hierarchy in Britain and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guion, S. G. (2003). The vowel systems of Quichua-Spanish bilinguals: age of acquisition effects on the mutual influence of the first and second languages. *Phonetica* **60**. 98–128.
- Gunn, S. (1999). War, religion, and the state. In Cameron, E. (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: an Oxford history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 102–133.
- Gysseling, M. (1972). De verfransing in Noord-Frankrijk. *Naamkunde* **4**. 53–70.
- Hagen, L. K. (2008a). The bilingual brain: human evolution and second language acquisition. *Evolutionary Psychology* **6**. 43–63.
- Hagen, L. K. (2008b). Hagen replies to Hirschfeld (2008). *Evolutionary Psychology* **6**. 186–189.
- Hampson, N. (1999). The Enlightenment. In Cameron, E. (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: an Oxford history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 265–297.
- Haspelmath, M., Dryer, M. S., Gil, D. & Comrie, B. (eds.) (2005). *The world atlas of language structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haugen, E. (1972). The ecology of language. In Dil, A. S. (ed.), *The ecology of language: essays by Einar Haugen*, Stanford: Stanford University Press. 325–339.
- Heeringa, W. J. (2004). *Measuring dialect pronunciation differences using Levenshtein distance*. Ph.D. thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen.
- Heggarty, P. (2007). Linguistics for archeologists: principles, methods and the case of the Incas. *Cambridge Archeological Journal* **17**. 311–340.
- Heggarty, P. (2008). Linguistics for archaeologists: a case-study in the Andes. *Cambridge Archeological Journal* **18**. 35–56.
- Heggarty, P., McMahon, A. M. S. & McMahon, R. (2005). From phonetic similarity to dialect classification: a principled approach. In Delbecq, N., Auwera, J. van der &

- Geeraerts, D. (eds.), *Perspectives on variation: sociolinguistic, historical, comparative*, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 43–91.
- Henry, L. (1953). Une richesse démographique en friche: les registres paroissiaux. *Population [French edition]* **8**. 281–290.
- Hermann Pálsson (1993). Norse personal names in early Shetland. In Cheape, H. (ed.), *Tools and traditions: studies in European ethnology presented to Alexander Fenton*, Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland. 247–255.
- Hinskens, F. (2001). Koine formation and creole genesis: remarks on Jeff Siegel’s contribution. In Smith, N. & Veenstra, T. (eds.), *Creolization and contact*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 199–218.
- Hirschfeld, L. A. (2008). The bilingual brain revisited: a comment on Hagen (2008). *Evolutionary Psychology* **6**. 182–185.
- Hoekstra, E. (2003). Frisian: standardization in progress of a language in decay. In Deumert, A. & Vandenbussche, W. (eds.), *Germanic standardizations: past to present*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 193–209.
- Houston, R. A. (1982). The development of literacy: Northern England, 1640–1750. *The Economic History Review* **35**. 199–216.
- Houston, R. A. (1999). Colonies, enterprises, and wealth: the economies of Europe and the wider world in the seventeenth century. In Cameron, E. (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: an Oxford history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 137–170.
- Houston, R. A. (2003). “Lesser-used” languages in historic Europe: models of change from the 16th to the 19th centuries. *European Review* **11**. 299–324.
- Houston, R. A. (2005). “Minority” languages and cultural change in Early Modern Europe. In Ó Ciosáin, N. (ed.), *Explaining change in cultural history*, Dublin: University College Dublin Press. 13–36.
- Howell, R. B. (2006). Immigration and koineisation: the formation of Early Modern Dutch urban vernaculars. *Transactions of the Philological Society* **104**. 207–227.
- Hudson, R. A. (1996). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hulsen, M., Bot, K. de & Weltens, B. (2002). “Between two worlds”: social networks, language shift, and language processing in three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* **153**. 27–52.
- Humphreys, H. L. (1993). The Breton language: its present position and historical background. In Ball, M. J. & Fife, J. (eds.), *The Celtic languages*, London: Routledge. 606–643.
- Hunter, A. (1985). Marriage horizons and seasonality: a comparison. *Local Population Studies* **35**. 38–42.
- Huson, D. H. & Bryant, D. (2006). Application of phylogenetic networks in evolutionary studies. *Molecular Biology and Evolution* **23**. 254–267.
- Hyltenstam, K. & Stroud, C. (1991). *Språkbyte och språkbevarande: om samiskan och andre minoritetsspråk*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Hægstad, M. (1900). *Hildinakvadet, med utgreiding um det norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid*. Christiania: Dybwad.
- Höskuldur Thráinsson, Petersen, H. P., í Lon Jacobsen, J. & Hansen, Z. S. (eds.) (2004). *Faroese: an overview and reference grammar*. Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.
- Imhof, A. E. (1977). Historical demography as social history: possibilities in Germany. *Journal of Family History* **2**. 305–332.

- Jahr, E. H. (1995). Nedertysk og nordisk: språksamfunn og språkkontakt i Hansa-tida. In *Nordisk og nedertysk: språkkontakt og språkutvikling i norden i seinmellomalderen*, Oslo: Novus. 9–28.
- Jakobsen, J. (1897). *The dialect and place-names of Shetland: two popular lectures*. Lerwick: Manson.
- Jakobsen, J. (1921). *Etymologisk ordbog over det norrøne sprog paa Shetland*. København: Prior.
- Jakobsen, J. (1928–1932). *An etymological dictionary of the Norn language in Shetland*. London: Nutt.
- Jakobsen, J. (1957). Nøkur orð um Hetlands søgu. *Varðin* 32. 18–27.
- Jenkins, G. H., Suggett, R. & White, E. M. (1997). The Welsh language in Early Modern Wales. In Jenkins, G. H. (ed.), *The Welsh language before the Industrial Revolution*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 45–122.
- Jenner, H. (1904). *A handbook of the Cornish language chiefly in its latest stages with some account of its history and literature*. London: Nutt.
- Johnston, P. (1997a). Older Scots phonology and its regional variation. In Jones, C. (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 47–111.
- Johnston, P. (1997b). Regional variation. In Jones, C. (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 433–513.
- Jones, C. (2002). *The English language in Scotland: an introduction to Scots*. East Linton: Tuckwell.
- Jones, R. O. (1993). The sociolinguistics of Welsh. In Ball, M. J. & Fife, J. (eds.), *The celtic languages*, London: Routledge. 536–605.
- Judge, A. (2000). France: “One state, one nation, one language”? In Barbour, S. & Carmichael, C. (eds.), *Language and nationalism in Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 44–82.
- Kersken, N. (2001). Die Oberlausitz von der Gründung des Sechsstädtebundes bis zum Übergang an das Kurfürstentum Sachsen (1346–1635). In Bahlcke, J. (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz: Herrschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag. 99–141.
- Kerswill, P. (2002). Koineization and accommodation. In Chambers, J. K., Trudgill, P. & Schilling-Estes, N. (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, Oxford: Blackwell. 669–702.
- Kibbee, D. A. (2002). Growing pains: territorial expansion and language policy in France from Villers-Cotterêts to the Revolution. In Sampson, R. & Ayres-Bennett, W. (eds.), *Interpreting the history of French: a Festschrift for Peter Rickard on the occasion of his eightieth birthday*, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 313–328.
- King, A. (1997). The inflectional morphology of Older Scots. In Jones, C. (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 156–181.
- Kloss, H. (1966). German-American language maintenance efforts. In Fishman, J. A. (ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States: the maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups*, Den Haag: Mouton. 206–252.
- Kloss, H. (1967). “Abstand languages” and “Ausbau languages”. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9. 29–41.

- Kniezsa, V. (1997). The origins of Scots orthography. In Jones, C. (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 24–46.
- Knooihuizen, R. (2005a). The death of Norn: a study into the decline of the Scandinavian vernacular of Orkney and Shetland. M.Sc. dissertation, University of Edinburgh.
- Knooihuizen, R. (2005b). The Norn-to-Scots language shift: another look at socio-historical evidence. *Northern Studies* **39**. 105–117.
- Knooihuizen, R. (2008a). Fishing for words: the taboo language of Shetland fishermen and the dating of Norn language death. *Transactions of the Philological Society* **106**. 100–113.
- Knooihuizen, R. (2008b). Inter-ethnic marriage patterns in late sixteenth-century Shetland. *Local Population Studies* **80**. 22–38.
- Kortmann, B. (2006). Syntactic variation in English: a global perspective. In Aarts, B. & McMahon, A. M. S. (eds.), *The handbook of English linguistics*, Oxford: Blackwell. 603–624.
- Kries, S. (2003). *Skandinavisch-schottische Sprachbeziehungen im Mittelalter: der altnordische Lehneinfluss*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.
- Kunze, P. (1993). Aus der Geschichte der Lausitzer Sorben. In Scholze, D. (ed.), *Die Sorben in Deutschland (Serbja w Němskej): sieben Kapitel Kulturgeschichte*, Bautzen: Lusatia-Verlag. 7–55.
- Kunze, P. (1999). Zur brandenburgisch-preußischen Sorben-(Wenden)-Politik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. *Lětopis* **46**. 3–15.
- Kunze, P. (2001). Geschichte und Kultur der Sorben in der Oberlausitz: ein kulturgeschichtlicher Abriss. In Bahlcke, J. (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz: Herrschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag. 167–314.
- Kytö, M. (1997). *Belhave* + past participle: the choice of the auxiliary with intransitives from Late Middle to Modern English. In Rissanen, M., Kytö, M. & Heikkonen, K. (eds.), *English in transition: corpus-based studies in linguistic variation and genre styles*, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 17–85.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. (1994). *Principles of linguistic change. Volume 1: Internal factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Labov, W. (2007). Transmission and diffusion. *Language* **83**. 344–387.
- LaCharité, D. & Paradis, C. (2005). Category preservation and proximity versus phonetic approximation in loanword adaptation. *Linguistic Inquiry* **36**. 233–258.
- Lafont, R. (1973). La double poussée de la conscience occitane au XVIème siècle. In Meijering, H. D. (ed.), *The position of the old, relatively less influential vernaculars in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Ljouwert (Leeuwarden): Ynteruniversitaire Stúdzjerie Frysk. 33–43.
- Lambin, J. M. (1980). *Quand le Nord devenait français (1635–1713)*. Paris: Fayard.
- Landrecies, J. (2001). Une configuration inédite: la triangulaire français-flamand-picard à Roubaix au début du XXe siècle. *Langage et société* **97**. 27–69.
- Landry, R. & Allard, R. (1994). Diglossia, ethnolinguistic vitality, and language behaviour. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* **108**. 15–42.
- Langer, N. (2003). Low German. In Deumert, A. & Vandenbussche, W. (eds.), *Germanic standardizations: past to present*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 281–301.

- Lass, R. (1997). *Historical linguistics and language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lemerrier, C. & Rosental, P.-A. (2000). "Pays" ruraux et découpage de l'espace: les réseaux migratoires dans la région lilloise au milieu du XIXe siècle. *Population [French edition]* **55**. 691–726.
- Levine, G. J. (1988). Class, ethnicity and property transfers in Montreal, 1907–1909. *Journal of Historical Geography* **14**. 360–380.
- Leyden, K. van (2002). The relationship between vowel and consonant duration in Orkney and Shetland dialects. *Phonetica* **59**. 1–19.
- Leyden, K. van (2004). *Prosodic characteristics of Orkney and Shetland dialects: an experimental approach*. Utrecht: Landelijke Onderzoekschool Taalwetenschap.
- Leyden, K. van & Heuven, V. J. van (2006). On the prosody of Orkney and Shetland dialects. *Phonetica* **63**. 149–174.
- Lippi-Green, R. (1994). *Language ideology and language change in Early Modern German: a sociolinguistic study of the consonantal system of Nuremberg*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lockwood, W. B. (1955). Word taboo in the language of the Faroese fishermen. *Transactions of the Philological Society* **54**. 1–24.
- Lomas, K. (2002). The polis in Italy: ethnicity, colonization, and citizenship in the Western Mediterranean. In Brock, R. & Hodkinson, S. (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: varieties of political organization and community in Ancient Greece*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 167–185.
- Lorentz, O. (1996). Length and correspondence in Scandinavian. *Nordlyd* **24**. 111–128.
- Lottin, A. & Guignet, P. (2006). *Histoire des provinces françaises du nord: de Charles Quint à la Révolution française (1500–1789)*. Arras: Artois Presses Université.
- Low, G. (1879). *A tour through the islands of Orkney and Schetland containing hints relative to their ancient, modern and natural history, collected in 1774*. Kirkwall: Peace.
- Mac Giolla Chríost, D. (2005). *The Irish language in Ireland: from Goídel to globalisation*. London, New York: Routledge.
- MacKay, I. R. A., Flege, J. E., Piske, T. & Schirru, C. (2001). Category restructuring during second-language speech acquisition. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* **110**. 516–528.
- Mackey, W. F. (1980). The ecology of language shift. In Nelde, P. H. (ed.), *Sprachkontakt und Sprachkonflikt*, Wiesbaden: Steiner. 35–41.
- Mackey, W. F. (2003). Forecasting the fate of languages. In Maurais, J. & Morris, M. A. (eds.), *Languages in a globalising world*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 64–81.
- MacKinnon, K. (1991). *Gaelic: a past & future prospect*. Edinburgh: Saltire Society.
- MacKinnon, K. (2006). Migration, family and education in Gaelic policy perspective. <http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/celtic/poileasaidh/migration-family-education-Holyrood.pdf>.
- Major, R. C. (1992). Losing English as a first language. *Modern Language Journal* **76**. 190–208.
- Manson, T. M. Y. (1983). Shetland in the sixteenth century. In Cowan, I. B. & Shaw, D. (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press. 200–213.

- Marshall, J. (2000). Testing social network theory in a rural setting. *Reading Working Papers in Linguistics* 4. 123–174.
- Martel, P. (2001). Autour de Villers-Cotterêts: histoire d'un débat. *Lengas* 49. 7–25.
- Martineau, F. (2005). Perspectives sur le changement linguistique: aux sources du français canadien. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics (Revue canadienne de linguistique)* 50. 173–213.
- Marwick, H. (1929). *The Orkney Norn*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Mateos, P. (2007). *An ontology of ethnicity based on personal names: with implications for neighbourhood profiling*. Ph.D. thesis, University College London, London.
- Mather, J. Y. & Speitel, H. H. (eds.) (1986). *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland. Volume III: Phonology*. London: Croom Helm.
- McLeod, W. (2003). Language politics and ethnolinguistic consciousness in Scottish Gaelic poetry. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 21. 91–146.
- McMahon, A. M. S. (1994). *Understanding language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McMahon, A. M. S., Heggarty, P., McMahon, R. & Maguire, W. (2007). The sound patterns of English: representing phonetic similarity. *English Language and Linguistics* 11. 113–142.
- McMahon, A. M. S. & McMahon, R. (2005). *Language classification by numbers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McMahon, A. M. S. & McMahon, R. (2008). Genetics, historical linguistics and language variation. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2. 264–288.
- Meijering, H. D. (ed.) (1973a). *The position of the old, relatively less influential vernaculars in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries*. Ljouwert (Leeuwarden): Ynteruniversitaire Stúdzjerie Frysk.
- Meijering, H. D. (1973b). Summary and analysis of the problem. In Meijering, H. D. (ed.), *The position of the old, relatively less influential vernaculars in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Ljouwert (Leeuwarden): Ynteruniversitaire Stúdzjerie Frysk. 7–13.
- Melchers, G. (1981). The Norn element in Shetland today: a case of “never-accepted” language death. In Ejerhed, E. & Henrysson, I. (eds.), *Tvåspråkighet*, Umeå: n.p. 254–261.
- Melchers, G. (1991). Norn-Scots: a complicated language contact situation in Shetland. In Ureland, P. S. & Broderick, G. (eds.), *Language contact in the British Isles: proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*, Tübingen: Niemeyer. 461–477.
- Melchers, G. (1992). “Du’s no heard da last o’dis”: on the use of *be* as a perfective auxiliary in Shetland dialect. In Rissanen, M., Ihalainen, O., Nevalainen, T. & Taavitsainen, I. (eds.), *History of Englishes: new methods and interpretations in historical linguistics*, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 602–610.
- Melchers, G. (2004a). English spoken in Orkney and Shetland: morphology, syntax, and lexicon. In Kortmann, B., Burridge, K., Mesthrie, R., Schneider, E. W. & Upton, C. (eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English*, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. vol. 2, 34–46.
- Melchers, G. (2004b). English spoken in Orkney and Shetland: phonology. In Schneider, E. W., Burridge, K., Kortmann, B., Mesthrie, R. & Upton, C. (eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English*, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. vol. 1, 35–46.



- Mendels, F. F. (1972). Proto-industrialization: the first phase of the industrialization process. *Journal of Economic History* **32**. 241–261.
- Mesthrie, R. (1992). *English in language shift: the history, structure and sociolinguistics of South African Indian English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mesthrie, R. (2006). World Englishes and the multilingual history of English. *World Englishes* **25**. 381–390.
- Měťšk, F. (1959). Der Anteil der Stände des Markgraftums Oberlausitz an der Entstehung der obersorbischen Schriftsprache (1668–1728). *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* **28**. 122–148.
- Měťšk, F. (1962). *Die brandenburgisch-preußische Sorbenpolitik im Kreise Cottbus vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Posener Frieden 1806*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Měťšk, F. (1965). Die volks- und territorialgeschichtliche Grundlage des sorbischen Sprachgebietes: eine kurzgefaßte siedlungskundlich-demographische Einleitung zum sorbischen Sprachatlas. In Faßke, H., Jentsch, H. & Michalk, S. (eds.), *Sorbischer Sprachatlas = Serbski řečny atlas. Bind 1: Feldwirtschaftliche Terminologie*, Bautzen: Domowina. 36–48.
- Meyerhoff, M. (2006). Linguistic change, sociohistorical context, and theory-building in variationist linguistics: new-dialect formation in New Zealand. *English Language and Linguistics* **10**. 173–194.
- Millar, R. M. (2004). Linguistic histories on the margins of the Germanic-speaking world: some preliminary thoughts. In McClure, J. D. (ed.), *Doonsin' emerauds: new scribes anent Scots an Gaelic (new studies in Scots and Gaelic)*, Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona. 3–7.
- Millar, R. M. (2005). *Language, nation and power: an introduction*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Millar, R. M. (2007). *Northern and Insular Scots*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Millar, R. M. (2008). The origins and development of Shetland dialect in light of dialect contact theories. *English World-wide* **29**. 237–267.
- Millard, J. (1982). A new approach to the study of marriage horizons. *Local Population Studies* **28**. 10–31.
- Milroy, L. (1987). *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mira, J. & Paredes, Á. (2005). Interlinguistic similarity and language death dynamics. *Europhysics Letters* **69**. 1031–1034.
- Moessner, L. (1997). The syntax of Older Scots. In Jones, C. (ed.), *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 112–155.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2006). The comparability of new-dialect formation and creole development. *World Englishes* **25**. 177–186.
- Murison, D. D. (1954). Scots speech in Shetland. In Simpson, W. D. (ed.), *The Viking Congress. Lerwick, July 1950*, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 255–260.
- Murison, D. D. (1964). The Scots tongue: the folk-speech. *Folklore* **75**. 37–47.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). *Contact linguistics: bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nakhleh, L., Warnow, T., Ringe, D. & Evans, S. N. (2005). A comparison of phylogenetic reconstruction methods on an Indo-European dataset. *Transactions of the Philological Society* **103**. 171–192.
- Nauerby, T. (1996). *No nation is an island: language, culture, and national identity in the Faroe Islands*. Århus: Aarhus University Press.

- Nevalainen, T. (1999). Making the best use of “bad” data: evidence for sociolinguistic variation in Early Modern English. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* **100**. 499–533.
- Nevalainen, T. & Raumolin-Brunberg, H. (2003). *Historical sociolinguistics: language change in Tudor and Stuart England*. London: Longman.
- Nevalainen, T. & Raumolin-Brunberg, H. (2005). Sociolinguistics and the history of English: a survey. *International Journal of English Studies* **5**. 33–58.
- Nowak, M. A., Komarova, N. L. & Niyogi, P. (2002). Computational and evolutionary aspects of language. *Nature* **417**. 611–617.
- Ó Cuív, B. (1980). *Irish dialects and Irish-speaking districts*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Ó Murchú, M. (1993). Aspects of the societal status of Modern Irish. In Ball, M. J. & Fife, J. (eds.), *The Celtic languages*, London: Routledge. 471–490.
- Overstraeten, J. van (1969). *De Nederlanden in Frankrijk*. Antwerpen: Vlaamse Toeristenbond.
- Pain, A. J. & Smith, M. T. (1984). Do marriage horizons accurately measure migration? A test case from Stanhope parish, County Durham. *Local Population Studies* **33**. 44–48.
- Pap, L. (1979). Language attitudes and minority status. In Mackey, W. F. & Ornstein, J. (eds.), *Sociolinguistic studies in language contact*, Den Haag: Mouton. 197–207.
- Paradis, C. & LaCharité, D. (2001). Guttural deletion in loan words. *Phonology* **18**. 255–300.
- Paulston, C. B. (1986). Social factors in language maintenance and language shift. In Fishman, J. A. (ed.), *The Fergusonian impact: in honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. vol. 2, 493–511.
- Paulston, C. B., Haragos, S., Lifrieri, V. & Martelle, W. (2007). Some thoughts on extrinsic linguistic minorities. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* **28**. 385–399.
- Pavlenko, A. (1997). The origin of the *be*-perfect with transitives in the Shetland dialect. *Scottish Language* **16**. 88–96.
- Pée, W. & Blancquaert, E. (1946). *Dialect-atlas van West-Vlaanderen en Fransch-Vlaanderen*, vol. 1. Antwerpen: De Sikkel.
- Polański, K. (1980). Sorbian (Lusatian). In Schenker, A. M. & Stankiewicz, E. (eds.), *The Slavic literary languages: formation and development*, New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies. 229–245.
- Polenz, P. von (1994). *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Polenz, P. von (2000). *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2nd edition.
- Pooley, T. (2000). Sociolinguistics, regional varieties of French and regional languages in France. *Journal of French Language Studies* **10**. 117–157.
- Pooley, T. (2002). The depicardization of the vernaculars of the Lille conurbation. In Jones, M. C. & Esch, E. (eds.), *Language contact: the interplay of internal, external and extra-linguistic factors*, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 29–62.
- Pooley, T. (2006). The linguistic assimilation of Flemish immigrants in Lille (1800–1914). *Journal of French Language Studies* **16**. 207–233.
- Poulet, D. (1987). *Au contact du picard et du flamand: parlars du Calaisis et de l’Audomarois*. Ph.D. thesis, Université Lille III, Lille.

- Razzell, P. (1977). *The conquest of smallpox: the impact of inoculation on smallpox mortality in eighteenth-century Britain*. Sussex: Caliban.
- Rendboe, L. (1984). How “worn-out” or “corrupted” was Shetland Norn in its final stages? *NOWELE* **3**. 53–88.
- Rendboe, L. (1987). *Det gamle shetlandske sprog*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.
- Rendboe, L. (1989). The Lord’s Prayer in Orkney and Shetland Norn (1). *NOWELE* **14**. 77–112.
- Rendboe, L. (1990). The Lord’s Prayer in Orkney and Shetland Norn (2). *NOWELE* **15**. 49–111.
- Renfrew, C. (1999). Reflections on the archaeology of linguistic diversity. In Sykes, B. (ed.), *The human inheritance: genes, language, and evolution*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1–32.
- Riley, J. C. (1999). A widening market in consumer goods. In Cameron, E. (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: an Oxford history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 233–264.
- Robertson, T. A. & Graham, J. J. (1991). *Grammar and usage of the Shetland dialect*. Lerwick: Shetland Times.
- Romaine, S. (1982). *Socio-historical linguistics: its status and methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosental, P.-A. (1996). Treize ans de réflexion: de l’histoire des populations à la démographie historique française (1945–1958). *Population [French edition]* **51**. 1211–1238.
- Rosental, P.-A. (2003). The novelty of an old genre: Louis Henry and the founding of historical demography. *Populations* **59**. 97–130.
- Rowlands, A. (1999). The conditions of life for the masses. In Cameron, E. (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: an Oxford history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 31–62.
- Rundhovde, G. (1964). *Målet i Hamre: ljodvokster og stutt utsyn over formverk i eit Nordhordlandsmål*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.
- Ryckeboer, H. (2000). The role of political borders in the millennial retreat of Dutch (Flemish) in the north of France. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* **145**. 79–108.
- Ryckeboer, H. (2002). Dutch/Flemish in the North of France. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* **23**. 22–35.
- Ryckeboer, H. (2004). *Frans-Vlaams*. Tielt: Lannoo.
- Saitou, N. & Nei, M. (1987). The neighbor-joining method: a new method for reconstructing phylogenetic trees. *Molecular Biology and Evolution* **4**. 406–425.
- Sandbrook, D. (2008). Corduroy dogmas can’t keep a good man down. *BBC History Magazine* **9.5**. 21.
- Sandnes, B. (2003). *Fra Starafjall til Starling Hill: dannelse og utvikling av norrøne stedsnavn på Orknøyene*. Trondheim: NTNU.
- Sandnes, B. (2004). Personnavn i kontakt i de skandinaviske vikingtidskoloniene. *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* **22**. 43–58.
- Sandøy, H. (1996). *Talemål*. Oslo: Novus.
- Sasse, H.-J. (1992). Theory of language death. In Brenzinger, M. (ed.), *Language death: factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa*, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 7–30.
- Scheel, F. (1912). Orknøerne og Hjalmland i pantsættelsestiden 1468–1667. *Norsk historisk tidsskrift* **1**. 381–420. 5. rekke.

- Schmidt, T. (2006). Torwald of Hoverstad and Williame Makriche: the complexity of the names of the “Commownis and Inhabitantis of Yetland” in 1577. In Gammeltoft, P. & Jørgensen, B. (eds.), *Names through the looking glass: Festschrift in honour of Gillian Fellows-Jensen*, København: Reitzel. 254–274.
- Schofield, R. S. (1968). The measurement of literacy in pre-industrial England. In Goody, J. (ed.), *Literacy in traditional societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 311–325.
- Schunke, A. (2001). Die Oberlausitz zwischen Prager Frieden und Wiener Kongreß (1635–1815). In Bahlcke, J. (ed.), *Geschichte der Oberlausitz: Herrschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag. 143–179.
- Schuster-Šewc, H. (1959). Sprache und ethnische Formation in der Entwicklung des Sorbischen. *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 4. 577–595.
- Schuster-Šewc, H. (1983). Die Luthersche Reformation und die Anfänge der schriftsprachlichen Entwicklung bei den Lausitzer Sorben. *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 28. 803–815.
- Scott, H. (ed.) (1928). *Fasti ecclesiae scoticae: the succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, vol. 7. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
- Sellar, W. D. H. & Maclean, A. (1999). *The Highland clan MacNeacail (MacNicol): a history of the Nicolsons of Scorrybreac*. Waternish: Maclean Press.
- Shaw, F. J. (1980). *The Northern and Western Isles of Scotland: their economy and society in the seventeenth century*. Edinburgh: Donald.
- Sherzer, J. & Stolz, T. (eds.) (2003). *Minor languages: approaches, definitions, controversies*. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer.
- Siegel, J. (2001). Koine formation and creole genesis. In Smith, N. & Veenstra, T. (eds.), *Creolization and contact*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 175–197.
- Small, A. (1967–1968). The distribution of settlement in Shetland and Faroe in Viking times. *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 17. 145–155.
- Smith, A. S. D. (1947). *The story of the Cornish language: its extinction and revival*. Camborne: n.p.
- Smith, B. (1990). Shetland, Scandinavia, Scotland, 1300–1700: the changing nature of contact. In Simpson, G. G. (ed.), *Scotland and Scandinavia 800–1800*, Edinburgh: Donald. 25–37.
- Smith, B. (1996). The development of the spoken and written Shetland dialect: a historian’s view. In Waugh, D. J. (ed.), *Shetland’s Northern links: language & history*, Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies. 30–43.
- Smith, B. (1998). Camphor, cabbage leaves and vaccination: the career of Johnnie ‘Notions’ Williamson, of Hamnavoe, Eshaness, Shetland. *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 28. 395–406.
- Smith, B. (2000). *Toons and tenants: settlement and society in Shetland, 1299–1899*. Lerwick: Shetland Times.
- Smith, H. D. (1984). *Shetland life and trade 1550–1914*. Edinburgh: Donald.
- Šolta, J. (1976). *Abriß der sorbischen Geschichte*. Bautzen: Domowina.
- Šolta, J. (1987). The Sorbs and their history: a treatise on cultural history. In Kasper, M. (ed.), *Language and culture of the Lusatian Sorbs throughout their history*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 25–39.

- Sommer, G. (1997). Towards an ethnography of language shift: goals and methods. In Pütz, M. (ed.), *Language choices: conditions, constraints, and consequences*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 55–76.
- Sortor, M. (2005). The measure of success: evidence for immigrant networks in the Southern Low Countries, Saint-Omer 1413–1455. *Journal of Family History* **30**. 164–190.
- Spencer, B. H. (2000). *Variation, standardization, and language shift: the decline of Low German in the Early Modern period*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Stevens, G. (1985). Nativity, intermarriage, and mother-tongue shift. *American Sociological Review* **50**. 74–83.
- Stevens, G. & Swicegood, G. (1987). The linguistic context of ethnic endogamy. *American Sociological Review* **52**. 73–82.
- Stewart, J. (1964). Norn in Shetland. *Fróðskaparrit* **13**. 158–175.
- Stoessel, S. (2002). Investigating the role of social networks in language maintenance and shift. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* **153**. 93–131.
- Stone, G. (1972). *The smallest Slavonic nation: the Sorbs of Lusatia*. London: Athlone.
- Stone, G. (1978). Review of J. Brankač & F. Měťšk, *Geschichte der Sorben I: Von den Anfängen bis 1789* (Bautzen, 1977). *American Historical Review* **83**. 743.
- Sudbury, A. (2004). English on the Falklands. In Hickey, R. (ed.), *Legacies of colonial English*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 402–417.
- Swaan, A. de (2003). Bedreigde talen, sociolinguïstiek en taalsentimentalisme. <http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/assr/workingpapers/documents/ASSR-WP0301.pdf>.
- Swaan, A. de (2004). Endangered languages, sociolinguistics, and linguistic sentimentalism. *European Review* **12**. 567–580.
- Szulmajster-Celnikier, A. (1996). La politique de la langue en France. *La linguistique* **32**. 35–63.
- Zultka, Z. (2006). Die friderizianische Kolonisation Preußisch-Pommerns (1740–1786). *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* **55**. 159–193.
- Tandefelt, M. (1988). *Mellan två språk: en fallstudie om språkbevarande och språkbyte i Finland*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Teichmann, D. (1995). Die Reformation im östlichen Teil des ehemaligen Markgraftums Niederlausitz und im benachbarten Niederschlesien: ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Übersetzung des Lutherschen Neuen Testaments durch Mikławš Jakubica 1548. *Lětopis* **42**. 59–82.
- Teichmann, D. (1999). Wendenpolitik im 17. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von Friedersdorf. *Lětopis* **46**. 16–33.
- Ternes, E. (1992). The Breton language. In Macaulay, D. (ed.), *The Celtic languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 371–452.
- Texier, M. & Ó Néill, D. (2005). The case of Breton. In Ó Néill, D. (ed.), *Rebuilding the Celtic languages: reversing language shift in the Celtic countries*, Talybont: Y Lolfa. 152–210.
- Thomason, S. G. (2001). Contact-induced change and pidgin/creole genesis. In Smith, N. & Veenstra, T. (eds.), *Creolization and contact*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 249–262.
- Thomason, S. G. & Kaufman, T. (1991). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley and Oxford: University of California Press.

- Thomson, W. P. L. (1983). Population and depopulation. In Withrington, D. J. (ed.), *Shetland and the outside world 1469–1969*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 150–180.
- Thomson, W. P. L. (1987). *History of Orkney*. Edinburgh: Mercat.
- Thorsen, P. (1954). The third Norn dialect – that of Caithness. In Simpson, W. D. (ed.), *The Viking Congress. Lerwick, July 1950*, Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 230–238.
- Tipton, F. B., Jr. (1979). Review of J. Šolta et al., *Geschichte der Sorben II: Von 1789 bis 1917* (Bautzen, 1974) and M. Kasper, *Geschichte der Sorben III: Von 1917 bis 1945* (Bautzen, 1976). *American Historical Review* **84**. 781–782.
- Torp, A. & Vikør, L. S. (1993). *Hovuddrag i norsk språkhistorie*. Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.
- Townend, M. (2002). *Language and history in Viking Age England: linguistic relations between speakers of Old Norse and Old English*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Trask, R. L. (1997). *Historical linguistics*. London: Arnold.
- Trenard, L. (ed.) (1972). *Histoire des Pays-Bas français: Flandre, Artois, Hainaut, Boulonnais, Cambrésis*. Toulouse: Privat.
- Trofimovič, K. K. (1987). Ways of development and alternatives of a literary language. In Kasper, M. (ed.), *Language and culture of the Lusatian Sorbs throughout their history*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 69–79.
- Trudeau, D. (1983). L'ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts et la langue française: histoire ou interprétation? *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* **45**. 461–472.
- Trudgill, P. (1992). Ausbau sociolinguistics and the perception of language status in contemporary Europe. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* **2**. 167–177.
- Trudgill, P. (1997). Third-person singular zero: African-American English, East Anglian dialects and Spanish persecution in the Low Countries. *Folia Linguistica Historica* **18**. 139–148.
- Trudgill, P. (2004). *New-dialect formation: the inevitability of colonial Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Van Goethem, H. (1987). Eén volk, één taal: nationalisme en taalwetgeving in Frankrijk vanaf 1670, en in de geannexeerde Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1795–1813). *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen* **46**. 57–86, 129–147.
- Van Goethem, H. (1989). La politique des langues en France, 1620–1804. *Revue du Nord* **71**. 437–460.
- Velde, H. van de, Gerritsen, M. & Hout, R. van (1996). The devoicing of fricatives in Standard Dutch: a real-time study based on radio recordings. *Language Variation and Change* **8**. 149–175.
- Velde, H. van de, Hout, R. van & Gerritsen, M. (1997). Watching Dutch change: a real time study of variation and change in standard Dutch pronunciation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* **1**. 361–391.
- Vikør, L. S. (1995). *The Nordic languages: their status and interrelations*. Oslo: Novus, 2nd edition.
- Vries, O. (2001). Die Verdrängung des Altfriesischen als Schreibsprache. In Munske, H. H. (ed.), *Handbuch des Friesischen*, Tübingen: Niemeyer. 606–613.
- Wales, K. (1996). *Personal pronouns in present-day English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wardhaugh, R. (1987). *Languages in competition: dominance, diversity and decline*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Webber, R. (2007). Using names to segment customers by cultural, ethnic or religious origin. *Direct, Data and Digital Marketing Practice* **8**. 226–242.
- Weinreich, U. (1967). *Languages in contact*. Den Haag: Mouton.
- Wells, J. C. (1982). *Accents of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiggen, G. (2002). *Norns død, især skolens rolle: kommentarer til en dispuutt om nedgangen for det nordiske språket på Orknøyene og Shetland*. Oslo: Novus.
- Willemyns, R. (1997). Language shift through erosion: the case of the French-Flemish “Westhoek”. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* **18**. 54–66.
- Winter, W. (1999). Sociolinguistics and dead languages. In Jahr, E. H. (ed.), *Language change: advances in historical sociolinguistics*, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 67–84.
- Withers, C. W. J. (1984). *Gaelic in Scotland 1698–1981: the geographical history of a language*. Edinburgh: Donald.
- Withers, C. W. J. (1988). *Gaelic Scotland: the transformation of a culture region*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Wolfram, W. (1996). Delineation and description in dialectology: the case of perfective *I'm* in Lumbee English. *American Speech* **71**. 5–26.
- Wright, S. (2000). *Community and communication: the role of language in nation state building and European integration*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Wright, S. (2004). *Language policy and language planning: from nationalism to globalisation*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wylie, J. (1987). *The Faroe Islands: interpretations of history*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Yağmur, K. & Kroon, S. (2003). Ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions and language revitalisation in Bashkortostan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* **24**. 319–336.





# ALF/ALPic dialect data

## Appendix A

### A.1 IPA transcriptions

This section lists all phonetic data taken from the *Atlas linguistique de la France* (ALF, Gilliéron & Edmont 1902–1915) and the *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique picard* (ALPic, Carton 1989–1997). The data is given here in IPA transcriptions, converted from the original Rousselot-Straka notation as explained in Chapter 6.3. Three-letter abbreviations for the localities used in the study can be found in Table 6.8.

#### AGNEAU

|     |                  |     |                   |     |       |
|-----|------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|-------|
| FTM |                  | LIN |                   | CAG | ɛ̃nø  |
| COQ | apɔ              | TUB | ɛ̃nœ <sup>u</sup> | BRE | ɛ̃nø  |
| VEG | apœ <sup>u</sup> | FAM | ɛ̃nɔ̃             | BSM | apɔ   |
| TAT | apœ <sup>u</sup> | BSO |                   | LPP | apɔ:  |
| ECQ | apɔ              | BSN | ɛ̃nɔ              | VER | a:ɔ   |
| BLA | apɔ <sup>u</sup> | IWU | apœ <sup>u</sup>  | NSS | apɔ:  |
| HAV | apɔ <sup>u</sup> | MAO | apœ:              | CAH | ɑpɛ:l |
| ERQ |                  | MAN | apø               | LCH | apɛ   |
| PRE |                  | GLO |                   | FRA | apɔ   |
| LIO |                  | GLN | apɔ               | XXX | *ɑpɛl |

#### AIGUILLE

|     |                    |     |         |     |                       |
|-----|--------------------|-----|---------|-----|-----------------------|
| FTM | agɥ:r̥j            | LIN | øɥœl    | CAG | agɥil                 |
| COQ | egɥil              | TUB | agɥl    | BRE | egɥij                 |
| VEG | egwil              | FAM | agɥil   | BSM | egɥij                 |
| TAT | ɛgwil              | BSO | ɛ:ɥr:l  | LPP | egɥ:r̥j               |
| ECQ | ɛj <sup>ɥ</sup> il | BSN | ɛ̃ɥi:j  | VER | egwi:r̥j              |
| BLA | egɥil              | IWU | ɛɥil    | NSS | e <sup>d</sup> gɥ:r̥j |
| HAV | egy <sup>i</sup> l | MAO | ɛgɥ:r̥l | CAH | gy:ɔ                  |
| ERQ | egɥl               | MAN | egɥil   | LCH | awɔlø                 |
| PRE | edʒɥl              | GLO | egɛ:r̥j | FRA | egɥij                 |
| LIO | ø.ø:l              | GLN | ege:r̥j | XXX | *egilø                |

**ARBRE(S)**

|     |         |     |      |     |          |
|-----|---------|-----|------|-----|----------|
| FTM | ɑ:b     | LIN | arp  | CAG | ab       |
| COQ | arb     | TUB | a:p  | BRE | ɑ:b, arb |
| VEG | ab      | FAM | ap   | BSM | arb      |
| TAT | ab      | BSO | a:br | LPP | arb      |
| ECQ | ap      | BSN | arp  | VER | a:rb     |
| BLA | ap      | IWU | ap   | NSS | ɑ:br     |
| HAV | ap      | MAO | ɑ:p  | CAH | a:lbrɛs  |
| ERQ | arp, ap | MAN | ap   | LCH | a:brɔ    |
| PRE | arp     | GLO | ɑ:rp | FRA | arbr     |
| LIO | a:bə    | GLN | arp  | XXX | *arbrəs  |

**ARMOIRE**

|     |               |     |          |     |                      |
|-----|---------------|-----|----------|-----|----------------------|
| FTM | ɑmɑ:r         | LIN | armur    | CAG | amwɛl                |
| COQ | amar          | TUB | amɛr     | BRE | armwɛr, ormwɛr       |
| VEG | amar, amɛr    | FAM | amɛr     | BSM | ɔrmwɑr               |
| TAT | amar          | BSO | a:rmwɑ:r | LPP | ormwa:r              |
| ECQ | amar          | BSN | armwɑr   | VER | ɔ:rmwɑr              |
| BLA | amar          | IWU | amɛl     | NSS | ɔrmwɛ:r <sup>Z</sup> |
| HAV | amar          | MAO | amɛ:l    | CAH | ɑrma:ri              |
| ERQ | armur         | MAN | amɛl     | LCH |                      |
| PRE | armor, armwor | GLO | ɔ:rmwar  | FRA | armwar               |
| LIO | armwɑ:r       | GLN | ɔrmwar   | XXX | *armarə              |

**BŒUF**

|     |     |     |          |     |       |
|-----|-----|-----|----------|-----|-------|
| FTM | bø: | LIN | bø       | CAG | by    |
| COQ | bœ  | TUB | bø       | BRE | bœ    |
| VEG | bœ  | FAM | bø, by   | BSM | bø    |
| TAT | bœ  | BSO | bwe:     | LPP | bœf   |
| ECQ | bø  | BSN | bʏɛ      | VER | bø:   |
| BLA | bø  | IWU | bœ       | NSS | bœ:   |
| HAV | bø  | MAO | bø:      | CAH | bjɔ:u |
| ERQ | bø  | MAN | bœ       | LCH | burja |
| PRE | bø  | GLO | bwe, bø: | FRA | bœf   |
| LIO | bø: | GLN | bø       | XXX | *bœf  |

**CENDRES**

|     |      |     |          |     |                                  |
|-----|------|-----|----------|-----|----------------------------------|
| FTM | sɛdr | LIN | fɛt      | CAG | fɛd                              |
| COQ | sɛd  | TUB | fɛn      | BRE | fɛd                              |
| VEG | sɛd  | FAM | fɛn      | BSM | sɑd                              |
| TAT | fɛn  | BSO | fɛn      | LPP | sād                              |
| ECQ | fɛn  | BSN | fɛn      | VER | sādr                             |
| BLA | fɛn  | IWU | fɛn      | NSS | sādr                             |
| HAV | fɛn  | MAO | fɛn      | CAH | <sup>s</sup> fɛ <sup>n</sup> dre |
| ERQ | fɛt  | MAN | fɛn      | LCH | hlɛdre                           |
| PRE | fɛt  | GLO | fɛt      | FRA | sādr                             |
| LIO | fɛd  | GLN | sɛt, fɛt | XXX | *sendrə                          |

**CHAÎNE**

|     |                     |     |       |     |         |
|-----|---------------------|-----|-------|-----|---------|
| FTM | fɛ̃n                | LIN | tʃɛ̃n | CAG | tʃɛ̃n   |
| COQ | fɛ̃n                | TUB | kɛ̃n  | BRE | kɛ̃n    |
| VEG | kɛ̃n                | FAM | kɛ̃n  | BSM | fɛ̃n    |
| TAT | kɛ̃n                | BSO | fɛ̃n  | LPP | ʃe:n    |
| ECQ | cʲɛ̃n               | BSN | cʲɛ̃n | VER | ʃe:n    |
| BLA | cʲɛ̃n               | IWU | kɛ̃n  | NSS | ʃe:n    |
| HAV | cʲɛ̃n               | MAO | fɛ̃n  | CAH | kɑdeno  |
| ERQ | tʃɛ̃n               | MAN | kɛ̃n  | LCH | tsāna   |
| PRE | tʃɛ̃n               | GLO | kɛ̃n  | FRA | ʃen     |
| LIO | k <sup>n</sup> ʃɛ̃n | GLN | kɛ̃n  | XXX | *kadenə |

**CHAMPS**

|     |                       |     |                    |     |                   |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|
| FTM | kā                    | LIN | tʃ <sup>ɛ̃</sup> ā | CAG | kā                |
| COQ | kā                    | TUB | kā                 | BRE | kā                |
| VEG | kā                    | FAM | kā, cʲā            | BSM | ʃā                |
| TAT | kā                    | BSO | kā                 | LPP | ʃā                |
| ECQ | kā                    | BSN | ke <sup>ā</sup>    | VER | ʃā                |
| BLA | kā                    | IWU | kē                 | NSS | ʃā                |
| HAV | kā                    | MAO | kā                 | CAH | kō <sup>n</sup> s |
| ERQ | cʲe <sup>ā</sup>      | MAN | kē                 | LCH | tsā               |
| PRE | tʃā, cʲe <sup>ā</sup> | GLO | kā                 | FRA | ʃā                |
| LIO | k <sup>t</sup> ʃā     | GLN | tʃā                | XXX | *kams             |

**CHARPENTIER**

|     |            |     |            |     |                          |
|-----|------------|-----|------------|-----|--------------------------|
| FTM | karpɛ̃tje  | LIN | karpɛ̃ti   | CAG | karpɛ̃tje                |
| COQ | karpɛ̃tje  | TUB | karpɛ̃tje  | BRE | karpɛ̃tfe                |
| VEG | karpɛ̃tje  | FAM | karpɛ̃tʃje | BSM | ʃɛ̃rpātje                |
| TAT | karpɛ̃tʃje | BSO | karpɛ̃tje  | LPP | ʃarpāt <sup>s</sup> je   |
| ECQ | karpɛ̃tje  | BSN | karpɛ̃tje  | VER | ʃa:rpātje                |
| BLA | karpɛ̃tje  | IWU | karpɛ̃tjə  | NSS | ʃarpātje                 |
| HAV | karpɛ̃tje  | MAO | karpətje   | CAH | tʃ <sup>s</sup> ɔrpōntje |
| ERQ | karpɛ̃ti   | MAN | karpɛ̃tje  | LCH | tsapwɛ                   |
| PRE | karpɛ̃ti   | GLO | karpātji   | FRA | ʃarpātje                 |
| LIO | karpɛ̃te   | GLN | ʃarpɛ̃tji  | XXX | *karpentje               |

**CHAUD**

|     |                    |     |                  |     |      |
|-----|--------------------|-----|------------------|-----|------|
| FTM |                    | LIN | ko <sup>u</sup>  | CAG | kœ   |
| COQ | kɔ                 | TUB | cʲɛ <sup>o</sup> | BRE | kø   |
| VEG | ke <sup>u</sup>    | FAM | kjo              | BSM | ʃo   |
| TAT | kɔ                 | BSO | ko:              | LPP | ʃo:  |
| ECQ | kjɔ                | BSN | ko               | VER | ʃo:  |
| BLA | cʲɛ <sup>o</sup>   | IWU | kø               | NSS | ʃo:  |
| HAV | ko                 | MAO | kœ:              | CAH | ka:ɔ |
| ERQ | ke <sup>u</sup>    | MAN | kø               | LCH | tso  |
| PRE | kjo                | GLO | ko:              | FRA | ʃo   |
| LIO | k <sup>t</sup> ʃɔ: | GLN | tʃo              | XXX | *kao |

**CHEMISE**

|     |         |     |                     |     |              |
|-----|---------|-----|---------------------|-----|--------------|
| FTM | səmi:z  | LIN | kømyʃ               | CAG | ekmis, ekmiz |
| COQ | kemiʒ   | TUB | kemiʒʃ              | BRE | kmiz         |
| VEG | kemiz   | FAM | kæmiʒ               | BSM | ʃmiz         |
| TAT | kemiz   | BSO | kemɪ:s              | LPP | ʃmɪ:z        |
| ECQ | kemiʒ   | BSN | kemiʒ               | VER | ʃmi:z        |
| BLA | kemiʒ   | IWU | kmis                | NSS | ʃmi:z        |
| HAV | kemiʃ   | MAO | kmi:s               | CAH | kami:zo      |
| ERQ | kømiʃ   | MAN | kmis                | LCH | tsəmi:zə     |
| PRE | kømiʃ   | GLO | kemi:ʃ, kemɪ:s      | FRA | ʃəmiʒ        |
| LIO | kəmy:ʒ̥ | GLN | c <sup>v</sup> emis | XXX | *kəmisə      |

**CHEVAL**

|     |            |     |      |     |                       |
|-----|------------|-----|------|-----|-----------------------|
| FTM | ʃeva:l     | LIN | gva  | CAG | gvo                   |
| COQ | gva        | TUB | gva  | BRE | gvə                   |
| VEG | gvɑ        | FAM | gvɑ  | BSM | ʃwo                   |
| TAT | gva, gvə   | BSO | gvo: | LPP | ʃfal                  |
| ECQ | gvɑ        | BSN | gvo  | VER | ʃfo:                  |
| BLA | gvə        | IWU | gvø  | NSS | ʃfo:, ʃwo:            |
| HAV | gvæ, gvə   | MAO | gvø: | CAH | tsav <sup>w</sup> a:l |
| ERQ | gva, gvə   | MAN | gwø  | LCH | tʃəvo:                |
| PRE | gva        | GLO | gvo: | FRA | ʃəval                 |
| LIO | gvɑ, ɡvɑɑ: | GLN | gvo  | XXX | *kəval                |

**CHIEN**

|     |            |     |           |     |      |
|-----|------------|-----|-----------|-----|------|
| FTM | tʃjē       | LIN | tʃi, tʃē  | CAG | tʃjē |
| COQ | tjē        | TUB | tʃjī      | BRE | tʃe  |
| VEG | kjē        | FAM | tʃjē      | BSM | ʃjē  |
| TAT | tʃī        | BSO | tjē       | LPP | ʃjē  |
| ECQ | tjē        | BSN | tje, tʃje | VER | ʃjē  |
| BLA | tjē        | IWU | kjē, kje  | NSS | ʃjā  |
| HAV | tjē        | MAO | kjē       | CAH | kə:  |
| ERQ | tʃjī, tʃjē | MAN | kjē       | LCH | tsē  |
| PRE | tjē        | GLO | tʃjē      | FRA | ʃjē  |
| LIO | tʃjē       | GLN | kjē       | XXX | *kan |

**CIMETIÈRE**

|     |                     |     |           |     |                       |
|-----|---------------------|-----|-----------|-----|-----------------------|
| FTM | simetjɛ:R           | LIN | ʃymētɪr   | CAG | simtjɛR               |
| COQ | simitʃjɛR           | TUB | ʃymētʃjɛR | BRE | simtjɛ:R              |
| VEG | simitʃɛR, ʃemētʃjɛ: | FAM | ʃimētʃjɛR | BSM | simitʃɛ:R, simtʃɛ:R   |
| TAT | ʃymētjɛR            | BSO | ʃimtjɛ:R  | LPP | səmtjɛR               |
| ECQ | simtjɛR             | BSN | ʃimētʃjɛR | VER | simtjɛ:R              |
| BLA | ʃimētjɛR            | IWU | səmētjɛ:R | NSS | simtʃjɛ:R             |
| HAV | simētʃjɛR           | MAO | simētjɛ:R | CAH | <sup>s</sup> ʃemeteri |
| ERQ | ʃimtɪr              | MAN | simētjɛR  | LCH | sēmɪtjɛ:ʀə            |
| PRE | ʃimētɪr             | GLO | simtjɛ:R  | FRA | simtjɛR               |
| LIO | ʃimētɪ:R            | GLN | simētjɛR  | XXX | *simetjɛrə            |

**COPEAUX**

|     |                    |     |                    |     |        |
|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------|
| FTM |                    | LIN |                    | CAG |        |
| COQ | kɔpjo              | TUB | kɔpja              | BRE | kɔpjœ  |
| VEG | kɔpje <sup>ɥ</sup> | FAM |                    | BSM | kopo   |
| TAT | kɔpje <sup>ɥ</sup> | BSO |                    | LPP | ky:po: |
| ECQ | kɔpjo              | BSN |                    | VER |        |
| BLA |                    | IWU | kɔp <sup>e</sup> o | NSS | kɑ:pjo |
| HAV |                    | MAO |                    | CAH |        |
| ERQ |                    | MAN |                    | LCH |        |
| PRE |                    | GLO |                    | FRA | kɔpo   |
| LIO |                    | GLN |                    | XXX | *kɔpɛl |

**COUDE**

|     |                                   |     |                    |     |                     |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|---------------------|
| FTM | kœ:t                              | LIN | tʃøt               | CAG | kœd                 |
| COQ | kɥd                               | TUB | c <sup>ʏ</sup> e:d | BRE | kœd                 |
| VEG | kɔd, ke <sup>ɥ</sup> d            | FAM | køt                | BSM | kud                 |
| TAT | køt, ke <sup>ɥ</sup> d            | BSO | kœ:d               | LPP | kɔ:d                |
| ECQ | c <sup>ʏ</sup> œd                 | BSN | c <sup>ʏ</sup> œt  | VER | kɔ:d                |
| BLA | kœd                               | IWU | kœt                | NSS | kɔ:d                |
| HAV | kœd                               | MAO | kœ:d               | CAH | kui <sup>d</sup> ze |
| ERQ | kut                               | MAN | kœt                | LCH | tjœ:do              |
| PRE | tʃœt                              | GLO | kɔ:d               | FRA | kud                 |
| LIO | k <sup>t</sup> j <sup>ʃ</sup> ø:d | GLN | kœd                | XXX | *kudø               |

**COUTEAU**

|     |                                  |     |                                 |     |                      |
|-----|----------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|-----|----------------------|
| FTM | kutjœ: <sup>ɥ</sup>              | LIN | kut <sup>e</sup> o              | CAG | kutjø                |
| COQ | kutjo                            | TUB | kutja <sup>o</sup>              | BRE | kutʃø, kutjœ         |
| VEG | kut <sup>ʃ</sup> je <sup>ɥ</sup> | FAM | kut <sup>ʃ</sup> e <sup>ɔ</sup> | BSM | kutjo, kutjø         |
| TAT | kutjo                            | BSO | kutjo:                          | LPP | kuto:                |
| ECQ | kutjo                            | BSN | kutjo                           | VER | ku:to, kutjo         |
| BLA | kutjo                            | IWU | kute:                           | NSS | kut <sup>ʃ</sup> jo: |
| HAV | kutj <sup>e</sup> ɔ              | MAO | kutjœ:                          | CAH | kutɛl                |
| ERQ | kute <sup>ɥ</sup>                | MAN | kutjø                           | LCH | k <sup>t</sup> jøte  |
| PRE | kut <sup>e</sup> o               | GLO | kutjo:                          | FRA | kuto                 |
| LIO | kut <sup>e</sup> o:              | GLN | kut <sup>ʃ</sup> jo             | XXX | *kutɛl               |

**COUTRE**

|     |     |     |                    |     |          |
|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|-----|----------|
| FTM |     | LIN | kut                | CAG | kuɾ      |
| COQ | kut | TUB | kutʃe <sup>ɥ</sup> | BRE | kuɾ      |
| VEG | kut | FAM | kutʃjɑ             | BSM | kut, kud |
| TAT | kut | BSO |                    | LPP |          |
| ECQ | kut | BSN | kut                | VER |          |
| BLA | kut | IWU | kut                | NSS |          |
| HAV | kut | MAO |                    | CAH |          |
| ERQ | kut | MAN | kœd, kutjø         | LCH |          |
| PRE | kut | GLO |                    | FRA | kuɾ      |
| LIO |     | GLN | kut                | XXX | *kuɾø    |

**ENFANT**

|     |     |     |                    |     |                   |
|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|
| FTM | efã | LIN | af <sup>œ</sup> ɔ̃ | CAG | ẽfã               |
| COQ | ẽfã | TUB | efã                | BRE | ãfã               |
| VEG | efã | FAM | ẽf <sup>ẽ</sup> ã  | BSM | ãfã               |
| TAT | efã | BSO | efã                | LPP | ãfã               |
| ECQ | afã | BSN | afẽ <sup>ã</sup>   | VER | ãfã               |
| BLA | afã | IWU | ẽfẽ                | NSS | ãfã               |
| HAV | efã | MAO | afa:               | CAH | efɔ̃ <sup>n</sup> |
| ERQ | afã | MAN | ẽfã                | LCH | ẽfã               |
| PRE | afã | GLO | e:fã               | FRA | ãfã               |
| LIO | afã | GLN | efã                | XXX | *enfant           |

**ENSEMBLE**

|     |      |     |       |     |                                     |
|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| FTM | ẽsãn | LIN | ẽsõn  | CAG | ẽsãn                                |
| COQ | ẽsãn | TUB | ẽsãn  | BRE | ẽsãn                                |
| VEG | ẽsãn | FAM | ẽsẽn  | BSM | ãsãb                                |
| TAT | ẽsãn | BSO | ẽsãn  | LPP | ãsãb                                |
| ECQ | ẽsãn | BSN | ẽsẽn  | VER | ãsãb                                |
| BLA | ẽsãn | IWU | ẽsẽn  | NSS | ãsãb                                |
| HAV | ẽsãn | MAO | ẽsẽn  | CAH | ẽ <sup>ns</sup> fẽ <sup>m</sup> ble |
| ERQ | ẽsãn | MAN | asẽn  | LCH | ẽsẽblo                              |
| PRE | ẽsõn | GLO | ẽsa:n | FRA | ãsãbl                               |
| LIO | ẽsãn | GLN | asaɲ  | XXX | *ensemblə                           |

**ESSIEU**

|     |                   |     |       |     |                     |
|-----|-------------------|-----|-------|-----|---------------------|
| FTM | sjœ: <sup>l</sup> | LIN | afj   | CAG | esjy                |
| COQ | esjy              | TUB | afj   | BRE | esjy, esjo          |
| VEG | afj               | FAM | afy   | BSM | esjy                |
| TAT | esjy              | BSO | asi:  | LPP | esjø:               |
| ECQ | afy               | BSN | afj   | VER | ε:sjø               |
| BLA | esjy              | IWU | asjy  | NSS | εsjø:               |
| HAV | afy               | MAO | asjy: | CAH | ɔj <sup>s</sup> fɛl |
| ERQ | afj               | MAN | asy   | LCH | esjø                |
| PRE | afj               | GLO | ε:sjy | FRA | esjø                |
| LIO | afɾ:              | GLN | asi   | XXX | *esiɛl              |

**ÉTAIT**

|     |                        |     |                   |     |      |
|-----|------------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|------|
| FTM | etwo:                  | LIN | et <sup>œ</sup> o | CAG | etwe |
| COQ | etø                    | TUB | et <sup>œ</sup> o | BRE | etø  |
| VEG | eto                    | FAM | eto, to           | BSM | ete  |
| TAT | etwo, eto <sup>i</sup> | BSO | eto:              | LPP | ete: |
| ECQ | eto                    | BSN | eto               | VER | ete: |
| BLA | et <sup>œ</sup> o      | IWU | etø               | NSS | ete  |
| HAV | eto                    | MAO | etø:              | CAH | e:RO |
| ERQ | eto                    | MAN | etø               | LCH | i:re |
| PRE | eto                    | GLO | eto:              | FRA |      |
| LIO | eto:                   | GLN | etu               | XXX |      |

**ÉTIONS**

|     |         |     |        |     |       |
|-----|---------|-----|--------|-----|-------|
| FTM | ɔ̃n eto | LIN |        | CAG | etwɛm |
| COQ | etɔm    | TUB | etɛm   | BRE | etwɛm |
| VEG | etɔ̃m   | FAM |        | BSM | etjɛ̃ |
| TAT | etɛ̃m   | BSO | etøt   | LPP | etjɔ̃ |
| ECQ | etɛ̃m   | BSN | etjem  | VER | etjɔ̃ |
| BLA |         | IWU | etɔt   | NSS | etɛ̃  |
| HAV | etɔm    | MAO | etœt   | CAH | erɛ̃n |
| ERQ |         | MAN | etœt   | LCH | erɪrə |
| PRE |         | GLO | estjɔ̃ | FRA |       |
| LIO | ɛ̃n eto | GLN | ɛstin  | XXX |       |

**FAUCILLE**

|     |         |     |         |     |                      |
|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|----------------------|
| FTM | fusi    | LIN | fɔfjyl  | CAG | føfij                |
| COQ | fosil   | TUB | fɔfij   | BRE | føfij, fosil         |
| VEG | fufjil  | FAM | fufjil  | BSM | fosi:ɟ               |
| TAT | fofjil  | BSO | fɔfi:l  | LPP | fosi:rj              |
| ECQ | fofjil  | BSN | fofjil  | VER | fosi:rɪ              |
| BLA | fofjil  | IWU | føfjil  | NSS | fose:ɟ               |
| HAV |         | MAO | fosi:rɪ | CAH | fɑ:ɔ                 |
| ERQ | fofjil  | MAN | fosil   | LCH | fœ <sup>ɔ</sup> fələ |
| PRE | fofjil  | GLO | fɔ:sij  | FRA | fosij                |
| LIO | fɔfi:rɪ | GLN | fosi:rj | XXX | *fosilə              |

**FAUX**

|     |                    |     |                    |     |      |
|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|------|
| FTM | fɔ:k               | LIN | f <sup>ɛ</sup> ak  | CAG |      |
| COQ | fɔk                | TUB | fɛk                | BRE | fɔk  |
| VEG | fɔk                | FAM | fj <sup>ɛ</sup> ɔk | BSM | fɔ   |
| TAT | fɔk                | BSO | fɔ:k               | LPP | fɔ:  |
| ECQ | fɔɟ                | BSN | f <sup>ɛ</sup> ɔk  | VER | fɔ:  |
| BLA | fɔ                 | IWU | fœk                | NSS | fɔ:  |
| HAV | fɔk                | MAO | fœ:k               | CAH |      |
| ERQ | fɔk                | MAN | fɔk, føk           | LCH | fɔ:  |
| PRE | fɔk                | GLO | fɔ:                | FRA | fɔ   |
| LIO | f <sup>ɔ</sup> ɔ:k | GLN | fɔ                 | XXX | *fɔk |

**FEU**

|     |     |     |        |     |      |
|-----|-----|-----|--------|-----|------|
| FTM | fy: | LIN | fy     | CAG | fy   |
| COQ | fy  | TUB | fy     | BRE | fy   |
| VEG | fy  | FAM | fy     | BSM | fø   |
| TAT | fy  | BSO | fø:    | LPP | fø   |
| ECQ | fy  | BSN | fø     | VER | fø:  |
| BLA | fy  | IWU | fy     | NSS | fø:  |
| HAV | fy  | MAO | fø:    | CAH | fjɔt |
| ERQ | fy  | MAN | fø     | LCH | fwa  |
| PRE | fy  | GLO | fø:    | FRA | fø   |
| LIO | fy: | GLN | fø, fy | XXX | *fø  |

**FEUILLE**

|     |      |     |              |     |       |
|-----|------|-----|--------------|-----|-------|
| FTM | føʌ  | LIN | fø:l         | CAG | fœj   |
| COQ | fœl  | TUB | fœj, fœl     | BRE | fœl   |
| VEG | fœl  | FAM | fœl          | BSM | fœl   |
| TAT | fœl  | BSO | fwe:l, fue:l | LPP | fœj   |
| ECQ | fœl  | BSN | fœl, fʏel    | VER | fœ:j  |
| BLA | fœl  | IWU | fʏel         | NSS | fø:j  |
| HAV | fœl  | MAO | fʏe:l        | CAH | fɛ:ʌə |
| ERQ | fœl  | MAN | fʏel         | LCH | fɔ:lə |
| PRE | føl  | GLO | fœ:j         | FRA | fœj   |
| LIO | fø:l | GLN | fø:j         | XXX | fœle  |

**FRISSON**

|     |       |     |       |     |         |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|---------|
| FTM |       | LIN | frisõ | CAG | frijõ   |
| COQ | frɛsã | TUB | frijõ | BRE | frisõ   |
| VEG | frijõ | FAM | frisõ | BSM | frisõ   |
| TAT |       | BSO |       | LPP |         |
| ECQ | frijõ | BSN | frisõ | VER |         |
| BLA | frijõ | IWU | frisõ | NSS |         |
| HAV | frisõ | MAO |       | CAH |         |
| ERQ | frisõ | MAN | frisõ | LCH |         |
| PRE | frisõ | GLO |       | FRA | frisõ   |
| LIO |       | GLN | frizõ | XXX | *frison |

**GÉNISSE**

|     |             |     |                |     |        |
|-----|-------------|-----|----------------|-----|--------|
| FTM | ʒenr:s      | LIN | dʒenyf         | CAG | eʒnij  |
| COQ | ʒenis       | TUB | ʒenif          | BRE | ʒnis   |
| VEG | ʒnis        | FAM | ʒnij           | BSM | ʒonis  |
| TAT | ʒenif, ʒnij | BSO | ʒenr:s         | LPP | ʒenr:s |
| ECQ | ʒenif       | BSN | gnif           | VER | ʒnr:s  |
| BLA | ʒenif       | IWU | ʒenif          | NSS |        |
| HAV | ʒenif       | MAO | ʒenr:sʃ        | CAH |        |
| ERQ | ʒenif       | MAN | ʒnis           | LCH |        |
| PRE | ʒenif       | GLO | dʒenr:s, genif | FRA | ʒenis  |
| LIO | ʒənø:f      | GLN | dʒenis         | XXX | *genis |

**GRENOUILLE**

|     |         |     |                   |     |                |
|-----|---------|-----|-------------------|-----|----------------|
| FTM | gɛrnø:ʌ | LIN | gɔrnul            | CAG | gɛrnuj         |
| COQ | gɛrnul  | TUB | garnuj            | BRE | gœrnuj, garnuj |
| VEG | gɛrnul  | FAM | gɛrnul            | BSM | gɛrnuj, grenuj |
| TAT | garnul  | BSO | gɛrnø:l           | LPP | gœrnø:j        |
| ECQ | garnul  | BSN | gɛrnø:l           | VER | grænø:j        |
| BLA | garnul  | IWU | gɛrnul            | NSS | gœrnø:j        |
| HAV | gɛrnul  | MAO | gɛrnø:l, gɛrnwɪ:l | CAH | grɔ:ɔʌə        |
| ERQ | gɛrnul  | MAN | gɛrnɥil           | LCH | rænɔlə         |
| PRE | gɛrnul  | GLO | gɛrnø:j           | FRA | grænuj         |
| LIO | gɛrnø:l | GLN | gɛrnuj            | XXX | *grænulə       |



**HERSE**

|     |                        |     |                    |     |        |
|-----|------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------|
| FTM | ɛ:ɾs                   | LIN | ɛɾʃ                | CAG | ɛɾʃ    |
| COQ | ɛɾs                    | TUB | ɛɾʃ                | BRE | ʔɛɾʃ   |
| VEG | ɛɾʃ                    | FAM | ɛɾʃ                | BSM | ɛɾs    |
| TAT | ɛɾʃ                    | BSO | jɛ:ɾʃ              | LPP | ɛ:ɾs   |
| ECQ | ɛɾs                    | BSN | jɛɾʃ               | VER | ɛ:ɾs   |
| BLA | ɛɾʃ                    | IWU | ɛɾʃ                | NSS | a:ɾs   |
| HAV | ɛɾʃ                    | MAO | ɛ:ɾ <sup>s</sup> ʃ | CAH | ɛ:ɾtso |
| ERQ | ɛɾʃ, i <sup>c</sup> ɾʃ | MAN | ɛɾs                | LCH | ɛ:ɾsə  |
| PRE | ɛɾs                    | GLO | ɛ:ɾ <sup>s</sup> ʃ | FRA | ɛɾs    |
| LIO | ɛ:ɾʃ                   | GLN | ɛɾs                | XXX | *ɛɾsə  |

**JARRETIÈRES**

|     |         |     |                    |     |                          |
|-----|---------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| FTM | gɑɾtʃje | LIN | gøɾti              | CAG | gɑɾtɛl                   |
| COQ | gɑɾtje  | TUB | gɑɾtʃjɛ            | BRE | gɑɾtjɛɾ                  |
| VEG | gɛɾtʃje | FAM | gɑɾtʃje            | BSM | ʒɑɾtʃjɛɾ                 |
| TAT | gɑɾtje  | BSO | gɛɾtʃje            | LPP | ʒɑɾtjɛ:ɾ                 |
| ECQ | gɛɾtʃjɛ | BSN | gɛɾti <sup>a</sup> | VER | ʒɑɾtjɛ:ɾ                 |
| BLA | gɑɾtʃje | IWU | gɑɾtje             | NSS | ʒɑɾtʃjɛ:ɾ                |
| HAV | gɑɾtʃɛɾ | MAO | gɑɾtjɛ:ɾ           | CAH |                          |
| ERQ | gɑɾti   | MAN | gɑɾtjɛɾ            | LCH | dzɑɾate: <sup>i</sup> ɾə |
| PRE | gɛɾti   | GLO | gɑ:ɾtje            | FRA | ʒɑɾtjɛɾ                  |
| LIO | gɑɾti:  | GLN |                    | XXX | *gɑɾtjɛɾə                |

**JEUNE(S)**

|     |          |     |      |     |                             |
|-----|----------|-----|------|-----|-----------------------------|
| FTM | ʒõn, zõn | LIN | ʒõn  | CAG | ʒõn                         |
| COQ | ʒœn      | TUB | ʒõn  | BRE | ʒœn                         |
| VEG | ʒõn      | FAM | ʒõn  | BSM | ʒœn                         |
| TAT | ʒõn      | BSO | ʒõn  | LPP | ʒœn                         |
| ECQ | ʒõn      | BSN | ʒõn  | VER | ʒœ:n                        |
| BLA | ʒõn      | IWU | ʒõn  | NSS | ʒø:n                        |
| HAV | ʒõn      | MAO | ʒõn  | CAH | <sup>t</sup> subes, tsuines |
| ERQ | ʒõn      | MAN | ʒõn  | LCH | dzøno                       |
| PRE | ʒõn      | GLO | dʒõn | FRA | ʒœn                         |
| LIO | ʒõn      | GLN | dʒõn | XXX | *ʒubənəs                    |

**LUI**

|     |                  |     |                 |     |                  |
|-----|------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|------------------|
| FTM | li:              | LIN | lø <sup>i</sup> | CAG | li               |
| COQ | li               | TUB | ly              | BRE | li               |
| VEG | li               | FAM | li              | BSM | li               |
| TAT | li               | BSO | li:             | LPP | lqi              |
| ECQ | li               | BSN | li              | VER | lqi:             |
| BLA | li               | IWU | li              | NSS | li               |
| HAV | li               | MAO | li:             | CAH | <sup>z</sup> ʒel |
| ERQ | li               | MAN | li              | LCH | lqi              |
| PRE | li               | GLO | li:             | FRA | lqi              |
| LIO | lø: <sup>i</sup> | GLN | li              | XXX | *li              |

**MAÇON**

|     |                    |     |                    |     |                     |
|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|---------------------|
| FTM | masõ               | LIN | mafã <sup>õ</sup>  | CAG | mãfõ                |
| COQ | masõ               | TUB | mafõ               | BRE | masõ                |
| VEG | mafõ               | FAM | maf <sup>ẽ</sup> õ | BSM | masõ                |
| TAT | mafõ               | BSO | mãfã               | LPP | masõ                |
| ECQ | mafõ               | BSN | mafã               | VER | ma:sõ               |
| BLA | maf <sup>ẽ</sup> õ | IWU | mafã               | NSS | ma:sõ               |
| HAV | maf <sup>ẽ</sup> õ | MAO | masõ               | CAH | ma: <sup>s</sup> fu |
| ERQ | mafõ               | MAN | masõ               | LCH | ma:hlõ              |
| PRE | mafõ               | GLO | masõ               | FRA | masõ                |
| LIO | mafã, mafã         | GLN | masõ               | XXX | *masõn              |

**MAISON**

|     |                   |     |                    |     |                    |
|-----|-------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------|
| FTM | mazõn             | LIN | ma <sup>z</sup> ẽõ | CAG | mwezõ              |
| COQ | mezãn             | TUB | mezõ               | BRE | mezõ               |
| VEG | mezã              | FAM | mazõ               | BSM | mezõ               |
| TAT | mazõ              | BSO | mazã               | LPP | mezõ               |
| ECQ | mazõ              | BSN | mazõ               | VER | me:zõ              |
| BLA | mazõ              | IWU | maz <sup>e</sup> õ | NSS | mεzõ               |
| HAV | mazõ              | MAO | mεzõ               | CAH |                    |
| ERQ | ma <sup>z</sup> õ | MAN | mazõ               | LCH | mε <sup>i</sup> zõ |
| PRE | ma <sup>z</sup> õ | GLO | ma:zõ              | FRA | mezõ               |
| LIO | mazẽã             | GLN | mazõ               | XXX | *mezõn             |

**MANGER**

|     |      |     |       |     |                      |
|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|----------------------|
| FTM | mẽze | LIN | mẽzi  | CAG | mẽze                 |
| COQ | mẽzε | TUB | mẽzε  | BRE | mẽze                 |
| VEG | mẽzε | FAM | mẽze  | BSM | mãze                 |
| TAT | mẽze | BSO |       | LPP | mãze                 |
| ECQ | mẽze | BSN | mẽze  | VER | mãze                 |
| BLA | mẽze | IWU | mẽzø  | NSS | mãze                 |
| HAV | mẽze | MAO | mẽze  | CAH | mã <sup>l</sup> tsat |
| ERQ | mẽzi | MAN | mẽze  | LCH | mødzje               |
| PRE | mẽzi | GLO | mẽze  | FRA | mãz-                 |
| LIO | mẽze | GLN | mẽdze | XXX | *mand-               |

**MOI**

|     |                  |     |                      |     |      |
|-----|------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|------|
| FTM | mi:              | LIN | my <sub>ç</sub>      | CAG | mi   |
| COQ | mi               | TUB | mi, mo: <sup>i</sup> | BRE | mwe  |
| VEG | mi               | FAM | mi                   | BSM | mwa  |
| TAT | mi               | BSO | mi:                  | LPP | mwε: |
| ECQ | mi               | BSN | mi                   | VER | mwε: |
| BLA | mi               | IWU | mi                   | NSS | mwe: |
| HAV | mi               | MAO | mi:                  | CAH | jεu  |
| ERQ | mi               | MAN | mi                   | LCH | mε:  |
| PRE | mi               | GLO | mi:                  | FRA | mwa  |
| LIO | mø: <sup>i</sup> | GLN | mi                   | XXX | *me  |

**NOËL**

|     |       |     |       |     |        |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|--------|
| FTM | no.e  | LIN | nu.e  | CAG | nwɛl   |
| COQ | no.e  | TUB | no.e  | BRE | nwɛl   |
| VEG | no.e  | FAM | no.e  | BSM | no.ɛl  |
| TAT | no.e  | BSO | no.e  | LPP | nwɛ:l  |
| ECQ | no.e  | BSN | no.e  | VER | no.ɛ:l |
| BLA | no.e: | IWU | no.ø  | NSS | nwe:l  |
| HAV | nu.e  | MAO | no.e  | CAH | nɔ̃dal |
| ERQ | nu.e  | MAN | no.e  | LCH |        |
| PRE | no.e  | GLO | no.el | FRA | nɔ̃.ɛl |
| LIO | no.e  | GLN | no.e  | XXX | *nadal |

**NOYAU**

|     |                    |     |      |     |             |
|-----|--------------------|-----|------|-----|-------------|
| FTM | nwajœ              | LIN | nojø | CAG | nwejœ       |
| COQ | nɔ̃je <sup>U</sup> | TUB | noja | BRE | nwejø       |
| VEG | noje <sup>U</sup>  | FAM | nojo | BSM | nwojo, nyjø |
| TAT | nojo               | BSO |      | LPP | nwajo       |
| ECQ | nojo               | BSN | nojo | VER | nojo        |
| BLA | noj <sup>e</sup> o | IWU | nojø | NSS | nwajo:      |
| HAV | noj <sup>e</sup> o | MAO | nojœ | CAH |             |
| ERQ | nojø               | MAN | nojø | LCH |             |
| PRE | nojo               | GLO | nojo | FRA | nwajo       |
| LIO |                    | GLN | nojo | XXX | *nojɛl      |

**ŒUF**

|     |                                   |     |                |     |        |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|----------------|-----|--------|
| FTM | ø:                                | LIN | ø              | CAG | y      |
| COQ | œ                                 | TUB | œ              | BRE | ø      |
| VEG | œ                                 | FAM | ø              | BSM | ø      |
| TAT | œ                                 | BSO | œ, ye          | LPP | œf, ø: |
| ECQ | œ                                 | BSN | ø <sup>e</sup> | VER | œ:f    |
| BLA | œ: <sup>I</sup> , œ: <sup>U</sup> | IWU | œ              | NSS | ø:     |
| HAV | œ                                 | MAO | ø:             | CAH | jo:u   |
| ERQ | ø                                 | MAN | ø              | LCH | u      |
| PRE | ø                                 | GLO | ø:             | FRA | œf     |
| LIO | ø:                                | GLN | œ              | XXX | *œf    |

**ORAGE**

|     |       |     |       |     |          |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|----------|
| FTM | ora:z | LIN | oraʃ  | CAG | oraʒ     |
| COQ |       | TUB | oraʃ  | BRE | oraʒ     |
| VEG | oraʒ  | FAM |       | BSM |          |
| TAT | oraʒ  | BSO | ora:ʃ | LPP | ora:ʒ    |
| ECQ |       | BSN | oraʃ  | VER | ɔ̃ra:ʒ   |
| BLA |       | IWU | oraʃ  | NSS | ɔ̃ra:ʒ   |
| HAV |       | MAO | ora:ʃ | CAH | ora:tsə  |
| ERQ | oraʃ  | MAN | oraʃ  | LCH | ɔ̃ra:dzə |
| PRE | oraʃ  | GLO | øra:ʒ | FRA | ɔ̃raʒ    |
| LIO | ora:ʒ | GLN | oraʃ  | XXX | *oraʒə   |

**PAIN**

|     |                  |     |                   |     |      |
|-----|------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|------|
| FTM | pɛ̃ <sup>j</sup> | LIN | pɔ̃ <sup>ɛ̃</sup> | CAG | pɛ̃  |
| COQ | pɛ̃              | TUB | pɛ̃ <sup>l</sup>  | BRE | pɛ̃  |
| VEG | pɛ̃              | FAM | pɛ̃               | BSM | pɛ̃  |
| TAT | pɛ̃              | BSO | pɛ̃               | LPP | pɛ̃  |
| ECQ | pɔ̃ <sup>l</sup> | BSN | pɛ̃               | VER | pɛ̃  |
| BLA | pɔ̃ <sup>l</sup> | IWU | po                | NSS | pɛ̃  |
| HAV | pɔ̃ <sup>l</sup> | MAO | pɛ̃, pwɛ̃         | CAH | po:  |
| ERQ | pɑ̃ <sup>l</sup> | MAN | pwɛ̃              | LCH | pā   |
| PRE | pā               | GLO | pɛ̃               | FRA | pɛ̃  |
| LIO | pɛ̃ <sup>j</sup> | GLN | paj̃              | XXX | *pan |

**PAS / POINT**

|     |         |     |                  |     |                         |
|-----|---------|-----|------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| FTM | pa:     | LIN | po               | CAG |                         |
| COQ | pɔ̃     | TUB | po               | BRE | pwɛ̃                    |
| VEG | pɔ̃     | FAM | po               | BSM | pa                      |
| TAT | po      | BSO | pa:, pa:         | LPP | pa                      |
| ECQ | pɔ̃     | BSN | pa               | VER | pa                      |
| BLA | pa, pɔ̃ | IWU | po               | NSS | pa                      |
| HAV | pɔ̃, po | MAO | pwɛ̃             | CAH | pa:s, pa <sup>s</sup> f |
| ERQ | po      | MAN | pɔ̃ <sup>i</sup> | LCH | pa, pa                  |
| PRE | po      | GLO |                  | FRA | pa / pwɛ̃               |
| LIO | pɔ̃, po | GLN |                  | XXX | *pas / *pont            |

**PIGEON**

|     |         |     |                       |     |                      |
|-----|---------|-----|-----------------------|-----|----------------------|
| FTM | pɛ̃zɔ̃  | LIN |                       | CAG | piɔ̃zɔ̃              |
| COQ | piɔ̃zɔ̃ | TUB | piɔ̃zɔ̃               | BRE | pɛ̃zɔ̃               |
| VEG | piɔ̃zɔ̃ | FAM |                       | BSM | piɔ̃zɔ̃              |
| TAT |         | BSO | piɔ̃zɔ̃               | LPP | piɔ̃zɔ̃              |
| ECQ |         | BSN | piɔ̃z <sup>e</sup> ɔ̃ | VER | pi:ɔ̃zɔ̃             |
| BLA |         | IWU |                       | NSS | piɔ̃zɔ̃              |
| HAV |         | MAO | piɔ̃zɔ̃               | CAH | pitsūn               |
| ERQ |         | MAN |                       | LCH | pɪ <sup>n</sup> dzɔ̃ |
| PRE |         | GLO | piɔ̃zɔ̃               | FRA | piɔ̃zɔ̃              |
| LIO |         | GLN |                       | XXX | *pigɔ̃n              |

**POIREAU**

|     |                            |     |               |     |         |
|-----|----------------------------|-----|---------------|-----|---------|
| FTM | porjæ: <sup>u</sup>        | LIN | porø          | CAG | pwɛrjɔ̃ |
| COQ | porjo                      | TUB | porja         | BRE | pwɛrjœ  |
| VEG | porje <sup>u</sup>         | FAM | porjɔ̃        | BSM | pwarjo  |
| TAT | porjo                      | BSO | porjɑ̃        | LPP | pworo:  |
| ECQ | porjo                      | BSN | porjɔ̃        | VER | po:ro   |
| BLA | porjɔ̃                     | IWU | porjɔ̃        | NSS | purjo:  |
| HAV | porjɔ̃                     | MAO | porɛ̃         | CAH | po:re   |
| ERQ | porɛ̃ <sup>u</sup>         | MAN | porɛ̃, porjɔ̃ | LCH | po:re   |
| PRE | poro                       | GLO | po:re         | FRA | pwaro   |
| LIO | porɛ̃, por <sup>e</sup> o: | GLN | porɛ̃         | XXX | *poreo  |

**POISSON**

|     |      |     |                    |     |        |
|-----|------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------|
| FTM | piʃõ | LIN | piʃ <sup>e</sup> ã | CAG | pisõ   |
| COQ | pisõ | TUB | piʃõ               | BRE | pwesõ  |
| VEG | piʃõ | FAM | piʃõ               | BSM | pwasõ  |
| TAT | piʃõ | BSO | pisã               | LPP | pwɛsõ  |
| ECQ | piʃõ | BSN | pisõ               | VER | pwaisõ |
| BLA | piʃõ | IWU | pisõ               | NSS | pwasõ  |
| HAV | piʃõ | MAO | pwasõ              | CAH | pe:ʃs  |
| ERQ | piʃõ | MAN | piʃõ               | LCH | pəsõ   |
| PRE | pisõ | GLO | piʃõ               | FRA | pwasõ  |
| LIO | piʃã | GLN | peʃõ               | XXX | *pisõn |

**PUITS**

|     |         |     |      |     |                    |
|-----|---------|-----|------|-----|--------------------|
| FTM | py      | LIN | pyʃ  | CAG | pqi                |
| COQ | py      | TUB | py   | BRE | pyi                |
| VEG | pyʃ     | FAM | pyʃ  | BSM | pqi                |
| TAT | pyʃ     | BSO | py:ʃ | LPP | pqi:               |
| ECQ | pyʃ     | BSN | pyʃ  | VER | pqi:               |
| BLA | pyʃ     | IWU | pyʃ  | NSS | pqi:               |
| HAV | pyʃ     | MAO | pqi: | CAH | pu: <sup>Z</sup> 3 |
| ERQ | py      | MAN | pqi  | LCH | pwɛ                |
| PRE | py, pyʃ | GLO | py:ʃ | FRA | pqi                |
| LIO | py:ʃ    | GLN | pys  | XXX | *pis               |

**RE-**

|     |    |     |    |     |     |
|-----|----|-----|----|-----|-----|
| FTM | aR | LIN | ra | CAG | ra  |
| COQ | aR | TUB | aR | BRE | R   |
| VEG | re | FAM | ra | BSM | R   |
| TAT | ra | BSO | R  | LPP | R   |
| ECQ | aR | BSN | ra | VER | R   |
| BLA | aR | IWU | ra | NSS | R   |
| HAV | ra | MAO | R  | CAH | re  |
| ERQ | ra | MAN | ra | LCH | re  |
| PRE | ra | GLO |    | FRA | Rə  |
| LIO | R  | GLN | R  | XXX | *rə |

**ROITELET**

|     |               |     |                     |     |        |
|-----|---------------|-----|---------------------|-----|--------|
| FTM |               | LIN | rojo                | CAG | rwetle |
| COQ | rotle         | TUB | rotle               | BRE | rœtle  |
| VEG | rotle         | FAM |                     | BSM | rotle  |
| TAT | rotle         | BSO |                     | LPP |        |
| ECQ | rotle         | BSN | rotlo               | VER |        |
| BLA | rotle         | IWU | rotl <sup>θ</sup> o | NSS |        |
| HAV | rɔtlo, ratlo  | MAO |                     | CAH |        |
| ERQ | ratlo, ratluj | MAN | rutju               | LCH |        |
| PRE | rojo          | GLO |                     | FRA | rwatle |
| LIO |               | GLN | rutle               | XXX | *rotle |

**ROUE**

|     |      |     |      |     |         |
|-----|------|-----|------|-----|---------|
| FTM | rø:l | LIN | rœ   | CAG | rœ      |
| COQ | rœl  | TUB | rwe  | BRE | rø      |
| VEG | rœl  | FAM | rol  | BSM | ru      |
| TAT | rœl  | BSO | rwe: | LPP | ru:     |
| ECQ | rœl  | BSN | rwa  | VER | ru:     |
| BLA | rœl  | IWU | rø   | NSS | ru:     |
| HAV | rœl  | MAO | rø:  | CAH | rɔ:do   |
| ERQ | rœl  | MAN | rø   | LCH | rœ:va   |
| PRE | rœ   | GLO | rø:  | FRA | ru      |
| LIO | rø:  | GLN | rø   | XXX | *rodula |

**SAC**

|     |         |     |          |     |                 |
|-----|---------|-----|----------|-----|-----------------|
| FTM | sakj    | LIN | sɑ       | CAG | sak             |
| COQ | sak     | TUB | sɑ       | BRE | sak             |
| VEG | sa, sak | FAM | sɑ       | BSM | sak             |
| TAT | sa      | BSO | sɑk      | LPP | sak             |
| ECQ | sɑ      | BSN | sa       | VER | sa:k            |
| BLA | sa      | IWU | sa       | NSS | sa:k            |
| HAV | sa      | MAO | sɑ       | CAH | <sup>s</sup> fa |
| ERQ | sɑ, sɔ  | MAN | sak      | LCH | sa              |
| PRE | sɑ      | GLO | sa:, sak | FRA | sak             |
| LIO | so:     | GLN | sak      | XXX | *sak            |

**SEMAINE**

|     |       |     |             |     |                     |
|-----|-------|-----|-------------|-----|---------------------|
| FTM | semãp | LIN | smõn        | CAG | smen                |
| COQ | smẽn  | TUB | smãn        | BRE | směj                |
| VEG | smãn  | FAM | smõn        | BSM | smẽn                |
| TAT | smãp  | BSO | semẽn       | LPP | smɛ:n, sɔmɛ:n       |
| ECQ | smõp  | BSN | smẽn        | VER | smɛ:n, sɔmɛ:n       |
| BLA | smõn  | IWU | smõn        | NSS | smɛ:n, sɔmɛ:n       |
| HAV | smẽn  | MAO | smwẽn, smẽn | CAH | <sup>s</sup> femono |
| ERQ | smẽn  | MAN | smõn        | LCH | fnãna               |
| PRE | smẽn  | GLO | smẽn        | FRA | sɔmɛn               |
| LIO | sɔmãn | GLN | smen        | XXX | *semanə             |

**SOLEIL**

|     |             |     |                    |     |        |
|-----|-------------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------|
| FTM | sole        | LIN | sola <sup>e</sup>  | CAG | sole   |
| COQ | solel       | TUB | sol <sup>a</sup> e | BRE | solɛj  |
| VEG | solɛl       | FAM | solɛ <sup>u</sup>  | BSM | şulej  |
| TAT | sole, solɛl | BSO | solɛ:l             | LPP | solɛ:j |
| ECQ | sole        | BSN | solɛl, sole        | VER | solɛ:j |
| BLA | solɛ        | IWU | solø               | NSS | solɛ:j |
| HAV | solɛl       | MAO | solø:              | CAH | ʃure:l |
| ERQ | solel       | MAN | solø               | LCH | hlye   |
| PRE | sole        | GLO | solɛ:j             | FRA | solɛj  |
| LIO | sole        | GLN | solɛj              | XXX | *solɛl |

**SON**

|     |    |     |    |     |                 |
|-----|----|-----|----|-----|-----------------|
| FTM | sẽ | LIN | sẽ | CAG | sẽ              |
| COQ | sẽ | TUB | sẽ | BRE | sẽ              |
| VEG | sẽ | FAM | sẽ | BSM | sẽ              |
| TAT | sẽ | BSO | es | LPP | sõ              |
| ECQ | sẽ | BSN | s  | VER | sõ              |
| BLA | sẽ | IWU | sẽ | NSS | sõ              |
| HAV | sẽ | MAO | sẽ | CAH | <sup>s</sup> fũ |
| ERQ | sẽ | MAN | sẽ | LCH | sjo             |
| PRE | sẽ | GLO | es | FRA | sõ              |
| LIO | sẽ | GLN | s  | XXX | *sõn            |

**TABLE**

|     |          |     |                               |     |        |
|-----|----------|-----|-------------------------------|-----|--------|
| FTM | ta:b     | LIN | taf                           | CAG | tab    |
| COQ | tab      | TUB | tap                           | BRE | tab    |
| VEG | tab      | FAM | tav                           | BSM | tab    |
| TAT | tab      | BSO | tɔp                           | LPP | ta:b   |
| ECQ | tab, tav | BSN | tab                           | VER | ta:bl  |
| BLA | taf      | IWU | taf                           | NSS | ta:bl  |
| HAV | taf      | MAO | ta: <sup>b</sup> p, tɔl, tɔ:l | CAH | ta:ulo |
| ERQ | taf      | MAN | tɔl                           | LCH | ta:bla |
| PRE | taf      | GLO | ta:p                          | FRA | tabl   |
| LIO | tɔf      | GLN | tap                           | XXX | *tablø |

**TROU**

|     |                                       |     |                   |     |          |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|----------|
| FTM | tr <sup>o</sup> œ: <sup>l</sup> , trœ | LIN | tr <sup>o</sup> ɔ | CAG | trœ      |
| COQ | trɛ <sup>u</sup>                      | TUB | tr <sup>e</sup> ɔ | BRE | trœ      |
| VEG | trɛ <sup>u</sup>                      | FAM | tr <sup>e</sup> ɔ | BSM | tru, trø |
| TAT | trø                                   | BSO | tro               | LPP | tru      |
| ECQ | trø <sup>u</sup>                      | BSN | tro               | VER | tru      |
| BLA | trø <sup>u</sup>                      | IWU | trø               | NSS | tru      |
| HAV | trɥ                                   | MAO | trø:              | CAH | tra:ɔ    |
| ERQ | tro                                   | MAN | trø               | LCH | tru      |
| PRE | tr <sup>e</sup> ɔ                     | GLO | tro               | FRA | tru      |
| LIO | tr <sup>o</sup> o: <sup>w</sup> , tro | GLN | tro               | XXX | *tru     |

**VACHE**

|     |      |     |       |     |        |
|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|--------|
| FTM | va:k | LIN | vak   | CAG | vak    |
| COQ | vak  | TUB | vak   | BRE | vak    |
| VEG | vak  | FAM | vak   | BSM | vaf    |
| TAT | vak  | BSO | va:k  | LPP | vaf    |
| ECQ | vak  | BSN | vak   | VER | va:f   |
| BLA | vak  | IWU | vak   | NSS | vaf    |
| HAV | vak  | MAO | va:k  | CAH | ba:ko  |
| ERQ | vak  | MAN | vak   | LCH | vartso |
| PRE | vak  | GLO | vartf | FRA | vaf    |
| LIO | va:k | GLN | vak   | XXX | *vakø  |

**VEAU**

|     |                   |     |                 |     |           |
|-----|-------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|-----------|
| FTM | vjø: <sup>w</sup> | LIN | vo <sup>ü</sup> | CAG | vjø       |
| COQ | vje <sup>ü</sup>  | TUB | vja             | BRE | vjo       |
| VEG | vje <sup>ü</sup>  | FAM | vjo             | BSM | vjo, vjœ  |
| TAT | vjo               | BSO | vjo:            | LPP | vo:       |
| ECQ | vjo               | BSN | vjo             | VER | vo:, vjo: |
| BLA | vjo               | IWU | ve              | NSS | vjo:      |
| HAV | vjø               | MAO | vjø:            | CAH | bedel     |
| ERQ | vjo               | MAN | vjø, vjo        | LCH | ve        |
| PRE | v <sup>œ</sup> o  | GLO | vjo:            | FRA | vo        |
| LIO | ve: <sup>ow</sup> | GLN | vjo             | XXX | *vedel    |

**VOIR**

|     |               |     |          |     |              |
|-----|---------------|-----|----------|-----|--------------|
| FTM | v̥w̥ɹ̥, vi:R  | LIN | vi:R     | CAG | vi:R         |
| COQ | v̥w̥ɛ:R       | TUB | vi:R     | BRE | wɛ:R         |
| VEG | vi:R          | FAM | vi:R     | BSM | v̥w̥ɛ:R      |
| TAT | v̥w̥ø:R, vi:R | BSO | v̥w̥ɹ̥:R | LPP | v̥w̥ɛ:R      |
| ECQ | vi:R          | BSN | vi:R     | VER | v̥w̥ɛ:R      |
| BLA | vi:R          | IWU | vi:R     | NSS | v̥we:R, we:R |
| HAV | vi:R          | MAO | vi:R     | CAH | bɛ:R̥        |
| ERQ | vi:R          | MAN | vi:R     | LCH | ve:R̥        |
| PRE | vi:R          | GLO | vi:R     | FRA | v̥wa:R       |
| LIO | vi:R, v̥ɛ:R   | GLN | vi:R     | XXX | *ver̥        |

**A.2 Similarity scores**

The two tables in this section show the similarity scores for all pairs of varieties from the phonetic comparison in Chapter 6.3. Similarity scores have been re-scaled to whole numbers between 0 and 1000, where a score of 1000 means the two varieties compared are identical. Unless otherwise stated, all comparisons made in Chapter 6.3 make use of the full set of similarity scores, with the exception of those involving the hypothetical ancestor form (marked as ‘XXX’ in the tables).







# Publications

## Appendix B

---

- Knooihuizen, R. (2005). The Norn-to-Scots language shift: another look at socio-historical evidence. *Northern Studies* **39**. 105–117.
- Knooihuizen, R. (2008a). Fishing for words: the taboo language of Shetland fishermen and the dating of Norn language death. *Transactions of the Philological Society* **106**. 100–113.
- Knooihuizen, R. (2008b). Inter-ethnic marriage patterns in late sixteenth-century Shetland. *Local Population Studies* **80**. 22–38.



WINNER OF THE SSNS ESSAY COMPETITION

**The Norn-to-Scots language shift:  
another look at  
socio-historical evidence**

*Remco Knooihuizen*

*Introduction*

IT is just over a century now since the Faroese scholar Jakob Jakobsen initiated the study of Norn, the former Scandinavian vernacular of Orkney and Shetland.<sup>1</sup> Early contributions to the study were primarily concerned with the consequences of the language death process for the structure of Norn, a field that has proven to be rather controversial at times (Barnes 1998: 21–23). The limited number of sources on the language's structure can be (and have been) interpreted in various ways, and it is unlikely that conclusive evidence will ever appear (Barnes 1991: 457).

Since the 1960s, the study of language shift and language death as a separate field within (socio-)linguistics has developed rapidly. This study has given us a greater understanding of the processes involved in language shift and death, and generalisations on the social reasons underlying them. However, any generalisation when applied to a case would have to be confirmed by specific socio-historical evidence (Barnes 1996: 194). In the past two decades, some works have been concerned with giving this specific evidence for the case of the Norn-to-Scots language shift. In this essay I take another critical look at this evidence in order to identify where more research is needed.

---

<sup>1</sup> Jakobsen did fieldwork in Shetland in the 1890s. The primary source of reference is Jakobsen (1921). An English translation appeared as Jakobsen (1928–1932).

*Northern Studies*, vol. 39

---

*When did Norn die?*

If we want to look at the sociohistorical causes of the Norn-to-Scots language shift, it is critical to establish which period in Northern Isles social history to investigate. This is dependent on another disputed question: namely, when did Norn die? We lack a first-hand account of the process, and depend on a limited number of short comments on the language situation in the Northern Isles, written particularly in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> These sources can be interpreted in various ways, but I have found that most sources describe Norn as a thing of the past by the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Those sources that disagree are of a later date and seem to be influenced by a specific Shetlandic bias that wants to emphasise the ongoing links between Shetland and Scandinavia (Smith 1990: 25, Melchers 1991: 463–464, Barnes 1998: 1).

The dating of Norn language death to the late eighteenth century is confirmed by an estimate of the language competence of the ‘last speaker’ of Norn who gave us an oral text of any length, William Henry of Guttorm on the island of Foula in Shetland. Henry was interviewed by George Low in 1774 and provided him with a thirty-five stanza ballad and translations into Norn of a list of thirty English words (Low 1879: 105–114). Low writes that he unsuccessfully tried to get translations of many more words, and was unable to procure a literal translation of the ballad. The summary of the ballad he did get differed quite substantially at some points from the actual ballad text (Hægstad 1900: 31–32).

These comments from Low allow us to make an estimate of Henry’s proficiency in Norn. A three-way gradation of language proficiency in cases of language death has been developed by Nancy Dorian (1982: 32; see also Thomason 2001: 275). She distinguishes between speakers, who have full competence in the language; semi-speakers, who have limited competence but a good passive knowledge; and rememberers, who know words and phrases, but have no real command of the language. William Henry was at best a

---

2 A majority of these sources can be found in Marwick (1929: 224–226) and in various volumes of *OSA*. A complete list is printed in Knooihuizen (2005: 112–123).

*Norn-to-Scots*

very poor semi-speaker, but on this evidence it seems more appropriate to classify him as a rememberer.

This classification, in turn, allows us to put a date to the language death process. In the model of language death developed by Hans-Jürgen Sasse (1992: 19), language death (or the 'end of regular communication in a language') follows a primary language shift (PLS). PLS is the point where a majority of the community substitute their primary language with their secondary language, as a consequence of a conscious decision by the community not to transmit their language to the next generation any longer. There is no set time span between PLS and language death, but generally there will not be more than one generation of post-PLS semi-speakers.<sup>3</sup>

George Low (1879: 105) described Henry as 'an old man' in 1774. Another clue to his age are the dates of his tenure as a school teacher: from 1749 until his death in 1800 (Cowper 1997: 39).<sup>4</sup> If we from these dates estimate that Henry was born in the early 1720s, if we know that he was born after the PLS, and if we take into account that Henry was a native of Foula, a remote outlying island where the PLS occurred later than in the more central areas of Orkney and Shetland, this would suggest that the PLS took place in most of the Northern Isles shortly after 1700 at the latest.

If we are to look at the socio-historical factors that underlie the decision to transmit Scots rather than Norn to later generations, we will therefore need to look at the developments in society in the Northern Isles in the seventeenth century.

*Reasons for language shift*

In his article, 'Orkney and Shetland Norn', Michael Barnes (1984: 355) gave a list of five reasons for the language shift. It is quite probable these reasons did play a role, as the same reasons were alleged to lie behind the language shift away from Cornish,<sup>5</sup> and are also thought

3 Implied by Dorian (1982: 32): 'They [semi-speakers] represent the youngest age group in the community to make use of the dying language.'

4 It is not proven that Low's Henry and the SSPCK schoolmaster were the same person, but I find it very likely that they were.

5 Reasons for the demise of Cornish were given by the seventeenth-century scholar William Scawen and are quoted in P. Berresford Ellis (1971: 17, 1974: 82–83).

*Northern Studies, vol. 39*

---

to underlie cases of language shift in more recent times (see e.g. Kloss 1966). Reorganizing Barnes' list into slightly more general groups, the three reasons I wish to highlight in this essay are:

- The introduction of Scots in important linguistic domains such as administration, law, and religion;
- The spread of Scots and English through (formal) education;
- The loss of language contact with Scandinavia, combined with in-creasing language contact with Scots.

*The use of Scots in administration and law*

Language use in Northern Isles administration and law has primarily been assessed by analysing language use in written documents (Barnes 1991: 446–447). Allowing for incidental occurrences, *i.e.* single documents in Scots while most contemporary documents are in Norse or vice versa; and the fact that it is far from certain that many documents were actually written in the Northern Isles, there seems to have been a tendency to use Scots in official documents in Orkney from the 1430s and in Shetland from the 1520s.

Prior to the official abolishment of Norse law and the subsequent establishment of Scottish law in the islands in 1611, a mixture of Scottish and Norwegian laws was used (Donaldson 1984: 32). The surviving court records are, with no exceptions, written in Scots (Donaldson 1954), but that does not necessarily mean that Scots was also the spoken language in court. Judging from their names, many court officials seem to have been of Scandinavian heritage, and may have been Norn-speakers (Donaldson 1958: 76). There is evidence from the Faroe Islands that parliament discussions were held in Faroese, while the written record was in Danish (Clausén 1978: 21), and a similar situation may have occurred in the Northern Isles. However, a court record in Scots from Orkney from 1542–1543 (OSR no. xlv), mentions specifically that the defendant spoke 'in the common tongue'. It can credibly be argued that this refers to Norn, and the fact that such is worth mentioning suggests that the spoken language in court was primarily Scots (Marwick 1929: xxiii).



*The use of Scots in religious contexts*

Scots was used in church in Orkney from the late fourteenth century. The Black Death of 1349 had caused a shortage of Norwegian clergy and Scottish clergy were subsequently attracted to fill their positions. The church was a very powerful instrument of Scotticisation (Crawford 1977: 178; 1999: 18–22). At this time, Shetland seems to have used Latin in church matters (Scheel 1912: 391),<sup>6</sup> with Scots making an entrance after the transfer to the archbishopric of St Andrews in 1472. The language of the Reformation was undoubtedly Scots (and later English), with the only available vernacular bibles written in English.

Ministers were Scots-educated, although there were many who were born and bred in the Northern Isles (Knooihuizen 2005: 124). The story of Magnus ‘Norsk’ Manson, a minister who is said to have travelled to Norway in the 1590s to learn the language of his charges who did not understand Scots, has been used especially by earlier scholars to claim that Scots as the spoken language in church was the norm (Jakobsen 1928–1932: xvii, Scheel 1912: 391, Flom 1928–1929: 147–148, Murison 1969: 122). This story is almost certainly not true (Barnes 1991: 451). However, there is no evidence to suggest Scots was not used in church. Language requirements for the Northern Isles parishes were absent from the *Fasti*, the overview of ministers in the Church of Scotland, while they are mentioned for the Gaelic-speaking parishes in the Highlands and Islands. This could suggest that there were none, and that Scots was used in church and was understood by the parishioners (Barnes 1991: 451).

A problem with previous research on language use in the public domain has been that the focus was directed towards *written* language use. It is uncertain, however, how much the written word meant to seventeenth-century Orcadians and Shetlanders. The earliest report on literacy, dating from the 1820s, states that only about ten percent of Shetlanders were illiterate, but the survey

6 Scheel uses this example to claim Scots was not understood in Shetland at the time, but it is more likely to be a case of functional diglossia between secular (Scots) and church (Latin) matters.

*Northern Studies*, vol. 39

---

methods used were highly questionable, and simply owning a bible and preferring English over Scottish Gaelic seem to have been major factors in declaring a person 'literate' (Wiggen 2002: 47–48). It is likely Geirr Wiggen is correct when he writes (2002: 61) that 'the written language meant little or nothing' to Northern Islanders until well into the nineteenth century.

The spoken language in these important domains will have been of much more importance, and as I have concluded above, this language was Scots. A further analysis shows that Scots had taken over no later than by c. 1600.

*The spread of Scots and English  
through (formal) education*

Sources as early as 1750 blame an English-language education campaign by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) for the demise of Norn.<sup>7</sup> The role of SSPCK schools has been treated as a given throughout the study of Norn language death, with Geirr Wiggen's *Norns død, især skolens rolle* (2002) as the most complete work on the subject. Wiggen seems to work from the presupposition that formal English-language education caused the death of Norn. His discussion of education in the Northern Isles is thorough, but I would take a critical stance towards his conclusions.

There is some evidence of limited schooling, both formal and private, mostly in Orkney from the late fifteenth century onwards, but the first formal education in Shetland dates from the eighteenth century (Graham 1998: 11, 14–15).<sup>8</sup> The first SSPCK school in the Northern Isles was started in Walls, Shetland, in 1713. This was an ambulatory school: it would stay in a parish for a limited time before moving on to the next parish (Graham 1998: 25). This system meant that although most people at some point would have had access to some form of education, the amount of education they would have

---

7 Reports from 1750 by the brothers Murdoch and James Mackenzie are quoted in Marwick (1929: 225).

8 A source for Orkney similar to Graham (1998) is not available, and this section is therefore based primarily on Shetland data.

*Norn-to-Scots*

received was necessarily limited. Also, the quality of education in SSPCK schools was questionable. We know of one schoolmaster, Thomas Henry of Foula, who could only write his name, and therefore could only teach reading (Graham 1998: 36, Cowper 1997: 39).

A question that has been raised is how education in standard written English could cause a language shift to Scots (Wiggen 2002: 70–71). This need not be a problem though, as throughout Scotland we can see that Scots increasingly came to be regarded as a speech variant of written Standard English from the early seventeenth century, and this was probably the same in the Northern Isles (Görlach 1990: 146, 153).<sup>9</sup> A much bigger problem is the dating: if we accept c. 1700 as the date for the primary language shift, it would be impossible for an education campaign that started in 1713 to have been a cause of the shift.

*Loss of language contact with Scandinavia*

Contacts between the Northern Isles and Scandinavia, in particular Norway, were not brusquely cut off with the transfer of the islands to Scotland in 1468–1469. Orkney's administration was already Scotticised before then, but Shetland's links with Norway for administrative purposes, such as the ratification of land sales, continued until the mid-sixteenth century (Donaldson 1984: 27). Orcadian trade with Norway survived at least until the mid-seventeenth century, although the Scottish trade became increasingly important (Thomson 1987: 126; Stewart 1969: 160). Shetland's trade had a more international flavour: its main trading contacts were with the Hanseatic traders who had dominated the Shetland–Norway trade and were now bypassing the *kontor* in Bergen (Norway) and the Danish Royal trade monopoly (Smith 1990: 28, 31–32; Friedland 1983: 89), and from the seventeenth century Scottish merchants and Dutch fishermen also formed a sizeable market (Boelmans Kranenburg 1983: 102; Barnres 1984: 355).

<sup>9</sup> The relationship between Scots and Standard English is a controversial issue, but an in-depth discussion of this lies outside the scope of this essay.

*Northern Studies*, vol. 39

I have mentioned the dwindling relations between the Northern Isles and Norway in the formal public domains of administration, law, religion, and trade, and these fields' reorientation towards Scotland in the two centuries after the islands came under Scottish rule. Links with Norway in more personal private domains show a comparable trend. There is little evidence available on family relations, but the previously regular work-migration and emigration of Shetlanders and Orcadians to Bergen came to an end towards the end of the seventeenth century (Daae 1953 [1895]: 4–7).

*Increasing language contact with Scots*

As contacts with Scandinavia diminished, those with Scotland grew closer. Two major factors will have contributed to contact with speakers of Scots: the islands' trade with Scotland, and the immigration of Scots-speakers to the Northern Isles. Scots trade focused particularly on Orkney, and was centralised at the market in Kirkwall. (Shetland trade was dominated by Hanseatic merchants.) From Kirkwall, the goods were traded on by local middlemen (Shaw 1980: 167–168). Direct trade contacts between the population and visiting ships were strongly discouraged (Thomson 1987: 209). This trade set-up did not lead to extensive contact between traders and the locals (Shaw 1980: 172). However, it is likely the local middlemen were Scots-speakers too as trade was a popular career opportunity for ministers' sons (often people with Scots heritage). In this way all Orcadians will have been in regular contact with the Scots language.

Trade aside, the immigration of Scots-speakers will have made a much larger impact on language contact patterns. Scots immigration to Orkney is generally considered to have begun around 1400 and to have been rather substantial (Barnes 1984: 355), while there is disagreement on the dating and the extent of immigration to Shetland. Based on linguistic evidence, the large-scale immigration to Shetland is dated to the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>10</sup> and by the first half of the seventeenth century, personal name evidence

10 Donaldson (1983: 15) classifies features from present-day Shetland Scots as sixteenth-century features, and from that infers that this must have been the main period of Scots immigration to Shetland.

*Norn-to-Scots*

suggests a Scots presence in all of Shetland's parishes, albeit more pronounced in some than in others, with at least one third of the population of Shetland being Scots by then (Donaldson 1983: 13–15; 1984: 16).<sup>11</sup> Similar evidence is not available for Orkney, but given the closer proximity to Scotland and the longer history of immigration, it is unlikely the Scots population in Orkney was any less. The proportion of Scots was big enough to ensure they would not shift to Norn, but maintain their own language, which scholars generally assume enjoyed greater prestige than the local Scandinavian vernacular as it was the language of administration, law, and religion (Thomason & Kaufman 1991: 122).

The incomers to both Orkney and Shetland can be classified in the same categories: churchmen and their kin, new landowners, traders, fishermen, and 'specialists', *i.e.* officials and craftsmen (Donaldson 1983: 9, 11–12). In other words, there were Scots incomers who belonged to the same class as the natives, but more importantly, the upper class became Scotticised. The settlement pattern in the islands, which consisted of scattered 'farming townships' rather than more centralised towns (with the exception of Kirkwall and, from the seventeenth century, Lerwick) (Shaw 1980: 80, 170, 176), combined with the number of Scots and their presence in all layers of society, made it very likely that all Northern Islanders were in frequent contact with Scots.

The traditional picture of Northern Isles history, which features a Scots oppressor and a heavily subjugated Norse population (Wiggen 2002: 62; Jakobsen 1957: 20), has been shown not to have been in existence yet in the seventeenth century (Smith 1990: 32; Donaldson 1958: 76). There is no evidence that Scots was forcefully imposed on the islands, nor that Norn was wilfully eradicated. In this respect it differs greatly from the simultaneous developments with Scottish Gaelic in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (Withers 1988). The average Norn speaker, though, will have felt a pressing need to learn and to use Scots, the language of administration, law and religion, and of at least a third of the population (Barnes 1991: 453).

---

<sup>11</sup> Donaldson (1983) includes a discussion on the reliability of personal name evidence.

*Northern Studies, vol. 39*

---

### *Conclusion*

In this essay, I have primarily discussed the introduction of the Scots language in the Northern Isles and the reasons why the local Norn-speaking population felt the need to learn Scots and use it in a number of public domains. Reasons for abandoning Norn also in the more private domains have not been established.

Ongoing research in the adjacent fields of language shift and language death, both in the modern and the historical context, may shed more light on the final abandonment of languages, but as always, general theories will need to be supported by case-specific evidence. For the death of Norn, such evidence must be sought by further research in two areas: firstly, the Scots immigration to the Northern Isles, their settlement and contact patterns, and power relations between Scots immigrants and the existing Norn-speaking population; and secondly, the social history of the Northern Isles, especially in the seventeenth century, the key period in the language death process.

### *References*

- Barnes, Michael P. (1984). 'Orkney and Shetland Norn.' In Peter Trudgill (ed.), *Language in the British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 352–366.
- Barnes, Michael P. (1991). 'Reflections on the structure and the demise of Orkney and Shetland Norn.' In P. Sture Ureland & George Broderick (eds.), *Language contact in the British Isles: proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 429–460.
- Barnes, Michael P. (1996). 'The origin, development and decline of Orkney and Shetland Norn.' In Hans F. Nielsen & Lene Schøsler (eds.), *The origins and development of emigrant languages: proceedings from the Second Rasmus Rask Colloquium, Odense University, November 1994*. Odense: Odense University Press, 169–199.
- Berresford Ellis, P. (1971). *The story of the Cornish language*. Truro: Tor Mark Press.
- Berresford Ellis, P. (1974). *The Cornish language and its literature*. London, Boston: Routledge.

*Norn-to-Scots*

- Boelmans Kranenburg, H.A.H. (1983). 'The Netherland fisheries and the Shetland Islands.' In Donald J. Withrington (ed.), *Shetland and the outside world 1469–1969*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 96–118.
- Clausén, Ulla (1978). *Nyord i färöiskan: ett bidrag till belysning av språksituationen på Färöarna*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Cowper, A.S. (ed.) (1997). *SSPCK schoolmasters 1709–1872*. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society.
- Crawford, Barbara E. (1969). 'The fifteenth-century "Genealogy of the earls of Orkney" and its reflection on the contemporary political and cultural situation in the earldom.' *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 10, 156–178.
- Crawford, Barbara E. (1999). 'The historical setting: Shetland from the pre-Viking age to the modern period.' In Barbara E. Crawford & Beverly Ballin Smith, *The Biggings, Papa Stour, Shetland: the history and excavation of a royal Norwegian farm*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland & Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, 9–23.
- Donaldson, Gordon (ed.) (1954). *The court book of Shetland, 1602–1604*. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society.
- Donaldson, Gordon (1958). *Shetland life under Earl Patrick*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
- Donaldson, Gordon (1983). 'The Scots settlement in Shetland.' In Donald J. Withrington (ed.), *Shetland and the outside world 1469–1969*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 8–19.
- Donaldson, Gordon (1984). 'Problems of sovereignty and law in Orkney and Shetland.' In David Sellar (ed.), *The Stair Society: Miscellany Two*. Edinburgh: Stair Society, 13–40.
- Dorian, Nancy C. (1982). 'Linguistic models and language death evidence.' In Loraine K. Obler & Lise Menn (eds.), *Exceptional language and linguistics*. New York, London: Academic Press, 31–48.
- Daae, Ludvig (1953 [1895]). 'About contacts between the Orkneys and Shetland and the motherland Norway after 1468.' In E.S. Reid Tait (ed., trans.), *Two translations from the Dano-Norwegian*. Lerwick: n.p.
- Flom, George T. (1928–1929). 'The transition from Norse to Lowland Scotch in Shetland, 1600–1850: a study in the decay of one language and its influence upon the language that supplanted it.' *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 10, 145–164.
- Friedland, Klaus (1983). 'Hanseatic merchants and their trade with Shetland.' In Donald J. Withrington (ed.), *Shetland and the outside world 1469–1969*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 86–95.

*Northern Studies*, vol. 39

- Görlach, Manfred (1990). 'Scots and Low German: the social history of two minority languages.' In Manfred Görlach, *Studies in the history of the English language*. Heidelberg: Winter, 144–162.
- Graham, John J. (1998). *A vehement thirst after knowledge: four centuries of education in Shetland*. Lerwick: Shetland Times.
- Hægstad, Marius (1900). *Hildinakvadet: med utgreiding um det norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid*. Christiania: Dybwad.
- Jakobsen, Jakob (1921). *Etymologisk ordbog over det norrøne sprog paa Shetland*. København: Prior.
- Jakobsen, Jakob (1928–1932). *An etymological dictionary of the Norn language of Shetland* (2 vols). London: Nutt.
- Jakobsen, Jakob (1957). 'Nøkur orð um Hetlands søgu.' *Varðin* 32, 18–27.
- Kloss, Heinz (1966). 'German-American language maintenance efforts.' In Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Language loyalty in the United States: the maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups*. The Hague: Mouton, 206–252.
- Knooihuizen, Remco (2005). 'The death of Norn: a study into the decline of the Scandinavian vernacular of Orkney and Shetland.' Unpublished M.Sc. dissertation, University of Edinburgh.
- Low, George (1879). *A tour through the islands of Orkney and Schetland containing hints relative to their ancient, modern and natural history, collected in 1774*, ed. by Joseph Anderson. Kirkwall: Peace.
- Marwick, Hugh (1929). *The Orkney Norn*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Melchers, Gunnel (1991). 'Norn-Scots: a complicated language contact situation in Shetland.' In P. Sture Ureland & George Broderick (eds.), *Language contact in the British Isles: proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 461–477.
- Murison, David D. (1969). 'Shetland speech today.' *Fróðskaparrit* 13, 122–129.
- OSA = *The [old] Statistical Account of Scotland, drawn up from the communications of ministers of the different parishes*, ed. by Sir John Sinclair (21 vols) (1791–1799). Edinburgh: Creech.
- REO = *Records of the Earldom of Orkney, 1299–1614*, ed. by J. Storer Clouston (1914). Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen (1992). 'Theory of language death.' In Matthias Brenzinger (ed.), *Language death: factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 7–30.



*Norn-to-Scots*

- Scheel, Fredrik (1912). 'Orknøerne og Hjalmland i pantsættelsestiden 1468–1667.' *Norsk historisk tidsskrift*, 5. rekke 1, 381–420.
- Shaw, Frances J. (1980). *The Northern and Western Isles of Scotland: their economy and society in the seventeenth century*. Edinburgh: Donald.
- Smith, Brian (1990). 'Shetland, Scandinavia, Scotland, 1300–1700: the changing nature of contact.' In Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and Scandinavia 800–1800*. Edinburgh: Donald, 25–37.
- Stewart, John (1969). 'Norn in Shetland.' *Fróðskaparrit* 13, 158–175.
- Thomason, Sarah G. (2001). *Language contact: an introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Thomson, William P.L. (1987). *History of Orkney*. Edinburgh: Mercat.
- Wiggen, Geirr (2002). *Norns død, især skolens rolle: Kommentarer til en disputt om nedgangen for det nordiske språket på Orknøyene og Shetland*. Oslo: Novus.
- Thomason, Sarah G. & Terence Kaufman (1991). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Withers, Charles W.J. (1988). *Gaelic Scotland: the transformation of a culture region*. London, New York: Routledge.



*Transactions of the Philological Society* Volume 106:1 (2008) 100–113

## FISHING FOR WORDS: THE TABOO LANGUAGE OF SHETLAND FISHERMEN AND THE DATING OF NORN LANGUAGE DEATH<sup>1</sup>

By REMCO KNOOIHUIZEN  
*University of Edinburgh*

### ABSTRACT

There has been considerable debate about when Norn, the Scandinavian language formerly spoken in Orkney and Shetland, died as a community language in the islands. Arguments thus far have focused primarily on second-hand commentary from travel and census reports, sparking disputes about the credibility of these sources. Linguistic evidence, although very little survives, is seldom used systematically in the debate about when Norn died. I argue that a list of thirty Norn words collected in 1774 can tell us about the state of the language at the time, and can thus be used as evidence in this debate.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In the early summer of 1893, the Faroese linguist Jakob Jakobsen arrived in Lerwick, Shetland, to begin the research that would lead to his 1897 doctoral dissertation *Det norrøne sprog paa Shetland* 'The Norse language in Shetland'. His aim was to find the remains of Norn, the language that was once the vernacular of Orkney and Shetland, and the closest relative to his native Faroese. In the years between 1893 and 1897, Jakobsen travelled across Shetland, speaking to local people and asking them for old Norn words they might remember. Eventually he collected some 10,000 words as the basis for an etymological dictionary (1908–21 in Danish, 1928–32 in English).

<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank April McMahon, Doreen Waugh, Zakaris Svabo Hansen, and two anonymous *TPS* reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper.

© The author 2008. Journal compilation © The Philological Society 2008. Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148, USA.

In this paper I highlight two aspects from Jakobsen's work: first, the fact that Jakobsen could not with any certainty put a date on the death of Norn, and secondly, the fact that a number of Jakobsen's words seem to have been confined to the language of Shetland fishermen (Flom 1925: 400). I argue that this confinement to the fishermen's language can be an important clue in the dating of Norn language death.

## 2. WHEN DID NORN DIE?

### 2.1. *Claims based on historical commentary*

An avid proponent of dating the death of Norn to as late as the nineteenth century is the Danish scholar Laurits Rendboe. He bases his view on a particular reading of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources on the language. Rendboe places particular weight on the comments that claim Norn was still alive and pure – whatever either of these adjectives may have meant – in the nineteenth century, such as those by Thomas Irvine in his *Zetlandic Memoranda* (1814–80) and I. B. Stoughton Holbourn in *The Isle of Foula* (1938) (Rendboe 1984: 79–80). Although Rendboe dismisses much of the eighteenth-century material (see below), claiming that it is ill-informed and based on biased second-hand knowledge, Irvine and Stoughton Holbourn, whose statements he accepts without criticism, also did not have first-hand knowledge of the situation; a more balanced reading of the sources is therefore necessary.

Another suggestion that Norn may have been alive in even the late nineteenth century was made by Jakobsen himself. In his *Etymological Dictionary* (Jakobsen 1928–1932: xix) he writes that the last Norn speaker in Unst died in 1850, and that Norn speakers were alive in Foula 'much later than the middle of the [nineteenth] century'. Jakobsen acknowledges that it is unclear what exactly 'Norn' means in these contexts – a separate language or an archaic form of Shetland Scots (see also Barnes 1998: 1) – and it is difficult to interpret what Jakobsen, or his informants, meant by these comments.

Comments from the eighteenth century, claiming the recent death of Norn, are easier to interpret. They are far more numerous than the nineteenth-century material (a clue in itself), and they paint a fairly consistent picture. Much of this material was collected by parish ministers in the 1790s for the *Old Statistical Account of*

102 TRANSACTIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY 106, 2008

*Scotland (OSA)*, others are ‘descriptions’ of the islands and travel reports; the relevant citations can be found in Stewart (1969: 164–7) and, if applicable to Orkney as well as Shetland, Marwick (1929: 224–6). These sources suggest that around the year 1700 both Norn and Scots are spoken in Shetland. In the early part of the eighteenth century, Norn is already said to have been in decline, with Scots being the main language of the islands. From the middle of the century, Norn is described as a thing of the past, being spoken only by old people. Another half-century on, in the *OSA*, the old speakers are no longer mentioned and it seems safe to assume that Norn by then was dead.

Attempts to put more precise dates on the language shift and the death of Norn based on this information are highly speculative, but if we assume the last older (semi-)speakers died between the 1750s and the 1790s, they must have been born no later than the early eighteenth century, and the process in which Norn was replaced as the primary spoken language of the community – the language shift (see Sasse 1992) – cannot have taken place long after that.

### 2.2. *Claims based on linguistic evidence*

The main body of linguistic evidence about Norn was compiled by Jakobsen and published in his *Etymological Dictionary*. It is however important to realise that the larger part of what Jakobsen collected was not Norn in its stricter sense, and that the words were not part of a language that was still alive, but that they were merely remnants of the language, surviving as substratum loanwords in late nineteenth-century Shetland Scots.

The large quantity of surviving Norn words is not an indication of the recency of Norn language death. It is possible for researchers to elicit an ‘artificially enhanced picture of the state of the language’ (Macafee 1991–1992: 71): informants can provide a larger body of material in research settings than would generally be used. For example, two centuries after the death of Cornish, traditionally dated to 1774, it was still possible to find people who remembered large numbers of Cornish words (Barnes 1991: 456).

Another problem with Jakobsen’s material is that the words tend to fit into certain lexical sets. They are related to the ‘old’ way of life: old customs and superstitions, fisheries and agriculture, words that had become obsolete as the objects and ideas they referred to

were replaced by new ones, imported from Scotland with their Scots names (pers. comm., Carol Christiansen, Shetland Museum and Archives). Such basic concepts as numbers were not remembered (Barnes 1991: 445).

Whereas the material collected by Jakobsen is of little help in determining when Norn died, the material collected over a century earlier by George Low, especially considering the circumstances in which the material was collected, may shed more light on the matter. In the summer of 1774 Low, a young minister about to be appointed to the Orcadian parish of Harray and Birsay, travelled through the Northern Isles. His detailed travel report was published in 1879.

During his travels Low spent a week on the outlying island of Foula. Here he met an old man called William Henry, a farmer in Guttorm, who recited to him a thirty-five-stanza ballad now known as the Hildina Ballad. It has previously been argued (Knooihuizen 2005: 106–107) that Henry's recitation is a key to the dating of Norn language death, as Henry could recite the ballad to Low but could not give a detailed translation (Low 1879: 113). The English summary he gave Low contains a number of events that do not occur in the ballad, while storylines from the ballad are omitted from the summary (Hægstad 1900: 31–2). This allows us to discuss Henry's proficiency in Norn.

In her research on the proficiency of speakers of a dying language (Scottish Gaelic in East Sutherland), Nancy Dorian (1982: 32) found a continuum of proficiency, in which she identified three main groups, which correlated strongly with age. Fluent 'speakers' are those whose mother tongue was Gaelic. They had full active and passive competence of the language. The next group are 'semi-speakers'. They were not actively taught Gaelic by their parents – a pivotal event in language shift, according to Sasse (1992: 19) – but picked up some of the language from listening to conversations. Their active competence varied widely, from near-fluent to being able to make themselves understood in a heavily simplified version of the language, but crucially, their passive competence in Gaelic was very good. The final group are 'rememberers'. They were not taught Gaelic, nor were they able to pick up enough of the language to develop any sort of active or passive competence beyond a sometimes very extensive but fixed set of phrases. Dorian's findings suggest that each transition to a lower group of proficiency takes approximately one generation.

104 TRANSACTIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY 106, 2008

Henry's ability to recite the Hildina Ballad without knowing a word-for-word translation – something Low would have been very interested in, cf. the following section – would suggest he was a 'rememberer'. It is possible to identify Henry with the schoolteacher of the same name who taught in Foula from 1749 (Cowper 1997: 39) and can therefore not have been born much later than 1725. Even if Henry was from the first generation of rememberers, this would place the language shift around 1700. Low, however, in a letter written not two years after his departure from Foula (Low 1879: lvi), writes that he fears his informant will already have passed away by then, as he was an 'old' man. The schoolteacher must have been about 50 years old; if 'old' means older than that, this would mean that the process of language shift occurred even before 1700. This dating is consistent with the evidence of Norn still being spoken, albeit in Orkney rather than Shetland, by school-children in 1725 (Campbell 1954: 175) and by elderly people in the mid-1750s (Marwick 1929: 226).

In addition to the Hildina Ballad, George Low collected another piece of linguistic evidence when he was on his way by boat to Foula: a list of thirty Norn words. It is interesting to see whether this evidence sheds more light on the dating of Norn language death, and whether it confirms the earlier linguistic evidence for a Norn-to-Scots language shift by the beginning of the eighteenth century. I will argue, on both counts, that it does.

### 3. GEORGE LOW'S WORD LIST FROM 1774

On 4 July 1774 George Low travelled to Foula. Despite a lack of first-hand commentary, Rendboe (1987: 20) argues that Low collected his list of thirty Norn words on his boat trip to the island. Rendboe bases this on the meanings and order of the words, which he claims suggests a boat journey from Walls to Foula. Although this is neither impossible nor unlikely, it must be borne in mind that this is Rendboe's interpretation of the list, rather than its demonstrable provenance.

Low's list, adapted from Low (1879: 106) with suggested transcription corrections from Rendboe (1987: 17), is printed in Table 1. Rendboe (1987: 81–2) has given Old Norse cognates of the Norn words, but for the purpose of this study I have given Faroese translations of the words. (Faroese is the Scandinavian language

thought to be most closely related to Norn, and shows similar phonological developments.) The list is useful for historical linguistics and clearly shows the words' Scandinavian roots and morphology (see Rendboe 1987 for a discussion). In the present study, however, the focus is on the sociolinguistic information that can be distilled from the word list and its provenance.

Low (1879: 107) comments: 'these few words are what I could pick up; many others I proposed, but without effect.' He tried to expand his word list, but for some reason his informants were

Table 1. George Low's word list from 1774

| English                  | Norn                 | Faroese                    |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Foula                    | Fugla<br>Utrrie      | Fugloy                     |
| island                   | hion                 | ( <i>Old Norse</i> ) eyin  |
| bread                    | coust                | breyð                      |
| oat bread                | corka coust          | havri                      |
| barley bread             | boga coust           | bygg                       |
| sea                      | sheug                | sjógv                      |
| fish                     | fisk                 | fisk                       |
| haddock                  | hoissan              | hýsan ['hóiszn]            |
| cod                      | gronge<br>groðningar | toskur                     |
| ling                     | longo                | longa                      |
| herring                  | sildin               | sildin                     |
| rock                     | berg<br>berrie       | berg                       |
| boat                     | bodin<br>knorin      | bátin<br>knørrin           |
| sail                     | seiglè               | seglið                     |
| mast                     | mostin               | mast[ur]in                 |
| coat                     | quot                 | ( <i>Scots</i> ) coat      |
| shoe                     | seugin [scugin]      | skógvin                    |
| stocking                 | so[c]kin             | sokkin                     |
| cap                      | ugan                 | húgván                     |
| sea mall <i>or</i> mew   | whit fuglin          | mási                       |
| eagle                    | ednin                | ørnin                      |
| trencher <i>or</i> plate | bergesken            | borðdiskin                 |
| spoon                    | sponin               | spónin                     |
| ladle                    | heosa                | oysa                       |
| horse                    | hessin               | hestin                     |
| mare                     | rupa [russa]         | ryssa                      |
| cow                      | kurin                | ( <i>Old Norse</i> ) kýrin |
| sheep                    | fiè                  | fæ                         |
| ewe                      | sedvite              | seyðaveður 'ram'           |
| pott                     | oron<br>posney       | ærin<br>pottí              |



106 TRANSACTIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY 106, 2008

unable, or perhaps unwilling, to aid him. Unfortunately we do not know which words Low proposed in vain, and there is no first-hand evidence available to tell us whether there were specific semantic restrictions on the surviving Norn words. It is also not known whether the informants had the Norn words readily available, or remembered them only after repeated requests from Low. Bear in mind that here, as with Jakobsen's dictionary, the interview-like situation may have given an unbalanced picture of the linguistic situation.

The word list was not compiled with the aim of testing lexical loss in a shifting language community. Low had a (perhaps antiquarian) interest in the 'ancient language' (p. 105), and the content of the word list is likely to have been determined by the chance of the interview situation. This does not mean, of course, that we should not attempt to use this data to say something about the informants' language abilities.

Rendboe (1987: 85) explains Low's failure to find more Norn words by referring not to lexical loss, but to the taboo language of the Shetland fishermen. He argues that the fishermen from Walls who ferried Low to Foula were not allowed to mention any of the other words that Low proposed, as they were forbidden under the taboo rules. They were particularly not allowed to mention the words to Low, who as a minister was not strictly speaking very welcome on board to begin with. In order to investigate this hypothesis, it is necessary to take a closer look at the practice of taboo language.

#### 4. THE TABOO LANGUAGE OF NORTH SEA FISHERMEN

The taboo language of the fishermen of the North Sea regions has been the subject of occasional publications, but has not been investigated in recent times. The taboo practice stems from a superstition that suggests strong links between objects, animals or people and the names that are given to them (Flom 1925: 407). Under certain circumstances it was considered wiser not to utter those names.

One such circumstance was while at sea. The sea was vital to the fishermen's lives, but it was an inhospitable place at the best of times, and danger was omnipresent. Part of the taboo had to do with the belief in and fear of sea spirits (Flom 1925: 402; Laurenson

1874; Drever 1916), but mention of more mundane creatures was also avoided. Naming a fish could scare it away, while naming creatures the fishermen would rather not see, such as monsters, whales, and certain birds, might attract them (Lockwood 1955: 2). To discuss things without these other creatures being able to listen in on the conversation, the fishermen employed a ‘secret code’ of words that were not affected by the taboo, so-called *noa* words. These *noa* names were not magically linked to the actual world, and there was therefore no harm in uttering them.

The taboo affected a wide range of vocabulary, but it is not the purpose of this study to provide a complete listing of affected concepts. These are covered thoroughly in the articles by Flom (1925: 413–18), Lockwood (1955, on Faroese), and Fenton (1968–1969). The semantic areas affected by the taboo that are relevant to this study are those that have to do with the fishing trade (for example, the boat and its parts, fishing tools, and fish, but also geographical features one may encounter while at sea), with traditional farm (land) life (farm animals, food and clothing) and with religion, especially the person of the minister. The *noa* words were often descriptive, highlighting a certain aspect of the object, such as (Faroese) *hvast* ‘sharp’ for a knife, or *stutthali* ‘short-tail’ for sheep (Lockwood 1955: 5, 12).

Fenton (1968–1969: 121) suggests that this type of description stands in a direct relation to the tradition of kennings in Old Norse skaldic poetry, a style figure that uses descriptive circumlocutions, for example *hjaldrs tranar* ‘cranes of battle’ for ravens or eagles, *sveiðurs mækir* ‘sword of the bull’ for horns, or *foldar bein* ‘bone of the earth’ for a stone (examples from Marold 1983: 32, 122, 129). An introductory overview of kennings, including a typology, can be found in Marold (1983: ch. 2).

Kennings can however be much more elaborate and layered, and less immediately transparent, than the descriptions found in taboo language. As a part of Old Norse poetry will have had religious associations – for example, *Hávamál* and other parts of the Poetic Edda – it has been speculated that kennings originated as a form of taboo language (Murison 1964: 39), which subsequently got turned into a form of art. Such a development from taboo language into poetry is more likely than a poetic origin of taboo language that Fenton seems to hint at, especially given that the phenomenon, including the types of description used as *noa* words, is not confined

108 TRANSACTIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY 106, 2008

to Scandinavia. Taboo practice is very widespread, and similar descriptions to the Faroese ones mentioned above can be found in Ukrainian (Smal-Stocki 1950) and Coast Salish (Elmendorf 1951), among others.

The taboo language of Shetland fishermen, also known as *haaf*-language (from *haaf* < Old Norse *haf* 'sea'), has been the specific focus of very few studies (Flom 1925; Fenton 1968–1969), although it has been mentioned in more general overviews of the phenomenon (Lockwood 1955). The Shetland *haaf*-language is no different from the taboo languages of Faroese and Norwegian fishermen with regard to the semantic areas affected by the taboo, but Lockwood (1955: 5) did find a major and significant difference (he uses the Faroese *sjómál* 'sea-language' as a generic):

If we compare the Norwegian and Faroese material relating to *sjómál* and make allowances for obvious differences in the two countries, we may well conclude that the phenomenon was about equally extensive in both places. If we now regard the extent of *sjómál* in Norwegian and Faroese as a rough norm against which to measure the Shetland *haaf*-language, we can hardly escape the conclusion that the extraordinary development in Shetland Norn took place only in the period of the decline of Scandinavian in the islands. Or, expressed in another way, many of the Norse words which Jakobsen found only as *haaf*-words will not have been such at the time when Norn was still the ordinary language, but they became *haaf*-words and hence associated with the old taboos when they were otherwise replaced by English during the period of Anglicisation, i.e. in the seventeenth century.

The 'extraordinary development' Lockwood refers to is the fact that many more examples of fishermen's words are recorded in Shetland than in Norway or the Faroe Islands. It is because of this development that so many Scandinavian words have been preserved in Shetland. The important role that the fishermen's language played in the 'survival' of Norn was also recognised by Jakobsen (1928–1932: xx) and others. However, it is important to realise that what survived were individual lexical items, and not an intact linguistic system.

5. TABOO LANGUAGE IN LOW'S WORD LIST AND THE DATING OF NORN LANGUAGE DEATH

If we accept Rendboe's suggestion that the word list was indeed collected *en route* from Walls to Foula, it is likely that the fishermen's taboo language had something to do with Low's failure to collect more words. I would however argue that Rendboe's conclusions are mistaken.

The semantic sets that the words on the list fit into are clear, and as Rendboe has noted, the words are actually given in an order that resembles semantic sets. Generalising, they are geographical names, food items, the boat and its parts, items of clothing, household items, farm animals and, perhaps most importantly, fish – all semantic sets that are most likely to be affected by word-taboo rules. However, judging from current Scandinavian languages, most of the items and animals were called by their *normal* names, not by the kennings one would expect in a taboo language. Rather than Low being able to procure this word list and then nothing else because he would have broken a taboo rule, this suggests that these Scandinavian words had in fact become the *noa* words used to refer to taboo-affected concepts at sea. It also suggests that Low failed to find any more Norn words, because the concepts they referred to were not subject to the taboo and there had been no reason to retain the Norn words.

Jakobsen's dictionary, inasmuch as the words are listed, seems to support this analysis. A third of the words are not in the dictionary, and we need to disregard another six as they are listed with Low's word list as the only source. Of the remaining words, Jakobsen lists five specifically as 'sea-term', 'taboo-name' or 'fisherman's language': *fisk*, *longo* (as *longa*), *seiglè* (as *segel*), *hessin* (as *hest*), and *rusa*.

Some of the words are not cognate with the normal Faroese words for the items, but upon further investigation these words support rather than disprove the hypothesis. Three of the words are clearly descriptive: *Utríe* 'Foula' ('outer island'), *grodningar* 'cod' ('fish that lives near the bottom'), and *whit fuglin* 'sea mall' ('white bird'). The occurrence of these typical *noa* words – *grodningar* is also attested in Faroese fisherman's language, as *grunnungur* – indicates that the provenance suggested by Rendboe is correct.

110 TRANSACTIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY 106, 2008

The word *coust* 'bread' appears in Faroese as *kostur* 'food'. Although the word does not appear to be in use in Faroese taboo language, it is possible that it developed a more specific meaning in Norn, either when Norn was still a living language or when the word was taken up as a *noa* word. *Corka* 'oats' is another word not present in Faroese taboo language. It may either be cognate with *korki* 'moss', perhaps for a colour resemblance, or, as Rendboe (1987: 81–82) suggests, a loan from Gaelic *coirce* 'oats'.

Other words that may be loans (from Scots) are *quot* 'coat' and *spoinin* 'spoon'. Both words exist in Faroese (as *kot* and *spónur*, but loanwords there too), but their close resemblance to the Scots words would suggest that these words were not in use as *noa* words. This need not be a problem for the hypothesis, as neither concept seems sufficiently central to the fishing trade to require the use of a *noa* word.

Low's word list, then, seems to confirm Lockwood's suggestion about the replacement of Norn words by English ones. The only way in which the Norn words would have become free to use as *noa* words, and have the taboo that rested on them lifted, would have been if they were no longer the land-based normal words for these items. The conclusion must then be that for the Walls fishermen from 1774, the normal words were not Norn, but Scots. Scots must therefore already have taken over the function of primary language of the community by the time of the fishermen's birth in the early eighteenth century. This confirms the earlier linguistic evidence from Low's 1774 tour, and supports the reading from eighteenth-century sources.

#### 6. TABOO AND LANGUAGE SHIFT

The continued use of the Norn lexicon in the taboo language of Shetland fishermen after the language had died out is not in itself remarkable. Sasse's (1992: 18) model of language death suggests that an abandoned language may leave a (lexical) substratum influence on the new community language, which is certainly the case in Shetland (Barnes 1998: 28). Apart from this substratum, Sasse claims residual knowledge may survive 'as a ritual language, as a secret language, as a professional jargon' (1992: 18). The examples of the continued use of Latin and Coptic in religious and academic settings are well known, but the case of Kwéyòl of St

Lucia, which is in the process of becoming restricted to the genre of cursing, shows the same phenomenon happens in lower-prestige settings as well (Garrett 2005). The Norn words in Shetland taboo language form a middle ground between these two extremes.

The question remains whether, and if so how, the practice of taboo language played any role in either accelerating or slowing down the Norn-to-Scots language shift in Shetland. Although taboo practices exist in several communities undergoing language shift, notably in Australia and North America, to my knowledge there has been no research focusing on the role of taboo in language shift. One imagines that in general, any taboos placed on language use in a shifting community would not be beneficial to language maintenance. For example, Moore (1988: 453) observed a taboo in the Native American Wasco speech community that caused ‘interaction between the younger and older speakers [to be] infrequent; when it does occur, English is the preferred medium of communication.’ A younger speaker in the community considered it taboo to speak Wasco in summertime (p. 464). In such circumstances, where the use of an entire code is situationally very restricted, the unrestricted code (and target language in the language shift) is more likely to be used, promoting the language shift.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Shetland, however, the taboo prevented only selected lexical items from being used in a specific context, and not the entire code. It is therefore unlikely that the taboo accelerated language shift. But could it have slowed down the shift by preserving lexical material now retained as *noa* words? Also here I would argue that it does not appear so: the words in Low’s list could only have become *noa* words after the taboo on them had been lifted, i.e. after the language shift. This means that there is no indication of the fishermen’s taboo language slowing down or even preventing the shift. Moreover, the vast majority of the Norn words

<sup>2</sup>Taboo restrictions on the context in which an endangered language can be spoken also inhibit language shift/death research in these communities. This is exemplified by Moore (1988) as well as Schmidt (1985: 169), where informants refused to utter words or denied knowledge of them in interviews, but were later observed using the same words in casual conversation. The anecdote of Moore’s informant in particular could suggest that in a language shift situation it is not only the structure of the language that can undergo change, but also social restrictions on language use.

112 TRANSACTIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY 106, 2008

in Jakobsen's dictionary were not marked as 'sea language', and their survival cannot be attributed to taboo practices.

Although in this case the specific and limited nature of the taboo in Shetland prevented it from playing a bigger role in the actual language shift, it was still a relevant social practice, and has provided us with additional linguistic evidence for dating the shift from Norn to Scots.

*Linguistics and English Language*  
*School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences*  
*University of Edinburgh*  
*14 Buccleuch Place*  
*Edinburgh EH8 9LN*  
*Email: remco@ling.ed.ac.uk*

#### REFERENCES

- BARNES, MICHAEL P., 1991. 'Reflections on the structure and demise of Orkney and Shetland Norn', in P. Sture Ureland & George Broderick (eds.), *Language Contact in the British Isles: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 429–460.
- BARNES, MICHAEL P., 1998. *The Norn Language of Orkney and Shetland*, Lerwick: Shetland Times.
- CAMPBELL, J. L., 1954. 'The Norse language in Orkney in 1725', *Scottish Historical Review* 33, 175.
- COWPER, A. S. (ed.), 1997. *SSPCK Schoolmasters 1709–1872*, Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society.
- DORIAN, NANCY C., 1982. 'Linguistic models and language death evidence', in Lorraine K. Obler & Lise Menn (eds.), *Exceptional Language and Linguistics*, London: Academic Press, 31–48.
- DREVER, JAMES, 1916. "'Taboo" words among Shetland fishermen: a preliminary survey from an anthropological point of view', *Old-Lore Miscellany of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and Sutherland* 10, 235–240.
- ELMENDORF, WILLIAM W., 1951. 'Word taboo and lexical change in Coast Salish', *International Journal of American Linguistics* 17, 205–208.
- FENTON, ALEXANDER, 1968–1969. 'The tabu language of the fishermen of Orkney and Shetland', *Ethnologia Europaea* 2–3, 118–122.
- FLOM, GEORGE T., 1925. 'Noa words in North Sea regions: a chapter in folklore and linguistics', *Journal of American Folklore* 38, 400–418.
- GARRETT, PAUL B. 'What a language is good for: language socialization, language shift, and the persistence of code-specific genres in St. Lucia', *Language in Society* 34, 327–361.
- HÆGSTAD, MARIUS, 1900. *Hildinakvadet, med utgreiding um det norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid*, Christiania: Dybwad.
- JAKOBSEN, JAKOB, 1921. *Etymologisk ordbog over det norrøne sprog paa Shetland*, Copenhagen: Prior.
- JAKOBSEN, JAKOB, 1928–1932. *An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland*, London: Nutt.

- KNOOIHUIZEN, REMCO, 2005. 'The Norn-to-Scots language shift: another look at socio-historical evidence', *Northern Studies* 39, 105–117.
- LAURENSEN, ARTHUR, 1874. 'On certain beliefs and phrases of Shetland fishermen', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland* 10, 711–716.
- LOCKWOOD, W. B., 1955. 'Word taboo in the language of the Faroese fishermen', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1–24.
- LOW, GEORGE, 1879. *A Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Schetland containing hints relative to their ancient, modern and natural history, collected in 1774*, Kirkwall: Peace.
- MACAFEE, CAROLINE, 1991–1992. "'Acumsinery": is it too late to collect traditional dialect?', *Folklife* 30, 71–77.
- MAROLD, EDITH, 1983. *Kenningkunst: ein Beitrag zu einer Poetik der Skaldendichtung*, Berlin: de Gruyter.
- MARWICK, HUGH, 1929. *The Orkney Norn*, London: Oxford University Press.
- MOORE, ROBERT E., 1988. 'Lexicalization versus lexical loss in Wasco-Wishram language obsolescence', *International Journal of American Linguistics* 54, 453–468.
- MURISON, DAVID D., 1964. 'The Scots tongue: the folk-speech', *Folklore* 75, 37–47.
- RENDBOE, LAURITS, 1984. 'How "worn-out" or "corrupted" was Shetland Norn in its final stages?', *NOWELE* 3, 53–88.
- RENDBOE, LAURITS, 1987. *Det gamle shetlandske sprog*, Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.
- SASSE, HANS-JÜRGEN, 1992. 'Theory of language death', in Matthias Brenzinger (ed.), *Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with special reference to East Africa*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 7–30.
- SCHMIDT, ANNETTE, 1985. *Young People's Dyirbal: An Example of Language Death from Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SMAL-STOCKI, ROMAN, 1950. 'Taboos on animal names in Ukrainian', *Language* 26, 489–493.
- STEWART, JOHN, 1969. 'Norn in Shetland', *Fróðskaparrit* 13, 158–175.



## INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SHETLAND

Remco Knooihuizen

Remco Knooihuizen is a postgraduate student in Linguistics and English Language at the University of Edinburgh, focusing on the sociolinguistics of minority languages in Early Modern Europe. As such he has a keen interest in the (population) history of this period, which can be extremely relevant to linguistic developments

### Introduction

This article uses evidence from personal names in an attempt to uncover patterns of inter-ethnic marriage in Shetland in the late sixteenth century, shortly after a large Scots immigration had drastically altered the ethnic make-up of its population. In the debate about the death of the Norn language in Shetland (a Scandinavian language similar to Norwegian and Faroese) and its replacement by Scots (a West Germanic language that shares its roots with English), it has previously been argued that a drastic change in the ethno-demographic makeup of the islands was an important contributing factor to the language shift. In the sixteenth century, large numbers of Scots migrated to Shetland mostly from the Lowland Scottish areas of Angus, Fife, and Lothian. In a relatively short span of time, the Scottish population in the islands rose from negligible numbers to approximately a third of the population.<sup>1</sup> Their numbers and the high status of the incomers' language (the latter inferred from the late nineteenth century onwards and not confirmed by sixteenth-century evidence) could alone be considered enough reason for a language shift. However, it can be helpful to look at other aspects of the demographic change as well.<sup>2</sup>

One of these aspects is exogamy: that is, the rates of intermarriage between members of the different ethnic groups. Exogamy is often mentioned as a mechanism of language shift. Children from an inter-ethnic marriage are often (but not always) brought up proficient in the 'target language', the language of the socially dominant group, rather than in the 'abandoned language' of the socially subordinate group. This paper investigates to what extent the Scots incomers and the original Norse population of Shetland intermarried shortly after the main period of immigration.<sup>3</sup>

### The history of Shetland up to the sixteenth century

The Shetland Islands are an archipelago situated in the North Atlantic to the north-east of the Scottish mainland. Previously a dependency of the Norwe-

gian and later Dano-Norwegian kings, the islands came under Scottish rule in 1469. The current author's interest lies primarily in Shetland's linguistic history, and it is from this angle that the current study is approached.

Norwegian emigrants settled in the Shetland Islands in the eighth and ninth centuries, and it has been argued that they entirely displaced the original, probably Celtic, population of the islands. Shetland was administered as part of the Earldom of Orkney until the late twelfth century, when it became a direct dependency of the Norwegian crown. In 1469, the Dano-Norwegian King Christian I pawned Shetland to the Scottish crown as part of the dowry he had agreed to pay for his daughter Margrethe's marriage to King James III.

Scottish influence on the Orkney Islands, geographically close to Shetland but nearer to the Scottish mainland, had started in the thirteenth century, and the Earls of Orkney had been of Scottish descent since 1236. The Sinclairs, earls from 1379 onwards, tried to make their mark in Shetland as well. Still, it is generally believed that Scottish influence in Shetland, apart from administrative and ecclesiastical links, was minimal until after the islands were pledged to Scotland, and 'while there were Scots in Shetland in 1469, they were few and far between'.<sup>4</sup>

There is limited evidence of any significant Scottish migration before 1500, but the names in the court book—a summary of proceedings at the local law court—a century later (1602–1604) suggest Scottish descent for about a third of the population. An earlier document from 1577, a complaint signed by 760 Shetlanders, shows a significant proportion of Scottish names as well.<sup>5</sup>

Donaldson lists three incentives for permanent or semi-permanent migration from Scotland to Shetland.<sup>6</sup> The first was a desire for land, perhaps most easily obtainable after former churchlands became available following the Reformation in 1560, but no less prominent a reason for migration before then. The second reason was trade, the third a more general work-migration. This included not only clergy and administrative personnel, but also other craftsmen.

The professional make-up of the immigrants and their geographical spread across Shetland—witness the documents mentioned above and in the following section—would suggest native Shetlanders and Scots immigrants were very likely to interact on a daily basis. This interaction could have resulted in frequent intermarriage between the two groups.

#### **Society, language, and history: the field of (historical) sociolinguistics**

For the first century or so after the birth of linguistics as a modern scientific discipline in the nineteenth century, the linguists' focus was predominantly structural. Historical linguistics, which is concerned with how language changes over time, formulated generalisations of linguistic change in the form of 'laws'. Crucially, these changes were seen as operating and being motivated from *within* the language system.

It was not until the 1950s that a new sub-discipline in linguistics emerged—sociolinguistics—which considered, language in the context of its use. The focus of sociolinguistics lies *outside* the structural language system, in the link between language and society—or perhaps, to be more precise, the link between *variation* in language and *variation* in society. The earliest sociolinguistic work was concerned with language use in bilingual communities, and looked at what language, or language variety, members of these communities used in different situations ('domains') and for what purposes.<sup>7</sup> This early work had a very qualitative character, but it was not long before quantitative methods were applied to linguistic variation as well. This research paradigm, pioneered by William Labov in the 1960s,<sup>8</sup> seeks a statistically significant correlation between a linguistic variable—say, the pronunciation of 't' as a glottal stop in words like *butter*—and social categories such as class, gender, age, educational background, ethnicity, and so on.

Both the qualitative and quantitative sociolinguistic research paradigms revealed much about how language variation patterns within a community; moreover, they showed how these patterns changed over time—either by a study over a longer period, or by correlating variation with speaker age. It was now possible to see how linguistic change spreads through a community.

Because historical linguistics is primarily interested in language change over time, these findings led to interesting new opportunities in that field as well, and from the 1980s sociolinguistic methods have been applied to historical language situations. This new field of historical sociolinguistics includes both diachronic studies, charting a language change through time, and synchronic studies, looking at variation at a specific point in historical time, and applies both qualitative and quantitative methods. Because the surviving information on linguistic and social variation in historical situations is unlikely to be as fine-grained and easily obtainable as similar information in contemporary situations (the 'bad data' problem), historical sociolinguistics draws on generalisations from contemporary sociolinguistics, invoking the Uniformitarian Principle. This principle states that social variation in language was present in historical situations as much as in present varieties, and that linguistic changes spread through the community in similar ways as they do now.

#### *Sociolinguistic approaches to language shift*

From the early years of the discipline, people have been working on minority language groups within a mostly qualitative sociolinguistic framework. Minority language groups who are undergoing a language shift (that is, groups that are giving up their own heritage language in favour of another language, typically a more dominant language in the wider community) are of particular interest—partly in order to understand the process in which the heritage language cedes domain after domain to the dominant language, and partly in order to chart the social processes leading a community to give up their own language. This knowledge about the social causes of language shift can then be used to combat the shift, and strive for language maintenance.<sup>9</sup>

Language shift happens in a bilingual community, where there is an imbalance in the distribution of languages across different domains. Typically, the heritage language is used in more private contexts, while the dominant language of the wider community is preferred in more public and prestigious contexts. Because it is necessary for the minority language speakers to also speak the dominant language, bilingualism spreads through this community. Social pressures cause speakers to assign more and more domains to the dominant language instead of the heritage language, and at a given point, parents decide to teach their children the heritage language no longer, but to bring them up in the dominant language instead. This point, when the heritage language ceases to be the first language that children in the community learn, is called the Primary Language Shift.<sup>10</sup>

The decision not to transmit the heritage language to the children in the community is due to a complex of social factors. There is usually a weighing up of cultural factors,—which favour language maintenance,—against utilitarian factors—which favour language shift. It may well be economically sensible to shift to the dominant language and integrate into the wider community, but it will be at the expense of some cultural identity. Exactly when the utilitarian factors start outweighing the cultural factors may vary from one situation to another.<sup>11</sup>

Contemporary studies have shown various factors to be influential in tipping this balance to the side of language shift. These include participation in the same educational system as the majority-language group, in the same religious institutions, in the same army—in short, increasing integrative socialisation with the majority-language group. Another example of such socialisation is inter-ethnic marriage or exogamy.<sup>12</sup> Various studies of language shift in historical situations have suggested that same factors played a role there too. The current study of exogamy in late sixteenth-century Shetland can give diachronic evidence, supporting the idea that this type of socialisation can play a role in language shift.

#### **Previous work on exogamy**

There have been occasional studies over the past decades detailing the relative origins of spouses married in specific parishes.<sup>13</sup> These have generally focused on 'marriage distance' or 'marriage horizon', which is defined as the distance between the parishes of residence of bride and groom at the time of marriage, as indicated in parish marriage registers.

Millard applied statistical methods—chi-square tests and regression analyses, among others—to his data to find significant migration links between urban and urban parishes, and rural and rural parishes. He also found that the geographical direction of migration was not a relevant factor in 'local' migration, but for migration from further away, major transport routes were a significant factor. Hunter applied similar methods to find a preference for marrying in certain periods of the year, in particular around Michaelmas. Outside England, data from marriage registers has been used, for example for

the area around Lille in Northern France, where Lemerancier and Rosental's study showed migration between parishes within larger clusters, but not between clusters of parishes, indicating perhaps a stronger preference for migration within the 'local' field than Millard found.

In an attempt to find how accurate an indicator of migration marriage registers are, Pain and Smith used not parish of residence, as shown in marriage registers, but cross-referenced data from marriage registers with information about parishes of *origin*, which appears in baptismal records. They found that marriage registers underestimate personal mobility, as people tended to marry after taking up residence outside their birth parish. In a follow-up study, Bellingham found that this was especially the case for periods of rapidly increasing population in a parish.

The present study differs from this previous work in several respects. Where the exogamy in the above studies was spatially defined, we are interested in ethnicity-based intermarriage here. Migration is obviously relevant, as that is how the multi-ethnic society of sixteenth-century Shetland came about, but our interests here are rather in the interactions of the two groups once *in situ*, and not in the origins or directions of the migration. As we will see below, the available data would not have allowed the latter to be observed. Finally, information about people's ethnicity is not explicitly mentioned in the data, but has to be inferred from people's names.<sup>14</sup>

#### Methods

There are very few sources available for Shetland population statistics. Lists of names can be derived from a 1577 complaint (more on which below) and from surviving courtbooks from 1602–04 and 1612–29. However, as these contain predominantly male names and no significant information about marriage, the source that is best suited for the present study is the Index to the Register of Testaments, a list of names of people whose wills were executed in the early seventeenth century. Such lists are available for various parts of Scotland, including Shetland, and contain both female names and the necessary information about marriage, cross-referencing between entries for husbands and wives (see Table 1). Data from the Register will be used here to undertake a quantitative analysis of marriage patterns.<sup>15</sup>

The Index to the Register of Testaments lists the name of the deceased and the date on which the deceased's will was executed. It contains approximately 1,050 entries. Of these, some 300 pertain to women; the other 750 are men. Where women are listed, the name of their husband—whether they be married or widowed—appears in the entry as appropriate. This is the case for 270 women, and only a small minority are not listed as having been married. Similar information is not systematically available for men; information about marriage is only available if a male entry is cross-referenced to a woman's testament. About 250 men are only mentioned in the Register as the husband of a deceased woman.

Table 1 Excerpt from the Shetland Register of Testaments

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| <b>Wischart</b> , Andrew, in Melbie in Sandness par. of Waiss            | 28 July 1613  |
| " Helen, spouse to James Christopherson in Midsetter in the Isle of Papa | 31 July 1630  |
| " John, in Skarversetter in Waiss. <i>See Mansdochter Nans.</i>          |               |
| " Nicoll, in Brinzetter  | 13 July 1648  |
| " Peter, in Estabuster in the Isle of Papay par. of Waiss                | 24 July 1613  |
| <b>Work</b> , George, in Clet in Quhailsay. <i>See Cull Katherine</i>    |               |
| " John, in Scallowaybanks par. of Tingwall                               | 28 Oct. 1628  |
| <b>Wright</b> , Agnes, spouse to William Forsyth in Scallowaybanks       | 27 Sept. 1648 |
| <b>Young</b> , Ola, in Uphous par. of Papa                               | 16 Sept. 1635 |

It is not certain how representative this sample of marriages is. The Register covers the years 1611 to 1650, but there appear to be considerable gaps. It also shows a heavy bias towards the northern islands and parishes, in particular Unst, and it is unlikely this reflects major centres of population in the North. Conversely, the parish of Tingwall, which includes Scalloway, at the time the administrative centre of the islands, is only represented by ten marriages. Only two marriages are listed for the island of Foula; only two married women dying in the space of 40 years on an island thought to have up to 200 inhabitants around 1720 seems very meagre indeed.<sup>16</sup>

As the Register shows people who had made wills, it also shows a bias towards this particular group of people. According to Scottish law at the time, '[n]o persone may have ane air bot he who is either ane prelat, burges, or in fie undenueded.'<sup>17</sup> Also excluded from making wills were the insane, the dumb and deaf, and minors. There were also restrictions on married women making wills.<sup>18</sup> How much these rules were adhered to is another question which unfortunately the limited data available cannot answer.

There is generally some delay between a person's death and the execution of their testament. The average delay appears to have been between one and one and a half years, but in individual cases could be up to eight years or even longer.<sup>19</sup> The dates in the Register are therefore only a reasonable estimate of a person's date of death. If we follow Donaldson's assumption that the bulk of the Scottish immigration to Shetland took place in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the recorded deaths are possibly those of some original immigrants, but most will be of the first generation after the Scottish immigration.

Because of its date, the Register of Testaments is very well suited to a survey of inter-ethnic marriage patterns shortly after the Scottish immigration. There are

doubts about the list's representativeness of early seventeenth-century Shetland population in general, but despite these it is believed that it is still possible to discover general trends.

*Defining ethnicity*

The ethnicity of the people in the Register was determined on the basis of their names. This follows a previous use of the Register as onomastic, or name-based, evidence by Donaldson. He used data from the Register, as well as from one of the surviving court books (1602–04), to estimate 'the racial composition of the people of Shetland as it was in the early seventeenth century'. We need, of course, to be very cautious when using onomastic evidence as a clue to ethnicity or 'linguistic allegiance'. There is nothing to stop a name from being borrowed and used in another ethnolinguistic context, obscuring any clear ties between language, ethnicity and names. In the case of Shetland, this has indeed been observed: there was a steady decline of typically Norse names in favour of Scots names in the sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

But even if we ignore the unreliable nature of onomastic evidence in itself, we still need to deal with some other problems this evidence poses. These were identified by Donaldson. Firstly, the surnames only show paternal descent. A Scottish name only indicates a Scottish father, and it is possible that all the person's other ancestors were Norse, and vice versa. Donaldson argues that occurrences both ways will even each other out. For the period so shortly after the Scots immigration, this is likely to be a reasonable assumption.

*What is Norse, what is Scots in Shetland personal names?*

Another problem Donaldson addressed, although without giving a conclusive solution, is that it is not always clear whether a name is Scots or Norse. The guidelines set up by Norwegian place-name scholar Berit Sandnes for deciding whether place-names in Orkney were of Norse or Scots origin may be of use in this respect.<sup>21</sup>

- 'Probably Norse' are names with remaining Norse morphology [*that is, word elements*], or names with a Norse generic.
- 'Probably Scots' are names where all elements are Scots (including local borrowings from Norse), or names with a Scots generic.
- 'Uncertain' are names where all elements can be either Norse or Scots.

In the case of uncertain names, there may be circumstantial evidence to suggest Norse or Scots origins, such as a very early or late date of first occurrence. Translating from place-names to personal names, 'generics' correspond to people's surnames; first names are what Sandnes would call 'specifiers'. If it is possible to determine which elements are Norse, and which are Scots, we should be able to make at least an educated guess of the person's ethnicity.

A factor that complicates this, however, is the language of the Shetland

records. They were written down in Scots, and it is possible that some of the Norse names were Scotticised in the process. Sandnes gives examples of people using a Scots version of their name in Scots-language documents, and a Norse version in Norse-language documents—a not uncommon event; witness for example the attested Danicisation of Faroese names in Danish-language records from the Faroe Islands.<sup>22</sup> Donaldson mentions particularly the Shetland Norn form of *Sigurdsson*, which may appear in the records as *Shewartson*, *Stewartson*, or even just *Stewart*—the name of one of the most famous (and infamous) Scottish families in Shetland history: Robert and Patrick Stewart, 1st and 2nd Earls of Orkney (including Shetland) are well known for their brutal reign in the islands.<sup>23</sup>

*Norse and Scots names in Shetland: first names*

The most extensive study of personal names in Shetland is presented in a recent article by Tom Schmidt. The starting point for Schmidt's research is the already mentioned document from 1577, a complaint against misrule by the laird, Laurence Bruce of Cuthmalindie, signed by a large number of 'commons and inhabitants' of Shetland. (As these were all men, judging from Schmidt's article, this document is not suitable for the study of marriage patterns at the time.) Schmidt focuses on both first names and surnames. He divides the first names in the complaint letter into three categories: Norse names, such as *Olav* or *Magnus*, accounting for 30 per cent of the people named, international names like *John* or *Peter* (55 per cent), and British names such as *Robert* or *Bruce* (15 per cent).<sup>24</sup> He gives complete lists of the names he considers to belong to each of these three categories.

Schmidt's lists are a very useful starting point, especially in combination with the list of Norse names from Shetland by Hermann Pálsson. There is, however, some room for criticism. Firstly, some names seem to be placed in the wrong category. Schmidt treats *Hucheon* as a form of Norse *Håkon*. It is possible that Scots scribes scotticised *Håkon* to *Hucheon* in some cases, but it is also a diminutive of the British name *Hugh*. Schmidt also fails to recognise *Myches* (classed as an international name) and *Machis* (as British) as possible forms of the international name *Matthew* (or *Matthias*).<sup>25</sup> Secondly, the names *William*, *Henry* and *Richard* are listed as British, although Schmidt admits related forms (*Vilhelm*, *Hendrik* and *Rikard*) occur in Norway, especially in Western Norway, which was the area with which Shetland had the most intensive contacts. In this light, a classification as international names would perhaps have been more suited.

In his discussion of international names, including the three mentioned directly above, Schmidt focuses more on etymology, and on the question of whether names are historically demonstrably related, than on the forms themselves. However, it is clear that although, for example, *John* and *Hans* are related forms, they stem from different linguistic traditions. For some, but not all, of the international names, the form may give another clue to ethnicity. Local preferences for certain international names can also be distinguished, for instance the name *Erasmus* (the patron saint of the Hanseatic League) can be



expected to have been more popular in Hansa-influenced Scandinavia than in Lowland Scotland.

The Norse form of an international name may have been different from the Scots form, but as writers were working within a Scots tradition, we must be aware of a certain amount of scotticisation. (Adaptation of names will always have been a scotticisation of a Norse name; the inverse process is possible but very unlikely.) It therefore seems safe to say that if a name occurs in a Norse form, it is likely to reflect Norse ethnicity, but international names in a Scots form cannot be taken as conclusive evidence about ethnicity because of the possible scotticisation.

*Norse and Scots names in Shetland: surnames*

Schmidt distinguishes three types of surnames in his data: patronymics, which are names based on the first name of the person's father, by-names, which can indicate a person's characteristics or profession, and habitation names, which stem from the name of the place a person lives. All of these can be 'true' or 'fixed'. For 'true' names, the system is still productive, and the surname actually indicates a person's father's name, their characteristics or their place of residence. If the names are 'fixed', they have been passed unchanged from generation to generation and their meaning need no longer necessarily apply to the name-bearer.

As the Register of Testaments includes people's place of residence, we can see that none of the habitation names in the data seem to be true. This is all the more interesting since Schmidt did find true habitation names in his 1577 data. The habitation names may give a clue to the bearer's ethnicity, as it is clear where the place is that the person is named after. There is a small number of habitation names based on Shetland place-names: *Kirkhouse*, *Gott*, and *Inkster*. These may point to Shetland (Norse) origins. Alternatively, these people may have been Scots immigrants who named themselves after their newly acquired land: after all, landownership was an important incentive for migration. Orcadian place names, such as *Halcro* and *Linklater*, pose an additional problem in that Orkney is thought to have been far more Scotticised than Shetland at the time, although Norn was still being spoken there too. These Orcadians' 'linguistic allegiance' is very difficult to determine.

The second type of surnames, by-names, occurs in Schmidt's 1577 data, but only very rarely in combination with a Scandinavian given name. As the data in neither Schmidt's data nor the Register of Testaments give a clue to whether the by-names are true or fixed (and likely to be Norse or Scots, respectively), it seems wisest to count them as Scots, following the strong Scots bias in this type of names that Schmidt has observed.

Patronymics, finally, are thought to have no longer been used in Lowland Scotland and Orkney by the late sixteenth century. Donaldson, however, notices the possibility of incomers conforming to local practices and giving their children true patronymic surnames rather than fixed ones. True

patronymics were still the standard in Shetland at the time; indeed, the last Shetlander with a true patronymic did not die until the 1920s.

On the whole it seems relatively safe to classify at least the patronymics ending in *-dochter* as true, and therefore as Norse, although some reservations to this assumption are discussed below. Those ending in *-son*, however, pose another problem in that many Scots surnames were originally patronymics too. In these cases we can follow Sandnes' method and look at the specifiers, the fathers' first names. It is highly likely that *Manson*, *Magnusson* (from *Magnus*), and *Ola(v)son* (from *Ola(v)*) are of Norse origin, and given the clear Shetland bias for the international name *Erasmus*, *Erasmusson* is also very likely to point at Norse ethnicity. Other names are less clearly Norse, and further evidence is needed.

#### *Surname Profiler*

A useful tool for providing this further evidence is the 'Surname Profiler' on the 'Spatial Literacy' website, a web-based search facility into the distribution of surnames in Great Britain. The data are based on a recent research project at University College London. The profiler only shows the relative frequency of a name compared to other areas in Great Britain, and the oldest available data is as recent as from 1881, three centuries after the oldest people in the Register. Nonetheless, the 1881 data on this website may suggest some further classification of names, as follows.<sup>26</sup>

- The names *Laurenson* and *Walterson* are highly frequent in Shetland, but very infrequent elsewhere in Britain. This is interesting as Schmidt has *Walter* as a purely British name, and *Laurence* as an international name (but with high frequency also in Western Norway). Independent Scots-based patronymic formation is conceivable, but as the names hardly occur outside Shetland, this would rather suggest a local formation, with both *Laurenson* and *Walterson* suggesting Norse ethnicity.
- The name *Nicolson* occurs with high frequency only in Shetland and in the Highlands and Western Isles. The name *Nicolson* we find in the Highlands is an anglicised version of *MacNeacail*, and although members of this family migrated to Shetland, via Lowland Scotland, this was not before the late seventeenth century; the *Nicolsons* in the Register of Testaments are therefore most likely to be of Norse ethnicity.<sup>27</sup>
- The names *Simonson* and *Thomason* are interesting in that these forms are very particular for Shetland only, at least in a Scottish context.<sup>28</sup> The shorter forms *Simpson* and *Thomson* (including spelling variants) are found throughout Scotland, including Shetland. English patronymics in general seem to prefer formation with a shorter form of the father's name. It seems reasonable to suggest that the long forms are Norse formations; the short forms are inconclusive.

### *Initial observations*

Some of the names in the Register caused a problem for this survey as they did not conform to expected patterns. These were primarily Norse first names with a Scots surname, such as *Ingagarth Sinclair* (of Kirkabister, Yell), or *Sinevo Fraser* (of Clivocast, Unst). The Sinclairs had been trying to make their mark in Shetland since acquiring the Earldom of Orkney in 1379 and will have been among the earliest immigrants. The Frasers, too, migrated to Shetland at an early stage.<sup>29</sup> These names seem to point to inter-ethnic marriage among the earliest immigrants.

Another interesting set of names is *Agnes Bothwelsdochter* (Quoyfirth, Northmavine), *John Bothwelson* (Brough, Yell) and *Bothwell Erasmussen* (Hamnavoe, Unst). These appear to be true patronymics, but the first element is unmistakably Scots. This could be an example of Shetlanders borrowing Scots names, as mentioned by Sandnes. However, *Bothwell* is a surname based on a Lanarkshire place-name, not a first name. It is unlikely that patronymics would be formed from what would have been understood as a surname. It is possible the name *Bothwell* was understood as a first name because it appears parallel to Norse first names such as *Thorwald*. An alternative explanation for *Bothwelsdochter*, and similar true patronymics with an unmistakably British specifier, is that incomers conformed to local naming practices. However, given the attested sixteenth-century decline in Norse names in favour of Scots names mentioned earlier, the former explanation is perhaps likely to apply to more cases than the latter.

### **Results and discussion**

Allowing for considerable leniency and educated guesswork in the allocation of ethnicity to names, it was still necessary to exclude about one-fifth of the marriages in the Register from the research, as the names of either or both of the spouses were ambiguous. This left 216 marriages, which were then divided into three groups: mono-ethnic Scots, mono-ethnic Norse, and inter-ethnic marriages. The distribution of these marriages is shown in Table 2. Included in the table is the distribution one would expect if all the men and women from the sample married regardless of ethnicity.<sup>30</sup>

### *Rates of inter-ethnic marriage*

The analysis shows that mixed marriages account for approximately a third of the sample. So shortly after the initial immigration, this suggests that the two ethnic groups were well integrated pretty much from the start, although a random distribution would see significantly more inter-ethnic and fewer mono-ethnic marriages. Of course, we need to keep in mind that the sample is not necessarily representative of Shetland as a whole.

The results differ from parish to parish quite strongly. Looking only at the five best-represented parishes (to stay on the statistically safe side), there is a clear difference between Dunrossness in the South, and Northmavine, Unst, Yell and Fetlar in the North of Shetland. Dunrossness was a major centre for Scottish

**Table 2** Inter-ethnic marriage patterns in late-sixteenth century Shetland

| Parish                    | <i>n</i> | N-N         | N-S | S-N | Mixed        | S-S         |
|---------------------------|----------|-------------|-----|-----|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Northern Shetland</i>  |          |             |     |     |              |             |
| Unst                      | 50       | 20          | 9   | 13  | 22           | 8           |
| Northmavine               | 24       | 12          | 2   | 7   | 9            | 3           |
| Fetlar                    | 18       | 8           | 5   | 4   | 9            | 1           |
| Yell                      | 17       | 7           | 0   | 6   | 6            | 4           |
|                           | 109      | 47<br>(43%) | 16  | 30  | 46<br>(42%)  | 16<br>(15%) |
| <i>Mid-Shetland</i>       |          |             |     |     |              |             |
| Nesting & Lunnasting      | 12       | 6           | 3   | 0   | 3            | 3           |
| Deltling                  | 11       | 8           | 1   | 0   | 1            | 2           |
| Sandsting & Aithsting     | 11       | 8           | 1   | 0   | 1            | 2           |
| Walls & Sandnes           | 10       | 2           | 0   | 3   | 3            | 5           |
| Whiteness & Weisdale      | 7        | 2           | 1   | 1   | 2            | 3           |
| Whalsay                   | 6        | 1           | 1   | 2   | 3            | 2           |
| Papa Stour                | 4        | 1           | 1   | 0   | 1            | 2           |
| Foula                     | 2        | 0           | 0   | 2   | 2            | 0           |
|                           | 63       | 28<br>(44%) | 9   | 9   | 18<br>(29%)  | 17<br>(27%) |
| <i>Southern Shetland</i>  |          |             |     |     |              |             |
| Dunrossness               | 17       | 2           | 1   | 0   | 1            | 14          |
| Tingwall                  | 10       | 1           | 1   | 3   | 4            | 5           |
| Bressay, Burra and Quarff | 6        | 1           | 0   | 2   | 2            | 3           |
| Lerwick                   | 1        | 0           | 0   | 0   | 0            | 1           |
|                           | 34       | 4<br>(12%)  | 2   | 5   | 7<br>(21%)   | 23<br>(67%) |
| Unspecified               | 10       | 2           | 2   | 2   | 4            | 4           |
| Total                     | 216      | 81<br>(37%) | 29  | 46  | 75<br>(35%)  | 60<br>(28%) |
| Expected                  | 216      | 65<br>(30%) | 45  | 62  | 107<br>(50%) | 44<br>(20%) |

**Note:** The letters N (Norse) and S (Scots) refer to the ethnicity of the spouses, with the husband's ethnicity named first.

immigration, while Scots were less numerous in the North. For the Northern parishes, the patterns of inter-ethnic marriage do not differ significantly from what we can expect if people married irrespective of ethnicity ( $p=0.1755$ , where values of  $p<0.05$  are considered significant). There are significant deviations from expected patterns for Mid- ( $p<0.0001$ ) and Southern Shetland ( $p<0.0140$ ), and for Shetland as a whole ( $p<0.0001$ ).

#### *Marriage preferences by ethnicity*

These significant deviations in areas where Scots were more numerous, and where Scots marriage partners therefore were more readily available, could suggest that Scots had a preference for marriage partners of their own ethnicity, possibly for reasons of status. However, mono-ethnic Norse marriages are also more numerous than in a random distribution.

**Table 3 Preference for marriage partners by ethnicity**

|       | <i>n</i> | Scots partner | Norse partner |
|-------|----------|---------------|---------------|
| Scots | 195      | 120 (62%)     | 75 (32%)      |
| Norse | 237      | 75 (38%)      | 162 (68%)     |

Table 3 shows the Shetlanders' marriage preferences by ethnicity. Of the Scots, 38 per cent entered into an exogamous marriage, while 32 per cent of the Norse did so. The ethnic make-up of the population would predict that the percentages should be 55 per cent for the Scots and 45 per cent for the Norse. Both groups engaged in exogamous marriage 0.7 times as often as can be expected; in other words, they were both equally averse to exogamous marriage. This preference for endogamous marriage is statistically highly significant ( $p < 0.0001$  for both groups).

#### *Marriage preferences by gender*

Another issue that needs to be addressed is a possible gender division in the choice of marriage partners by ethnicity. From Table 2 we can conclude that of the mixed marriages, a substantially larger portion involved a Scottish man and a Norse woman. This is interesting in light of theories of women being more inclined to strive towards social upward mobility, and in particular of women playing a leading role in language shift and language change towards a standard or prestige variety.<sup>31</sup>

However, as the proportion between Norse-Scots and Scots-Norse marriages in the data is not significantly different ( $p = 0.54$ ) from what we would expect (Table 4), it is more likely to be a result of a possible imbalance in the gender make-up of the Scots population of Shetland at the time. Donaldson writes about 'a certain number of Scots [who] came to Shetland for a time for one reason or another but returned to Scotland'.<sup>32</sup> These Scots that came to Shetland with the intention of work rather than settlement are perhaps more likely to have been male than female, and a surplus of Scots males means that women would be more likely than men to marry a Scots partner.

The aversion to inter-ethnic marriage by the Norse population and the absence of a clear leading role for Norse women in inter-ethnic marriage could suggest that the high status modern historians tend to assign to the Scots immigrants was not perceived as such by Shetlanders around 1600.

#### *Generational differences*

The data not only show clear geographical differences, but also generational differences. In Table 5, the data are separated by the decade in which the married woman died. In light of the available data, this is the closest we can get to showing generational differences. The data set is spread over time and space in similar ways, so each period in the generational data covers an equally wide range of parishes.

**Table 4** Gender division in ethnically mixed marriages

|          | <i>n</i> | Norse husband<br>Scots wife | Scots husband<br>Norse wife |
|----------|----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Actual   | 75       | 29 (39%)                    | 46 (61%)                    |
| Expected | 107      | 45 (42%)                    | 62 (58%)                    |

**Table 5** Development of marriage patterns 1611–50

| Decade  | <i>n</i> | Norse    | Mixed    | Scots    |
|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1611–20 | 67       | 37 (55%) | 21 (31%) | 9 (13%)  |
| 1621–30 | 70       | 26 (37%) | 24 (34%) | 20 (29%) |
| 1631–40 | 33       | 12 (36%) | 10 (30%) | 11 (33%) |
| 1641–50 | 46       | 6 (13%)  | 20 (43%) | 20 (43%) |
| Total   | 216      | 81 (37%) | 75 (35%) | 60 (28%) |

The data show that over time the proportion of mono-ethnic Norse marriages dropped spectacularly, and there was a similarly spectacular percentage rise in mono-ethnic Scots marriages. The rate of inter-ethnic marriage, interestingly, stayed more or less the same. There are several possible explanations for this. Firstly, as inter-ethnic marriage involved predominantly Scots men, the next generation would turn up in the records with a Scots surname and be very likely to be counted as Scots according to the method used. This theory may account for a rise in Scots marriages and a decline in Norse ones, but it does not explain why the amount of mixed marriages should stay the same. Another reason for the rise in mono-ethnic Scots marriages—as well as a rise in the percentage of the population in the data set that are Scottish from 29 per cent in the 1610s to 66 per cent in the 1640s—is that immigration may have continued into the seventeenth century. Finally, as the seventeenth century progressed, there may have been a growing rift of ‘possession’ along ethnic lines. That is to say, the class of people with enough possessions to make a testament may have been increasingly Scotticised. This would mean that the population in the data would be Scotticised as well.

### Conclusion

Using the early seventeenth-century Shetland Register of Testaments as onomastic evidence for patterns of inter-ethnic marriage between the original Norse population and Scots immigrants is a highly tentative affair due to the expected unrepresentativeness of the data and substantial difficulties in assigning ethnicities to names. Despite this, certain tendencies may still be observed.

The proportion of inter-ethnic marriages calculated from the data is 35 per cent. However, as the data is likely to have excluded mostly mono-ethnic Norse marriages, it is probable that the actual rate is likely to have been in the range of 25 to 30 per cent. This is a lower rate than might be expected from a

random distribution of marriage partners, but nonetheless a substantial proportion. Marriage patterns varied across the islands, with the South, in particular the parish of Dunrossness, the only area to show primarily mono-ethnic Scots marriages. As this was the area with the densest Scots population, this is unsurprising.

The data show that Scots were slightly more likely to marry someone from the other group than the Norse, but that both groups married within their own ethnic group more than can be expected from a random distribution. Taking into account the relative sizes of the groups, both appear to have had an equal aversion to inter-ethnic marriage.

In both the Scots and the Norse groups, women were more likely than men to marry a Scots partner. This is probably due to a surplus of men in the Scots population. The difference is not significant enough to confirm patterns of women leading upward social mobility and language shifts, but is reason to question the belief that higher status was assigned to Scots in the islands around 1600.

The later part of the data shows more mono-ethnic Scots marriages and fewer mono-ethnic Norse ones than the data from earlier decades, while the rate of intermarriage remains fairly similar throughout the period. There are several possible explanations for this, but none of them is conclusive. Inter-ethnic marriage occurred on this scale at least from the time of second-generation immigrants onwards and, judging from a number of 'hybrid' names, already from the time of the first-generation immigrants.

Finally, these data seem to confirm the theory that the Scots immigration to Shetland was a contributing factor to the language shift, not only through geographical proximity and daily interaction outside the home, but also through widespread intermarrying of both ethnic groups, bringing daily interactions in the Scots language inside the homes of Shetland.

#### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank April McMahon, Doreen Waugh, Adam Fox, Pit Peporté, David Sellar, Keith Williamson, the audience at the Scottish Society for Northern Studies' Annual Study Conference (Aberdeen, 2007), as well as the *LPS* editorial board, for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this article.

#### NOTES

1. G. Donaldson, 'The Scots settlement in Shetland', in D.J. Withrington ed., *Shetland and the outside world 1469–1969* (Oxford, 1983), 8–19. On the role of immigration in the language shift, see R. Knooihuizen, 'The Norn-to-Scots language shift in Shetland: another look at sociohistorical evidence', *Northern Studies*, 39 (2005), 105–17.
2. K. MacKinnon, 'Migration, family and education in Gaelic policy perspective' (2006), available from <http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/celtic/poileasaidh/migration-family-education-Holyrood.pdf> (accessed February 2007).
3. C.B. Paulston, 'Social factors in language maintenance and language shift', in J.A. Fishman ed., *The Fergusonian impact: in honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the occasion of his 65th birthday* (Berlin,

- 1986), 2, 493–511. Some more detailed studies exploring the role of exogamy in language shift are G. Stevens, 'Nativity, intermarriage, and mother-tongue shift', *American Sociological Review*, 50 (1985), 74–83; V. de Klerk, 'The cross-marriage language dilemma: his language or hers?', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 4 (2001), 197–216; and K.K.Y. Cheng, 'Language shift and language maintenance in mixed marriages: a case study of a Malaysian-Chinese family', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 161 (2003), 81–90.
4. Donaldson, 'Scots settlement', 10.
  5. The study of names in the court book appears in Donaldson, 'Scots settlement'; that of names in the 1577 document in T. Schmidt, 'Torwald of Hoverstad and Williame Makriche: the complexity of the names of the "Commownis and Inhabitantis of Yetland" in 1577', in P. Gammeltoft and B. Jørgensen eds, *Names through the looking glass: Festschrift in honour of Gillian Fellows-Jensen* (Copenhagen, 2006), 254–74.
  6. Donaldson, 'Scots settlement', 11–12.
  7. Fundamental publications in this research paradigm are U. Weinreich, W. Labov and M.I. Herzog, 'Empirical foundations for a theory of language change', in W.P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel eds, *Directions for historical linguistics: a symposium* (Austin, 1968), 95–188; and with reference to multilingual societies, C.A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word*, 15 (1959), 325–40. J.A. Fishman's work on language use in the Yiddish community in the United States is another important contribution: for example, 'The sociology of language: an interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society', in Fishman ed., *Advances in the sociology of language* (Den Haag, 1972), 1, 217–380.
  8. W. Labov, 'The social stratification of English in New York City' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1966).
  9. See for example J.A. Fishman, *Reversing language shift: theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages* (Clevedon, 1991). Language maintenance is an issue both because of a language's cultural value in society and because of the added value of language diversity for linguistics: see, for example, D. Crystal, *Language death* (Cambridge, 2000).
  10. This version of events is the essentials of a model of language shift and death published in H.J. Sasse, 'Theory of language death', in M. Brenzinger ed., *Language death: factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa* (Berlin/New York, 1992), 7–30. It is based on previous research on language shift and death in Scottish Gaelic and the Albanian dialects of Greece, but has since been shown to apply to Manx Gaelic as well: G. Broderick, *Language death in the Isle of Man: an investigation into the decline and extinction of Manx Gaelic as a community language in the Isle of Man* (Tübingen, 1999). This suggests the model may be more widely applicable.
  11. M. Ehala, 'An evaluation matrix for ethnolinguistic vitality', to appear in *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference of Minority Languages*, Trieste 2005, available from <http://www.tlu.ee/fil/ehala/pdf/EthnolinguisticvitalityTrst.pdf>; A. de Swaan, 'Endangered languages, sociolinguistics, and linguistic sentimentalism', *European Review*, 12 (2004), 567–80.
  12. Paulston, 'Social factors', 498–9.
  13. J. Millard, 'A new approach to the study of marriage horizons', *Local Population Studies*, 28 (1982), 10–31; A. Hunter, 'Marriage horizons and seasonality: a comparison', *Local Population Studies*, 35 (1985), 38–42; C. Lemerrier and P.A. Rosental, "'Pays" ruraux et découpage de l'espace: les réseaux migratoires dans la région lilloise au milieu du XIXe siècle', *Population* (French edition), 55 (2000), 691–726; A.J. Pain and M.T. Smith, 'Do marriage horizons accurately measure migration? A test case from Stanhope parish, County Durham', *Local Population Studies*, 33 (1984), 44–8; R.A. Bellingham, 'The use of marriage horizons to measure migration: some conclusions from a study of Pocklington, East Yorkshire in the late eighteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 44 (1990), 52–5.
  14. M. Poulain and M. Foulon ('L'immigration flamande en Wallonie: évaluation à l'aide d'un indicateur anthroponymique', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis = Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine*, 12 (1981), 205–44) showed that such onomastic evidence can be a reliable indicator of migration, although their study was restricted to a very salient marker of Dutch-language origin, that is surnames starting with the preposition *van*.
  15. *The court book of Shetland, 1602–1604*, ed. by G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1954); *The court book of Orkney and Shetland, 1612–1613*, ed. by R.S. Barclay (Edinburgh, 1962); *The court book of Orkney and Shetland, 1614–1615*, ed. by R.S. Barclay (Edinburgh, 1967); *Court book of Shetland, 1615–1629*, ed.



- by G. Donaldson (Lerwick, 1991); *Commisariat Record of Orkney and Shetland: Register of Testaments*, ed. by F.J. Grant (Edinburgh, 1904).
16. Foula population data from P. Razzell, *The conquest of smallpox: the impact of inoculation on smallpox mortality in eighteenth-century Britain* (Sussex, 1997), 118.
  17. J.A. Clyde ed., *Hope's Major Practicks 1608–1633* (Edinburgh, 1937), 1, 285–335 describes the regulations pertaining to wills and succession. This particular stipulation is on p. 312: 'No person may have an heir but he who is either a prelate, burgess, or in fee undenedud', that is, someone who holds something in fee—lands, right, heritage or office—but who has not resigned it.
  18. Clyde ed., *Hope's Major Practicks*, 285-6: 'Ane womane being frie, and not subject to no man, may make ane testament, bot, if she be under the pouer of her husband, she may not dispoun upon any goods without his consent.' As in only 10 per cent of cases does the wording suggest that the husband died before the wife, we may conclude that husbands typically did consent to their wives making their own wills.
  19. This statistic is obtained by cross-referencing the date for the execution of the wills of Shetland clergymen with information about their deaths in H. Scott ed., *Fasti ecclesiae scoticanae: the succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, 7 (Edinburgh, 1928). The delay of eight years was in the case of Euphane Cranstane, wife of Nicol Whyte, minister of Dunrossness. There is no evidence that women's testaments were only executed after their husbands' death, as Whyte was known to have been alive eight years after Cranstane's testament was executed.
  20. The term 'linguistic allegiance' is from B. Sandnes, 'Personnavn i kontakt i de skandinaviske vikingtidskoloniene', *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica*, 22 (2004), 43–58, on p. 45. On Shetland naming practices, see also Hermann Pálsson, 'Norse personal names in early Shetland', in H. Cheape ed., *Tools and traditions: studies in European ethnology presented to Alexander Fenton* (Edinburgh, 1993), 247–55.
  21. B. Sandnes, *Fra Starfjall til Starling Hill: dannelse og utvikling av norrøne stedsnavn på Orknøyene* (Trondheim, 2003); 'What is Norse, what is Scots in Orkney place-names?', in P. Gammeltoft, C. Hough and D. Waugh eds, *Cultural contacts in the North Atlantic region: the evidence of names* (Lerwick, 2005), 173–80.
  22. Sandnes, 'Personnavn i kontakt i de skandinaviske vikingtidskoloniene', 46–7.
  23. On the Danicisation of Faroese names, see J.H.W. Poulsen, *Mál í mæti: greinasavn eftir Jóhan Hendrik W. Poulsen útgivið í sambandi við sjevti ára føðingardag hansara 20. juni 2004* (Tórshavn, 2004); 135.
  24. The term 'British' here could be argued to be an anachronism, and some may prefer to describe this as 'English' and 'Scottish' instead. However, it is difficult to tell whether the British names are English or Scottish due to England and Scotland's shared and intertwined (linguistic) histories. For the purposes of this study, it is less important to distinguish between English and Scots names than it is to oppose Anglo-type names against Scandinavian type names.
  25. G.F. Black, *The surnames of Scotland: their origin, meaning, and history* (New York, 1946).
  26. Available at <http://www.spatial-literacy.org/UCLnames/default.aspx> (accessed September 2006–January 2007).
  27. W.D.H. Sellar and A. Maclean, *The Highland clan MacNeacail MacNicol: a history of the Nicolsons of Scorrybreac* (Watnish, 1999), 28.
  28. Outside Shetland, Thomason also occurs in Lancashire, and Simonson in County Durham. However, it is unlikely that a large-scale migration from Northern England to Shetland took place in this period, and the English occurrences are ignored for the sake of this argument.
  29. Donaldson, 'Scots settlement', 10.
  30. An alternative analysis with a stricter method of assigning ethnicity to names left only 151 marriages, or roughly half of the data, as opposed to the current four-fifths. Because there is not much data and the data may not be representative to begin with, it was considered preferable to use the method that left a larger part of the data intact, rather than feign a greater accuracy of results that will only ever be tentative.
  31. This is known in sociolinguistics as the 'sex prestige pattern': see, for example, R.A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge, 1996), 195–9.
  32. Donaldson, 'Scots settlement', 13.