

Danish in the Faroe Islands: A Post-Colonial Perspective

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I, John Mitchinson, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis examines from a post-colonial perspective the position of the Danish language in Faroese society. It aims to demonstrate that post-colonial theory, which originally emerged as a methodology for literary analysis in the 1970s, offers a framework by which very different post-colonial linguistic scenarios, such as those in the Faroes and Greenland, can be analysed, compared and contrasted. In addition to established ideas within post-colonialism, from scholars such as Althusser and Spivak, three new concepts – saming, language othering and linguistic autonomy – are developed and used in the analysis of linguistic developments that have taken place on the islands since Danish was introduced. It is argued that the colonial history of the Faroes provides the most rewarding perspective for such an examination. Recurrent themes in language research on the islands, both historical and contemporary, such as *Gøtudanskt*, are contextualised within the post-colonial framework. Similarly, topics which have received little academic attention, such as the role of the heavily Danish-influenced Suðuroy dialect, are also analysed from this perspective. A considerable part of the investigation stems from field research (predominantly questionnaires).

The thesis suggests that the Faroes constitute an atypical case within post-colonial studies due to the common cultural/linguistic heritage of the coloniser and the colonised. However, the non-standard characteristics of post-colonial Faroese society can only be fully appreciated in comparison with a ‘typical’ post-colonial society, and Greenland is proposed as this standard example. The final chapter therefore provides a comparative study between the language situations in the two societies.

In addition to the introductory and concluding sections, the thesis contains five chapters, which deal with the following: theory and methodology; colonisation and the cementing of Danish into Faroese society; the field research; decolonisation and the reassessment of the position of Danish in Faroese society; and the afore-mentioned comparative study.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

Abbreviations

acc.	accusative
b.	born
bgd	background (in survey tables)
Da.	Danish
dat.	dative
DK	Denmark
En.	English
ESL	English as a second language
f.	female (in survey tables)
Fa.	Faroese
FD.	Faroe-Danish
FL	foreign language
fn.	footnote
FO	The Faroes
FO-bgd	Faroese background (in survey tables); used here to identify those respondents who have always lived in the Faroes and speak only Faroese with their parents.
FPD	Faroese Print-Danish
FPS	Faroese Postal Survey
FSS	Faroese School Survey
GL	Greenland
GL-bgd	Greenlandic background (in survey tables); used here to identify those respondents who have always lived in Greenland and speak only Greenlandic with their parents.
GLR	Greenlander (in survey tables)
GLR-ID	Respondents who identify themselves as Greenlanders
Gr.	Greenlandic
GSS	Greenlandic School Survey
Ic.	Icelandic

Inv.	Invalid response (in survey tables, from selecting more than one option)
ISA	Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser)
ISc.	Insular Scandinavian
Lit.	literally
m.	male (in survey tables)
MSc.	Mainland Scandinavian
month	month/months (in survey tables)
N/A	Not applicable/relevant (in survey tables)
NAR	The North Atlantic Region (the Faroes, Iceland and Greenland)
NK	Nuuk
nom.	nominative
N/R	No response (in survey tables)
Nw.	Norwegian
pl.	plural
Q.	question
S.Arc.	The article is available in the online archive of the <i>Sosialurin</i> newspaper.
sg.	singular
SL	second language
Su.	The Suðuroy (South Island) dialect of Faroese
SU	Suðuroy (South Island)
Suð.	Respondent has lived in Suðuroy for over ten years (in survey tables)
Sw.	Swedish
TH	Tórshavn
tr.	This refers to a numbered translation in Appendix 1.
USVI	The United States Virgin Islands
yr	year/years (in survey tables)

Symbols

“ ”	A translation
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Questionnaire Responses

Where quotations have been given from the questionnaire responses which formed part of the original research for the present study, two coding systems have been used.

The Postal Survey

e.g. [FP133]

‘FP’ indicates that the questionnaire was part of the postal survey carried out in Tórshavn, the Faroes. The final three digits are the unique code by which every questionnaire can be identified.

The School Survey

e.g. [FST133]

‘FST’ indicates that the questionnaire was completed by a pupil at the sixth-form college in Tórshavn, the Faroes. The final three digits are the unique code by which every questionnaire can be identified. The identification letters, in the order they presented, are as follows:

Country

F The Faroes

G Greenland

Type of school

B Business School (Fa. *handilsskúli*)

S Sixth-form college (Fa. *studentaskúli* in Hoydalar and Eysturoy, *miðnámsskúli* on Suðuroy; Da. *gymnasium*/Gr. *ilinniarnertuunngorniarfik* in Nuuk)

Location

E Eysturoy Island (Kambsdalur), the Faroes

N Nuuk, Greenland

S Suðuroy Island (Hov), the Faroes

T Tórshavn, the Faroes

General Comments

Translations

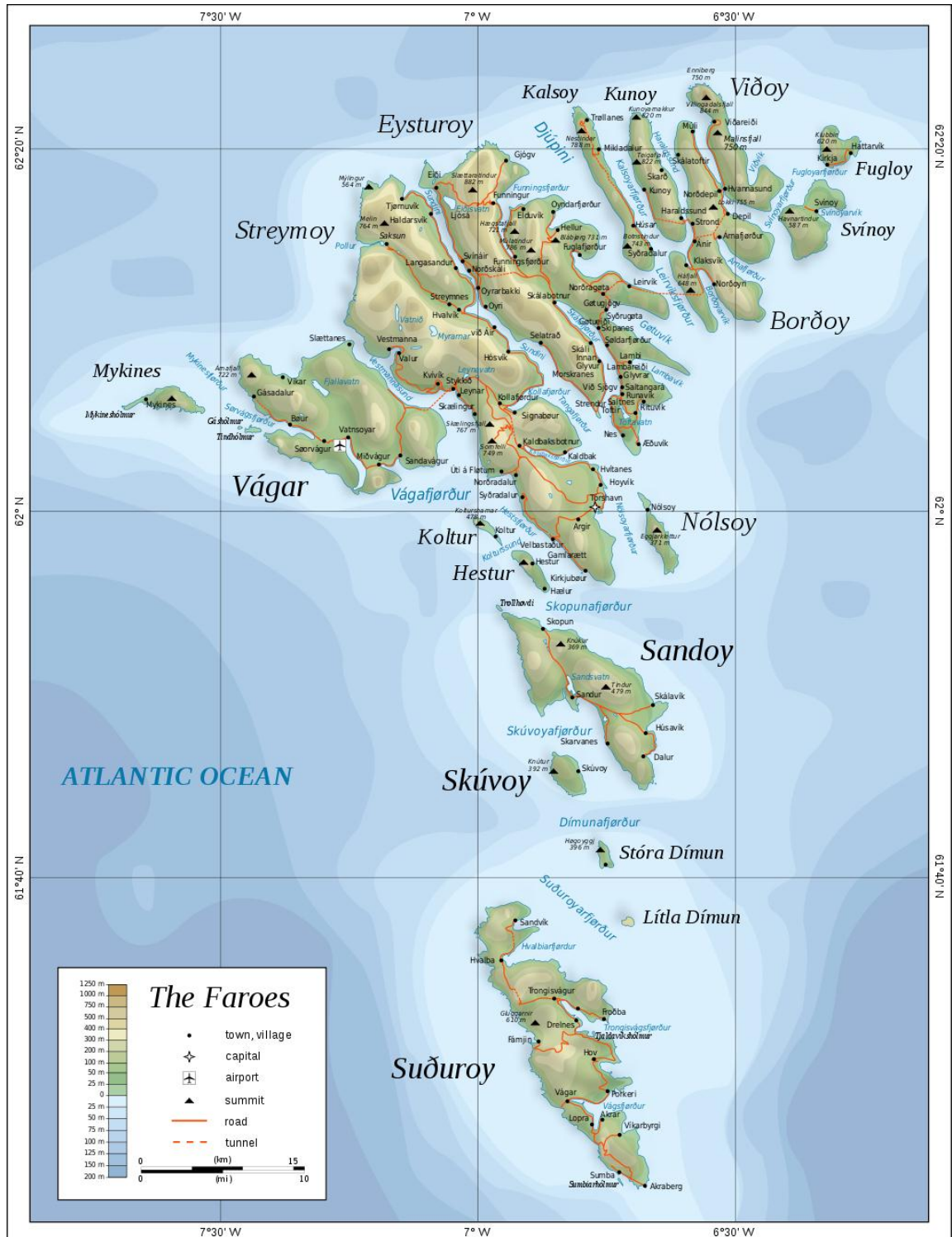
Translations are my own unless specified. In keeping with common practice, translations of the mainland Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish) are included in Appendix 1. However, due to the high number of translations in the thesis, short translations (less than 40 words) from these languages are included in the text to make the thesis easier to read. As Faroese, Greenlandic and Icelandic are lesser known languages, all translations from these are included in the body of the thesis.

Emphasis

In quotes and translations italics are always as in the original unless stated otherwise.

Maps

The Faroes



Greenland



Map Sources:

The Faroes: By Mysid CC-BY-SA-3.0 (www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0).

Greenland: Public domain.

1. INTRODUCTION

‘Hvør er tann týðningarmesta grundin til at læra danskt?’

“What is the most important reason for learning Danish?”

‘Tí danskt er 2. móðurmál okkara, og vit klára okkum ikki uttan at duga danskt.’

“Because Danish is our second mother tongue and we can’t get by without knowing Danish.”

[FST192]

‘Danskt er ikki neyðugt at læra.’

“It’s not necessary to learn Danish.”

[FST133]

1.1 Introduction

The above quotations reflect two diametrically opposed responses to the same question from Faroese pupils at one school in Tórshavn, capital of the Faroes.¹ Such divergent opinions, neither of which was unique amongst the pupils, suggest a complex relationship between Faroese society and the Danish language. This thesis aims to examine from a post-colonial perspective the position of Danish in the society and culture of the Faroes. In particular, the thesis introduces and develops three new concepts within post-colonialism: saming, language othering and linguistic autonomy. In addition to existing and established ideas within post-colonialism, these new concepts are used in the analysis of linguistic developments that have taken place on the islands since Danish was introduced. Taking the observations of previous commentators on the position and status of Danish on the islands into consideration, the thesis argues that a perspective which focuses on the colonial history of the Faroes provides the best

¹ The Faroes are an archipelago of 18 islands situated in the North Atlantic between Scotland and Iceland. They constitute a self-governing territory within the Kingdom of Denmark, a status they have enjoyed since the Faroese Home Rule Act of 1948 (Act no. 137, 23/03/48; Da. *Lov om Færøernes Hjemmestyre*, Fa. *Lóg um Føroya heimastýri*). The population numbers just 48,650, with 19,873 in Tórshavn (as on 01/01/10; *Hagstova Føroya* 2010: 11).

structure within which to analyse these linguistic developments. Recurrent themes in research on the Faroese language climate, both historical and contemporary, such as the *Gøtudanskt* phenomenon and the various pronunciations of Danish on the islands, are considered and contextualised within the post-colonial framework. Similarly, topics which have received little academic attention, such as the heavily Danish-influenced vocabulary of the dialect on the southernmost island in the Faroes, Suðuroy, and the difficulty that causes when trying to separate what is Faroese from what is Danish, is also analysed from this perspective.

While the thesis focuses predominantly on the Faroes, reference is made to two other former Danish colonies, Greenland and Iceland. It is argued that the Faroes constitute an atypical case within post-colonial studies for reasons that are examined in Chapter 2. However, the non-standard characteristics of post-colonial Faroese society can best be appreciated in comparison with a more ‘standard’ post-colonial society. It is proposed that Greenland represents such a standard example, as the Greenlandic colonial experience has been very different to that of the Faroes. Politically, however, the two societies share a similar status: Greenland is also a self-governing territory within the Kingdom of Denmark.² This fact renders the comparative use of a politically-based theoretical perspective such as post-colonialism particularly fitting. While Iceland does not feature as prominently in the thesis, due to the comparatively smaller role that the Danish language plays in modern Icelandic society,³ some of the characteristics that render the Faroese situation so unusual are also evident there, and these are addressed. Where simultaneous reference is made to all three former colonies, the term ‘North Atlantic Region’ (NAR) is used.⁴

The thesis aims to show that post-colonial theory, which originally emerged as a methodology for literary analysis in the 1970s (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007: 168), offers a framework for comparing, contrasting and analysing post-colonial linguistic scenarios, such as those in the Faroes/Iceland and Greenland. Where relevant, similarities or contrasts with unrelated (former) colonies, such as Malta or Ireland, are given

² Greenlandic Home Rule was established in 1978: Act no. 577, 29/11/78. Da. *Lov om Grønlands hjemmestyre*, Gr. *Namminersornerullutik Oqartussat inatsisaat*.

³ ‘[D]et danske sprog [er ikke] særlig fremtrædende i det islandske samfund [...]’ (‘[T]he Danish language is not particularly evident in Icelandic society [...]’; Auður Hauksdóttir 2005: 159).

⁴ Increased interest in comparative analyses of the Faroes, Iceland and Greenland (see 6.1) has led to the emergence of terms which encompass all three, such as Fa. *útnorður* or *londini í útnorðri* (‘the North-West’, ‘the North-West countries’) and Da. *Vestnorden* (‘the West Nordic countries’; cf. Mortensen *et al.* 2007). The thesis proposes the North Atlantic Region as an English alternative.

throughout the thesis in order to contextualise the research within the wider scope of post-colonial study.

A considerable part of the investigation stems from field research (predominantly questionnaires) carried out in the Faroes and Greenland. Unlike previous linguistic studies in the Faroes, which have concentrated on the attitudes of the young towards Danish (see Søndergaard 1987, Holm 1992), this study considers respondents of different ages. Many of the changes that have taken place concerning Danish in the Faroes have occurred during the lifetime of older Faroese speakers. However, the thesis also places emphasis on younger Faroese people, as this may identify on-going processes and the ways in which attitudes have changed. The field research is not concerned merely with attitudes, but also investigates how the Danish language is used by the respondents in practice.

The thesis is structured around the following six research questions:

1. How valid is the use of post-colonial theories, which originally stem from literary analysis, when considering the position of a former colonial language within a given society?
2. To what extent can post-colonial theories be used to analyse the position of the former colonial language in a former colony such as the Faroes, which differs so greatly from the norm?
3. Post-colonial theories aside, to what extent is consideration of the Faroese colonial past useful when analysing the position of Danish in the Faroes today?
4. What is the value of comparing the position of Danish in the Faroes to that of Danish in Greenland?
5. In small post-colonial societies such as the Faroes, what strategies have the locals developed for making continued use of the colonial language in various spheres acceptable? Has the common cultural and linguistic heritage of Denmark and the Faroes affected this process there?
6. To what extent does empirical data from the Faroes and Greenland agree with local academic research on the position of Danish in the two societies? To what extent does it support the rejection of the foreign language label?

1.2 Background

In order that the reader may understand the context, this section briefly outlines the Faroese historical and linguistic backgrounds.

1.2.1 Historical Background

Sources of the earliest history of the Faroes are scant. West, whose 1972 *Faroe: The Emergence of a Nation* still provides the best English-language account of Faroese history, describes the islands as being ‘among the last territories in the world to be discovered and peopled’ (p.4),⁵ though little is known about the islands before the first Norse colonisers arrived around the year 800, either directly from Norway or via Norse colonies in the British Isles (H.P. Petersen 2010: 29). It is widely believed by common consent that there were Celtic inhabitants, more specifically Irish monks, on the islands before the Norse arrived, but there are no proven pre-Norse archaeological sites (Edwards and Borthwick 2010: 69).⁶ As Edwards and Borthwick observe, however, science (most specifically genetics, radiometric dating and palynology) continues to contribute ‘immensely to the settlement history’ of the islands (p.75) and new scientific discoveries may reveal more about early Faroese history.

The islanders, who converted to Christianity around 1000, enjoyed independence until 1035, when the Kingdom of Norway began to collect taxes from them (West 1972: 6). In 1380 the crowns of Denmark and Norway were united under King Olaf IV in an increasingly one-sided union: Copenhagen became the power base for the entire country, including the far-flung outposts of the NAR. As West notes, when Denmark eventually lost Norway to Sweden following the Treaty of Kiel in 1814, ‘it was not thought unnatural that she should retain Faroe, Iceland and Greenland’ (1972: 8-9).

⁵ West is one of several authors who have tried to establish the English-language name for the islands as ‘Faroe’, presumably to avoid the tautological nature of ‘Faroe Islands’: the second syllable of the word ‘Faroe’ already carries the meaning of ‘islands’ (cf. Fa. *Føroyar*, ‘Sheep Islands’). While ‘Faroe’ is still occasionally heard/seen, this has not become established. To avoid tautology, but also to avoid using an unusual term that may jar with the reader, I refer to the islands as ‘the Faroes’.

⁶ The idea that the islands may have been settled by Irish hermits seeking solitude comes from the work of the Irish monk, Dicuil, in his writings from AD825 (Hammershaimb 1891: xiii). Although Edwards and Borthwick observe that it is ‘easy to agree’ with Thorsteinsson (2005: 42) that Dicuil’s work is ‘not solid documentation of a pre-Viking settlement of Irish monks in the Faroes’, they add that it has ‘never been seen as such’ (Edwards and Borthwick 2010: 68).

Whereas Iceland became an independent republic in 1944, the Faroes remained under direct Danish rule until the Home Rule Act of 1948 (see 1.5.1), as did Greenland until 1978 (see 1.5.2). In 1946, following the Faroes' occupation by the British during the Second World War (1940-5), there was a referendum on the islands on full independence, in which a slightly higher percentage of islanders favoured breaking the political ties with Denmark than those against (48.7% for secession, 47.2% against; West 1972: 188). Because of the very narrow margin, the result was viewed as inconclusive by the Danish parliament and was subsequently overruled.

1.2.2 Linguistic Background

The Faroese language is, like Danish and Icelandic, but unlike Greenlandic, a member of the North-Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family (Vikør 2001a: 32).⁷ This branch is often subdivided into Insular Scandinavian (ISc.; Faroese and Icelandic) and Mainland Scandinavian (MSc.; Danish, Norwegian and Swedish; H.P. Petersen 2011: 5). Barnes, however, suggests that the claim that Faroese is ISc. is 'untenable', as its syntax exhibits both ISc. and MSc. qualities (2001b: 191-2).

The Faroese language was first documented in some detail by the Faroese linguist and scholar, J.C. Svabo (1746-1824), towards the end of the eighteenth century (see 3.3). Svabo realised that his language was closely related to Old Norse, although the idea of individual languages collectively constituting larger families of languages had not yet developed. Svabo considered the future of Faroese to be bleak and sought to document as much as he was able, to preserve it for posterity. Svabo's collections, however, led towards revived interest in the language amongst later scholars. Rasmus Rask (1787-1832), a Danish linguist from Brændekilde on Funen, came across Svabo's collections when he went to Copenhagen to study in 1807 (Skårup 1964: 3). Rischel describes Rask as 'en repræsentant for det tidlige 19. århundredes romantik, med denne tidsalders begejstring for Nordens herlige fortid' ('a representative of early nineteenth century romanticism, with the enthusiasm for the glorious Nordic past common at that time'; Rischel 1987: 11). Two years later when Rask completed his *Vejledning til det Islandske eller gamle Nordiske Sprog* ('Guide to the Icelandic or Old Norse Language'), he included a chapter on Faroese, calling it a dialect within the Icelandic

⁷ Greenlandic is a member of the unrelated Eskimo-Aleutic family (Vikør 2001a: 76).

language.⁸ As Skårup explains, what Rask meant was that Faroese is one dialect within a collection of other Icelandic dialects (1964: 3), the other two being Old Icelandic and Modern Icelandic (p.42). Rischel (1987: 12) claims that Rask's interest in language history – and not specifically of the Nordic languages, although his interests did start in this field – helped create the national romantic 'vækkelse' ("awakening") at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Rask was, for example, the founder of the Icelandic literary society at a time when Icelandic was a language of low prestige (p.11). According to Rischel, had it not been for this awakening, Icelandic would probably not have survived as a living *kultursprog* ("language of culture"; p.12). As Chapter 5 will demonstrate, the Faroese language movement took great inspiration from its Icelandic counterpart, and therefore the importance of national romanticism and, specifically, Rasmus Rask's part in it should be acknowledged.

Danish came to the Faroes in the sixteenth century during the Reformation and has enjoyed various roles in Faroese society since its introduction. As Chapter 3 demonstrates, Danish became the sole written medium on the islands and the only acceptable language within a range of domains. The position of Danish has, however, changed considerably in the past 150 years. During that period it has ceased to be the language of the school and the Church, and Faroese, for which the Faroese priest, V.U. Hammershaimb, created an etymologically-based orthography in 1846, has made considerable progress in the media and in publishing, particularly in children's literature.⁹ Today, Faroese is the first language of the overwhelming majority of the islanders.¹⁰ Whereas the leading Faroese linguist, J.H.W. Poulsen (2004b: 414), described Tórshavn in the 1980s/1990s as resembling a provincial town in Denmark, with advertisements and shop signage largely in Danish, new Faroese legislation has been introduced which has made the linguistic landscape entirely Faroese, with occasional signs in English for the tourist.¹¹ There is a small resident Danish minority, but it is difficult to know how many this numbers as the Danish government considers

⁸ For financial reasons this book was not published until 1811 (Piebinga 1971: 10).

⁹ I would argue that Faroese-language publishing for children has reached a point where it is theoretically possible for a Faroese child to reach adolescence without ever needing to read a Danish book. This would have been unimaginable a decade ago.

¹⁰ Chapter 5 focuses specifically on the contemporary language situation in the Faroes.

¹¹ 'Linguistic landscape' is used here according to Landry and Bourhis' definition (1997: 25): 'The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.'

any citizen from Denmark who is resident in the Faroes to be ‘Faroese’.¹² Hagström (1986: 17) estimates the Danish community to be approximately 1000 strong.

It is often stated that the Faroese are bilingual. Grosjean (1982: 231) considers various definitions of bilingualism: from those that stress that the individual must speak both languages at the level of a native-speaker to those he describes as ‘more realistic’, such as Haugen’s, which suggest a fluency continuum:

Bilingualism [...] may be of all degrees of accomplishment, but it is understood here to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce *complete, meaningful utterances* in the other language. From here it may proceed through all possible gradations up to the kind of skill that enables a person to pass as a native in more than one linguistic environment.

(Haugen 1969: 6-7)

If one applies Haugen’s definition, the Faroese are indeed bilingual. As J.H.W. Poulsen points out, Danes living on the islands have no difficulty in making themselves understood, ‘da praktisk taget alle over 10 år kan dansk’ (1997: 304).¹³ Hagström goes so far as to state that the Faroes constitute a particularly interesting place for the study of bilingualism:

Tvåspråkigheten är idag genomförd i högre grad på Färöarna än i kanske något annat land i och med att nästan alla vuxna färingar (den allra äldsta generationen i viss mån undantagen) behärskar de två officiella språken färöiska och danska i tal och skrift.

(Hagström 1987: 119; tr.1)

While Hagström’s oft-repeated claim is difficult to verify, by ‘behärskar [...] danska’ (‘master [...] Danish’) he presumably means that the Faroese would generally be considered to be near the peak of Haugen’s fluency continuum as individuals who could be taken for Danes in Denmark when they speak Danish.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Grosjean also points out that such bilinguals are ‘rather special specimens’ and that ‘the vast majority

¹² Similarly, a Faroese person who relocates to Denmark becomes ‘Danish’.

¹³ “As by and large everyone over ten knows Danish.”

¹⁴ One of the responses to the postal survey (see Chapter 4) commented on this: ‘Tá ið eg eri í Keypmannahavn spyrja fólk: Hvor i Jylland kommer du fra?’ (“[Fa.] When I’m in Copenhagen people ask: [Da.] ‘Where in Jutland do you come from?’” [FP009]).

[of bilinguals] use both languages regularly, but do not have native-like fluency in each' (1982: 232).

Some question the Faroes' bilingual status: Poulsen, for example, is 'more inclined to the view that we [the Faroese] are monolingual, but with an unusually or abnormally good knowledge of a foreign language, namely Danish' (1994: 225). This is merely a matter of definition: even those with this 'abnormally good knowledge' would be considered bilinguals under Haugen's reasoning. Furthermore, Poulsen feels it possible to generalise all Faroese under 'we', which further suggests the appropriateness of regarding the Faroese as generally bilingual.

One current and contentious linguistic topic in the Faroes that should be mentioned here at the outset is purism. This is considered in detail in Chapter 5, but an understanding of its context is important for a full appreciation of the data collected in Chapter 4 and to explain some of the practical difficulties encountered in that chapter.¹⁵ Centuries of Danish influence, presumably aided by the close relationship of the two languages involved, meant that Faroese absorbed a large number of Danish words.¹⁶ In the past century, particularly since the Second World War, great efforts have been made to reduce the number of Danish-based words and replace them with neologisms, Icelandic-inspired loanwords or resurrected Faroese words. The Faroese dictionaries that have been produced in recent years have often been the work of the most ardent purists, who have either ranked the 'new' Faroese words ahead of the Danish-influenced loans or omitted the latter altogether. This prescriptive, rather than descriptive, tendency of Faroese dictionaries can create significant problems of understanding in contexts where the first word suggested is not familiar to many Faroese.¹⁷ Holm (1992: 99) notes that during her classroom observations, pupils used words such as 'sosialisma', 'konservatisma' and 'liberalisma' in their Faroese, but, as she points out:

[I]f the students had looked up these words in the dictionaries available, e.g. J. av Skarði's Danish/Faroese (1977) dictionary and

¹⁵ See, for example, 4.3.5, Q.11.

¹⁶ As Poulsen comments: 'Jeg plejer undertiden spøgende at sige, og det er vist ikke helt forkert, at færøsk talesprog er så tolerant for optagelse af fremmed, især dansk ordstof, at man kan tage alle ord i *Ordbog over det danske sprog* og tillempe dem til færøsk udtale og bøjning' (1977: 100; tr.2). The examples Poulsen gives, such as Da. *forferdelig* > Fa. *forferdiligur*, indicate that this borrowing is largely facilitated by the close relationship between the two languages.

¹⁷ See Brunstad (2001: 272-6; 285-91) and Höskuldur Thráinsson *et al.* (2004: 453-4) on the prescriptive tendencies of Faroese dictionaries.

his English/Faroese (1984) dictionary, the following equivalents would occur for the three examples taken: ‘javnaðarstevna’ (‘sosialisma’ was also included), ‘afturhald’ and ‘frælslyndi’. None of these alternatives were used in the lesson. In my experience, the latter are hardly ever used, at least not in spoken Faroese.

(Holm 1992: 99)

Similarly, the latest English-Faroese dictionary (Skála and Mikkelsen 2007a) lists ‘afturhald’ and ‘frælslyndi’ ahead of ‘konservatisma’ and ‘liberalisma’ respectively, although ‘javnaðarstevna’ for ‘sosialisma’ is not given.

1.3 Comparative Linguistic Background and Scope

So as to provide context to the thesis, this section briefly considers the linguistic situations of the various countries which immediately surround the Faroes (Iceland, Norway, Shetland and Orkney and Scotland). Apart from Iceland, each of the territories mentioned has experienced a shift from a low status language to a different one of high status, but, as this section demonstrates, only in the Faroes was this shift forced. In continuation, I will consider the reasoning behind restricting the scope of the thesis to the NAR.

1.3.1 Iceland

Much of what characterises the peculiar nature of Faroese colonialism is shared with Icelandic colonialism and reference will therefore be made to Iceland throughout the thesis. Nevertheless, as the history of the Icelandic language differs so much from that of Faroese after the commencement of Danish influence, something of the unique Icelandic linguistic history will be presented here.

Tomasson (1980: 4) describes Iceland as ‘the only European society whose origins are known’. This may well be the case: the industrious record-keeping of the early Icelanders reveals much about the foundation of the Icelandic nation. Iceland was settled in the six decades between 870 and 930, largely by Norwegians (albeit indirectly for the most part via the British Isles), with some additional natives from Scotland and Ireland (*ibid.*).

Writing on parchment in the native language began as early as in the eleventh century in Iceland and Norway, presumably due to the influence of English missionaries

who had been writing in their own language for several centuries (Haugen 1976: 185). Of the West Scandinavian dialect speakers, only the Icelanders ‘succeeded in maintaining [their] written tradition through the centuries of [Danish] dominance, and in developing it into a standard language at the time of the Reformation’ (p.332), whereas writing in Norway and the Faroes more or less died out. Various reasons have been given for this achievement on the part of the Icelanders. Vikør (2001: 59-60) argues firstly that as the differences between Icelandic and Danish were so great as to render the languages mutually unintelligible, a shift between Icelandic and Danish would require switching from one language to another altogether. In Norway, however, the ruling classes in and around Oslo were simply able to adapt their speech towards Danish. Secondly, Vikør mentions the fact that speech across Iceland was uniform with very little regional variation – the Icelandic written form was one to which all Icelanders could relate. Finally, ‘the strong literary tradition provided efficient support for the maintenance of Icelandic linguistic autonomy’ (p.59). Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the Icelanders had, of course, produced the sagas which had imbued their language with a strong tradition and credibility. It was, therefore, impossible for the Danes to ignore Icelandic. Haugen also indicates that the relative isolation from the Danish colonisers may have played a role (1976: 332-3). While Haugen observes that the language was ‘weakened’ during Iceland’s ‘unions’ with Norway and Denmark, its independent status was confirmed by a translation of the New Testament in 1540 and the entire Bible in 1584 (p.32).

1.3.2 Norway

Norway is sometimes referred to as a former Danish colony and parallels are often drawn between Norway and colonial/post-colonial territories: the Norwegian historian Seip, for example, wrote that in terms of the number of immigrants from Denmark in Norway in 1814, the situation was not ‘ulik den som senere kunne oppstå i tidligere koloniland’ (‘unlike the one that might later emerge in former colonies’; Seip 1974: 66). However, although Norway came under very heavy Danish influence, the fact that Norway and Denmark were united by a political union in 1380 – even if this eventually was a union only in name – means that their unequal status did not contain a ‘built-in’ power imbalance, as in the relationship between ‘a coloniser’ and ‘the colonised’. It therefore seems illogical to group Norway together with the NAR. Skyum-Nielsen, for example, describes Denmark-Norway as a ‘konglomeratstat’ (‘conglomerate state’;

2005: 57). Furthermore, Hauge acknowledges that Norway is becoming increasingly aware of its own 'medvirken' ("participation") in European colonialism (2009: 32). The NAR countries, conversely, were considered by Denmark to be 'possessions' and were referred to as such.¹⁸ Norway's inclusion in the thesis would constitute a considerable expansion of the term 'post-colonial' as it is understood here (see 2.1).

Nevertheless, the linguistic developments in Norway bear some resemblance to much of what occurred in the Faroes and these similarities should not be overlooked.

At the time of the union Norwegian written tradition, the first established in Scandinavia, had developed a norm (Haugen 1976: 329). However, after Denmark and Norway were united in 1380, Copenhagen increasingly became the centre of the new union and dismantled key Norwegian institutions over the next one hundred and fifty years, meaning that Norway became isolated from other West Scandinavian areas and influenced by East Scandinavian, primarily Danish. In 1389 Denmark's Queen Margrete moved the Norwegian chancellery to Denmark, which remained empty until populated by Danish officials at the start of the fifteenth century. In 1536-7 the Norwegian government was dissolved and a state-controlled Protestant church replaced the Norwegian Catholic Church (Hoel 1996: 29). Eventually, the Norwegian language ceased to be written since, from the top down, Danish was increasingly used as the written medium (ibid.). At this time, however, there was no language debate in Norway. As Hoel (1996: 30) observes, the shift from Norwegian to Danish was not the result of linguistic oppression on the part of the Danes and the use of Norwegian does not seem to have been associated with Norwegian identity. The concept of a connection between one's language and one's personal identity tended to emerge much later and only became prevalent in the nineteenth century (Barnes 1998: 24).

Hoel identifies four language varieties that were spoken in Norway at the beginning of the nineteenth century: 1) Danish, or 'rikstalemål' ("standard spoken language"), to cite Hoel, which was spoken by Danes living in Norway, particularly the Danish actors at the Christiania Theater; 2) 'Høgtidsmålet' ("the formal language"), which was used in formal and official contexts, particularly schools and churches, and involved the pronunciation of standard written Danish using a Norwegian phonological

¹⁸ Berlin (1932:132) describes how the NAR countries were labelled "possessions" ('Besiddelser') in Danish commercial treaties.

substratum;¹⁹ 3) ‘Den danna daglegtala’ (“educated everyday speech”), a mixture of Danish and Norwegian, with considerable influence from the Norwegian dialects, which became the mother tongue of parts of the Norwegian elite over the course of the eighteenth century;²⁰ and 4) dialects (‘målføre’) which were spoken by the majority of Norwegians and had not been particularly influenced by Danish (Hoel 1996: 33).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the existence of several spoken varieties in Norway led to the creation of two written forms of the Norwegian language. The wave of national romanticism across Europe, which for Norway culminated in its independence in 1905, made the Norwegians aware of the fact that the language they wrote was not their own: two solutions emerged. In 1856, the linguist Knud Knudsen began to advocate ‘a step-by-step Norwegianization of the Danish spelling’ (Haugen 1976: 35), but he did not wish to alter the language radically from the Danish norm. A series of spelling reforms in the twentieth century removed the orthography further from that of Danish. This form became known as *bokmål* (“book language”), now the official name of the variety. This is the written form used by the vast majority of Norwegians today, and by 85 per cent of Norwegian schoolchildren (Worren 2005: 2042).²¹

The other written language was developed by another linguist, Ivar Aasen, and was set out in his *Norsk Grammatik* of 1864, although he had previously suggested what his Norwegian language should look like in his ‘Prøver af Landsmaalet’ of 1853. Aasen chose to model his written form on the Norwegian dialects in an attempt to by-pass the centuries of Danish influence on Norwegian. As Haugen observes, ‘like Hammershaimb’s norm for Faroese, [Aasen’s norm] was conceived as continuing a historical tradition and was therefore more conservative than any one dialect’ (1976: 35). Aasen’s Norwegian, known as *landsmål* (“national language”), and later as *nynorsk* (“New Norwegian”), received official recognition in 1885.

One important difference between Danish in the Faroes and Norway is that Norway was transferred to another European power during the period of national romanticism in Europe. In 1814 Denmark was forced to cede Norway to Sweden under the terms of the Treaty of Kiel. The Swedish king allowed Norway to establish the

¹⁹ Due to the extensive use of this variety in Norwegian churches, it became popularly known as *klokkerdansk* (“sexton Danish”). *Klokkerdansk* is the Norwegian equivalent of the Faroese Print Danish phenomenon (one of the varieties popularly referred to as *Gøtudanskt* in the Faroes; see 3.2 and 3.2.1).

²⁰ Hoel’s analysis is written in Nynorsk. The more common Bokmål term is *den dannede dagligtale*.

²¹ This figure was up from 83 per cent in the 1990s (Worren 2005: 2042).

various institutions found in an independent country, although the king and foreign service would be common to both countries (Kristoffersen 2000: 2). In this context, the Danish language in Norway acquired a unique role as ‘one of the many ways of expressing and securing the relative independence from Sweden’ (ibid.).

1.3.3 Shetland and Orkney

Shetland and Orkney, the nearest inhabited territories to the Faroes, were colonised by Vikings predominantly from western Norway, at the beginning of the ninth century (Barnes 1996: 12).²² The West Scandinavian dialects of Old Norse brought to the two groups of islands later became known as Norn, a language which has since become extinct. Barnes (1998: 21) explains that Norn was replaced by Scots in Shetland and Orkney as large numbers of immigrants from Scotland moved to the islands in the late Middle Ages and after the transfer of both territories from the Danish to the Scottish crown. The fundamental language shift appears to have taken place in the seventeenth century (Barnes 1996: 13), and it seems that the language of the Reformation in both Shetland and Orkney was Scots (Barnes 1991: 451). While information is scant, the sources available indicate that Norn ceased to be a spoken language in the early part of the eighteenth century in Orkney and around c.1800 in Shetland (Barnes 1998: 26).

Jakob Jakobsen, the first academic to document the remnants of Norn at the end of the nineteenth century, was a Faroese scholar. He considered the death of Norn to be a tragedy: ‘the result of brutal oppression by Scotsmen’ (Smith 1996: 30). While this view has been challenged – the shift from Norn to Scots was probably chiefly driven by the need for the islanders to communicate (Barnes 1998: 24) – the example of Norn in Shetland has frequently been used by the Faroese as a warning of what could befall their own language, should they not fight to maintain it (cf. Enok D. Bærentsen in Lenvig 1999: 7; J.H.W. Poulsen 1982b: 133). Other parallels have frequently been drawn between the Faroese and the Orcadians/Shetlanders. In 1839, for example, Christian Pløyen, one of the Faroese *Amtmænd* (“county governors”) wrote that the peculiar, yet pleasant, intonation of the Shetlanders’ dialect (here referring to Shetland Scots rather than Norn, as the latter was no longer spoken) recalled that of the Faroese when they speak their ‘dialect’ (Stewart 1964: 166).

²² Little is known about the Picts, the earlier inhabitants of Shetland and Orkney.

1.3.4 Scotland

As Murison (1979: 8) explains, by the second half of the fourteenth century French was becoming less important in Scotland, Gaelic was retreating from the Scottish Lowlands and a Germanic language, known to its speakers as *Inglis*,²³ was ‘registering most progress’. This language had developed in Scotland from that of the Germanic Angle tribe, who had spread northwards through Britain after having established themselves around the River Thames in approximately AD 450 (p.3). By 1390 the Scottish Parliament had begun to record its proceedings in *Inglis* and the old Latin laws were translated into it (ibid.). In 1494 the term *Scottis*, contemporary ‘Scots’, was applied to this language for the first time (ibid.). Murison calls the period from 1460-1560 the ‘heyday of the Scots tongue as a full national language [...] as distinct from English as Portuguese from Spanish, Dutch from German or Swedish from Danish’ (pp.8-9). Scots was also used in education: in 1559 the Scottish court authorised a Scots publisher, William Nudrye, to produce two textbooks in Scots (Bailey 1987: 132). The Scottish Reformation of 1560, however, brought the English Bible to Scotland and this variety of southern English soon became the written language north of the border as well. Somewhat later, a diglossic language situation was to emerge in the spoken language, with Scots as the low language, that of the home and family, and English as the high language, the medium of the Church, education and administration. This situation was cemented by the Act of Union between the Scottish and English crowns in 1707.

As in Norway, the two languages brought together by the union were so closely related that words from the high language could easily be introduced into the low language ‘without appearing too incongruous’ (Aitken 1979: 89). It was also the case that the nineteenth-century idea of language as an emblem of identity had yet to emerge and, as Aitken explains, ‘there were no great patriotic objections to an infiltration of first written, and later spoken, Scots by usages of English origin’ (ibid.). Over the course of the seventeenth century, there was an increase in interaction between the Scots and the English and, according to Aitken, from this point, ‘the speech of the Scots gentry assimilated to polite southern English’ (p.93). Scottish schools began to encourage English pronunciation over Scots: Bailey gives an example from 1761 of Arthur Masson, a ‘popular Edinburgh schoolmaster’: Masson hired an English assistant

²³ As Murison observes, the northern form, *Inglis*, serves to separate it from the *English* variety spoken in the southern half of the island (1979: 8).

‘of excellent pronunciation’ and also visited London to seek ‘improvement in the English language, which above all others ought to be the study of every Briton’ (Bailey 1987: 132).

As with Norway, the Scottish situation cannot be considered post-colonial as two kingdoms were united. Therefore, their mutual relationship did not involve the crucial ‘built-in’ power imbalance, as in that between ‘a coloniser’ and ‘the colonised’. There could, of course, be important parallels between the Faroese, Scottish and Norwegian linguistic situations, whatever the official status of the territories involved, but such comparative analysis is beyond the scope of the present study.

1.3.5 Scope Beyond the NAR

The Danish colonial sphere, and consequently the Danish language, did of course stretch beyond the NAR. Denmark’s former colonies in Asia and Africa, respectively Danish East India and the Danish Gold Coast, do not feature in this thesis. Danish no longer has a position in either, and it was never the language of the local population. Additionally, these two groups of colonies no longer exist as separate political entities, forming parts of modern India and Ghana – two states who view their colonial history predominantly in relation to the United Kingdom. Furthermore, post-colonial theories are usually applied to territories which gained a degree of independence from the colonial power in the twentieth century, whereas Denmark lost its Asian and African possessions during the nineteenth. All possessions on the Indian mainland were taken over by Britain in 1845, the Nicobar Islands were abandoned in 1848 (purchased by Britain in 1868), and the Gold Coast colonies were transferred to British rule in 1850.

Vestiges of Danish do however exist in one further former Danish colony, the United States Virgin Islands (USVI, formerly the Danish West Indies, Da. *Dansk Vestindien*), the only former colony other than those in the NAR to remain a political entity.²⁴ There Danish persists in road names in the centre of Charlotte Amalie, the capital of St. Thomas, albeit often in an Anglicised/localised form, in both orthography and pronunciation.²⁵ Early attempts to introduce Danish as the medium of instruction on

²⁴ Sources on Danish in Denmark’s tropical colonies are few. Bakker (2004) considers words of Danish origin in USVI and Ghana.

²⁵ Danish street names in Charlotte Amalie are often written according to English convention, i.e. *Strand Gade*, ‘Beach Street’, rather than standard Danish *Strandgade*. In his 1981 account of a visit to USVI, Mentze notes ‘[...] Toldbodgade, Dronningens Tværgade og Strandgade, navne som er bevaret gennem skiftende tider, men som det efterhånden falder lidt vanskeligt at stave’ (‘[...] *Toldbodgade, Dronningens*

the islands were soon abandoned, with Danish only used by the administration and resident Danish families (Lawaetz 1980: 36). Thus these islands cannot contribute anything to the thesis either.²⁶

One other region, Schleswig-Holstein, should briefly be mentioned here, although it has a complicated history that cannot easily be viewed from a post-colonial perspective. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were governed by Denmark from 1460, but not incorporated. Prussia and Denmark subsequently fought for control of the territories. In 1871 both became part of a united Germany. Finally in 1920, following a plebiscite, the northern part of Schleswig, the modern county of Sønderjylland, was incorporated into Denmark.

In the foreword to *Post-Imperial English*, Fishman challenges linguists to construct profiles of the position of the inherited metropolitan language in former French, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch colonial spheres so that these may be contrasted with equivalent profiles from territories that were once British or American colonies (1996a: 9).²⁷ This, he claims, could facilitate the ‘revelation’ of ‘processes vastly larger in scale and in ubiquity than Anglo-American imperialism’ (ibid.). Fishman makes no mention of former Danish colonies: this is, however, unsurprising as Denmark’s history as a colonial power is not often recognised in post-colonial study. Although the thesis concentrates on the NAR, and primarily the Faroes, it may in addition contribute towards the construction of a profile of the position of Danish in Denmark’s former colonies.

1.4 Clarification

Two key matters should be clarified right from the start. Firstly, it is important to stress that the thesis concentrates on the position and use of the Danish language and attitudes towards it within the Faroes, rather than the position of and attitudes towards Denmark, or the status of the Faroes within the Danish Kingdom. In the years since the Faroese

Tværgade and *Strandgade*, names which are preserved through changing times, but which increasingly become harder to spell”; Mentze 1981: 118).

²⁶ USVI has never officially ceased to be a colony. Sold by Denmark in 1916, the islands are an unincorporated territory of the United States, and feature on the United Nations’ list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, as they have rejected implementing a constitution on numerous occasions.

²⁷ While Fishman does not adopt an analysis based upon post-colonial theory, his use of ‘metropolitan’ fits its use in that field, where it means ‘belonging to or constituting the mother country’ (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007: 123).

language movement began, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, there have been many instances of the linguistic and political issues becoming confused. In the ensuing period, advocates of a greater role for the Faroese language within Faroese society were often accused of being anti-Danish (cf. Debes 1982: 267, J.H.W. Poulsen 1982b: 134). Holm (1992: 36) confirms that the views of those Faroese people who fought for a stronger position for their language in the schools ‘were often represented in absurdly negative terms’ in the Danish press in the mid-1920s.²⁸ At that time, the Faroese author, Jørgen-Frantz Jacobsen (1900-38), found it necessary to stress that the Faroese national movement had never aimed to eliminate Danish from the islands (1925: 19). Today, as the questionnaires demonstrate (Chapter 4), there are some Faroese who strive to remove all Danish influence from their Faroese, yet would seem to support the current political status of the Faroes within the Danish Kingdom. Conversely, there are instances of purists equating their efforts with nationalism: in an article from 1989, André Niclasen, a schoolteacher of German and Russian, challenged a linguist who referred to his own opinion on Faroese as part of a ‘tjóðskaparstrev’ (‘national struggle’; Niclasen 2007: 36).²⁹ While a complete separation of language and politics is impossible – the political union with Denmark ensures a continued presence of Danish on the islands – this distinction is of fundamental importance when assessing the Faroese linguistic climate.

Secondly, this study focuses on the history and position of the colonial language, Danish, in the Faroes, and not of Faroese. It is, however, impossible to ignore developments that have taken place regarding the Faroese language for several reasons. The increased use of Faroese has had a direct influence on the position of Danish on the islands. This is self-evident: as use of Faroese increases to incorporate new linguistic domains, Danish suffers domain loss. In addition, responses to the questionnaires made it clear that the thesis would need to recognise the importance of purism in Faroese. Danicisms, either real or perceived, are often discouraged, and it is conceivable that this might have a bearing on how familiar Danish is to, for example, Faroese schoolchildren. If the next generation are to hear only *firvaldur* (‘butterfly’), rather than *summarfuglur*, it is questionable whether they will understand the Danish word *sommerfugl* when

²⁸ Cf. Thomassen 1985: 9; J.H.W. Poulsen 1994: 251.

²⁹ ‘Eru tað bara tjóðskaparfólk (nationalistar), sum vilja røkja føroyskt?’ (‘Do only nationalists want to care for Faroese?’).

hearing it for the first time.³⁰ There is also a suggestion that Faroese purism could strengthen the position of Danish. Niclasen (2007: 265) gives the example of an entire class failing an examination because of the choice of Faroese words in the questions, adding that pupils would prefer questions in Danish (p.235). The extent to which this is the case is difficult to determine, but further evidence was found in the questionnaires analysed in Chapter 4.³¹ These examples show that it is not advisable – or even possible – to consider the Danish language in the Faroes in isolation.

The questionnaires also highlight the fact that a considerable number of Faroese people use the terms *danskt* (“Danish”) or *donsk orð* (“Danish words”) almost metonymically to refer to Danish loanwords that have been incorporated into Faroese, rather than the Danish language *per se*.³² The ‘Danish’ of the thesis title has then, in a Faroese context, two interlinked meanings and both ought to be considered.

A further point to be clarified is that this study does not attempt to describe the actual speech of the Faroese or the intricacies of Danish influence on the Faroese language. A recent publication by H.P. Petersen, *The Dynamics of Faroese-Danish Language Contact* (2010) covers this in considerable detail.³³ Rather, the thesis places itself within the field commonly known as the sociology of language, ‘the study of society in relation to language’ (Hudson 1980: 5),³⁴ an area of research that Sigurd describes as being particularly suited to the Faroes (1977b: 2). The sociology of language focuses on the macro aspects of language in society: languages as entities,

³⁰ This example is taken from a conversation overheard in Tórshavn in 2009. A mother corrected her husband after he used the word *summarfuglur* when conversing with their child, telling him that the word was now *firvaldur*. There are many comparable examples. Selås (1996: 43) quotes a source who told her: ‘elefantar eita filar... So fortelja tey fyri okkum, ommubørnini hjá okkum, hetta er ein filur, tað eitur ikki elefantur’ (“*elefantar* [“elephants”] are called *filur*... that’s what our grandchildren tell us, that is a *filur*, not an *elefantur*”). The Danish word is *elefant*.

³¹ [T].d. tá ein er í roynd, so er tað lættari at lesa danskt enn føroyskt. Føroyingar gera ov nógv burtur úr at gera tekstinar so føroyskar sum møguligt, ið eg ikki haldi er gott’ [FST142]. (“[F]or example, when you are in an exam, it’s easier to read Danish than Faroese. The Faroese make too much of making the texts as Faroese as possible, which I don’t think is a good thing”).

³² When asked whether Danish is better than Faroese in some circumstances, many pupils answered along the lines of: ‘Tað eru so nógv føroysk orð, sum eg haldi, eru fradbýtt. Tí velji eg ofta at brúka donsk orð í staðin’ [FSS081] (“There are so many Faroese words that I consider to be stupid. So I often choose to use Danish words instead.”) Here the student is not saying that he/she code-switches, i.e. uses Danish words in Danish form and with Danish pronunciation in an otherwise Faroese sentence, but that he/she uses Danish words in Faroese form.

³³ H.P. Petersen’s work centres on the question: ‘What happens in the speech of asymmetrical bilinguals when language A, the dominant language (Faroese), and language B, the embedded language (Danish), are closely related?’ (2010: 15).

³⁴ As Hudson states, this is ‘the converse of our definition of sociolinguistics’, which considers language in relation to society (1980: 5).

language planning, language attitudes and government policies regarding language. Throughout the thesis, however, specific ‘micro’ examples are given to exemplify the general ‘macro’ observations.

1.5 The Present Legal Status of Danish

1.5.1 The Faroes

Paragraph 11 of the 1948 Home Rule Act states:

(Fa.) § 11. Føroyskt verður viðurkent sum høvuðsmál, men danskt skal lærast væl og virðiliga, og danskt kann eins væl og føroyskt nýtast í almennum viðurskiftum.³⁵

(Da.) § 11. Færøsk anerkendes som Hovedsproget, men Dansk skal læres godt og omhyggeligt, og Dansk kan lige saa vel som Færøsk anvendes i offentlige Forhold.³⁶

Additionally, the Act states that when presenting cases of appeal, there is to be a Danish translation of all Faroese documents.³⁷

In 1999, the Faroese government created a board to consider the creation of a Faroese constitution (*stjórnarskipanarnevnd*), and this has presented a draft proposal. Under Section 1, Paragraph 6, Item 2, it states: ‘Almenna málið er føroyskt’.³⁸ At the time of writing, the proposal had not been adopted by the Faroese government: to do so would constitute a violation of the conditions of the Act as it stands.

1.5.2 Greenland

Similarly, the 1978 Greenlandic Home Rule Act states:

(Gr.) § 9. Kalaallit oqaasii pingaarnersaallutik oqaasiussapput. Danskit oqaasii peqqissaartumik ilinniartitsissutigineqassapput.

³⁵ “§ 11. Faroese is recognised as the main language, but Danish is to be learned well and carefully, and Danish, as well as Faroese, can be used in public affairs.”

³⁶ Original capitalisation.

³⁷ Fa. ‘Við framløgu av appellmálum skal dansk umseting av øllum føroyskum skjølum fylgja við.’; Da. ‘Ved Forelæggelse af Appelsagers skal der medfølge dansk Oversættelse af alle Akter paa Færøsk.’

³⁸ “The public language is Faroese”. The draft constitution is available at: <http://www.ssn.fo/Default.aspx?gid=dcf7890f7-4332-4c8c-aeb7-86bb85b4547e> (last accessed 23/12/10).

*Imm. 2. Oqaatsit taakku tamarmik pisortaqarfimmi atorneqarsinnaaput.*³⁹

(Da.) § 9. Det grønlandske sprog er hovedsproget. Der skal undervises grundigt i det danske sprog.

Stk. 2. Begge sprog kan anvendes i offentlige forhold.

However, during the research period of the thesis (November 2008), the Greenlandic government held a referendum on the passing of a new law which would increase Greenland's autonomy, yet keep it within the Danish Kingdom. 75.54% of votes cast (with a turnout of 71.96%) approved the passing of the law.⁴⁰ Most significant for the thesis was the document's twentieth paragraph, under Section 7, which declared Greenlandic as the official language, with no mention of Danish.⁴¹ The Act introducing Greenlandic Self-Rule came into force on 13th June 2009.⁴²

1.5.3 Iceland

Danish has no official status in Iceland.⁴³ The national curriculum does however state that Danish is to be learned in Icelandic schools from the fifth class (*Menntamálaráðuneytið* 2006: 14).

1.6 Danish in the Faroes: Some 'Truths'

As I am not Faroese and, at the time of embarking upon the thesis, had not lived on the islands, the subject matter was approached via academic research rather than personal experience. Preliminary reading revealed that two 'truths' about the position of Danish in the Faroes frequently recurred in the literature:

1. Danish has now become a foreign language (FL) in the Faroes.

³⁹ § 9. Greenlandic is the main language. Danish is to be taught thoroughly. *Section 2.* Both languages can be used in public affairs.

⁴⁰ www.dk.nanoq.gl/emner/landsstyre/departement/landsstyreformandens%20departement/selvstyrekontor/folkeafstemning.aspx (last accessed 22/12/10).

⁴¹ Da. Kapitel 7, § 20. 'Det grønlandske sprog er det officielle sprog i Grønland'; Gr. Kapitali 7, § 20. 'Kalaallit oqaasii tassaapput Kalaallit Nunaanni pisortatigootumik oqaasit.'

⁴² Da. *Lov om Grønlands Selvstyre*; Gr. *Kalaallit Nunaanni Namminersorneq pillugu inatsit*.

⁴³ The Icelandic Constitution of 1944 makes no mention of language, not even Icelandic.

This is the general consensus amongst academics writing about Danish in the Faroes today, as seen for example in the introduction to the recent English-language Faroese textbook:

Today, Faroese is defined as the national language of the Faroe Islanders with Danish being considered a foreign language (although it remains an obligatory subject in schools).

(Adams and Petersen 2009a: vii)

A similar sentiment has been echoed by, for example, J.H.W. Poulsen (1994: 255), Hagström (1984b: 180), Voss (1982: 80) and, most emphatically, Nauerby (1996: 130, 136, 140).

In 1.2.2 some of the ways in which the position of Danish has changed in the Faroes were discussed. For centuries, however, Danish was the Faroese written language. Until only a few decades ago it would have been unthinkable to write even a love letter in anything but Danish (J.H.W. Poulsen 1993: 111). This would be inconceivable for the Faroese today.

It is perfectly understandable that, in an attempt to summarise these considerable changes in one sentence for (presumably) an overseas readership, the FL designation seems useful as a way of describing what Danish has become.⁴⁴ The thesis argues, however, that it is both unhelpful and misleading to apply the FL label to Danish. I propose that a new approach based on a post-colonial perspective could prove more useful and provide fresh insights.⁴⁵

2. Whereas some older Faroese maintain the tradition of pronouncing Danish according to the spelling as it appears to a Faroese reader – a phenomenon caused by the fact that Danish was traditionally learned from books – most, if not all younger speakers now pronounce Danish as it is spoken in Denmark, a

⁴⁴ Although post-colonial theory is not explained until Chapter 2, this need to sum up the changes that have occurred for a foreign audience ties in with Malan Marnersdóttir's observation: 'that colonies and former colonies often have to define their position in the world in order to attract the world's attention is a widely-held postcolonial attitude' (2007: 154).

⁴⁵ Discussion of a language in a society becoming 'foreign' is not uncommon. Majumdar (2007: 157) describes French in Algeria as having been 'relegated [...] to the status of a foreign language'. Some of Moag's examples from the South Pacific are discussed in 2.2.2.

practice which is heavily encouraged in schools. The traditional method is popularly called *Gøtudanskt*.⁴⁶

This view has also been promoted by a range of academics, such as J.H.W. Poulsen (1993: 112; 2003: 383), Nauerby (1996: 131), Wylie and Margolin (1981: 79) and H.P. Petersen (2008: 45).

Nauerby's illuminating *No Nation is an Island* (1996) is one of few works to analyse (rather than merely comment on) the way in which Faroese pronunciation of Danish has changed over the past century. He draws the above two 'truths' together and describes the changes identified in the latter as symptomatic of the former: the unseating of *Gøtudanskt* by a pronunciation that could have come directly from (somewhere in) Denmark⁴⁷ accompanies the shift of Danish from 'an internal Faroese language variant' to 'an external foreign language' (p.130). Nauerby supports his conclusions with several non-academic voices (interviewees) from the Faroes:

Unfortunately there has been a swing away from *gøtudanskt* in the 1970s and the process is now virtually complete. It's a great shame. [...] I don't really know why. I think it has to do with the fact that Danish has increasingly become a *foreign language* in the same way that it happened in Iceland.

(Nauerby 1996: 132)

Academic writing on the subject, both from the islands and abroad, appears to take the two 'truths' for granted, with very little detailed reasoning provided. Only Nauerby attempts to contextualise them to any degree. The obvious inaccuracy of categorising Danish as a FL along with others such as (from a Faroese perspective) German and French is constantly overlooked. Section 1.7 focuses on the reasons why FL is a term best avoided when discussing Danish in the Faroes. Furthermore, as Chapters 3 and 5 demonstrate, the historical and contemporary roles of Danish in Faroese society bear no resemblance to those of these other, truly foreign, languages. The Danish language in the Faroes today must be described in another way – and new

⁴⁶ See 3.2 for more on *Gøtudanskt* and an attempt to clarify a confusing term in Faroese academic writing. This 'traditional' method of pronouncing Danish is one of two language varieties that the term has come to denote.

⁴⁷ At a 1987 conference in Reykjavík, Iceland, a discussion group including three authorities on Danish in the Faroes, J.H.W. Poulsen, Bent Søndergaard and Jeffrei Henriksen, concluded that Copenhagen Danish is generally promoted in Faroese and Greenlandic schools (Nielsen 1988: 180).

terminology is necessary. As regards *Gøtudanskt* (as defined here), Chapter 5 demonstrates that it has not yet been confined to the annals of Faroese history, yet continues to exist, although in a different context from before. Academic writing has paid little attention to this.

The consequence of the widespread acceptance and repetition of these ‘facts’ is that one who approaches the Faroese language debate through previous academic research is given a somewhat inaccurate impression of what to expect ‘on the ground’.

1.7 Danish as a ‘Foreign Language’ in the Faroes

The term ‘foreign language’ is problematic. As shown in 1.5.1, Danish is an official language in the Faroes under the Home Rule Act: it may be used in all public spheres of society, even though only a small minority of the local population speaks it as a first language. If we consider a standard definition of ‘foreign’ as ‘belonging to, coming from, or characteristic of another country or nation’,⁴⁸ it becomes difficult to think of Danish as fully foreign in the Faroes. Furthermore, as the questionnaires demonstrate (Chapter 4), there are even a number of native Faroese who are more comfortable with reading or writing Danish than Faroese. When a language has made such inroads into the linguistic practice of some members of the local population, it seems questionable to label it ‘foreign’.

The periodical *Språk i Norden*, published with support from the Nordic Language Council, defines an FL as:

[ett] Språk som lärs in i en miljö där det inte hör naturligt hemma. Ett typiskt exempel i Norden är engelska som lärs ut som obligatoriskt ämne i skolan.⁴⁹

(*Språk i Norden* 2006: 30)

Aside from the fact that ‘där det inte hör naturligt hemma’ is clearly subjective, the inclusion of English in the Nordic countries as an example of a typical FL arguably invalidates the claim that Danish plays this same role in the Faroes. The use of a single label to describe any language spoken on the islands that is not Faroese glosses over the

⁴⁸ *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (2007).

⁴⁹ “(A) language which is learned in an environment in which it does not naturally belong. A typical example in the Nordic countries is English, which is taught as a compulsory subject in school.”

important differences between the ways in which, for example, English and Danish are used in modern Faroese society. Furthermore, categorising both English and Danish as foreign from a Faroese perspective ignores the very different historical relationships between them and Faroese society.

A definition of FL given by Richards, Platt and Weber is:

[A] language which is taught as a school subject but which is not used as a medium of communication within a country (e.g. in government, business or industry). English is described as a foreign language in France, Japan, China, etc.⁵⁰

(Richards, Platt and Weber 1985: 108)

This definition has become somewhat out-dated: English is used in business and industry all over the world today, and, as Deane indicates, English ‘is not merely the language of a country or an Empire or of an invading culture; it is the language of a condition – modernity’ (2000: 51). Consequently, English has achieved a special status. Nevertheless, the definition is useful. As later chapters demonstrate, Danish *is* still used as a medium of communication in the Faroes in a limited number of domains, from government to the media, although usually never between the Faroese themselves. This is further evidence that the description of a shift towards an FL status is not a satisfactory description of the changes that have taken place.

Phillipson (1992: 25) considers the position of English in the Nordic countries, (‘Scandinavia and Finland’), and draws the conclusion that English there is undergoing an FL to SL shift. As far as Denmark is concerned, this sentiment was echoed as early as in 1990 by the Danish Minister of Education, Bertel Haarder (in Phillipson 1992: 9). Phillipson’s conclusion is founded upon the following:

[S]uccess or failure in English at school may be decisive for educational and career prospects, meaning that English has a social stratificational function within the country: textbooks written in English are used in virtually all university degree programmes, meaning that English is a pre-condition for higher educational qualifications; much inter-Scandinavian academic discourse, at conferences and in journals takes place in English, meaning that English is domestically a necessary professional skill. Major Scandinavian corporations increasingly use English as the in-

⁵⁰ Rather ‘[A] language which *could be* taught as a school subject’.

company language (Hollqvist 1984). Many programmes from core English-speaking countries are shown on television, with the original soundtrack. Customers need to be able to read product descriptions and instructions in English. Newspapers regularly use words borrowed from English, and even though their statistical frequency is not very high, the degree of their integration into the Scandinavian languages and the ways in which the loans are used result in a feeling that the English language is conspicuous (Chrystal 1988). Unquestionably the number of domains where English is becoming indispensable in Scandinavia is increasing constantly. In a real sense English can be regarded as a second language rather than a foreign language in the Nordic countries.

(Phillipson 1992: 25)

As he makes no mention of them, it is unclear whether Phillipson would consider the Faroes part of Scandinavia, the Nordic countries or neither, but I consider the above statements about English to be equally valid for the Faroes. However, Danish is used much *more* there than English: Danish is used in secondary level textbooks; competence in Danish is a requirement for Faroese studying at a Danish university; customers need to be able to read product descriptions and instructions in Danish; almost all literature aimed at adults is in Danish; all foreign films and television programmes are adapted for a Danish-speaking population (with Danish subtitles/dubbing);⁵¹ many Danish words are inserted into spoken Faroese (albeit it in a Faroese form). The contradiction is clear: how can English be described as a second language (SL) in Scandinavia and Danish described as an FL in the Faroes?

Neither can Danish in the Faroes easily be considered an SL, according to the definition offered by Richards, Platt and Weber:

[A] language which is not a native language in a country but which is widely used as a medium of communication (e.g. in education and in government) and which is usually used alongside another language or languages. English is described as a second language in countries such as Fiji, Singapore and Nigeria.

(Richards, Platt and Weber 1985: 108-9)

Danish is used much less in the Faroes than English in the countries listed as examples here. Rather, this definition seems to reflect the position of Danish in the Faroes in the

⁵¹ Recently children's television programmes on *Sjónvarp Føroya*, the national broadcaster, have been dubbed in Faroese or given Faroese subtitles. However, no children's DVDs have Faroese subtitles or dubbing.

late nineteenth-century when Faroese nationalism began to develop. SL is, therefore, also an inadequate label for Danish in contemporary Faroese society.

The FL/SL dichotomy also ignores what Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o describes as the 'dual character' of language, functioning both as a means of communication and as a carrier of culture (1986: 13). He gives, coincidentally, the example of English, which is spoken by the British and the Scandinavians (he specifically names the Swedes and the Danes). Yet, whereas English only functions as a medium of communication for the Scandinavians, for the British it remains a carrier of their culture. A language may no longer be used in a given society, but it may still act in this carrier role even if it only represents the culture of a certain time period which has since ended: the FL label overlooks this cultural aspect.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that one Scandinavian word for 'foreign', appearing in Faroese as *fremmandur* and in Danish as *fremmed*, additionally translates into English as 'strange' or 'unknown'.⁵² This renders an analysis of the use of the term 'foreign' in Scandinavian texts relating to Danish in the Faroes troublesome (i.e. When did a local equivalent to the English word 'foreign' begin to appear in Faroese sources as a way of describing Danish?). In actual fact, the idea of Danish as an FL on the islands is an old one, dating back to some of the earliest discussions of the Faroese/Danish relationship, such as Svend Grundtvig's *Dansken paa Færøerne* (1845: 27),⁵³ but Nauerby, for example, uses the term differently, identifying the FL status of Danish on the islands as the culmination of a process of linguistic change.

Benedict Anderson's oft-cited premise behind his seminal work *Imagined Communities* (2006) is that national communities are constructs of the imagination. He notes that the definition of a nation is:

[A]n imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the numbers

⁵² For example, V.U. Hammershaimb (1819-1909), the creator of the official Faroese orthography, describes Danish as 'endnu et fremmed Sprog for Færingerne' ('still a 'fremmed' language for the Faroese'), yet observes that they have become 'saa vant til dette' ('so accustomed to it'). It is difficult to determine what he means by 'fremmed' here (Hammershaimb 1844: 86).

⁵³ 'Et Folks Modersmaal skal altsaa tilstedes, »forsaaavidt det *muligen* kunde være fornødent til Udvikling af Børnenes Begreber«, men dog fornemmelig til at faae dem »grundig« lært et fremmed Sprog, hvorved det da gjøres ufnødent!' ('A nation's mother tongue is, therefore, permitted '*insofar* as it potentially may be necessary for the development of the child's ideas', but chiefly so that they may be taught a foreign language thoroughly, whereby it then becomes *unnecessary*!'). Here it seems reasonable to assume that Grundtvig means 'foreign', rather than 'unknown'.

of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.

(Anderson 2006: 6)

If we are to accept Anderson's thinking, we must acknowledge the power of the mind in the creation of identity. Therefore, the task of deciding what is or what is not part of the community must rest with its members. I consider that the labelling of a language variety as 'foreign' is not something that can be determined by academics: rather, the people themselves, in this case the Faroese, should be asked. To my knowledge, this study is the first to do so (see 4.4.5).

There is clearly good reason to be dissatisfied with what appears to be the general consensus among academics, that Danish has become an FL in the Faroes. However, there certainly have been developments in the linguistic climate of the Faroes, and these changes must be contextualised.

1.7.1 A Case Study

Although many academics have used the same terminology as Nauerby and described the position of Danish as having shifted from SL to FL, there are no other detailed studies or articles describing such a shift in the Faroes. Other academics have, however, used a similar model to analyse language shifts within a post-colonial context elsewhere in the world.

Moag (1992) has considered the changing position of the colonial language in former colonies, focusing his attention on English in Fiji, Tonga and the Philippines. When describing the changes that have taken place in the former colonies, he uses the FL/SL distinction. He describes a cycle, whereby English arrives in the colony as an FL, becomes an SL and then ultimately becomes an FL once more, when it is displaced:

by a local, official language, usually through the processes of language planning [...] in those very domains of government activities, education and the media which had permitted English to rise to a position of dominance during the pre-independence period.

(Moag 1992: 245-6)

He adds that 'English is bound, in time, to revert to the status it held much earlier in the life cycle', i.e. the FL status. Although this has not happened in the South Pacific, Moag

sees it as ‘imminent’ in the Philippines and ‘clearly under way in other multilingual nations of Africa and Asia’ (ibid.). Moag’s article leaves no reason for believing that this final stage in the cycle *cannot* happen in the South Pacific – on the contrary, the phrase ‘English is bound [...] to revert [...]’ implies that this *will* happen in the future.

There are two main weaknesses with Moag’s argument. Firstly, the FL designation is problematic. As we have seen previously, Danish in the Faroes is often considered to be an FL, but the reality there does not correlate with common definitions of the term. While the Faroes and Tonga are clearly two very different societies, it would appear that the use of the FL term is not straightforward in Tonga either. Moag’s description of English in Tonga appears self-contradictory. He stresses that English ‘is still a foreign (not a second) language’, implying that English in Tonga is still at the first stage in the cycle (p.237), but later adds that ‘Tongans and Fijians [...] find English the only safe medium in which to address those of higher status [...] This is aided by the fact that English in the *second-language context* has a more limited repertoire of social variants’ (p.239, emphasis added). That Moag describes English in Tonga today as a foreign language that is able to operate within a ‘second-language context’ highlights the weakness of the terminology within a post-colonial framework.

Moag provides examples of the difference in language acquisition between those who acquire English as an SL and those who learn it as an FL. He does not restrict this to the geographical areas he has considered in the article, but aims to give his findings general validity. When English is an FL, he argues, ‘only the formal variety is acquired’, with learning taking place ‘largely through formal study, mainly in adolescence or adulthood’ (p.248). However, in what he terms the ‘ESL (English as a Second Language) post-colonial society’,

[m]any children acquire some active competence in the informal variety of English before entering school, through playground activities and in informal socialization, shopping and other activities outside school.

(Moag 1992: 248)

He adds that the media also influences children in this way (ibid.). Acquisition of Danish in the Faroes is still much closer to that of an SL, based on Moag’s description, than to an FL, yet Danish is increasingly described as a FL on the islands. New terminology is needed to analyse and describe this. While Moag cannot be criticised

merely because his observations on English in the South Pacific and the Philippines are not readily applicable to the position of Danish in the Faroes, it is clear that the trends he identifies cannot be applied to all colonies where a shift in the position and status of the colonial language has taken place.

Secondly, Moag does not take into consideration the fact that some of the small South Pacific nations he is analysing may, in theory, never be in a position to minimise the position of English in society in the way he foresaw in the Philippines. Some former colonies will require the use of the colonial language for the indefinite future, yet the FL label obscures any differences that may exist between the status of this language before and after colonialism came to an end.

Just as has been demonstrated in the case of the Faroes, this example illustrates that the FL/SL distinction is not always helpful in discussing the linguistic situation of former colonies. If new terms and concepts are developed to describe Danish in the Faroes, they could well have wider application.

1.7.2 Further Evidence of the Need for New Terminology

The fuzziness of the terms SL and FL in a post-colonial context is not the only problem. Current theory and terminology present other difficulties. Research into the colonial language in post-colonial societies is difficult to compare as there is no standardised terminology and no standard theoretical perspective. Whereas some researchers have noticed similar trends when researching different post-colonial language use, these can be given different names and there is often a lack of clarification or definition. The process whereby a colonial language is no longer considered foreign (or colonial) is described as ‘internalization’ by Fishman (1996b: 630), whereas Kachru (2006: 274) describes a process whereby English is no longer considered an ‘alien’ tongue in India as ‘nativizing’ and ‘acculturating’, or ‘Indianizing’. Similarly, Bokamba (1992: 140), who also acknowledges the variation in terms, describes the process of adapting English ‘to local or regional linguistic conditions’ in Africa as Africanization. This lack of uniformity impedes an understanding of the greater picture, and this is an issue that the thesis addresses. If the terminology could be standardised, it would be considerably easier to identify parallels between post-colonial societies. This study aims to identify, define and label some of the processes a colonial language can go through once the colonial period has ended, while also considering the historical context. The resulting observations will, of course, not be exhaustive, as it cannot be expected that the small

Danish colonial sphere will include examples of all the potential changes a colonial language can undergo, but the sheer variety of colonial situations within Danish colonialism, coupled with its diminutive size, means that contrasting processes can be easily identified.

1.8 Structure

The body of the thesis consists of five main chapters (2-6). A final chapter (7) presents the principal conclusions and findings of the thesis.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study, covering, for example, areas of literary theory and applied linguistics, there is no all-embracing literature review at the outset. Rather, reviews of the literature and previous research relevant to the field are included as the various subject areas are introduced.

Chapters 2-6 deal with the following:

2. Theory and Methodology

This chapter considers post-colonial theory. After an introduction to post-colonialism and how the term is to be understood in this study, two theories of crucial importance for this thesis are introduced: Gayatri Spivak's *Othering* and Louis Althusser's *interpellation* and theories on ideology. Following discussion of these theoretical works, the concepts of saming, othering and linguistic autonomy are introduced and explained. The chapter goes on to consider post-colonialism and the Faroes, both regarding what has been written previously within the field, and the extent to which it is appropriate to analyse the Faroes from a post-colonial perspective. Chapter 2 also details the methodology to be used in the thesis.

3. Colonisation

This chapter examines how Danish came to the Faroes and considers the developments which enabled it to become an 'internal Faroese language variant' (Nauerby 1996: 130). The concept of saming and Althusser's theories on ideology and interpellation are used in the analysis. Chapter 3 also considers and clarifies the term *Gøtudanskt*.

4. Empirical Data

The fourth chapter presents and analyses the data collected in the questionnaire surveys that were undertaken in the Faroes between May 2009 and May 2010.

5. Decolonisation

Using the concepts of language othering and linguistic autonomy, Chapter 5 focuses on the developments of the past century which have led most academics writing about Danish on the islands today to declare it an FL. The final part considers the ways in which continued use of the former colonial language in a post-colonial society can be made acceptable to the once colonised.

6. Greenland

As stated in 1.1, for the peculiarities of the Faroese colonial experience and the significance of the close Faroese-Danish cultural and linguistic relationship to be understood fully, comparison with a more typical former colony should be undertaken. The sixth chapter therefore looks at Greenland, another self-governing territory within the Danish Kingdom. The data from the Greenlandic questionnaire is presented and compared with the findings of the previous chapters.

2. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

To study postcolonialism is to force a definition.

(Featherstone 2005: 6)

2.1 Introduction⁵⁴

Though the term is often used in contemporary academic research, the definition of ‘post(-)colonialism’ cannot be taken for granted. Since the end of the Second World War, ‘post-colonial’ has been used to refer to an astonishing range of processes and discourses. As Ashcroft *et al.* explain, the term was first used by historians with ‘a clearly chronological meaning’ to designate the post-independence period of the new states that emerged from the former colonies in the decades after 1945 (as in ‘post-colonial state’; 2007: 168). From the late 1970s, however, literary critics used the term in discussion of ‘the various cultural effects of colonization’ (*ibid.*). In time, consideration of the ‘post-colonial’ became well established within literary studies, with Edward Said (1935-2003), Gayatri Spivak (b.1942) and Homi K. Bhabha (b.1949) among the most important commentators.⁵⁵ The terms ‘post-colonial’ and the resulting ‘post-colonialism’ are still most frequently used in this literary sense.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, however, the use of the term was expanded through two separate, yet simultaneous, developments. Firstly, ‘post-colonial’ was applied to a wide range of cultural spheres, rather than just literature, such as language or politics. For example, Featherstone (2005), considers post-colonial music, dance, sport and oral performance, although these areas remain unusual within post-colonial study. Secondly, the term became so broad that it was used to refer to ‘any kind of marginality at all’ (Ashcroft *et al.* 2006: 2), including situations that bore no relationship to the reality of European colonialism. As Howe (2000: 108) explains, ‘Much current writing in this vein [...] uses the term to denote patterns of domination, or

⁵⁴ Extracts from Chapters 2 and 3 were collated and published as an article in *Scandinavica* (vol. 49/2 2010) in July 2011. This has been included as Appendix 6.

⁵⁵ Edmund Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), in which he argues that ‘the Orient’ is a Western construction, is widely considered the founding document of post-colonial studies. McLeod (2000: 23) suggests, however, that this view overlooks the pre-1978 observations of anti-colonial writers, such as Frantz Fanon (1925-61) and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (b.1938). This latter opinion is echoed by Brydon (2004: 169).

even merely of transregional contact, which actually preceded, succeeded or indeed were substantially disengaged from periods of actual conquest, possession and rule'. Thus used, the term risks losing value altogether.

An additional difficulty, which McLeod highlights within literary studies, is that – partly due to the 'impenetrable' nature of much of the writing of Spivak and Bhabha – 'postcolonial theory' has almost become 'a separate discipline in its own right, sometimes at the expense of criticism of postcolonial literature' (2000: 29).

Discussion of 'post-colonialism' even extends to the use of the hyphen. Ashcroft, who particularly focuses on the hyphen debate, argues that hyphenation 'distinguishes the term from [...] unlocated, abstract and poststructuralist theorizing', which arises when the theory is separated from historical fact, i.e. when post-colonial is applied to situations that have limited or no connection to European colonialism (2001: 10). The 'post-' prefix is, of course, used in the names applied to several theoretical perspectives: poststructuralism, postmodernism, etc. Appiah compares the 'post-' in post-colonialism with that in postmodernism. He notes 'from the Enlightenment on, in Europe and European-derived cultures, that "after" [i.e. the 'after' implied by the 'post-' prefix] has also meant "above and beyond"' (1992: 227). McHale considers the 'post-' in postmodernist to 'emphasize the element of logical and historical *consequence* rather than sheer temporal *posterity*'.⁵⁶ The thesis retains the hyphen, as the use of the 'post-' here clearly differs from that outlined by McHale, and to emphasise the rooting of the analysis in the historical reality of European colonialism.⁵⁷

For 'post-colonial' to be useful, it must be defined and limits established. While acknowledging the weakness of combining vastly different colonial scenarios under one all-encompassing term, Featherstone suggests that post-colonialism makes 'most sense' when taken to mean the period of the 'liberation struggles of the twentieth century and their aftermath' (2005: 5-6). Ashcroft *et al.* suggest a more limited spatial definition by specifying 'the process and effects of, and reactions to *European* colonialism' (2007: 169; emphasis added), although Featherstone had presumably taken this European aspect for granted. Ashcroft *et al.* also specify that post-colonialism should be taken to include developments from the commencement of colonisation, rather than from the point at which (official) colonialism ended: 'from the sixteenth century up to and

⁵⁶ In Appiah (1992: 227).

⁵⁷ In quotations hyphen use reflects the original.

including the neo-colonialism of the present day' (ibid.). The thesis follows this line of thought, i.e. that the aftermath of colonialism cannot be considered in isolation from the historical processes that formed it.

Two other developments should be mentioned here. Firstly, post-colonial study is largely a product of what Weaver terms the 'Anglocolonial world', by which he primarily means Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States and India (2000: 224).⁵⁸ Consequently, much of the literature on post-colonialism focuses on former British colonies. Therefore, when identifying processes and trends within post-colonial societies, many commentators fail to acknowledge that these could have wider application to colonial situations not involving Britain or the English language. For example, Ashcroft *et al.* (2007: 3) define the post-colonial process of appropriation, which describes adaptation of the language/culture of the colonisers by the colonised to suit their own needs, as 'the process of English adaption itself', rather than, say, 'the process of adapting the colonial language (or culture, etc.) itself'.⁵⁹ Similarly, Bokamba (1992: 140) describes Africanization (cf. 1.7.2) as when 'English is adapted to local or regional linguistic conditions', glossing over the fact that such a process may well take place in African countries where Portuguese or French were the colonial languages, for example. While Britain was the world's largest colonial power, the preoccupation with its colonies alone is a potential weakness in post-colonial study.⁶⁰

Secondly, as post-colonial studies have focused so much attention on Africa and Asia, as the main targets of British colonial expansion, 'post-colonial' has become what Larsen (2000: 25) labels a 'euphemism' for 'third world' – essentially a politically correct way of referring to a large proportion of the world's nations, now that the terms 'developing country' and 'third world' have fallen out of favour. Similarly, Ashcroft *et al.* write that 'post-colonial' is often associated with the 'economically "underdeveloped"' (2006: 3). This is problematic for three reasons. First of all, it ignores those territories that were colonies, but are not traditionally considered part of the 'third world', such as those located in Europe; secondly, it permanently places those

⁵⁸ Both Spivak and Bhabha are Indian academics, for example.

⁵⁹ Several pages on, Ashcroft *et al.* do however give a general definition of appropriation as: 'the ways in which post-colonial societies take over those aspects of the imperial culture – language, forms of writing, film, theatre, even modes of thought and argument such as rationalism, logic and analysis – that may be of use to them in articulating their own social and cultural identities' (2007: 15).

⁶⁰ Young (2001: 3, 31) is one of few standard textbooks on post-colonialism even to acknowledge Denmark's role as a colonial power.

territories labelled by the term on an inferior level with regard to the West – whatever progress has been made since the colonial period ended – since ‘post-colonial’ is arguably a condition that never ends; thirdly, as Spivak (1993: 56) observes, through the study of colonial discourse, citizens of the ‘third world’ become ‘objects of investigation’, and those who involve themselves in this type of post-colonial study (Spivak is specifically addressing teachers) become ‘complicitous in the penetration of a “new orientalism”’.

While I agree that ‘post-colonial’ should only be applied to countries that were affected by the historical reality of European colonialism, its application is nevertheless expanded to analyse the use and position of the colonial language in the (former) colony. Traditionally, ‘post-colonial’ has been connected with the literary production of an ex-colony. While a considerable number of commentators have analysed the position and status of the colonial language after the colonial period has ended, it is much more unusual to apply aspects of post-colonial theory to an analysis of language in society.

For reasons of geography, ethnicity and/or culture, post-colonialists may consider the application of ‘post-colonial’ and its theories to the Faroes and Iceland in particular a further expansion in its meaning. However, such a departure appears to be in keeping with the original meaning of the term. Furthermore, recent trends involving the application of post-colonial theories to Ireland already indicate a move in this direction (see Lloyd 1993; Howe 2000; Hooper and Graham 2002; Carroll and King 2003). The eligibility of the countries of the NAR to be discussed from a post-colonial perspective is addressed in 2.4.

A specific point made by Howe (2000: 4) is that whenever there is debate about whether a given society is ‘colonial’ or otherwise, there is ‘a tendency (although far from a universal one) for the term to be employed more by those whose judgements on the phenomena discussed [i.e. on the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised] are most sharply negative’. He claims that this trend is particularly relevant in the case of Ireland, where those who are anti-British are much more likely to use terms such as ‘colonial’. 2.4.1 demonstrates that, even now, this is also still the case in the Faroes.

2.2 A Post-Colonial Theory?

While it is possible to formulate how one should conduct a standardised post-colonial reading of a text,⁶¹ it is not possible to speak of a uniform post-colonial theory. Post-colonial study, although often termed ‘post-colonial theory’, is a collection of theories and concepts which are considered post-colonial either by design, i.e. specifically with post-colonial states in mind, such as Gayatri Spivak’s *othering*, or retrospectively, such as the French Marxist critic Louis Althusser’s (1918-90) *interpellation* and theories on ideology.⁶² This section discusses ideas from Spivak and Althusser in some detail, as well as introducing three new concepts, which together provide the theoretical framework for the thesis.

2.2.1 Gayatri Spivak’s Othering

Consideration of the Other/other – the distinction will be addressed shortly – is fundamental to post-colonial studies. As Ashcroft *et al.* state, the term is frequently used in existential philosophy, but ‘the definition of the term as used in current post-colonial theory is rooted in the Freudian and post-Freudian analysis of the formation of subjectivity’ (2007: 155). The work of the French psychoanalyst and theorist, Jacques Lacan (1901-81), forms much of the foundation for present use of the term within post-colonial studies. Lacan uses the term in two distinct orthographical forms.⁶³

1. The ‘other’ – with a lower case ‘o’ – which, in Lacan’s original example, refers to the reflection a small child sees in the mirror. The child sees ‘a mass of limbs and feelings’, but a hope is ‘grounded’ for an ‘anticipated mastery’ of these which will become the basis of the ego (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007: 155). In post-colonial study, this ‘other’ symbolises the colonised others who are ‘marginalized by imperial discourse, identified by their difference from the

⁶¹ See Kossew 1996: 11-12 (see 2.5 in the thesis); Gualtieri 1996.

⁶² To clarify further: while Spivak does not consider herself a post-colonialist, she is often described as one. The difference between Spivak and Althusser is that Spivak is fully conscious of the theoretical world into which she is placed. By contrast, Althusser’s writings were appropriated by post-colonial theorists after his death.

⁶³ Lacan’s original French terms are *l’autre* (‘the other’) and *l’Autre* or *le grand autre* (‘the Other’; Lacan 1968).

centre and, perhaps crucially, become the focus of anticipated mastery by the imperial “ego” (ibid.).

2. The ‘Other’ – with an upper case ‘O’ – which, in Lacan’s example, can refer to: ‘the mother whose separation from the subject [the child] locates her as the first focus of desire, [...] the father whose Otherness locates the subject in the symbolic order [or] the unconscious itself because the subconscious is structured like a language that is separate from the language of the subject’ (ibid.). In contemporary post-colonial theorising, this ‘Other’ can come to represent ‘the imperial centre, imperial discourse or the empire itself’ (ibid.). Through this Other, the other, the colonised subject, gains a sense of its identity and comes to understand the world and its position in it.⁶⁴

The term ‘othering’ is attributed to Gayatri Spivak (1985), and refers to the process by which ‘others’ are created by the colonisers. Othering reinforces the fact that the colonised, the other, is different from the self, yet it is, by definition, a twofold process whereby the identities of the colonised and the coloniser are established simultaneously. In this model, the coloniser is the ‘otherer’, the one who imposes the ‘othering’. Spivak (1985: 132-5) gives three examples of othering, one of which is taken from a letter written by Captain Geoffrey Birch, an assistant agent of the Governor of India, to Charles Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, at the end of 1815. Birch has taken a journey across the Indo-Gangetic plains to the Governor’s Secretary in Calcutta. He has done this ‘to acquaint the people who they are subject to, for as I suspected they were not properly informed of it and seem only to have heard of our existence from conquering the Goorkah and from having seen a few Europeans passing thro’ the country’ (p.133). Spivak writes that Birch ‘sees himself as a representative image’:

By his sight and utterance rumor is being replaced by information,
the figure of the European on the hills is being reinscribed from
stranger to Master, to the sovereign as Subject with a capital S, even

⁶⁴ In an interdisciplinary study confusion can occur when a single term, here ‘subject’, is used differently in two relevant disciplines, particularly when the usages appear contradictory. In post-colonialism, the ‘subject’ refers to the *object* of the colonial experience, people who have been *subjected* to foreign rule. This is incompatible with the traditional (although inaccurate) layman’s definition within linguistics of the subject as the ‘doer’ of an action. (Crystal [2008: 461] comments on this traditional view of the ‘subject’ in linguistics and the fact that it is simply wrong when talking about passive subjects, for example.) Where possible, the thesis avoids the term. Where unavoidable, such as when discussing Althusser’s ideas (see 2.2.2), ‘subject’ is to be understood in its post-colonial sense.

as the native shrinks into the consolidating subjected subject in the lower case. The truth value of the stranger is being established as the reference point for the true (insertion into) history of these wild regions.

(Spivak 1985: 133)

This is an example of othering. What Spivak is saying is that by presenting himself to the local population in this way, Birch is establishing the distance between the coloniser and the colonised, and their separate identities; he as 'the Other', the masterful coloniser, and they as 'the other', the colonised subject. Spivak describes this as Birch 'worlding *their own* [the colonised's] *world*, which is far from uninscribed earth, anew, by obliging them to domesticate the alien as Master' (p.133).⁶⁵ All that has gone before – the colonised's own concept of their place in the world and their relation to it – is ousted. The significant element here – as we shall see later – is that no word is uttered. Birch does not have to *tell* the locals of their subordinate role: action suffices. He needs only to appear before them, and the rumours they have heard are established as fact.

Ashcroft *et al.* provide a useful example from the South African novelist J.M. Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*. A magistrate, the narrator, is working in an outpost town where there is little trouble, when a functionary from the secret police arrives to extract information about the threat from the 'barbarians'. However, there is no 'barbarian' threat and there were no troubles before the arrival of the secret police. As Ashcroft *et al.* note, this 'does not deter Colonel Joll (the functionary), for [... he] is in the business of *creating* the enemy, of delineating that opposition that may exist, in order that the empire might define itself by its geographical and racial others' (2007: 157-8). Through othering, binary identities are established.

Othering is essentially a colonial process, rather than post-colonial, since once the colonial relationship comes to its conclusion (not necessarily at the point at which official colonialism ends), the coloniser is no longer in a position to further subjectify, i.e. make subjects of, the colonised. The power has shifted, and the colonised are better placed to redefine themselves, and commence the processes of decolonisation.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ 'Worlding', another term coined by Spivak, is best defined as 'the way in which colonized space is brought into the "world", that is, made to exist as part of a world essentially constructed by Euro-centrism' (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007: 225).

⁶⁶ Defined by Ashcroft *et al.* as 'the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms' (2007: 56).

2.2.2 Louis Althusser's Interpellation and Theories on Ideology

In his study of the writings of Althusser, Ferretter (2006: 7) states that for those who seek to 'understand the significance of contemporary forms of politically committed theory and criticism' – in which he includes post-colonial criticism – 'it is essential to read and understand the work of Althusser, to which all of them are in various ways indebted'. Unlike Spivak, Althusser did not focus his work on former colonies, but was a Marxist philosopher whose 'work consisted entirely in understanding [...] the immense theoretical revolution that had taken place in the work of Karl Marx' (p.11). However, as Ferretter indicates, post-colonial study is one of a number of fields within which scholars have, to use the post-colonial term, appropriated the writings of Althusser and identified their significance for their area of research. Ashcroft (2001: 36) tries to show why 'major theories of subject formation' (such as Althusser's ideas on interpellation and ideology) 'appear to offer such attractive models for the operation of colonial power':

For Althusser, ideology is not just a case of the powerful imposing their ideas on the weak, as Marxian ideas of 'false consciousness' would suggest; subjects are 'born into' ideology, they find subjectivity within the expectations of their parents and their society, and they endorse it because it provides a sense of identity and social meaning through structures such as language, social codes and conventions.

(Ashcroft 2001: 36)

The idea that subjects inherit the views of their masters offers an explanation for why there is a tendency among some colonial subjects to accept the situation they were born into: their meaning and position in the world as they understand it is founded upon the ideology of the coloniser.⁶⁷ This idea of 'meaning' connects the writings of Althusser with what we have already seen from Spivak. In a similar vein to Althusser, she argues that the 'project of imperialism is violently to put together the episteme that will 'mean' (for others [the colonised]) and 'know' (for the self [the coloniser]) the colonial subject as the nearly-subjected other' (1985: 134).

⁶⁷ Althusser also acknowledged the apparent contradiction in the word 'subject' (see fn.64): '[it] means (1) a free subjectivity, a centre of initiatives, author of and responsible for its actions; (2) a subjected being, who submits to a higher authority, and is therefore stripped of all freedom except that of freely accepting his submission' (Althusser 1971b: 56). However, he indicates that the first definition is apparent, whereas the second is fact.

Althusser's position is presented in his 1970 article, 'Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'État (Notes pour une recherche)'.⁶⁸ Althusser states that a given society will have one Repressive State Apparatus (*l'appareil répressif d'État*), consisting of 'the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons, etc.' and a variety of Ideological State Apparatuses (*les appareils idéologiques d'État, AIE*), or ISAs, such as the church, education, the family, the law (which also belongs to the Repressive State Apparatus), the political system, the trade unions, communications and culture (Althusser 1971b: 17).⁶⁹ Whereas the Repressive State Apparatus functions 'massively and predominantly *by repression* (including physical repression), while functioning secondarily by ideology [...], the [ISAs] function massively and predominantly *by ideology*, but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately [...] this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic' (Althusser 1971b: 19). These ISAs spread and cement the ideology of the ruling class/colonisers, which is then accepted by the subjects.

Althusser's ISAs also perpetuate the ideology of the ruling class by *interpellating* subjects, a term inspired by the French *interpeller*. Ashcroft *et al.* describe this interpellation as "call[ing] people forth" as subjects, and [...] provid[ing] the conditions by which, and the contexts in which, they obtain subjectivity' (2007: 203). Althusser explains the concept with an illustration: when a policeman calls 'Hey, you there!' to a 'hailed individual' on a street, this individual will promptly turn around to see who has hailed him. In Althusser's view, '[b]y this mere one-hundred-and-eighty degree physical conversion, he becomes a *subject* [...] because he has recognized that the hail was "really" addressed to him' (Althusser 1971b: 48). This entire street exchange appears to take place outside ideology, but in reality it takes place within it – '[t]hat is why those who are in ideology believe themselves by definition outside ideology' (p.48).

Thus, according to Althusser, the structure of ideology ensures simultaneously:

1. the interpellation of 'individuals' as subjects;

⁶⁸ Translated as "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an investigation)" (Althusser 1971b).

⁶⁹ Althusser never abbreviates Repressive State Apparatus as he does Ideological State Apparatuses. He often writes the former as: (Repressive) State Apparatus (*l'appareil [répressif] d'État*).

2. their subjection to the Subject;⁷⁰
3. the mutual recognition of subjects and the Subject, the subjects' recognition of each other, and finally the subject's recognition of himself;
4. the absolute guarantee that everything really is so, and that on condition that the subjects recognize what they are and behave accordingly, everything will be all right.

(Althusser 1971b: 55)

The result of this system is that 'good subjects' will recognise the existing state of affairs (Althusser calls it *das Bestehende*) and their ensuing behaviour is complicit in maintaining this. 'Bad subjects', on the other hand, who do not endorse *das Bestehende*, will provoke a response from one arm of the Repressive State Apparatus. The subject has free thought, but only to the extent that he/she chooses to go along with the ideology of the ruling class.

Althusser's ideas are not without their critics. While useful in helping to understand how some institutions and individuals function, how can a concept that suggests all ideology is inherited from those who wield power account for the power struggles and the resistance movements of the colonised subjects? Loomba, for example, concedes that while Althusser's writing is useful 'in demystifying certain apparently innocent and apolitical institutions', it also 'affects a closure by failing to account for ideological struggle and oppositional ideas' (2005: 33).⁷¹ Nevertheless, as the next chapter demonstrates, Althusser's ideas can be used to explain how some of the elements of colonial rule came about and the reasons why resistance movements designed to bring freedom to the colonised subjects frequently experienced difficulty in gaining popular support.

One could argue that the 'ideology' involved in an Althusserian analysis of the Faroes should be based upon a more recent national ideology rather than upon the colonial past. In an article from 2010, for example, Knudsen criticises the contemporary language policy of the Faroes as one that is dominated by linguistic nationalism. I, however, find it difficult to separate the two ideologies. The brand of nationalism that emerged on the Faroes is strongly characterised by its colonial relationship with

⁷⁰ For our purposes, Subject with an upper case S represents the coloniser. Althusser's capitalisation sits well with Lacan's Other/other distinction as mentioned in 2.2.1. This is no coincidence: Althusser borrowed ideas from Lacanian psychoanalysis and its theories of subject-formation through language (Loomba 2005: 33).

⁷¹ See also Ashcroft (2001: 36).

Denmark. For example, whereas nationalism in much of Scandinavia was marked by a traditional sense of harking back to the glorious days of yore, from the very beginning Faroese nationalism was often directed towards Denmark. One of the most famous and earliest nationalistic poems, *Nú er tann stundin komin til handa* (“Now the Hour is Come to Hand”), by Jóannes Patursson, demonstrates this well. This poem (under the title *Málstrev*, “Language Struggle”) was composed especially for the 1888 Christmas Meeting, an event which can be seen as the start of popular nationalism on the islands (see 3.6).

The second stanza of the poem reads:

Illa er nú við Føroyamáli vorðið,
 annað hvørt orðið,
 ið nú berst á munni av køllum og kvinnum,
 í útlenskum rennur.⁷²

(In Evensen 1911: 341)

Therefore, from the very beginning, Faroese nationalism has targeted Danish influence; the last line, with its attack on ‘foreign language’, could scarcely refer to anything else.

In her article, Knudsen herself comments that ‘linguistic and political issues in the Faroe Islands are inextricably linked with Faroese-Danish relations’ (2010: 128) and that the emergence of the nationalistic movement on the islands owes itself largely to the planned introduction of compulsory schooling in 1844 (p.129). Borrowing terminology from Wright (2004: 208), Knudsen proceeds to state that Faroese linguistic policy is traditionally based upon a desire to seek rectification of the ‘injustices of the past’ (Knudsen 2010: 142). I suggest that it is therefore impossible to separate nationalism in the Faroes from consideration of its colonial history.

2.3 Proposed Concepts

While the above-discussed concepts form much of the basis of the theoretical framework for the thesis, three new ideas derived from those already presented are introduced to deal with the Faroese language situation: *saming*, *language othering* and

⁷² “The Faroese language is now in a bad state, / every other word, / which is carried on the lips of men and women, / is foreign.”

linguistic autonomy. Brief general overviews are given here, while Chapters 3 and 5 apply the concepts directly to the Faroes.

2.3.1 Saming

Saming, as its name suggests, is an inversion of Spivak's concept of othering. The thesis is concerned with language saming, rather than other elements of culture. Saming is the belief on the part of the coloniser that his language and the language of the colonised ultimately constitute varieties of the same language, as well as the subsequent actions taken by the coloniser in enforcing this view. The particular variety spoken by the colonised is considered subordinate, with the variety spoken by the coloniser representing a linguistic norm to which the speakers of the colonised variety ought to aspire. The Tunisian writer Albert Memmi describes inferiority as specifically characteristic of bilingualism within a colonial context: 'the colonized's mother tongue [...] is precisely the one which is the least valued' (1957b: 151).⁷³ As with othering, the identity of the coloniser (or the coloniser's language variety) and that of the colonised are established simultaneously, yet here they are established as part of the *same* entity, varieties of the language of the coloniser. The coloniser is in the position of power, and it is he who 'sames'. For saming to be effective, the relationship between the two languages must be very close – for this reason, within a colonial context, saming is potentially unique to the Faroes.⁷⁴

One could question the need for the new concept of 'saming'. The idea of the coloniser's creating a colonised other in his image is well established in post-colonial analysis. Huddart (2006: 59) even observes that '[e]ssentially, colonial discourse wants the colonized to be extremely like the colonizer'.⁷⁵ Homi Bhabha's oft-mentioned colonial concept of 'mimicry', for example, which Ashcroft *et al.* describe as an 'increasingly important term in post-colonial theory', could appear useful in the Faroese context (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007: 124). Bhabha explains mimicry as the 'desire for a

⁷³ On several occasions in the thesis, quotations are taken from Memmi's famous treatise *Portrait du colonisé précédé du portrait du colonisateur* (1957a). Memmi (b.1920) generalises the conditions of colonised peoples (although he states that this was not his original intention; 1957b: 4); while he bases his arguments on his experiences as a Jew in French Tunisia (a 'traditional' colony), there are frequent similarities between the conditions he describes and those in the Faroes.

⁷⁴ This relationship is explained in 2.4.

⁷⁵ Huddart, referring to the ideas of Homi Bhabha, does, however, state that the two should not become absolute equivalents, as 'then the ideologies justifying colonial rule would be unable to operate' (2006: 59).

reformed recognizable Other, *as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*' (Bhabha 1994: 122). He uses Lord Macaulay's 1835 *Minute to Parliament* to exemplify his ideas. Macaulay advocates the creation of an Indian 'class of interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect' (pp.124-5). This extract, however, does not represent the promotion of *saming*: these interpreters will be *almost* the same, 'but not quite'. Being Anglicized is not the same as becoming English (p.125). The issue of race is of utmost importance in Bhabha's conceptualisation of mimicry: whatever these Indians achieve, they will never physically resemble the British colonisers. This fact becomes explicit when Bhabha later reworks his phrasing as 'almost the same but not white' (p.128). In the Faroese context, however, race plays no role: here, the coloniser and the colonised were indistinguishable in appearance. Therefore, as far as the Danes were concerned, full Danicisation, or *saming*, in the Faroes could indeed facilitate the creation of 'Danes'.

One could argue that *saming* is essentially the most extreme form of othering, and, subsequently, that no new term is needed: the coloniser is still creating a new identity for the other in accordance with his own world view. This interpretation could be valid, but I maintain that the concept of *saming* remains useful as a way of describing this most unusual situation within post-colonial analysis; a phenomenon which is fully absent from academic works on post-colonial theory.

As Spivak's original example of othering demonstrated (see 2.2.1), it is not necessary to verbalise the colonised's subordinate role: the British captain's mere appearance sufficed. The same is true of *saming*. The coloniser does not need to *state* that the language of the colonised is a variety of the colonial language. Merely acting as though the colonised have no individual identity can produce a scenario whereby any identity these may once have had is supplanted by a new 'common' one. As with othering, all that had gone before – the natives' own concept of their relation to the world – is replaced by the coloniser's (i.e. they are 'worlded', cf. fn.65).

Memmi's work offers a potential explanation for why *saming* might ultimately have occurred. He too comments on the traditional distance between the culture of the coloniser and the colonised, stating:

Once the behavioral feature, or historical or geographical factor which characterizes the colonized⁷⁶ and contrasts him with the colonizer, has been isolated, this gap must be kept from being filled.
(Memmi 1957b: 115)

By extending Memmi's reasoning, it could be argued that the colonial model only permits a colonised subject which is either vastly different from or, evidently, the same as the coloniser. As I discuss in 2.4, the Faroese occupied this middle space, something the colonial structure could not allow. Accepting Memmi's hypothesis may seem contradictory in light of Bhabha's observations on being 'almost the same, but not quite' (Bhabha 1994: 125). However, as Bhabha observes, a coloniser that resembles the colonised to a great extent becomes 'menacing' (p.126). Mimicry to this degree represents what Ashcroft *et al.* term a 'disruption of colonial authority, from the fact that [it] is also potentially mockery' (2007: 126). Colonial authority can therefore only remain intact if the gulf between the coloniser and the colonised is clear or, I argue, if it does not appear to exist at all.

2.3.2 Language Othering

Also related to Spivak's othering is the concept of language othering. During the colonial period, the language of the coloniser is often imported to (or forced upon) the colony, where it acquires a privileged position. Seen as the language of prosperity, modernity and perhaps even civilisation, this medium undermines local languages, which are often neglected, rejected or, in many instances, banned, at least from the public sphere. At the official cessation of the colonial period, which does not necessarily coincide with the granting of full independence to the colony, as with the Faroes and Greenland, the colonised are generally in a position to adjust the linguistic balance as part of the decolonisation process.⁷⁷ The thesis suggests that a phenomenon which can be termed 'language othering' can constitute part of this process.

Weaver (2000: 230) notes that some post-colonial theorists, inspired by Fanon and Memmi, 'argue that colonization can only be put behind by achieving "full independence" of culture, language, and political organization'. He gives the example of

⁷⁶ Greenfeld's translation has 'colonialist' here but this must be incorrect – Memmi's French original has 'colonisé' ("colonised"; 1957a: 96).

⁷⁷ Neither does the granting of independence necessarily indicate the cessation of colonial influence. See 2.3.3.

Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia, who forbade the teaching of Dutch in all Indonesian schools. In a country such as Indonesia, with its considerable population and its ability to build up a collection of materials, such as school books, in the native language(s), this is a practicable option.

Of course, there may be no desire to give up the colonial language – in a country such as India, English is flourishing and proves a useful *lingua franca* for coping with the myriad of local languages there.⁷⁸ Indonesia also plays host to a rich collection of languages, but the fact that English is a global language of communication, while Dutch is not, could lend it a more neutral character as far as the Indians are concerned. Furthermore, the selection of a colonial language can be less controversial than selecting a single native language over others (Kachru 2006: 272).

However, many smaller post-colonial societies that do not contain a plethora of native languages and do not require the *lingua franca* role of a colonial language may still not be in a position to remove the colonial language fully from society, even if this were desired. The Faroes (pop. 48,650)⁷⁹ and Greenland (pop. 56,194)⁸⁰ are two societies unable to banish the colonial language in a way comparable to Indonesia.⁸¹ Languages such as Faroese and Greenlandic lack the necessary resources to function as the sole medium within a society. Sukarno was able to banish Dutch from Indonesian schools, but as K. Langgård points out, a similar removal of Danish from Greenlandic schools is not currently a realistic option (2001: 267). Although some people in Greenland would like education to become Greenlandic with Greenlandic-medium teaching and Greenlandic-medium teaching materials, Langgård contends that even if all available human resources were used to translate such material, it would be out-dated by the time it was finished. According to Hull (1993: 362), Malta, another small former

⁷⁸ A *lingua franca* is defined by Crystal (2008: 282) as ‘a term used [...] to refer to an auxiliary language used to enable routine communication to take place between groups of people who speak different native languages’. Phillipson (1992: 41) describes it as an ‘ambivalent’ term. He quotes a report from a 1961 conference on ESL teaching in Uganda where *lingua franca* is defined approximately as above, but is limited to communication between nationals of the same country. Phillipson labels this limitation as ‘bizarre’ (p.42). However this may be, the significance of the use of an auxiliary language between countrymen must be recognised. If this happens regularly – and if the same auxiliary language is often used – this language acquires an important role within the society. This is particularly significant when considering the extent to which a language can be viewed as ‘foreign’.

⁷⁹ As of 01/01/10 (*Hagstova Føroya* 2010: 11).

⁸⁰ As of 01/01/09. (<http://www.stat.gl/Statistik/Befolkning/tabid/86/language/en-US/Default.aspx>, last accessed 04/01/11).

⁸¹ Cf. 6.6.

(British) colony, could similarly ‘never hope to gain cultural self-sufficiency’ due to its diminutive size.⁸²

In his comparative analysis of bilingualism in the Celtic regions and the Faroes, Greene comments that Iceland is almost certainly the smallest linguistic community in which ‘a citizen can choose to remain a functional monoglot and yet play a full part in the economic life of his country, and participate in every aspect of the culture of the modern world’ (1980: 2). This seems sensible – Iceland has the smallest population (319,368)⁸³ of any independent state with a single, indigenous, societal language,⁸⁴ used in that country alone, but Iceland has traditionally been in a financial position to translate, subtitle or dub material from abroad, or create much of its own.⁸⁵

Former colonies which are smaller than Iceland, as regards population, can be divided into two types according to their linguistic situation:

1. Territories with a single societal language which was brought to the territory by the colonial power, such as São Tomé and Príncipe (pop. 151,912)⁸⁶ with Portuguese, although Portuguese creoles do exist there;
2. Territories with a former colonial language and one or more indigenous languages as societal languages, such as Tonga (pop. 101,991)⁸⁷ with English and Tongan.⁸⁸

⁸² Cf. 6.1.

⁸³ As of 01/01/09. When Greene made this claim, the Icelandic population was 226,948. (<http://www.statice.is/Statistics/Population/Overview>, last accessed 04/01/11).

⁸⁴ A ‘societal language’ is an inexact term that I suggest can be employed to refer to a language frequently used in a given society, as the label ‘official language’ is often misleading. Some countries, such as Iceland, have no official language; others, for ideological reasons, refuse to acknowledge languages that are frequently used in society as ‘official’, such as English in the Maldives; others have ‘official’ languages which are rarely used in society, such as Irish in Ireland, maintained for ideological reasons, and English in Madagascar, presumably adopted to attract foreign investment. The term ‘societal language’ concerns actual language use. This distinction is particularly relevant when dealing with Greenland, where Greenlandic has been the only official language since 2009. As Chapter 6 demonstrates, Danish and Greenlandic are both very much societal languages there.

⁸⁵ It remains to be seen what bearing the global economic crisis of 2008, and the subsequent collapse of the Icelandic economy, will have on the production of Icelandic-language materials. First impressions indicate that production will continue much as before.

⁸⁶ As of 2006 (*Instituto Nacional de Estatística de São Tomé e Príncipe* 2006: 6).

⁸⁷ As of 2006 (www.spc.int/prism/country/to/stats, last accessed 04/01/11).

⁸⁸ Tonga was never formally a ‘colony’ as it retained its monarchy throughout the colonial period. It was, however, in a position to declare independence from the British in 1970.

Territories in the first group generally have no language debate, as the colonial language is the only viable medium. They are able to rely on the production of materials from much larger countries in order to 'participate in every aspect of the culture of the modern world', to quote Greene (1980: 2).

Territories in the second category, which includes the Faroes and Greenland, need to make use of an additional language to their native tongue, and in the vast majority of cases – for political, practical or ideological reasons – this additional language is that of the former coloniser. Yet individuals or institutions within the population may wish to take steps so that they no longer feel they are under the yoke of the colonised language. This thesis argues that those who continue to use the language of the coloniser in situations where their own language is not presently a viable option do not necessarily need to consider themselves, or be forever considered, eternally colonised, or 'subjected' in the post-colonial sense. Steps can be taken to redefine the position of the colonial language and these steps constitute language othering. Through language othering, as in Spivak's othering, the identities of the dominating and the dominated are assessed, and in the language context the coloniser's medium can be considered an 'other' language. The specific 'steps' taken differ from case to case, depending in large part on the emphasis placed on the imported, or rather imposed, language during the colonial era. Chapter 5 examines the steps taken in the Faroes and Chapter 6 focuses on Greenland.

In his case study of English in Tonga and Fiji, as mentioned in 1.7.1, Moag confidently predicts that English will ultimately be relegated from the position of an SL to that of an FL, with no acknowledgement of the fact that this may not happen. Population decline or a lack of resources could well preclude the ability of a local language to enter into the domains currently occupied by the colonial language. While some of the societies that fit into the second category outlined above could, in time, reach a position where the local language could displace, or even oust, the colonial language, this may not occur. One society that has achieved this is Iceland, which, as noted, Greene identified as the smallest population able to maintain monolingualism. In the past the Icelanders had to use Danish textbooks in schools, whereas today Icelandic versions are the norm. V.U. Hammershaimb, who in 1846 created the Faroese orthography in use today, wrote in 1844 that as the Faroese population only numbered 7-8,000, it was not in a position to create a large body of literature for itself (1844: 85). Nevertheless, as the population approaches 50,000, the Faroese have a surprisingly high

number of original and translated works in Faroese, and, as mentioned in 1.2.2, Danish has effectively been frozen out of the children's literature market. Perhaps the Faroese too will be able to function monolingually one day, as the population grows or if the production of resources becomes more affordable with the help of digitalisation, but currently this is out of the question.⁸⁹

2.3.3 Linguistic Autonomy

Within the field of post-colonial study it is widely accepted that the influence of the coloniser upon the colonised territory does not necessarily disappear once independence or self-government has been achieved; the political system, cultural life, the education system, etc., may continue to be influenced for years to come. Schulze-Engler states that 'in more than three quarters of the world colonialism has had a shaping influence on the lives of the people living there which *in various ways continues to the present day*' (1996: 42, emphasis added). Neither does Spivak believe that the effects of European colonialism simply vanished as many former European colonies achieved independence after the Second World War, a fact that Morton acknowledges in his study of her life and work:

[For Spivak] [r]ather, the social, political and economic structures that were established during colonial rule continued to inflect the cultural, political and economic life of postcolonial nation states ranging from Ireland to Algeria; from India to Pakistan and Jamaica to Mexico.

(Morton 2003: 1-2)

There are scores of examples of this continued influence post-independence, ranging from seemingly insignificant minor practices to entire systems of government. Appiah (1992) gives two examples from either end of the scale: he tells how, as a child in Ghana, he would see his father depart for work carrying the white wig of the British barrister, which he continued to wear after independence (p.viii); he also relates how the entire political system of early independent Ghana was modelled on that of the British (p.10). Similar examples can be found within the NAR: regarding the political system, all three societies have inherited the Danish practice of each political party having a

⁸⁹ This digitalisation process has already begun. In May 2011 the first Faroese e-books were produced by Sprotin (<http://www.sprotin.fo/?sida=fregnatanastan&grein=198>, last accessed 10/05/11).

letter by which it is identified during canvassing and in voting;⁹⁰ in the cultural field, Tórshavn, Reykjavík and Nuuk have each replicated Copenhagen's annual *Kulturnat* ('Night of Culture').⁹¹

Regarding the language, as the last section demonstrated, some colonies are not in a position to avoid use of the former colonial medium altogether. This can provoke strong feelings in oneself: Achebe, a Nigerian novelist and professor, said in a 1964 speech that using someone else's mother tongue 'looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling' (1964: 64);⁹² or in others: the Kenyan author Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o describes Achebe as an 'accomplice of imperialism' for his continued use of English (in Achebe 1989: 268). Similarly, in 1903, Caruana in his *Vocabolario della Lingua Maltese* described the 'humiliation' ('umiliazione') inherent in using a language that is not one's own (1903: 6).

The brief exchange between Achebe and Ngũgĩ is interesting because it demonstrates two vastly different perspectives from African writers on the use of the colonial language in contemporary African society. Achebe, in a later article, explains that he finds it acceptable to write in both English and his native language. He uses English not because it is a world language, but because 'Nigeria is a reality which [he] could not ignore' and because Nigeria 'transacts a considerable portion of its daily business in the English language' (1989: 268). Achebe can recognise that English as a tool does not necessarily constitute a threat: for better or worse, its existence is a fact in a Nigerian context. Ngũgĩ, however, implies that embracing the colonisers' language in any form contributes to the maintenance of imperialism (1981: 267).

The Faroese experience is quite different from that of Nigeria: the Faroese do not conduct very much of their 'daily business' in Danish and, although Danish remains a reality in various spheres of Faroese life, Faroese society effectively functions monolingually. Those domains in which Danish is used are arguably not intrusive enough for its use to be considered an endorsement of imperialism. I propose that the

⁹⁰ Such as *Venstre* (V) and *Socialdemokraterne* (A) in Denmark; *Tjóðveldi* (E) and *Sambandsflokkurin* (B) in the Faroes; *Samfylkingin* (S) and *Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn* (D) in Iceland and Greenland's *Siumut* (S) and *Kalaallit Nunaani Demokraatit* (D).

⁹¹ *Kulturnatten* was first held in Copenhagen in 1993. Similar events now take place in Tórshavn (Fa. *Mentanarnátt*), Reykjavík (Ic. *Menningarnótt*) and Nuuk (Gr. *Unnuk kulturisiorfik*). Comparable festivals are, however, now held outside Denmark and the NAR.

⁹² He nevertheless states that he will continue to use it as he feels it is 'able to carry the weight of [his] African experience' (p.65). He acknowledges, however, that 'it will need to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings'.

concept of linguistic autonomy – while difficult to define in exact terms – can be applied to the Faroese situation. Even though Danish has not been fully ousted, I suggest its use is sufficiently limited and uncontentious for the Faroese to experience something close to the ‘full independence’ described by Weaver (cf. 2.3.2).

2.4 Post-Colonialism and the NAR

Glenn Hooper (2002: 3) claims that three charges are levelled against those who wish to analyse Irish literature from a post-colonial perspective: firstly, that Ireland was ‘never really a colony, and should therefore be excluded from consideration on that basis’; secondly, that ‘Ireland may once have been a colony, but since it was treated differently from, say, other British-governed territories in East Africa or Asia, the postcolonial models available [...] are inappropriate’ and thirdly, ‘that Irish literary studies – whether these models are applicable or not – should simply be divorced from political readings that only distract from the “true”, sometimes simply the aesthetic, intentions of their authors’. Nevertheless, analysis of Ireland, its literature and cultural production from a post-colonial perspective is no longer unusual. As Howe (2000: 108) notes, work on Ireland ‘has formed a part – indeed often a rather derivative offshoot – of a far wider “colonial discourse” and “post-colonial” intellectual trend in recent years’.

Similar charges could be levelled against those wishing to analyse the Faroes and Iceland from a post-colonial perspective. Taking the three charges in reverse order, the idea that Irish literature should not be politicised is, in reality, a criticism of post-colonial theory in the treatment of literature itself, and not specifically linked to Ireland. Irish literature has, of course, no monopoly on aesthetics. As the thesis does not focus on literature, this charge is ignored. The remaining two are more relevant. Some researchers may argue that even if the Faroes and Iceland were colonies, the post-colonial models constructed do not apply to such ‘non-conventional’ colonies. We have seen that some of the meanings ‘post-colonial’ has come to denote (‘third-world’, ‘developing country’, see 2.1) cannot be applied to either territory. Nevertheless, the present investigation aims to show that post-colonial study of the islands is both useful and productive, and helps take the term ‘post-colonial’ back to its historical roots.

As noted, the context of the Faroese/Icelandic colonial experience is atypical. It is very unusual, potentially unparalleled, within European colonialism that the coloniser and the colonised should share a cultural heritage. In both territories, the two parties

were European, indistinguishable in appearance, and they shared a common religious tradition. In addition, their common linguistic heritage is exceptional. Faroese and Icelandic emerged from the same Norse tongue that was once used all over Scandinavia, a language which was once, interestingly, referred to as *dönsk tunga*, “Danish tongue”, throughout the area in which it was spoken (Halldór Hermannson 1919: 2). In particular, the situation in the Faroes where the language of the colonised was in a position to be called a *dialect* of the language of the coloniser (in J.H.W. Poulsen 1980: 146; Haugen 1980: 108) is also extraordinary within a colonial society. ‘Dialect’ is a problematic term (which is considered in 3.6), not least because it has been used in a Faroese context with varying meanings. Yet, using one of the meanings of ‘dialect’ that has been applied to Faroese, it is highly uncharacteristic that the language of the colonised should be so close to the language of the coloniser that the former could be termed a variety of the latter. The close linguistic relatedness of the two languages, however, did permit this in the Faroes.⁹³ Even Ireland is more orthodox in this regard: Irish and English both belong to the same Indo-European language family – unusual in itself within a colonial relationship – but to separate branches (Celtic and Germanic respectively). There is no degree of mutual intelligibility and no room for debate on whether Irish constitutes an English dialect.

These topics, appearance and language, are just two of the areas in which Greenland can be considered a ‘conventional’ colony. Here, the colonisers did not physically resemble the colonised, and, as part of the Eskimo-Aleutic family, Greenlandic is wholly unrelated to Danish, or any European language. Consequently, Greenland and elements of Greenlandic culture, have frequently been analysed from a post-colonial perspective, although this remains largely within domestic academic research in Greenland (see 6.3.1).

The first charge identified by Hooper, that Ireland was never a colony, is also levelled against the Faroes, even by academics from the islands. The Faroese author and

⁹³ The only comparable situation I have found is that of Maltese and Italian in Malta. A language debate erupted in Malta in the 1930s after moves were made in some Maltese quarters to install Italian as an official language, to the dismay of the British colonial rulers (Sheehan 2000: 80). On the one hand, the British pointed out that only 15% of the population spoke Italian; whereas, on the other, Mussolini – who had designs on the islands – claimed that Maltese was a dialect of Italian. Similarly, according to Hull (1993: 57), the Maltese Prime Minister, Joseph Howard, on a state visit to Italy in 1923, provoked outrage when he described Italian as the ‘madre lingua’ of the Maltese. While Maltese vocabulary is heavily influenced by Italian/Sicilian (some 52.46% of words [Brincat 2005]), as a Semitic language, its grammatical structure differs greatly from Italian’s Romance structure. The linguistic closeness between Danish and Faroese/Icelandic remains exceptional within a colonial context.

literary analyst, Jógvan Isaksen, considers Faroese literature from a post-colonial perspective, but adds that the Faroes and Iceland were never colonies (2005a: 70).⁹⁴ Erik Skyum-Nielsen says the same about Iceland (2005: 57).⁹⁵ However, many writers have referred to the Faroes and/or Iceland as colonies, such as J.C. Svabo (1746-1824) in the 1770s.⁹⁶ More significantly, Denmark itself referred to the NAR countries as colonies in commercial treaties:

Den staaende Formel i danske Traktater fra denne Tid er, som forøvrigt allerede tidligere, »de danske Kolonier Grønland, Island og Færøerne deri indbegrebet«, undertiden varieret saaledes: »de danske Kolonier hinsides Havet, derunder indbefattet Færøerne, Island og Grønland« eller en enkelt Gang ogsaa: »Kongen af Danmarks nordlige Besiddelser, det vil sige: Island, Færøerne og Grønland«.

(Berlin 1932: 132; tr.3)

In the NAR, Greenland was alone in having official status as a ‘colony’ (until 1953, when it became a county of Denmark, despite scepticism from the United Nations [Thisted 2005: 17]).⁹⁷ However, it would be more helpful from the point of view of this study to consider ‘colonial’ less a status than a condition, which ought not to depend on official designation. Iceland, Greenland and the Faroes all bear characteristics of post-colonial societies. Each nation gained its independence or self-rule during the twentieth century, which is in keeping with the limitation on ‘post-colonial’ established by Featherstone, and as we shall see, Denmark began to exert its power over the three nations after the sixteenth century, in line with Ashcroft *et al.*’s temporal limit (see 2.1). Moreover, texts describing the Faroes upon their ‘rediscovery’ after centuries of isolation are strikingly similar to the accounts of New World exploration, where ‘natives’ are described and judged according to European norms. According to Memmi (1957b), such descriptions are typically colonial: firstly, ‘what is actually a sociological point becomes labeled as being biological, or preferably, metaphysical’ (p.115);

⁹⁴ [D]isse lande var for øvrigt aldrig kolonier.’

⁹⁵ ‘Teoretisk vil min indfaldsvinkel nok være postkolonial, uagtet at der [...] i forholdet mellem Danmark og Island ikke statsretsligt set var tale om noget koloniforhold’ (“My theoretical approach will, I think, be post-colonial, regardless of the fact that [...] the constitutional relationship between Denmark and Iceland was not colonial”).

⁹⁶ J.C. Svabo, from the Faroes, was one of the first scholars to document Faroese. He frequently refers to the Faroes as a colony: cf. Svabo ([1970]: XI).

⁹⁷ http://dk.nanoq.gl/Emner/Om%20Groenland/Groenlands_nyere_historie.aspx (last accessed 30/12/10).

secondly, the colonised experiences depersonalisation (*dépersonnalisation*; 1957a: 113) through constant reference to ‘them’ (1957b: 129). In his *Forsøg til en Beskrivelse af Færøerne* (“Attempt at a Description of the Faroes”, 1800), for example, Jørgen Landt outlines the appearance and characteristics of the Faroese:

(p.245) Færøeboerne ere i Almindelighed smukke og velskabte, og føre en temmelig god Legems-Stilling. [...] Suderboerne ere mindre af Vext, rundladne af Ansigt, deres Sprog er hastigt [...] derimod ere Nordenfjords-Øernes Beboere almindelig højre af Statur, deres Ansigts Dannelselse falder mere i det langagtige, deres Sprog langsommere og deres heele Adfærd adstadigere. Fruentimrene ere for det mæeste ret smukke og vel proportionerede. I Henseende til Indbyggernes Sjele-Evner, da ere de langt vittigere end man skulde vente det af saa isolerede Øeboere [...]

(246) Børne-Opdragelsen fortjener just ikke at roses; thi, formedelst Forældrenes lidt forvidt drevne Kjerlighed til deres Børn, opdrages disse til altformegen Egenraadighed; og man maae forundre sig over at Børnene ved denne efterladne og kjæle Opdragelse dog blive, naar de ere fremvoxne, til nogle ret flinke, raske ja endog maneerlige unge Mennesker.

(251) I et Land, som Færøe, hvor der ikke er een eneste Landsbye-Skole eller Skoleholder, skulde man vel ikke formode andet, end at der maae herske et grueligt Barbarie og Vankundighed især i Religionen; og dog kan jeg med Sandhed forsikre at det i Færøe ikke forholder sig saa.

(252) Indbyggerne have og megen Læse-Lyst, hvilken giver Præsterne en herlig Anledning til ved Udlaan af gode Almuesbøger at udbrede almeennyttige Kundskaber iblandt deres Meenigheder. En stor Deel iblandt dem lægge sig efter ej aleene at læse Skrift, men og at skrive, og jeg kjender adskillige, som aleene efter at et dem given Alfabeet og i det højeste et Par smaa Forskrivter, have lært sig selv at skrive en ret god og læselig Haand.

(Landt 1800: 245-52; tr.4)⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Similar texts exist concerning Orkney. In his *Account of the Islands of Orkney* from 1700, Wallace (1700: 62-3) thus describes the inhabitants: ‘The People here are generally civil, sagacious, circumspect and piously inclined; [...] for though they use strong Ale and Beer (the nature of the Country requiring strong Liquor) yet generally they are Sober and Temperate, but withal much given to Hospitality and Feasting, very civil and liberal in their entertaining of Strangers, and much inclined to speak ill of those that are peevishly or niggardly dispos’d’. Similar Orcadian examples are found in the *Historia Norvegiæ* from the twelfth century (see Kunin and Phelpsstead 2001), Stewart’s *The Orkneys and Schetland* in 1654 (see Irvine 2006), Jo Ben’s *Descriptio Insularium Orchadiarum* (perhaps of 1529, see Hunter 1996) and Barry’s 1805 *History of the Orkney Islands*. These accounts appear to be part of a long tradition describing ‘peculiar’ things for the entertainment of refined folk in metropolitan centres. Whereas Orkney is not considered post-colonial, the similarity of these texts, rather than negate the point about the New

The Faroes and Iceland deserve to be taken into consideration among the wide range of post-colonial society types. Indeed, acceptance of these countries as post-colonial may strengthen the theoretical framework, in the light of the criticisms outlined earlier in this chapter: such analysis helps to establish distance between the terms ‘post-colonial’ and ‘third world’; reduce the risk of ‘new orientalism’, as outlined by Spivak, and ‘re-root’ the term in the ‘historical fact’ of colonialism, to use a term from Ashcroft *et al.* (2007: 2). Diverting attention from former British colonies is also helpful, as there is no reason for the term ‘post-colonial’ to be restricted to the British colonial orbit. While Britain established the largest colonial empire, at least eight other European nations were colonial powers, but post-colonialism has largely ignored this, with French colonialism a possible exception (see, for example, Majumdar 2007).⁹⁹ Furthermore, post-colonial commentary often considers Europe the agent and the non-European world the recipient of the colonial experience. Schulze-Engler states that for ‘most of us [...] colonialism [is] something that began with the forceful appropriation of non-European territories and people’ (1996: 42). This view, however, sidelines colonies within Europe itself, such as the Faroes, Iceland, Ireland and Malta. Lloyd (1993: 2) draws attention to the unusual position (the ‘uncertainty of location’) of Ireland, as it is ‘geographically Western Europe though marginal to it and historically of the decolonizing world, increasingly assimilated to that Europe, while in part still subject to a dissimulated colonialism’. This ‘uncertainty’ applies equally to the Faroes, Iceland and Malta. To speak of ‘European colonisation’ is justifiable, since the colonial powers as far as contemporary post-colonial study is concerned were European, but to discuss ‘the colonial impact upon the non-European world’, as Ashcroft does (2001: 1), is blinkered. Studies that take this internal European colonialism into account give the term ‘post-colonial’ greater credibility.

Isaksen (2005a) argues that one of the traditional characteristics of a post-colonial situation – a perceived power imbalance, whereby the colonisers look down on the literature of the colonised and/or the colonised themselves – is absent in Iceland, and only partially relevant in the Faroes.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, he describes a very different situation,

World descriptions, suggests that Orkney could have followed a similar path to the Faroes, had later events not rendered this impossible.

⁹⁹ Other European nations with large colonial empires were France, the Netherlands, Spain and Portugal; Belgium, Denmark, Germany and Italy operated on a smaller scale.

¹⁰⁰ See Skyum-Nielsen (2005: 59).

where Icelandic literature is the “source” (‘kilden’, p.71) of Danish literature, and states that this is the general consensus. Consequently he concludes that the expression ‘post-colonial’ must either be extended to allow for such divergences or it must be accepted that not all post-colonial societies will fit into the post-colonial framework (p.74). This is a similar standpoint to the one found in the second charge highlighted by Hooper. While Isaksen has a valid argument – the situation of Iceland and the Faroes in relation to their coloniser is exceptional – I argue that this difference is only one of many across the gamut of post-colonial territories, and that consideration of the colonial language in such territories may reveal some similarities between *all* post-colonial societies, be they unusual like the Faroes/Iceland, or, more traditional.

Interestingly, Isaksen’s claim that Icelandic literature is the ‘source’ of Danish literature, and that this can be used as justification *not* to consider Iceland post-colonial, goes against Skyum-Nielsen’s description of two fundamental attitudes within post-colonial study. The establishment of the ‘other’ is, as has been demonstrated, central to colonialism. Skyum-Nielsen observes that creating the other (or, to use Spivak’s term, ‘othering’) can be done in two ways: either by demonising the race of the colonised, or by idealising them as representatives of a lost “originality” (‘oprindelighed’; 2005: 57). The latter is almost what Isaksen describes in the case of the Danes and the Icelanders: the only difference being that the colonised are considered representatives of the *Danes’* lost originality.

The topic of race, briefly mentioned earlier in this section, could lead one to align the Faroes and Iceland with settler colonies such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada, rather than nations in Africa and Asia. Loomba (2005) notes that as the descendants of the white settlers also feel ‘estranged from Britain (or France), they want to be included as postcolonial subjects’ (p.14). However, she points out that:

[W]hite settlers were historically the agents of colonial rule, and their own subsequent development – cultural as well as economic – does not simply align them with other colonised peoples. No matter what their differences with the mother country, white populations here were not subject to the genocide, economic exploitation, cultural decimation and political exclusion felt by indigenous peoples or by other colonies.

(Loomba 2005: 14)

In recent years, academics have increasingly analysed the NAR from a post-colonial perspective. Much of this work has originated from the countries themselves – the region has not become a mainstream topic in ‘outside’ work in the way that Ireland has. At first, this self-assessment of the Faroese/Icelandic past could be seen to resemble the settler colony ‘longing’ for post-colonial status that Loomba describes as a way of reflecting their estrangement from Denmark. However, issues of race aside, if we consider the Faroese colonial situation first, it clearly echoes various of those presented by Loomba: the Faroese have not descended from the ‘agents of colonial rule’ and were forced to endure a long struggle to have their language and identity recognised and accepted. While some aspects of Faroese culture, such as the chain dance, were preserved, other traditions, such as naming conventions, were replaced by Danish norms.¹⁰¹ The Icelandic position is not so clear – they did not descend from the agents of colonial rule either, but they did not need to fight for their language or identity to the same extent as the Faroese. Nevertheless, Neijmann (2006: 43) comments that Iceland had to go through a ‘long and arduous struggle to obtain independence as a nation’. This ‘struggle’ is not evident in the cases of Australia, New Zealand and Canada.¹⁰²

Loomba mentions that many indigenous groups have been subject to genocide. Clearly the horrors of such an experience are alien to the inhabitants of the NAR, as they are to the descendants of the white settlers in former Commonwealth countries mentioned above. Danish colonialism was not as violent as many of its counterparts. Although writing specifically about Greenland, Manniche’s observation that as a colonial power the Danes ‘var [...] ikke afhængige af at råde over et institutionaliseret voldsapparat, med andre ord en hær og en væbnet politistyrke der kunne indsættes hvis modstanden mod fremmedherredømmet blev for udtalt’ holds essentially true for the rest of the NAR (2002: 37-8).¹⁰³ Also writing about Greenland, Schultz-Lorentzen goes so far as to state in a 1928 article that ‘det hænger sammen med noget i det danske

¹⁰¹ Poulsen (1979) treats Faroese naming conventions in detail. These were officially replaced in 1832, without consulting the Faroese (p.105).

¹⁰² Brydon, a Canadian scholar, has argued that Australia, New Zealand and Canada should be considered post-colonial as ‘postcolonial frames of interpretation are most enabling when they facilitate distinctions between different orders of colonial experience’ (2004: 166). The thesis agrees that the field should cover various types of colonial experience, but also suggests that the inclusion of the Faroes and Iceland is less contentious than that of the settler colonies.

¹⁰³ “were [...] not dependent on having an institutionalised apparatus of violence at their disposal, in other words, an army and an armed police force that could be called to action if opposition towards the foreign masters became too pronounced”.

Folkesind [...] Vi har en Evne til at stille os i Forhold til vore Omgivelser, modtagelige, følsomme, med Ønsket om at være Venner med Folk, komme på jævn Talefod med dem' (p.1).¹⁰⁴ While this is undoubtedly going too far, the fact remains that Danish colonialism was largely non-violent. However, as Ashcroft *et al.* state, 'not every colony will share every aspect of colonialism, nor will it share some essential feature' (2007: 172).

In 2.1, reference was made to Howe's view (2000: 4) that there is a tendency for the term 'colonial' to be used more by those whose judgements on the relationship between the territories, where one has a degree of power over the other, are negative. For example, those within Ireland who consider some action by the British government to have a detrimental effect on the Irish people may well label the British 'colonial' or 'imperialist'. This has also been the case in the Faroes. Until this last decade, when the term 'post-colonial' began to appear in its theoretical sense in Faroese academia, use of 'colonial', or similar terms, generally came from those who were criticising Denmark or an aspect of Faroese society felt to be over-influenced by Denmark or Danish norms.

One clear example of this is the protest of pupils at the *studentaskúli*, the Faroese equivalent of a British sixth-form college, in Hoydalar, Tórshavn, in the early 1970s. Some students began to campaign against the requirement to speak Danish in their oral exams, and this soon developed into a protest over the use of Danish in any examination. The debate was largely fought through the press – which, at that time, included *Dimmalætting*, *Sosialurin* and *14. september*¹⁰⁵ – and was later compiled into a single volume by the students (*Málbólkur Næmingafelaga Føroya Studentaskúla* 1975). The rhetoric of the pupils and their supporters is littered with terms and phrases such as: 'kolonifólk' ("colonised people"), 'verri enn kolonistøða' ("worse conditions than in a colony", both p.17), 'donsk yvirvöld' ("Danish dominion/rule", p.20) 'hin danski smáimperialisman' ("Danish petty imperialism", p.70), 'eitt vaksandi tal av studentum vil ikki geva seg undir [...] kolonimerkta próvtøku' ("a growing number of students will not accept [...] an examination tainted by colonialism", p.76). This phenomenon can

¹⁰⁴ "It has to do with something in the Danish disposition [...] We have an ability to adapt ourselves to our surroundings, be receptive, sensitive, with a wish to be friends with people, be on equal speaking terms with them".

¹⁰⁵ *Dimmalætting* (est. 1877) has traditionally been associated with the Union Party (*Sambandsflokkurin*), *Sosialurin* (est. 1927) with the Social Democratic Party (*Javnaðarflokkurin*) and *14. september* (1947-1994) with the Republican Party (*Tjóðveldisflokkurin*, now *Tjóðveldi*). The name of this last paper is the date of the 1946 referendum on Faroese independence (see 1.2.1).

also be seen today: in April 2010 *Dagur og vika*, a Faroese news programme, reported on the fact that Faroese applicants to Danish universities must have a qualification in the Danish language at sixth-form level, whereas Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish students do not need to demonstrate Danish language skills. Some discontent was registered due to the fact that education is one of the Faroese *sermál* – areas that fall under the remit of the Faroese Home Rule government. Høgni Hoydal, the leader of *Tjóðveldi*, the Faroese Republican Party, referred to the Hoydalar student protests and labelled the requirement a ‘nýkolonialistiskt krav’ (“neo-colonial demand”) when interviewed on the programme the following night.¹⁰⁶

While such usage of ‘colonial’ and derivative terms does still occur sporadically, it should really be seen as separate from academic and theoretical use of the same term(s). It is, however, interesting to note another similarity between Faroese and Irish post-colonial discourse, given that Ireland figures much more prominently in post-colonial study.

Although, as the next section demonstrates, scholars such as Malan Marnersdóttir have – to use a post-colonial expression – written the Faroes into post-colonial study, still many works do not consider the Faroes and Iceland. A recent book on the Danish colonies, *Kulturmøder* (Rostgaard and Schou 2010), deals primarily with Greenland and ignores the Faroes and Iceland, even though its definition of a colony – ‘et lands erobring eller besiddelse af et landområde uden for eget territoriums grænser, også selvom kun få [bosætter] sig i kolonien’ (p.10)¹⁰⁷ – fits the Faroese and Icelandic scenarios equally well.

2.4.1 Post-Colonial Study and the Faroes

This section aims to provide an overview of previous Faroese work written from a post-colonial perspective. All of it has been within the traditional post-colonial field of literary studies and much has focused on the work of William Heinesen (1900-1991), who was Faroese but wrote in Danish. The thesis does not deal with Faroese works of literature, but this section is included firstly to contextualise it within the (naturally) small, yet emerging field of Faroese post-colonial studies and, secondly, because

¹⁰⁶ The story broke on 08/04/10, although the agreement between the Faroese *Mentanarmálaráðið* and the Danish Ministry of Education was made in 2007.

¹⁰⁷ “the conquering of a country or the possession of an area of land outside the borders of one’s own territory, even if only few [settle] in the colony.”

several of the findings mentioned here are drawn upon in later chapters. Investigation from a post-colonial perspective is a relatively recent phenomenon on the islands, with the first article of this type appearing as late as 2000. However, Malan Simonsen's (=Malan Marnersdóttir's) 1993 article, 'Vit eiga William' ("We Own William"), with its bold assertion that Heinesen is to be considered a Faroese author, could perhaps constitute the basis of Faroese post-colonial study, although it does not use post-colonial theory. Evidence of how recently the field has developed is provided by an absence of post-colonial theory in Marnersdóttir's *Analyser af færøsk litteratur* ("Analyses of Faroese Literature") from 2001. In the meantime, only three Faroese academics have considered the Faroes from a post-colonial perspective: Isaksen (2005a), Leyvoy Joensen (2000, 2005) and Marnersdóttir (2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2007 and 2009).¹⁰⁸

Unlike Joensen and Marnersdóttir, Isaksen is somewhat dismissive of a post-colonial perspective when it comes to Heinesen's works (2005a: 74). He admits that it can be used, but maintains that there is little material to work with in Heinesen's novels – unlike in Halldór Laxness' *Íslandsklukkan* (1943-6; *Iceland's Bell*), where the Icelandic-Danish colonial relationship is a central theme. As stated in 2.4, Isaksen feels that the meaning of 'post-colonial' must be extended in order for it to be able to incorporate territories such as the Faroes and Iceland (*ibid.*), but he does not discount its application.

Marnersdóttir, however, has found several aspects of Heinesen's writing interesting from a post-colonial perspective. The difference between Isaksen and Marnersdóttir is that whereas Isaksen concentrates on post-colonial *content*, Marnersdóttir is concerned with post-colonial *form*. In two of her articles (2004b; 2005), she provides examples of the post-colonial concept of the 'metonymic gap' in Heinesen's *Det gode håb* ("The Good Hope", 1964). Heinesen, she observes, was able to create a sense of 'the other' (the Faroese) by using non-standard Danish in his works. This language included old expressions that had fallen out of contemporary use, Faroese expressions translated directly into Danish and Faroese expressions and words given Danish spelling (2005: 203). Although he was writing in the language of the coloniser (crucially also his own language), Heinesen was able to reinforce his Faroese identity and demonstrate difference between the Faroes and Denmark. The gap created by the

¹⁰⁸ Marnersdóttir (2008) discusses post-colonial media in the Faroes, but this article uses post-colonial in its strictly 'chronological sense' (Ashcroft *et al.* [2007: 168]), examining the role the Faroese media in the period after colonialism, rather than analysing it from a theoretical post-colonial perspective.

distance between the standard and non-standard words, the ‘metonymic gap’, represents the space between the two cultures overall. Ironically, Marnersdóttir’s analyses of post-colonial aspects of Heinesen’s writing have led her to her being recognised for bringing a post-colonial approach to *Danish* literature (Hauge 2009: 31).

Joensen (2000) focuses on the space between Faroese and Danish culture. During what she labels the Dano-Faroese moment in the 1920s and 1930s, the two cultures came together: there was ‘a convergence between a nascent Faroese language literary institution and a fading Danish language colonial culture’ (p.66). Joensen’s ideas on the hybrid nature of literary production during this period are pursued in Chapter 3. Joensen considers Jørgen-Frantz Jacobsen’s Danish-language novel, *Barbara*, to be a product of this ‘moment’. Like Heinesen, his friend and relative, Jacobsen was a Faroese writer who wrote in Danish as it was his first language. However, according to Joensen, this Danish was a ‘new, novelistic language’ (p.64),¹⁰⁹ ‘Danish with a Faroese flavour’ (p.71), which she calls Dano-Faroese. The qualities of this Dano-Faroese language are the same as those identified in Marnersdóttir’s analysis of the metonymic gap in Heinesen’s *Det gode håb*.

Joensen considers Jacobsen’s and Heinesen’s use of Danish, and their subsequent international success, to be ‘typical feature[s] of a literature moving from colonial to post-colonial status’, comparing their works to those encouraged by the Irish Literary Revival (1878-1922) (2000: 68). She states that in the same way as the Revival fuelled Irish-influenced English-language writing in Ireland, in the Faroes there was a wave of literary production together with a simultaneous increased interest in promoting the Faroese language.

In a short article from 2005, Joensen attempts to contextualise *Gøtudanskt* – which she calls ‘our very own colonial patois’ (Joensen 2005: 246) – within a post-colonial perspective. While 3.2 considers the nature of *Gøtudanskt* and the language varieties that the term has been used to describe, Joensen is less interested in linguistic analyses and tackles instead its position as a ‘folk category’ within Faroese society (ibid.). By this she presumably means a term that people use without necessarily considering its meaning. Again, she focuses her attention on cultural hybridity in the Faroes, commenting on how this hybridity renders *Gøtudanskt* ‘inherently subversive’ as it challenges the power of Danish (p.248). She also mentions the way in which a

¹⁰⁹ This ‘new’ Danish recalls the ‘new’ English described by Achebe (cf. fn.92).

Faroese literal (see 3.2) pronunciation of Danish had, in the times before Faroese was used as the Church language, ‘an ancient authority with which neither metropolitan Danish nor everyday Faroese [could] compete’.¹¹⁰

The University of the Faroes currently runs courses on post-colonialism, such as ‘Postkolonialisma og kyn í norðurlandskum bókmentum’ and ‘William Heinesen – eitt ritverk millum tjóðir’ in 2010-11.¹¹¹ Symptomatic of the increased interest in a post-colonial perspective across the whole NAR was the planned international summer course on post-colonialism in Faroese, Greenlandic and Icelandic literature at the University of the Faroes in August 2010.¹¹²

Although the position of Danish in Faroese society has not previously been analysed from a post-colonial perspective, Ólavstovu concludes after her own empirical study in Faroese schools that the use of such theories would be justifiable:

Når det nu har vist sig i forbindelse med empiriindsamlingen, at færøskfaget og fagets status som modersmål i høj grad er blevet vurderet i en national diskurs og eksplicit sammenlignet med danskfaget, ville det være oplagt at bruge postkoloniale teorier.
(Ólavstovu 2007: 29; tr.6)

2.5 Methodology

A post-colonial approach offers a useful analytical and theoretical perspective, as well as a series of established concepts and ideas that can be applied to a range of situations, but it does not provide a methodology for analysing language use in society or language attitudes. While the thesis is certainly not unique in its consideration of language in a post-colonial society – 1.3, for example, introduced Fishman *et al.*’s (1996) comparative

¹¹⁰ Joensen (2000: 73) exemplifies this point with a scene from *Barbara*: Andreas Heyde, a Faroese student who has been staying in Copenhagen, reads the Christmas lesson to a rural population upon his return to the Faroes. He realises that his time in Denmark has made him lose his Faroese pronunciation: ‘Han læste på den lette, raske måde, han havde tilegnet sig, og hørte straks selv, at tonen var falsk. Det var ikke det hjertens ubehjælpomme og enfoldige danske, han lige havde hørt Samuel Mikkelsen synge, det var et profant og forfængeligt sprog’. The Danish text is from J.F. Jacobsen (1939: 162), the English translation from J.F. Jacobsen ([2004]: 218; tr.5).

¹¹¹ ‘Postcolonialism and Gender in Nordic Literature’ and ‘William Heinesen – An Authorship between Two Nations’, both taught by Malan Marnersdóttir (http://www.setur.fo/fileadmin/user_upload/documents/Undirvisingartilfar/FMD/faldariH10V11lestrarevni.pdf, last accessed on 17/03/11).

¹¹² ‘Postkolonialisme i nordisk litteratur’ (“Postcolonialism in Nordic Literature”) was scheduled to take place in August 2010. Although the course had to be cancelled, the fact that it was planned at all demonstrates the increased interest in studying the whole NAR from this perspective.

analysis of the position of English in some former British and American colonies – such studies generally use ‘post-colonial’ in a purely temporal sense, i.e. ‘after colonialism’.¹¹³ They do not tend to utilise ideas and concepts from post-colonial theory. Consequently, they are of no importance to my methodology.

A sociolinguistic domain-based analysis, as proposed by Fishman (1972), which considers language use with ‘certain socioculturally recognized spheres of activity’ (p. 440) seems inadequate and is, arguably, too neutral to deal with the issues of politics and power that are inherent in a post-colonial society.

Rather, a research project of this nature requires a degree of what Woolard refers to as ‘methodological eclecticism’ (1989: ix). Far from a weakness, this eclecticism can prove very fruitful. In her dissertation, Holm (1992: 54) discusses the need for a varied approach to research into language attitudes and she offers Gal (1979) and Woolard (1989) as examples of such an approach. The methodology for the thesis consists of four, somewhat overlapping, components:

i. Post-colonial analysis

The first component is an analysis of the position of Danish in Faroese society using a wide range of sources and an almost literary post-colonial approach: as we saw in the previous section, Marnersdóttir and L. Joensen have scanned the writings of Heinesen and J.F. Jacobsen respectively for post-colonial elements and found, for example, the metonymic gap and hybridity. This component of the methodology aims to identify aspects of the linguistic situation in the Faroes that fit in with established perspectives within post-colonial study, such as Althusser’s work on ideology, and newly-created concepts based on these perspectives, such as *saming*. This method is mainly applied in Chapter 3.

ii. Questionnaire surveys

The empirical data in the thesis is taken from three questionnaire surveys: a postal survey undertaken in Tórshavn; a school survey from three Faroese *studentaskúlar*, in Tórshavn, Kambsdalur and Hov, and the Business School (*handilsskúlin*) in Tórshavn;

¹¹³ One such study, an article by B. Jacobsen (2003), covers the NAR. Jacobsen’s primary focus is Greenland, but she contrasts the situations across the three countries.

and one at the *gymnasium* in Nuuk, Greenland.¹¹⁴ The data from the Faroese surveys is presented in Chapter 4, while the results from Greenland feature in Chapter 6. The fourth chapter also addresses aspects of the design, implementation and success of the questionnaire component and how the surveys relate to previous questionnaire work on the islands.

iii. Observations

At an early stage in the research, it became clear that observations would constitute a valuable component of my methodology. Most of these were made during field trips totalling eight months over a period from October 2008 to August 2010. As stated in 1.6, during this research period I observed that the linguistic situation in the Faroes does not match the image projected by academic writing on the subject.

Far from an occasional method to supplement a more scientific approach, observation can inspire new strands of thought and this was certainly the case with the present study. The discussion in 5.4.1 of the Suðuroy dialect of Faroese in relation to Danish on the islands was prompted by observation alone – there are no detailed academic studies of *suðuroyarmál*.¹¹⁵ In a society like the Faroes, which is compact and has a small population, minor observations can acquire much greater significance since, ultimately, the local also constitutes the national.

If language attitudes are to be contextualised, rather than merely recorded, a degree of observation is necessary. This point is emphasised by Woolard in the study on Catalan mentioned above. Her methodology consists of five components, two of which centre around observation: ‘(1) Observation of formally organized political events [...] [and] (3) observation of everyday language and interactional behavior, backed by limited recording of natural discourse’ (1989: x).

iv. A post-colonial reading of society

Chapters 5 and 6 are based upon Kossew’s methodology for a post-colonial reading of a text, one which:

¹¹⁴ Like the Faroese *studentaskúlar* (cf. 2.4), the *gymnasium* in Nuuk is equivalent to a British sixth-form college. Although the school in Hov, Suðuroy, is labelled a *miðnámsskúli*, there is no difference. *Handilsskúlin* in Tórshavn also caters for pupils of this age, with emphasis placed on preparing the pupils for employment, rather than further education.

¹¹⁵ During the writing of the thesis, the first (brief) article on attitudes towards the Suðuroy dialect appeared (H.P. Petersen 2009b).

employs strategies which include its being symptomatic of the operation of and resistance to colonial power; comparative with other post-colonial texts and/or literatures; dialogic, in the Bakhtinian sense, contesting the notions of authenticity and essentialism; multivalent, acknowledging intersecting discourses of oppression and resistance such as race, genes and class; and constitutive, seen as a transformative field in which writer- and reader-functions produce the text.

(Kossew 1996: 11-12)

Essentially, the final chapters attempt a post-colonial reading of Faroese and Greenlandic society: Chapter 5 analyses instances of resistance to Danish hegemonic power in the Faroes and considers authenticity as it has been presented there in the years following the Home Rule Act, while Chapter 6 involves a comparative study of the Faroes and Greenland. An analysis of Greenland is useful, because although the political status of Greenland is similar to that of the Faroes, Greenland represents the more 'typical' colony. As the primary task of this fourth component is to shed further light on the situation in the Faroes, the number of sources used is considerably smaller than in the Faroese analysis.

3. COLONISATION

*Og endelig den ulykkelige Opdragelse i et Sprog,
som ikke er Modersmaal og med et Modersmaal
som ikke er noget Sprog!*¹¹⁶
(Feilberg 1900: 135)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the history of the Danish language in the Faroes, from the earliest post-Reformation sources to the twentieth century. It focuses in particular on how, via a saming process which effectively inverted what Spivak labels ‘othering’ (see 2.2.1), the Danish colonisers were able to establish a social structure within which Danish could permeate virtually every aspect of Faroese life. Such ‘invasion’ by a language into all spheres of society is not necessarily unusual in a colonial situation: what makes the Faroese scenario unique is the context of this process. The Faroese language was treated as a derivative offshoot of Danish. Using Althusser’s theories on ideology, the chapter considers the extent to which the Faroese population sought to maintain this unique social structure and thereby the ‘meaning’ that had been established for them by the Danish colonisers.

In order to comprehend fully the historical role of Danish in Faroese society, it is important to understand the two linguistic phenomena that are covered by the label *Gøtudanskt*. This term has already been used on several occasions above and is frequently mentioned in literature concerning Danish on the islands, but its specific meaning within a given context cannot be taken for granted. Consequently, this issue is addressed first.

¹¹⁶ “And finally the unfortunate upbringing in a language that is not the mother tongue and with a mother tongue that is not a language!” Peter Feilberg, a Dane, wrote this about in the Faroes in his book, *Fra Lier og Fjelde* (“From Hillsides and Mountains”; 1900). He was a cultural advisor to the Danish government for many years (Thomassen 1985: 14).

3.2 *Gøtudanskt*

In literature on the position of Danish in the Faroes, no term presents as much difficulty as *Gøtudanskt*. Commentators have disagreed on both the origin of the word and its meaning. Regarding origin, many have taken the *Gøtu*-element to be the genitive form of the Faroese word *gøta* (“street”), and arrived at “Street Danish” as a translation. As *gøta* is cognate with Danish *gade*, this translation brings to mind the Danish term *gadesprog*, meaning “vulgar speech” (Axelsen 2005: 277).¹¹⁷

J.H.W. Poulsen criticises this translation, pointing out that while *gøta* does mean “street” today, its original meaning was that of “a trodden footpath between villages” (1993: 114). Furthermore, streets in the modern sense are a relatively recent phenomenon on the islands, arriving much too late for the term *Gøtudanskt* to derive from them (*ibid.*). Most commentators now accept the alternative derivation that Poulsen proposed, that the *Gøtu*-element is the genitive case form of the Faroese village name, *Gøta*, and that the term emerged because a teacher from *Gøta* at the end of the nineteenth century was renowned for speaking a peculiar Danish full of Faroese influence (*ibid.*: 115). This account was re-iterated to Poulsen in 1979 and confirmed by one of the teacher’s former pupils (*ibid.*). Given that, as Poulsen has indicated, almost any Danish word can be used in Faroese and pronounced as though it were a Faroese word (see fn.16), it is perhaps surprising that no-one appears to have suggested that the *Gøtu*-element may simply be a Faroised form of Danish *gade*, whether there were streets on the islands or not, as any speech which diverged from the Danish norm could conceivably be considered ‘vulgar’. Nevertheless, Poulsen’s explanation has achieved widespread acceptance.

As for the meaning of *Gøtudanskt*, the term is used by academics to refer to two very different linguistic varieties:

- (a) Grammatically correct Danish, spoken on a Faroese phonological substratum;
- (b) Danish so influenced by Faroese grammar and vocabulary that, in extreme cases, it becomes unintelligible to a speaker from Denmark.

¹¹⁷ Lit. “street-language”. A cognate Icelandic term, *götumál*, has been used to refer to ‘a certain type of slang expression current in Reykjavík’ (Jones 1964: 59). This *götumál* includes some words of Danish origin, e.g. Ic. *redda* from Da. *redde* “to save, rescue” (*ibid.*: 62).

While *Gøtudanskt* certainly exists as a folk category (cf. L. Joensen 2005: 246; see 2.4.1), it is perhaps a term to be avoided in linguistic discourse. The thesis suggests and makes use of two new terms: Faroese Print-Danish to refer to variety (a), and Faroese-Danish for variety (b).

3.2.1 Faroese Print-Danish

J.H.W. Poulsen describes this first variety as Danish pronounced with ‘a strong and energetic Faroese accent, extremely unlike the soft and gentle “correct” modern pronunciation’ (1993: 112). While he acknowledges the existence of this variety – and, before giving a paper in Danish in Bergen in 2002, for example, announced that he was going to use it (2003: 383) – he sees no need to give it a separate name, as it is grammatically correct Danish (1993: 115). However, his view carries problems since, as we have already seen from Joensen (cf. 2.4.1), this Danish had an authority which rendered it more acceptable than metropolitan Danish during the colonial period when Danish was still used in church. This important distinction between the two demonstrates the need for new terminology to describe them when using a post-colonial perspective.

While Poulsen has argued (cf. 3.2) that the *Gøtudanskt* label should refer to variety (b), it is variety (a) that most Faroese people today would consider *Gøtudanskt* (H.P. Petersen 2008: 45). It is this variety that was described in 1.6 as the traditional way of pronouncing Danish in the Faroes: according to the spelling as it appears to a Faroese reader, a phenomenon caused by the fact that Danish was traditionally learned from books. One of the ‘truths’ we looked at in Chapter 1 was that this type of pronunciation has yielded to metropolitan Danish, the latter having now been promoted in schools for some time. While literal pronunciation is less widespread than before, Chapter 5 shows that it is an exaggeration to say that it has died out altogether.

Staksberg gives an example of this Danish, which he refers to as *Gøtudanskt*: the Danish pronouns *sig* and *dig*, pronounced [sqj] and [dqj] respectively in metropolitan Danish, were traditionally pronounced /si:g/ and /di:g/ in the Faroes, which corresponds much more closely with the orthography as conceptualised by Faroese speakers (*Málting* 1991: 30).

The pan-Scandinavian potential of this variety is often emphasised: indeed, the term *skandinavisk* (‘Scandinavian’) is sometimes used in the Faroes as a label for it. Poulsen notes that it is much easier for other Scandinavians and Finns to understand the

Faroese when they use their literal pronunciation of Danish over the metropolitan variety, and that it also helps the Faroese understand spoken Norwegian and Swedish (2003: 384). The term *skandinaviskt* is problematic as it is used in mainland Scandinavia to describe the unstandardised mixed variety spoken by Swedes, Norwegians and Danes when conversing together (Da./Nw. *skandinavisk*, Sw. *skandinaviska*; Løland 1997: 22; Anna Helga Hannesdóttir 2000: 35). This ‘Scandinavian’ is characterised by a pronunciation which often approaches that of the addressee, as well as sporadic borrowings from the addressee’s language in the rare instances where the languages differ considerably. A Dane, for example, when speaking to a Norwegian or a Swede, might choose *femti* (‘fifty’) rather than Standard Danish *halvtreds*, as this mirrors Norwegian *femti*/Swedish *femtio*.¹¹⁸ Clearly, this is not the same as variety (a) here, and calling the latter ‘Scandinavian’ – a vocabulary choice which may well stem from a desire to mask the Faroese colonial past – ignores the fact that variety (a) is grammatically correct Danish.

A similar phenomenon in Iceland, where Danish has been spoken on an Icelandic phonological substratum, has been called *prentsmiðjudanska* in Icelandic (‘Print-Danish’; P. Rasmussen 1988: 12, Auður Hauksdóttir 2003: 195).¹¹⁹ Taking this Icelandic term as a basis, the thesis uses the term (Faroese) Print-Danish to refer to variety (a).

3.2.2 Faroe-Danish (FD)

The most famous written example of this second variety of *Gøtudanskt* appears in the Faroese author Heðin Brú’s memoirs, *Endurminningar* (1980: 268), in a passage that was later analysed by Hagström (1984a: 237).¹²⁰ Brú cites a letter that was written by a

¹¹⁸ This scenario occurs quite commonly, since *tital* (‘tens’) such as *femti* do exist in Danish and are often used when writing in monetary contexts, such as on cheques, etc. As these terms are popularly, yet falsely, considered to have come from Swedish (Lundskær-Nielsen and Holmes 2010: 145-6), there is clearly general awareness in Denmark that the score system, with forms such as *halvtreds* (based on *halvtredsindstyve*, ‘two-and-a-half times 20’; *ibid.*: 144), is not pan-Scandinavian.

¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the Icelanders too often call this ‘Scandinavian’ (Börestam 1985: 74). Börestam also suggests that the label may be connected to a desire to conceal the Icelandic colonial past (*ibid.*).

¹²⁰ Other examples of the variety are found in J.H.W. Poulsen (1993: 113, 115) and in the title of H.P. Petersen’s 2008 article. While these examples show significant Faroese influence, Petersen (2010) gives many examples of limited Faroese interference in the Danish of the Faroese within a range of categories. One such example is: FD. ‘Jeg sagde til han’ (‘I said to him’): ‘til han’ mirrors Fa. ‘til hann’, although Standard Danish is ‘til ham’ (*ibid.*: 275).

Faroese farmer to a Dane who purchased a cow from him. The whole letter is written in what Hagström describes as *Gøtudanskt*, but just one sentence is analysed here:

The farmer's letter ('Gøtudanskt'): tu kebte ene kigv fra meg¹²¹

Standard Faroese: Tú keypti eina kúgv frá mær.

Standard Danish: Du købte en ko af mig.

(Hagström 1984a: 237)

In this example, the variety labelled *Gøtudanskt* differs considerably from Standard Danish, although the farmer clearly intended to write in Danish. In this short sentence alone, we find evidence of Faroese interference on three levels: lexical (FD *kigv*, for Da. *ko*), grammatical (FD *ene* as the farmer replicates the Faroese feminine accusative form of the indefinite article, Fa. *eina*; FD *fra* instead of *af* reflecting Fa. *frá*) and phonological (FD *kebte* for Da. *købte*, and FD *tu* for Da. *du*).¹²² This variety is hereafter referred to as Faroe-Danish. The term reflects the intention of the speaker/writer to speak/write Danish, although s/he is only able to produce a form so heavily influenced by Faroese that it may become unrecognisable as Danish.

3.3 Danish in the Faroes: the Earliest Sources

It is important to view the rest of the material in Chapter 3 within a historical context. There are very few sources on the linguistic situation in the Faroes between the Middle Ages and the latter half of the eighteenth century when J.C. Svabo began to document the Faroese language. Interestingly, the few writers to concern themselves with the Faroes invariably mention the Danish language in their accounts. While the reliability of the reports varies, what they tell us about the role of Danish in society often reflects their attitudes towards the Faroese and their culture. Between 1651 and 1800 there are five important reports mentioning language in the Faroes. These have been discussed in previous research (cf. P.M. Rasmussen 1997: 25-8; H.P. Petersen 2010: 36-7), but little attention has been paid to how they may have been received and understood in metropolitan Denmark. While many of the comments and observations appear

¹²¹ "You bought a cow from me". There is no capitalisation or punctuation in the original letter.

¹²² There is overlap between these areas.

straightforward enough, there is some value in contextualising them within their historical time period: the term ‘Norwegian’, for example, mentioned in three of the accounts (see below), would not have meant the same to the Faroese as it would have done to the individual writers in question, to the metropolitan Danish readership or to an audience today. To borrow once again from literary theory, Eagleton maintains, from a reception theory perspective, that ‘[literary] work is full of “indeterminacies”, elements which depend for their effect upon the reader’s interpretation, and which can be interpreted in a number of different, perhaps mutually conflicting ways’ (2008: 66). He goes on to suggest that ‘the reader will bring to the work certain “pre-understandings”, a dim context of beliefs and expectations within which the work’s various features will be assessed’ (p.67). Castle concurs: ‘[t]he literary text is far more than what is written in it; and this “far more” comes into existence precisely as part of a creative process whereby the reader’s own faculties are brought into being’ (2007: 177). These ‘beliefs and expectations’ mentioned by Eagleton and the ‘faculties’ described by Castle must be considered for a full appreciation of the accounts’ effect on whoever read the texts in Denmark. They are also important for an understanding of whether these texts facilitated the construction of an environment in metropolitan Denmark that was ripe for saming to take place (cf. 3.4). The five accounts are not literary texts, but the issue of what they mean to the reader is the same.

The first account after the medieval period to mention Danish on the islands – and, incidentally, the first to mention Faroese – is Jens Lauritzsøn Wolff’s *Norrigia Illustrata* of 1651. He notes:

Øerne ere 17 / som efter deris Størelse har mange eller faae Kircker /
deris Præster prædicker dansk / hvilcket Indbyggerne forstaar ligesaa
vel som de Norske / de læse udi Danske Bøger / hvorudi og
Ungdommen undervises / men / naar de ville / tale de imellem sig
selv et Sprog / som ingen kand forstaa / uden de som har omgaaet
med dem nogen Tid.

(Wolff 1651: 202; tr.7)

We cannot be sure where Wolff acquired his information about the Faroes. As P.M. Rasmussen points out, Wolff, a Dane, never went to the islands as far as we know (1997: 26). Nevertheless, his account fits in with what is known about the Faroese language climate at the time: Danish was the Church language, having been established as such after the Reformation, although the Faroese continued to speak their own

language among themselves. While Wolff's account teaches us little about the state of Faroese in the seventeenth century, the fact that an understanding of it can be acquired after 'nogen Tid' ("some time") suggests a closeness between the language and Danish. Unlike later descriptions, Wolff's report contains no hint of saming (cf. 2.3.1; 3.4), as Danish and Faroese are given separate identities. Even so, the claim that the Faroese speak their language "when they want to", does imply a degree of superfluity for this language within Faroese society.¹²³

The next report comes from Lucas Jacobsen Debes' *Færøernes Beskrivelse* (1673). Debes, from Stubbekøbing in Denmark, worked in the Faroes as a priest. On language, he has this to say: 'Deris Spraack er Norsk / dog udi disse Tjder meest Dansk' ("Their language is Norwegian / although in these times mostly Danish"; 1673: 253). As Rischel (1963: 58) points out, the fact that Debes calls Faroese Norwegian is not strange – Svabo later does likewise – and he probably means 'Norwegian in origin', but his assertion that the language is now 'meest Dansk' ("mostly Danish") is hard to interpret. Rischel suggests that if Debes means that Danish is the 'toneangivende' ("leading") language on the islands, the language of the Church, education and administration, then Debes' account ties in with what we have already learnt from Wolff (ibid.: 60). Again, it is difficult to know how Debes acquired some of the information he gives about the Faroese language. He is the first to divide the islands into two main dialect areas (north and south) and introduce a number of Faroese terms. Given that he seems to be quite knowledgeable about Faroese, his claim that the language of the Faroese was 'mostly Danish' at the time he wrote his text is somewhat surprising. Either way, Debes' account does little to promote the idea of Faroese as a separate language among metropolitan Danes and could have helped create a climate for the saming of the language there. The fact that Debes had lived and worked on the islands would have lent his report credibility for its Danish readership.

Since the Norwegian language itself was in a precarious position in Norway, the association with Norwegian would have done Faroese few favours. Vikør points out that by 1525 Danish had almost fully replaced Norwegian as the written language in Norway

¹²³ One report, although of less importance to the thesis as it was not aimed at a Danish audience, should be mentioned. The Iclander, Jón Ólafsson indíafari, spent a fortnight in the Faroes between 1615 and 1622. During his stay, he gave one islander two Icelandic books and said that this islander was able to read Icelandic 'skýrlega' ("clearly") as 'lítið skildi vort mál og þeirra' ("little separated our language from theirs"; Jón Ólafsson indíafari 1661: 121). His account, which predates Wolff's, also stated that Danish was the Faroese Church language.

(Vikør 2001a: 54). Between the Reformation and the late nineteenth century, urban centres in particular came to be dominated by a Norwegian spoken variety very heavily based on written Danish.¹²⁴ By the time Debes' account was published in 1673, many readers in metropolitan Denmark may well have considered the Norwegian language itself to be nothing more than a collection of deviant Danish dialects. In this scenario, whether the Faroese language is ultimately Danish or Norwegian in origin or nature is of little consequence.

Peder Hansen Resen's *Atlas Danicus, Færøerne* of 1688 is the next work to document Danish in the Faroes. Resen retells how the Faroese are descended from the original Norwegian settlers and that 'de [...] bruge det Norske Sprog, undtagen at det er lidt blandet med den Danske Dialect, som de Danske har indført' ("they [...] use the Norwegian language, although this is somewhat mixed with the Danish dialect, which the Danes have introduced"; 1688: 77-9). While Resen is merely commenting on what Svabo, the writer of the next report, would describe in much greater detail – increased interference from Danish in the local language – his choice of wording would have given further 'evidence' to the Danes that the Faroese spoke Danish. There is certainly no suggestion that the Faroese speak a language peculiar to themselves. P.M. Rasmussen concludes that Resen probably took his information from Debes and misunderstood him (1997: 26).

J.C. Svabo, from Miðvágur on the island of Vágar, was the first Faroese person to write about the language situation on the islands and the first of all to do so in any great detail. In his *Indberetninger fra en Reise i Færøe* ("Reports from a Journey to the Faroes") of 1782, Svabo recognises the Old Norse origins of his mother tongue and also provides the first detailed sketch of the Faroese dialects. However, he foresees a bleak future for the language. It has become so 'fordervet' ("corrupted"), particularly in Tórshavn, that the best option would be to abandon it altogether in favour of Danish. Whereas the Icelanders, he notes, have successfully managed to restore their language to its former 'Reenhed' ("purity"), this would be much too onerous in the case of Faroese (p.266). Svabo sees his collection of Faroese folk ballads and language samples as being for posterity alone.

As regards Danish itself, Svabo indicates that everyone on the islands can at least understand the language, and many speak it well. He goes so far as to call it

¹²⁴ As in the Faroes, where the phonology of Danish remained Faroese, in Norway it remained Norwegian.

‘Hoved-Sproget’ (‘the main language’; *ibid.*). Like Wolff before him, Svabo identifies clear domains for the language: it is the medium of the Church, religious education and the courts.

Jørgen Landt was a priest on northern Streymoy from 1791 to 1799 (P.M. Rasmussen 1997: 28). His *Forsøg til en Beskrivelse af Færøerne* (1800) has little to say about language use on the islands, but he does make interesting comments on the origin of Faroese and its close relationship to Danish:

Det færøske Sprog forekommer en Fremmed i Begyndelsen meget uforstaaeligt, men man lærer at forstaae det, førend man ventede det, thi en stor Deel af Ordene ere gamle danske eller rettere norske, hvilke ved en fordrejet Udtale have faaet et fremmed Udseende[.]
(Landt 1800: 248; tr.8)

Again, an impression is given of a society in which a deviant language is spoken, based on either Danish or Norwegian, but Norwegian was probably almost synonymous with Danish for Landt’s readers, writing as he was in 1800. There would have been little awareness in Denmark of the fact that the ‘Norwegian’ of the Faroese would have little in common, grammatically or phonetically, with the Norwegian dialects with which they themselves were familiar.

What Landt says about Danish pronunciation on the islands is particularly enlightening: here we (presumably) have the first written account of Faroese Print-Danish.

I øvrigt fortjener det at mærkes, at omendskjønt Færøeboerne stedse tale deres eget Sprog, hvis Accent falder noget i det Norske, saa forstaae de dog næsten alle meget vel det Danske, i hvilket Sprog ogsaa Kristendommen læres og Guds-tjenesten forrettes, ja mange af dem tale endog ret godt Dansk, og da er dette Sprog i deres Mund langt tydeligere og nettere, end hos Almuesfolk i de øvrige danske Provintser.
(Landt 1800: 251; tr.9)

In conclusion, it is clear that early reports from the Faroes would have done little to convince the Danish metropolitan readership that Faroese was an independent language. In the historical context in which they operated – with due attention paid to Eagleton’s ‘beliefs and expectations’ – Debes and Resen must have created the

impression of islanders speaking a half-Danish, half-Norwegian mixed language; Wolff and Landt acknowledge the Faroese language, but imply or confirm Faroese fluency in Danish, and Svabo, although he clearly recognises two separate languages on the islands and emphasises the Old Norse origins of Faroese, is so emphatic in his criticism of the current impoverished state of the language that readers on the Danish mainland would have seen little benefit in maintaining it.

3.4 Saming in the Faroes

Chapter 2 established the fact that the Faroese colonial experience differed dramatically from other colonial encounters. Traditionally, post-colonial study has focused on the existence of ‘the other’, the colonised, who represents everything that ‘the Other’, the coloniser, is not. In recent years, however, it has become acceptable to recognise that this binary distinction neither needs to be nor is always evident in all aspects of the colonial relationship. As noted, the now widely accepted incorporation of Ireland into post-colonial analysis is a prime example. In Ireland, the European versus non-European and white versus black dichotomies simply did not exist.

The Faroes constitute an even more radical deviation from the norm. The common Faroese and Danish cultural, religious and – of most importance to the thesis – linguistic heritage renders the traditional conception of ‘the other’ irrelevant: it could even be argued that in this case ‘the other’ does not exist. That is, of course, not to say that the Faroese are Danes, but when the other resembles the self to such an extent, new theoretical models become necessary. I propose the concept of saming as one such model to deal with the Faroes.

The Danish colonisers were certainly aware of the difference between the Faroese and traditional colonial peoples such as the Greenlanders. Marquardt (2005: 177) details an exchange in the Danish *Folketing* in 1862 where this was expressly discussed. A.F. Tscherning, a *Folketing* member, questioned the sense in sending a Greenlandic smith to Copenhagen for training: he felt it would have been more appropriate to send him to Tórshavn, ‘thi der er langt større Lighed mellem Færingerne og Grønlænderne i Forhold til deres Maade at leve paa’ (“for there is much greater similarity between the Faroese and the Greenlanders as regards their way of life”). Tscherning was referring to the size of the populations rather than the characteristics of their inhabitants. However, the Home Secretary, P.M. Orla Lehmann, corrected him:

Jeg skal først og fremmest baade paa egne og Andres vegne tage en Reservation imod, at den høje, ædle nordiske Stamme, Færingerne, paa nogen Maade sættes i Parallel med Grønlænderne [...] Vi kunne ikke ansee Grønlænderne som vore Brødre, saaledes som Tilfældet er med Færingerne, der jo ogsaa er repræsenterede her paa Rigsdagen.

(In Marquardt 2005: 177; tr.10)

A second example, from Stoklund (2005: 254), recalls the Colonial Exhibition in Copenhagen in 1905, the full title of which was *Dansk Koloniudstilling (Grønland og Dansk Vestindien) samt Udstilling fra Island og Færøerne* ("The Danish Colonial Exhibition [Greenland and the Danish West-Indies] together with an Exhibition from Iceland and the Faroes"). The difference in attitudes towards the two groups of colonies is clear.¹²⁵

The close relationship of the Faroese and Danish languages facilitated the linguistic saming, coupled with the fact that Faroese had no accepted orthography until the late nineteenth century and no written form at all prior to Svabo's recording of Faroese folk material at the end of the eighteenth century.¹²⁶ The Icelanders, who also spoke a language related to Danish, were much less susceptible to a comparable process as they possessed a considerable corpus of written literature. If we accept Memmi's general claim that colonisers do not believe that the colonised have a living literature in their own language (1957b: 159), it could be argued that the Icelanders had effectively written themselves out of colonialism. As Neijmann argues:

[I]t is obvious to anyone studying this aspect of Icelandic history [the struggle for independence from Denmark] that language and literature played a crucial role, possibly even the most critical of roles. The fact that in Iceland people still spoke a language very close to that originally spoken in Scandinavia but no longer understood elsewhere in the region, and that they possessed a widely recognised

¹²⁵ By distinguishing treatment of its European from its non-European colonies, Denmark's actions resembled those of the British. According to Young, 'the British always disdained the French idea of colonial assimilation, but in fact they practised it with respect to contiguous territories within the British Isles' (2001: 299).

¹²⁶ The written language that had been used sporadically on the islands prior to the Reformation did not differ significantly from that used in Norway. Sources are few. Hammershaimb notes the existence of certain Faroese letters and documents from the fifteenth century and finds that the language is the same as in old Norwegian and Icelandic letters. He adds that a linguist may find intermittent examples of peculiarly Faroese deviations from the norm, but that these would only become evident 'ved meget nøje eftersyn' ("upon very close inspection"; Hammershaimb 1891: LIV).

medieval literature, allowed Iceland to argue convincingly in the international arena what is essential to a recognition of nationhood, its 'difference' from other nations, and from the mother country in particular.

(Neijmann 2006: 43-4)

Neijmann's article goes on to state that this corpus performed a similar function in the domestic arena: through their literature, the Icelanders could see *themselves* as separate people (p.44). That is not to say that the Faroese considered themselves Danish: Matras (1941: 82) observes that, although it is difficult to ascertain when the Faroese began to see themselves as Faroese, they never considered themselves Danish.¹²⁷ Rather, it is a question of when they ceased to see themselves as Norwegian. However, the lack of anything comparable to the Icelandic sagas – the Faroese literary corpus was entirely oral – meant that any notion of an identity for the Faroese or their language could be ignored by the Danish colonisers. Furthermore, as the previous section demonstrated, early accounts of the distant Faroes did little to construct a notion of a Faroese linguistic identity in mainland Denmark.

Thus, the Danes were able to ignore the Faroese language, treating it as – and later labelling it – a deviant offshoot of their *own* language. As we shall see, the Icelanders, along with the Danes and the Swedes, were able to use vernacular translations of the Bible after the Reformation; in the Faroes, however, the Danish Bible was used. From that moment on, the ascent of the Danish language within Faroese society began – Danish became the language of the Church, the administration and, upon their introduction several centuries later, the schools.

This final domain brings us to a watershed year in the Faroese-Danish colonial relationship. In 1844 the status of the Faroese language was discussed at an official level for the first time. At the meeting of the Islands' Assembly in Roskilde, a proposal to introduce state schooling in the Faroes was debated.¹²⁸ Until that point, Faroese children had traditionally been taught by their parents or by a neighbour in the village. For the Danes, it was unthinkable that the medium of these new schools could be

¹²⁷ Despite the infamous words of the Faroese *Folketing* member, Oliver Effersøe, in 1906: 'Vi Færingar føle os fuldstændig som Danske' ('We Faroese feel ourselves to be fully Danish'; Thomassen 1985: 33).

¹²⁸ Ten years previously Denmark had been divided into four *Stænderforsamlinger*, "Assemblies of the States General" (Nauerby's translation; 1996: 42). The Faroes came under the Islands' Assembly, which met at Roskilde.

anything but Danish: Faroese had no written norm and at the Assembly meeting the question was posed whether Faroese could be considered a language *at all*.

When discussing Spivak's example of othering – Captain Birch appearing to the natives in India and presenting their place in the world to them (cf. 2.2.1) – I mentioned the fact that there was no need for Birch to *tell* the Indians of their new, subordinate role. The social structures of the colonial experience can clearly be established through action alone. In the same way, until the 1844 meeting, *saming* had successfully functioned without the Danes telling the Faroese that their language was a variety of Danish. The 1844 Assembly meeting marks a clear departure from this 'unspoken *saming*': several speakers there called Faroese a Danish dialect. Provst ("Dean") Plesner, a Danish priest who had spent some time on the islands, asked whether there might be value in maintaining the role of the Faroese language in education to some degree, to which Cancelliraad Hunderup replied:¹²⁹

Med Hensyn til Sproget har den sidste Taler yttret, at der bør tages fortrinligt Hensyn til det færøeske Sprog; men jeg maa herved gjøre opmærksom paa, at dette vel *ikke kan kaldes et Sprog, da det kun er en Mundart eller Dialect, som bestaaer af en Blanding af Islandsk og Dansk.*

(Grundtvig 1845: 36; Grundtvig's emphasis; tr.11)

At that point, even Plesner conceded 'at det kun er en fordærvet Dialect af Dansk og Islandsk, og at det ikke fra Sprogets egen Side er synderlig værd at holde paa' (Grundtvig 1845: 38).¹³⁰ The significant element here is not necessarily that Faroese was called a dialect – the term clearly had wider application as a synonym for 'language', as when Resen refers to Danish as 'den Danske Dialect' ("the Danish dialect"; 1688: 79) – but that it was called a dialect *of* Danish.

At the close of the Islands' Assembly discussion, Bishop Mynster concludes:

[A]t det er unægteligt, at den færøiske Dialect forholder sig til Dansk, omtrent som i Holsteen Plattysk forholder sig til Højtysk, og jeg troer dog ikke, at man nogensinde i Holsteen har forlangt, at der, hvor Folkesproget er Plattysk, ogsaa skulde undervises i denne Dialect. Ogsaa er Kirkesproget paa Færøerne Dansk.

(Grundtvig 1845: 39; tr.12)

¹²⁹ *Cancelliraad* is an honorific title.

¹³⁰ "that it is only a corrupt dialect of Danish and Icelandic, and that from the point of view of the language itself is not particularly worth perpetuating."

This seems to be further evidence of the saming process: clearly, there was little awareness of the Faroes and Faroese conditions at the Roskilde meeting. By presenting a linguistic situation to his colleagues that they would be familiar with – Low German versus High German in Holstein – and forcing an uncertain Faroese parallel, Mynster was dismissing any Faroese linguistic identity.¹³¹ The position of the Assembly was clear and in 1846 provision was made for the introduction of Danish-medium schools in the Faroes.

In response to the Islands' Assembly meeting, V.U. Hammershaimb, the Faroese student – and later priest – who would go on to create today's official Faroese orthography, wrote a letter to *Kjøbenhavnsposten* in 1844 in defence of the Faroese language.¹³² Subsequently, the Dane, Svend Grundtvig, son of the prominent scholar, N.F.S. Grundtvig, wrote an impassioned booklet promoting the same cause under the title *Dansken paa Færøerne: Sidestykke til Tysken i Slesvig* ("Danish in the Faroes: Parallel to German in Schleswig"; 1845). United by a common interest in folk literature, Grundtvig and Hammershaimb had become friends as students in Copenhagen in 1843 (Wylie 1987: 98).

In the debate that ensued in Denmark, we are able to find further evidence of the saming phenomenon: until the issue of the schools arose, the Faroes had made little, if any, impact upon metropolitan Danish consciousness. The following article, which appeared in the Danish satirical paper, *Corsaren*, on 25th April 1845, gives some indication of the Danish attitude to the far-off Faroes and the criticism by Hammershaimb and Grundtvig. (Amager, it should be noted, is an island to the east of Zealand and part of Copenhagen lies on it. Dutch farmers were invited by the Danish king to move there in the sixteenth century and provide vegetables for the growing city):

Til Stifterne af det »færøske Selskab». [...] vi ere Amagere. Men hvor er vort Sprog blevet af? Betænker, hvilken Uretfærdighed I Danske have begaaet imod os og vore Børn! Der, hvor vort Modersmaal Hollandsken før lød, der høres nu Dansk – og Dansk alene! Dansken

¹³¹ This parallel would resurface 68 years later in 1912 when the priest Theodor Sørensen argued that Faroese should be considered a 'Hjemmesprog' ("Home Language") like Low German, and Danish should be the Faroese 'Kultursprog' ("Language of Culture"), like High German in Northern Germany (Thomassen 1985: 59).

¹³² Under the pseudonym 'En Færing' ("A Faroe Islander").

lyder fra Prædikestolen, Dansk er vort Skolesprog, vort Retssprog,
 paa Dansk blive vore Børn commanderede af danske Officierer. See,
 det er alt kommet saavidt med Udryddelsen af vort Sprog, at ikke en
 eneste veed, hvad Kaal eller Gulerødder hedder paa [sic] Hollandsk.
 O, saa hjælp os da! Stift et amagersk Selskab! Og naar saa engang
 vor Literatur blomstrer herligt, saa ville I som dens berømmelige
 Stiftere blive satte først i vort Forfatterlexicon. Det er ikke i vort eget
 Navn alene, at vi tale til Eder: Det er det hele amagerske Folks
 Ønske, vi udtale. Paa Eder ere alle Amageres Øine henvendte! Vi
 bringe Eder alle Amagerens broderlige Hilsen!

Flere Amagere.

(In Matras 1951: 106; tr.13)

The sentiment of the writers is clear: the Faroese should forget any antiquated notion of a separate identity and accept both the passing of their culture and the fact that they are now Danes. Through their ridiculing of the idea of an independent Faroese identity, the writers effectively ‘same’ the Faroese, at least in the minds of the metropolitan readership. The language of the Faroese receives similar treatment – just as the people of Amager speak Danish, so do the Faroese: they may have spoken some other language in an ancient past, but that too is confined to the annals of history.¹³³ As with the High German/Low German example, there was clearly a desire to create parallels to the language situation in an effort to ‘same away’ the Faroese problem.

A further example of the, perhaps unconscious, saming of the Faroese by people living in metropolitan Denmark comes from a book which appeared in the decade following the schools debate. In an introduction to his *Den slesvigske Treaarskrig*,¹³⁴ Hammerich describes the five main peoples (‘Hovedstammer’) who inhabit the lands of the Danish monarchy: ‘Danske, Tydske, Islændere, Negere og Grønlændere’ (1852: 1).¹³⁵ The silence here regarding the Faroese speaks volumes: seven years after the debate of 1844-5, the Faroese still do not register as a people in Danish consciousness. Even in 1901, Christian Pedersen, a Dane working as a priest on Sandoy, compared the Faroese to the inhabitants of metropolitan Danish regions and islands (such as Vendsyssel and Bornholm) as he criticised what he considered to be the oppression of the Danish language on the Faroes (Thomassen 1985: 16-17).

¹³³ In fact, Danish did not fully replace Dutch as the Church and school language on Amager until 1811 (Frandsen 2002: 40).

¹³⁴ “The Schleswig Three Years’ War.”

¹³⁵ “Danes, Germans, Icelanders, Negros and Greenlanders.”

3.5 Saming in the Faroes: the Effects

With the saming process established, 3.5 explores the subsequent bearing this had on the linguistic climate in the Faroes. Given that two central areas of linguistic contention in the Faroes today – purism and the resulting development of internal diglossia within the Faroese language¹³⁶ – clearly owe their existence to the historical presence of Danish on the islands, an attempt to summarise all the effects of colonialism in one section could only be superficial. However, this section focuses on two effects of the saming process which have not received so much attention and which relate more directly to the colonial past: synergy and ‘domino colonialism’. Following this discussion, mention is made of the Danish bishop and hymn writer, Thomas Kingo (1634-1703), and the special place that the saming process created for him within the Faroese cultural landscape.

3.5.1 deals with the topic of synergy and the way in which the Danish colonisers were able to create a social structure in which the Faroese and Danish cultures – and cultural elements such as language – were able to combine. The most famous examples of language synergy are arguably Print-Danish and Faroe-Danish. 3.5.2 addresses the question of whether this colonial ‘social structure’ facilitated a situation where cultural elements that were predominantly Faroese (or at least perceived to be so, such as the chain dance), furthered *Danish* culture and the Danish language. This process could be labelled ‘domino colonialism’, i.e. colonialism propagated by existing local structures with no continued effort on the part of the coloniser, but which ultimately results from the coloniser’s ideology and actions.

3.5.1 Synergy

By failing for so long to define what constituted ‘Danish’ or ‘Faroese’ linguistically, the Danish colonisers created an environment in which products that drew from both cultural spheres could emerge. In 2.4.1, I mentioned L. Joensen’s discussion of the hybridity of *Gøtudanskt* (2005: 248). Hybridity is a contentious term that has often been

¹³⁶ See Majbritt Pauladóttir (2008) on Faroese diglossia. Majbritt describes an H-variety (‘føroyskt standardfrábrigdi’) which resembles modern written Faroese and an L-variety (‘dagligt frábrigdi’), which resembles ‘donskum/skandinaviskum máli’ (‘Danish/Scandinavian language’; 2008: 64). Although Majbritt mentions Danish and Scandinavian, her discussion makes it clear that the L-variety borrows heavily from Danish. This internal diglossia is much closer to Ferguson’s original definition (Ferguson 1959: 25). Only in 1967 did Fishman expand the designation to cover two separate languages operating within H and L spheres (Fishman 1967).

used in post-colonial study to refer to ‘the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization’ (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007: 108). Ashcroft *et al.* suggest the term ‘synergy’ as a replacement for ‘hybridity’ due to the latter’s racial connotations (ibid.: 210). Loomba, for example, demonstrates that the term ‘hybrids’ has been used synonymously with ‘mestizos’ (2005: 13).¹³⁷ The additional definition Ashcroft *et al.* give is also useful: ‘the product of two (or more) forces that are reduceable to neither’ (2007: 210). From a Faroese language perspective, Faroese Print-Danish and Faroe-Danish are undoubtedly the best known ‘synergetic’ products, but there are numerous other linguistic examples. This section focuses on three distinct linguistic manifestations of this synergy.

1. ‘Manga takk’

Sær er siður á landi (“Each Country has its Customs”; 1949), by Rasmus Rasmussen (1871-1962), gives a fascinating and rare insight into Faroese life in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁸ Here we are able to find several examples of synergy.

Rasmussen’s comments on Danish and Faroese within the religious domain are mentioned in 3.6.2, but his treatment of what he calls the ‘thanksgiving prayer’ (‘takkarbönin’, p.148) is particularly illuminating. He cites the prayer as: ‘Jesus havi lov, takk og prís til evig Tid amen. Jesus spisið tú mær. Manga takk!’ (‘Jesus have laud, thanks and praise forever, amen. Jesus feed me. Many thanks’; ibid.). As Rasmussen acknowledges, this prayer, which was always said after meals in the Faroes, is in a mixed language: some words are pure Danish ([*til*] *evig Tid*), others are Faroese, albeit ones which have Danish cognates (*Jesus havi lov, takk og prís* [*til*]) and two are Faroese in form, but Danish in origin (*spisið*, from Da. *spise*, ‘to eat’, no longer found in Faroese, and *manga*, ‘many’, cf. Da. *mange*). The pure Danish words would undoubtedly have received Faroese Print-Danish pronunciation. That this language mixing took place, was acceptable and became ritualised (according to Rasmussen) is noteworthy. As Chapter 6 demonstrates in Greenland, language mixing is certainly common in post-colonial societies: what is unusual in the Faroese colonial scenario is how difficult it can be to identify from which language the individual words have come.

¹³⁷ Defined as ‘a man of mixed European and Native American ancestry’ (Allen 2003), although the term is sometimes expanded to include any person of mixed coloniser/colonised descent.

¹³⁸ Rasmussen is additionally known as Rasmus á Háskúlanum (P.M. Rasmussen 1997: 33). Under the pseudonym Regin í Lið, he also wrote the first Faroese-language novel, *Bábelstornið* (“The Tower of Babel”; 1909).

The grace arose from the blurred boundary between Danish and Faroese: the ‘contact zone’ described by Ashcroft *et al.* Of particular interest is what Rasmussen says about the last two words of the prayer: ‘[a]v hesum eru hesi tvey seinastu orðini varðveitt til nú, sum nakað serstakt føroyskt’ (1949: 148).¹³⁹ While cognate equivalents of *manga takk*, ‘many thanks’, are found in other Scandinavian languages (cf. Da. *Mange tak*), only in the Faroes is this expression only used after meals. That this peculiarly Faroese idiom, identified as such by the Faroese, has its origin in the mixed-language prayer, and, ultimately, in the synergetic Danish-Faroese colonial space created by *saming*, is telling: the tradition would not exist, were it not for the Danish colonisers. This fact further supports the view that a theoretical perspective which takes the unique Faroese colonial experience into consideration is necessary when analysing aspects of Faroese language history. Had the Danish and Faroese cultures been further removed (and therefore, *saming* rendered impossible), such mixed language use might well still have occurred, but the idea that any element of it should become identifiable as something ‘peculiarly Faroese’ is, I would argue, much less likely.

2. The recording of *Mariu vísa*

Weyhe’s discussion of *Mariu vísa* (2003), a Faroese ballad, considers the occasional difficulties in determining whether a particular folk song/ballad is Danish or Faroese in origin. As he explains, once these began to be recorded on the islands around 1800, Faroese ballads would generally be written in a Faroese form (orthophonetically) and Danish folk songs in a Danish form (p.553).¹⁴⁰ Some songs, however, appear in mixed form – often with alternate verses in Danish and Faroese – and Weyhe believes that these songs, presumably originally Danish, were most likely also performed in this way (p.554). He considers *Mariu vísa* to be unusual because it was probably *sung* in Faroese, but written in Danish, given that it may generally have been considered improper to sing folk songs in Faroese (p.563). Ashcroft *et al.*’s definition of a transcultural product as one which stems from two cultures, but which cannot necessarily be reduced to either, seems fitting here. Clearly, Weyhe is able to draw conclusions on the original performance language of *Mariu vísa*, but the fact that this is not straightforward is of central importance.

¹³⁹ “Of this, the last two words are preserved to the present day as something peculiarly Faroese.”

¹⁴⁰ Weyhe uses the term *sprogdragt*, lit. “language dress”. See 3.5.2 for a discussion on the way in which Danish songs entered the Faroese national repertoire.

3. Written code-switching

The photograph shown here (Plate 1) depicts a particularly striking example of language synergy. The picture, which has not been previously analysed, shows a Salvation Army young people's band from Tórshavn, c.1933. The flag in the background displays an interesting language mix: Da. *Frelsens Hær* ("The Salvation Army") instead of Fa. *Frelsunarherurin*, coupled with Fa. *hornorkestur* ("brass band"), rather than Da. *hornorkester*.¹⁴¹



Plate 1: Salvation Army Young People's Band, Tórshavn, c.1933

Danish loanwords are (still) commonplace in Faroese, but these generally appear in a Faroese form (cf. Da. *følelse*, 'feeling', Fa. *følilsí*, standard Fa. *kensla*; see fn.16). The examples are too numerous to list. However, here we have an example of a Danish term, in Danish form, juxtaposed with a Faroese word in Faroese form (written 'code-switching'). In the Faroese language context, this is unnecessary: a Danish-influenced form of Fa. *Frelsunarherurin*, *Frelsensher*, does exist (and is still heard, and

¹⁴¹ There is, of course, influence from a third language in the form of the English possessive apostrophe. This suggests that the flag may have been made in England – The Salvation Army's British Territory oversaw the fledgling Faroese work. The apostrophe was most likely added by someone unfamiliar with Danish spelling conventions. If the flag was made in England, presumably someone from the Faroes dictated what was to be written on it: it is unlikely any Dane would have given the Faroese name for 'brass band' but not 'Salvation Army'.

sporadically seen, on the islands).¹⁴² Clearly, whoever created the flag – or dictated its message – saw nothing wrong with this language mixture and was unable to discern its inappropriateness judged by today’s standards: The Salvation Army was known by the Danish name under which it arrived on the islands (in 1924) and could scarcely be called anything else at the time. The temporal window in which such mixed writing would have been acceptable (or even possible) was very short; presumably after the Christmas meeting of 1888 (Fa. *Jólafundurin*, see 3.6) and before Faroese received official recognition under the terms of the 1948 Home Rule Act. This time period approximately coincides with what L. Joensen called ‘the Dano-Faroese moment’ in Faroese literary history (see 2.4.1). In my view this is a clear example of successful extended application of literary theory to the position of the colonial language within society.

Unlike Faroe-Danish, the synergy on the photograph is not within the words themselves, but within the culture. The Faroese were unable to reduce certain elements within society to either cultural force. Had the distinction between Danish and Faroese been established earlier, transcultural forms of this nature would indubitably have seemed wrong at the time. As R. Rasmussen remarks, there was clear understanding of what was Danish and what was Faroese in other areas of society: at Faroese weddings, for example, the bridegroom would be ‘í donskum klæðum’ (“in Danish clothes”), with ‘danskan hatt’ (“a Danish hat”) and tables would be set ‘á danskan hátt’ (“the Danish way”; 1949: 99-100). In the linguistic sphere, Danishness and Faroese-ness merged. Of course, somewhat later, in the heart of L. Joensen’s Dano-Faroese moment, this merging was also effected deliberately, most famously in the novels of Jacobsen and Heinesen.

3.5.2 ‘Domino Colonialism’

This thesis proposes that the Danish colonial policy of saming the Faroese (which, until 1846, largely consisted of simply disregarding the Faroese language, nationhood and

¹⁴² As seen, for example, on two occasions on the online discussion forum of the Faroese *Kvinna* magazine: ‘Frelsensher heldur seg vekk [...]’ <http://www.kvinna.fo/Default.aspx?pageid=12065&IFrame.OverrideURL=http://services.kvinna.fo/kjak.asp%3Faction%3Dkjak%26subaction%3Dvistrad%26kjakid%3D16%26tradid%3D2734> (from 2005, last accessed on 22/02/11) and ‘Kom, kom, kom til Frelsensher [...]’ <http://www.kvinna.fo/Default.aspx?pageid=12065&IFrame.OverrideURL=http://services.kvinna.fo/kjak.asp%3Faction%3Dkjak%26subaction%3Dvistrad%26kjakid%3D16%26tradid%3D1559> (from 2009, last accessed on 22/02/11). In the former, the word is used in the nominative case, but still lacks the masculine nominative *-ur* ending of standard Faroese, cf. *herur*, ‘army’.

culture) created a situation in which the Danish language could be further perpetuated by a process that could be labelled ‘domino colonialism’. As noted in 3.5.1, the lack of distinction between what was Faroese and what was Danish linguistically meant that Danish could enter the Faroese cultural sphere effectively ‘unchecked’. Gradual Danish language encroachment into Faroese culture was accepted, and it spread into many areas. Indeed, Danish was able to permeate Faroese society to such an extent that much of what is considered typical of Faroese culture was affected to some degree. This section examines how one of these areas – the Faroese chain dance, today considered quintessentially Faroese – further disseminated the Danish language.

The chain dance, commonly known on the islands as *fóroyskur dansur* (“Faroese dance”), is believed to be related to the line-dance which originated in France in the thirteenth century and then spread throughout Europe over the following 200 years (West 1972: 41). Whereas the chain dance eventually gave way to other forms in the rest of Europe, in the Faroes it has remained until the present day. In their treatise on Faroese culture, Wylie and Margolin consider the iconic image of the *dansiringur* (“ring of dancers”) so significant that they say it embodies the very essence of Faroese culture:

The *dansiringur* nearly represents, we feel, the Faroese adaptation of large forms to a land of closely known neighbors and landscapes, the complex inward turnings of Faroese culture, and its tortuous sense of wholeness.

(Wylie and Margolin 1981: 12)

The Faroese chain dance was performed on Sundays during the winter period between Christmas and the start of Lent, at weddings, at *grindadráp* (“pilot-whale killings”), *Ólavsøka* (the Faroese national celebration) and various other parties and social gatherings throughout the year. Traditional Faroese ballads, or *kvæði*, were – and continue to be – sung in time to the stamping of feet. A *skipari* (“leader”) memorises the entire ballad and leads the chanting, with other dancers joining in the singing once each verse has been started.

However, from the seventeenth century, in addition to these Faroese *kvæði*, Danish folk songs began to encroach on this most Faroese of cultural spheres (West 1972: 43). Andreassen outlines the full range of songs that came to accompany the dance:

middelalderballader, nyere ballader i samme stil, danske ridder- og naturmytiske viser, færøske nidviser, samt danske og færøske skillingsviser, færøske politiske viser og en del nyere og lettere viser
(Andreassen 1992: 127; tr.14).

J.H.W. Poulsen notes that many Danish folk songs by Anders Sørensen Vedel and Peder Syv, in particular, were absorbed into the Faroese dancing ritual (1968: 41). Matras (1939: 72) similarly comments that Vedel's and Syv's folk song books became 'en levende skat' ("a living treasure") in the Faroes. Poulsen goes on to point out that, as many of the Danish folk songs were very popular on the islands and drew from the same historical material as their Faroese counterparts, they were to a considerable extent able to replace the native ballads (1968: 41). This process was undoubtedly helped by the fact that the Danish versions were often much shorter (West 1972: 43).

It is my contention that the saming process created a situation in which 'domino colonialism' could occur: that is, colonialism that is furthered by existing cultural structures with no effort on the part of the coloniser. Faroese children were required to learn Danish from books for religious matters, but as the following article from *Dimmalætting* in 1894 explains, the Danish language was also disseminated via the locals' own dance:

Men tað er jú heldur ikki bert av sálum og kristiligum skriftum, at føroyingar læra danskt, eisini okkara egni føroyski dansur er viðvirkandi til hetta. Sum kunnigt verða bæði danskar vísur og føroysk kvæði havd á gólvi í dansi; til hesa kvøðing verða mangar danskar vísur lærdar uttanat, mest gamlar kempuvísur, so at kunnleikin til tann eldri danska vísuskaldskapin helst er betri millum manna í Føroyum enn nakra aðrastaðni í ríkinum.¹⁴³

(In Lenvig 1999: 11)

The encroachment of Danish into the Faroese dance ritual was not the result of any direct Danicisation process on the part of the colonisers: this progression of colonialism was expanded by the Faroese themselves, but only because the Danes had created an environment in which that could take place. Neither does the singing of Danish folk

¹⁴³ "But, of course, it is not just through hymns and Christian writings that the Faroese learn Danish, our own Faroese dance has also contributed to this. As we know, both Danish folk songs and Faroese ballads are sung on the dance-floor; for this singing, many Danish folk songs are learned by heart, mostly old heroic ballads, so that knowledge of the old Danish folk songs is probably better here in the Faroes than anywhere else in the Kingdom." Unfortunately, despite several attempts, it proved impossible to obtain the original Danish text.

songs appear to be an example of the Faroese using Danish without understanding it: the article goes on to make the point that the Faroese had just as good an understanding of the text as if it had been a Faroese *táttur* or *kvæði* (ibid.).¹⁴⁴ As was shown in the discussion on synergy in the previous section, the Danish language had become an established part of Faroese everyday life and no boundaries between the two languages had ever been established, so the Faroese would presumably not have seen anything untoward in using Danish in this way. These circumstances would also have rendered it unlikely that they would mourn the replacement of a distinctively Faroese version of a story by a shorter Danish counterpart. J.P. Joensen reports that the Danish broadsheet ballads in particular ‘vóru um at troka tey gomlu kvæðini burtur’ (1987: 189).¹⁴⁵ In all probability, many Faroese would simply have viewed this development as a shift towards modernity.

Of course, from the latter half of the nineteenth century onwards, there was a clear desire (and effort) on the part of the Danish colonisers to use the *Faroese* language to colonise the Faroese further: Grundtvig highlights the following paragraph from §20 of the proposed school law of 1844:

Læreren bør stræbe efter at bringe Børnene til grundig at forstaae og tale det danske Sprog, men dog ved Undervisningen *tillige* benytte det færøiske, *forsaavidt det ansees fornødent til Udvikling af Børnenes Begreber*, og sætte dem istand til, fuldkommen at fatte hvad der foredrages dem.

(Grundtvig 1845: 26; Grundtvig’s emphasis; tr.15)

Faroese could be used in lessons, but only as a tool for improving the Danish skills of the Faroese pupils.

We have evidence of at least one Faroeman acknowledging this desire and attempting to use it to his advantage: when J.C. Schrøter proposed his Faroese-language Bible to the Danish Bible Society in 1815 (see 3.6.1), he suggested that a Faroese Bible would help his fellow countrymen better understand the *Danish* Bible (letter reprinted in Matras 1973: 8-9).

¹⁴⁴ A *táttur* is ‘speiskur skaldskapur, yrktur um folk, sum á ein ella annan hátt høvdu gjørt seg sek móti vanligum atburði og tí vórðu hildin fyri gjøldur’ (“mocking verse, composed about people who, in one way or another, had transgressed against behavioural norms and were consequently derided”; J.P. Joensen 1987: 189).

¹⁴⁵ “were close to pushing out the old ballads altogether.”

3.5.3 Thomas Kingo or Tummas Kingó?

As exemplified in the previous section, the saming phenomenon enabled the Danish language to enter into various spheres of Faroese society virtually unnoticed. This meant that cultural icons within the relevant spheres in Denmark could also become icons in the Faroes: as, for example, Danish was the language of the Church on the islands, respected Danish hymn writers automatically became respected in Faroese churches. The Danish bishop and hymn writer, Thomas Kingo (1634-1703), is a particularly prominent example.

West calls Kingo's 'well-loved' hymns 'part of the spiritual heritage of the Faroese' (1972: 170). Similarly, L. Joensen refers to the 'unique treasure that is Kingosangur' (2005: 250). J.P. Joensen notes that in 1850, all but two churches (out of 36) on the islands used Kingo's hymn book (1987: 182). Matras (1939: 72) remarks that the Faroese have always loved Kingo and that his hymns were not just sung in church and during devotions at home, but also when the Faroese were out fishing and – again – after a pilot-whale killing.¹⁴⁶ He goes so far as to call Kingo (and the Norwegian Petter Dass) the greatest poets of the Faroes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (ibid.).¹⁴⁷ This final comment, that Kingo was effectively considered Faroese, is revealing and is a sentiment echoed by R. Rasmussen's observation on the synergetic nature of the singing of Kingo's hymns in the Faroes: 'hinir gomlu sálmannir úr Kingo ljóðaðu so föroyskir, hóast teir vóru danskir, nú teir vóru sungnir, nótarnir vóru í hvussu er, föroyskir' (1949: 100).¹⁴⁸

Matras' comments on Kingo could lead to an interesting discussion on whether Danish cultural elements were appropriated by the Faroese into Faroese culture or whether the Faroese culture was absorbed into the Danish system. J.H.W. Poulsen has commented on the fact that the Faroese have only ever sung Kingo's hymns in Print-Danish (2003: 383). As previously mentioned, L. Joensen maintains that in the nineteenth century, Print-Danish was a *Faroese* Danish regarded as 'superior to that spoken by Danes' (2000: 73). Likewise, Wylie and Margolin claim that Danish became 'in effect a special kind of Faroese' (1981: 78). These factors suggest that Danish was

¹⁴⁶ Thus it was not only through the Faroese dance that Danish was able to claim a place in that other quintessentially Faroese tradition, the pilot-whale kill.

¹⁴⁷ Matras is, to my knowledge, the only scholar to emphasise the importance of Dass. As Dass wrote in Danish, his Norwegian nationality is of little consequence here.

¹⁴⁸ "the old hymns from [the] Kingo [book] sounded so Faroese, although they were Danish, when they were sung, the notes were, in any case, Faroese."

indeed appropriated into Faroese culture. I would argue, however, that this was not appropriation in its strictest sense: the Faroese did not choose to sing Kingo's hymns in Print-Danish as an act of rebellion or to reinforce their cultural independence. They did this simply because they learned Danish from books rather than from Danes themselves. As the Faroese became accustomed to their own pronunciation of Danish, it is true that this gained an authority and was later used to emphasise a certain difference. Wylie and Margolin themselves, in apparent self-contradiction of the previous quotation, state that the Faroese 'symbolic expressions of group identity were destroyed or absorbed into a different system' (1981: 79). These quotations from Wylie and Margolin emphasise the difficulty in stressing the exact nature of this cultural meeting. However, whether we are ultimately talking about Faroese appropriation or Danish absorption is an issue of ideology and perspective rather than fact: obviously as some Faroese sought to underplay the extent to which the Danish language infiltrated Faroese society during the colonial period, it became attractive to hint at Faroese appropriation. Of central importance here is the fact that the Danish language – in whichever form – gained prestige and became regarded as superior to Faroese. As for Kingo, he was a Danish hymn writer who wrote in Danish and was esteemed in the Danish Church and, consequently, in Faroese churches. Had he been Faroese and used the Faroese language, he would doubtless have been derided and his works overlooked. As Matras himself writes: 'luthersk digting på modersmålet [blev ...] ikke blot overflødig, men ligefrem noget i retning af blasfemi' (1939: 72).¹⁴⁹

3.6 Althusser and the Faroes

We have thus established the unique, presumably subconscious, Danish colonial policy of saming the Faroese, but it remains to be seen what long-term effects this had on Faroese society and what it meant for the Danish and Faroese languages over the following generations. The writings of Althusser, presented in 2.2.2, provide one possible analytical tool. Althusser's theories of ideology explain why there is a common tendency for some colonial subjects to accept the situation into which they were born,

¹⁴⁹ "Lutheran hymn writing in the mother tongue [became ...] not only superfluous, but actually verged on blasphemy."

with their meaning and position in the world, as they understand it, founded upon the ideology of the coloniser.

Althusser's eight ISAs facilitate a helpful break-down of the all-embracing concept of 'society'. These eight domains (the church, education, the family, the law, the political system, the trade unions, communications and culture [Althusser 1971b: 17]) constitute a useful theoretical perspective from which we can create a clearer picture of the extent to which Faroese language ideology was conditioned by that of the Danish colonisers. In many of the areas of society Althusser believes to be directly influenced by the state, or, for our purposes, the Danish colonial power, the Faroese themselves often fought to maintain the status quo: the 'meaning' that had been created for them by the Danes. This is common in former colonies – J.H.W. Poulsen comments on the linguistic implications: 'Sprogimperialismen har vel nok ingen bedre forbundsfælle end selve ofrene. Foragt for eget sprog er en karakteristisk følge af slige forhold' (2004b: 410).¹⁵⁰ No detailed analysis has focused on this phenomenon in the Faroes or on how widespread this ideological inheritance from the coloniser may have been. Althusser's ideas and his dissection of 'society' into eight ISAs/areas helpfully address both these points and the reason why resistance movements designed to bring freedom to the colonised subjects frequently experienced difficulty in gaining popular support.

Althusser's concept of interpellation is also useful. By treating Faroese as a Danish dialect – and later directly labelling it such – the Danes were able to 'call Faroese forth' (see 2.2.2) as a dialect of Danish. Dialect is a difficult term which is used with various meanings. These have been summarised by Chambers and Trudgill as follows:

1. A substandard, low status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with the peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige.
2. Forms of language, particularly those spoken in more isolated parts of the world, which have no written form.
3. Often regarded as some kind of (often erroneous) deviation from a norm.

Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 3)

¹⁵⁰ "Language imperialism surely has no greater ally than the victims themselves. Contempt for one's own language is a typical consequence of such conditions."

The three definitions could be summed up as **rustic dialect**, **uncharted dialect** and **deviant dialect** respectively. It could be argued that Faroese, which was an uncharted dialect (and, therefore, in strict linguistic terms, not a dialect at all)¹⁵¹ became both a deviant dialect and a rustic dialect as a result of the Danish colonial experience. The idea that Faroese became a dialect is advanced by L. Joensen (2005: 246), who maintains that ‘print capitalism’ – the arrival and establishing of Danish as the sole written medium on the islands – ‘turned oral language into dialect’.

Faroese effectively became a deviant dialect as, particularly in the Tórshavn area, it absorbed so many Danish words that Svabo called the speech of the Faroese capital ‘fordervet’ (‘corrupt’, 1782: 265). Regarding its social standing, Faroese became a rustic dialect since it became the low form of language and Danish the high form within a diglossic structure: Faroese was only suited to be spoken at home, with friends and family. It was not good enough to be used in church, for example, which was just one of the domains in which only Danish possessed suitable prestige.

As shown in 2.2.2, Althusser’s ideas and their application to colonial situations have been criticised. This critique is justifiable: a concept that suggests that all ideology is inherited from those who wield power cannot easily account for the power struggles and the resistance movements of the colonised subjects. The thesis has already faced up to this contradiction by discussing both conditioned Faroese subjects and Faroese resistance movements, yet I would like to suggest that before *das Bestehende* (Althusser’s German term for ‘the status quo’) was broken in 1844 with the discussion of the planned introduction of Danish-medium schools, there was very little resistance in the Faroes. The events of 1844 changed the status quo. This is the first time that anyone actively sought to *replace* Faroese in a linguistic domain with Danish – the other areas that were dominated by Danish, such as the Church, writing, reading, etc., had never really been Faroese before. Education, although it focused on learning Danish for religious purposes, had employed the vernacular. It is only really when this ousting of Faroese is suggested that we hear any protest: at first from individuals such as Grundtvig and Hammershaimb, and subsequently from a growing number of voices, culminating in the famous *Jólafundur* (‘Christmas Meeting’) of 1888 and the additional meeting a few weeks later (both in Tórshavn). At these meetings, which were organised

¹⁵¹ As Crystal warns, ‘[t]he popular application of the term [dialect] to the unwritten languages of developing countries (cf. “there are many dialects in Africa”, and the like) is not a usage recommended in linguistics’ (2008: 144).

by leading cultural figures on the islands and which called for all who wanted to protect Faroese culture and language to come together, resistance finally became organised under the banner of the *Føringafelag* ('Faroese Society').

Before considering Althusser's various ISA areas, it is important to offer a caveat: the Althusserian analytical perspective is not to suggest that those who favoured continued use of Danish in some domains of Faroese society were in any way indoctrinated or brainwashed by the ideology of the coloniser – in many cases, their arguments were based on an awareness that a small linguistic community needs to make use of an additional language. However, this approach does enable us to ponder why many Faroese were very slow to take up the struggle for their native language and why some ideas about the pre-determined subordinate position of Faroese compared to Danish were able to permeate the linguistic debate for so long.

In the following analysis of the Faroes, not all of Althusser's eight ISA areas are relevant. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, as some Faroese sought a more active role in their society and began to focus on the position of the Faroese language (and, subsequently, the Danish language) in public life, some of the ISA areas had not yet developed or were still not under Faroese control: therefore the Faroese were not in a position to alter the linguistic convention in these areas. The trade union ISA was not relevant at the time in question and the political and legal ISAs were under Danish jurisdiction. The developments within the cultural ISA do not fit in with an Althusserian analysis as the Danish colonisers left the Faroese dance relatively untouched. Danish did, of course, enter this domain too, but these developments were covered in the discussion on 'domino colonialism' (3.5.2).

3.6.1 Danish and the Church

By far the most significant of the ISAs for the God-fearing Faroese was the Church. As we have seen, whereas Bibles became available in the native language in much of Scandinavia during the sixteenth century, it was the Danish Bible of 1550 that replaced the Latin Bible in the Faroes. For the next four centuries, Danish was the church language on the islands. It was not until 1961 that an official Faroese translation of the full Bible appeared.¹⁵²

¹⁵² In 1937 two Faroese New Testament translations appeared: one by Victor Danielsen of the Plymouth Brethren, translated from various European languages, and one, three weeks later, by Jákup Dahl, an

In 1815 J.H. Schrøter (1771-1851), a priest from Tórshavn, wrote to the Danish Bible Society and asked whether he could translate the Bible into Faroese. Schrøter, who was at that time based on the southernmost Faroese island, Suðuroy, felt that although Faroese was ‘kun en Dialekt’ (“only a dialect”) a local translation would be useful for children who had not yet mastered Danish and older Faroese people, who could receive comfort from readily understood words on their sickbeds (letter reprinted in Matras 1973: 8-9). The Bible Society agreed to support a translation of Matthew’s Gospel, which was published in 1823 and sent to every household on the islands.

The response of the Faroese to this vernacular translation is well documented: they were not impressed. J.H.W. Poulsen (2004c) gives the example of a Danish priest based on the northern islands who wrote that when he read some of this new translation to his parishioners, they asked him to stop and told him ‘Vort Maal kan være godt nok i daglig Tale, men om de aandelige Ting høre vi helst paa Dansk, for hvis Udtryk i Religionssager, vi har baaret Ærbødighed fra vi vare Smaae’ (p.422).¹⁵³

Hammershaimb wrote in his 1844 letter to *Kjøbenhavnsposten* (see 3.4) – and many after him expressed the same views – that it was more the style and vocabulary of Schrøter’s translation that troubled the Faroese than the actual idea of using Faroese in church, and he described Schrøter’s translation as ‘smagløs’ (“tasteless”, see Grundtvig 1978: 85). Hammershaimb does, however, acknowledge that the fact that Danish had been used in Faroese churches for the previous 300 years must have played a part in the poor reception that Schrøter’s translation received. Schrøter’s text also entered the wider discussion: Hunderup used it as an example to support his argument that Faroese should not be used as a school language at the Roskilde meeting in 1844 (see 3.4). There is certainly truth in Hammershaimb’s assertion that Schrøter had made poor choices in his translation – the letter from the Danish priest mentioned in the previous paragraph noted that his parishioners took issue with certain words – but Hammershaimb’s later experience would suggest that the idea of replacing Danish *at all* was the real point of contention. In 1855, in the village of Kvívík on Streymoy, Hammershaimb, now a priest, read from the Scriptures in Faroese during his New Year’s Eve sermon. This action, according to a letter from a Danish priest on the islands, Th. Sørensen, ‘vakte

authorised version translated from Greek (Zachariassen 2000). Danielsen’s complete Bible was published in 1949.

¹⁵³ “Our language may be all right in daily conversation, but we prefer to hear about spiritual matters in Danish, whose use in religious affairs we have revered since we were small.”

[...] en saadan forfærdelse og forargelse, at han [Hammershaimb], uagtet han først forlod øerne 23 aar senere, i 1878, *aldrig* vovede at gentage forsøget' (Matras 1934: 65).¹⁵⁴

Here we have a clear example of a structure that was established by the Danish colonisers – they were the ones who ignored the Faroese language and introduced the Danish Bible – but then continued by Faroese speakers who favoured *das Bestehende*. The majority of the Faroese were able to find meaning in the structure that had been provided for them. It could, of course, be argued that at the time of the Reformation there were neither the resources nor the expertise to translate the Bible into a language with so few speakers, but I would suggest that the close relationship between Danish and Faroese also had its part to play, be it ideological or practical. In Greenland, for example, which was colonised later and where the locals spoke an Eskimo-Aleutic language wholly unrelated to Danish, the missionaries began to translate passages of the Bible into Greenlandic as early as in the first half of the seventeenth century (Gad 1970: 241). According to Marquardt (2002: 48), the native Greenlandic population at that time would have numbered just under 8,000, and was, of course, spread out over vast distances. The real difference is that the Greenlandic language could not be ignored, whereas Faroese could.

In literature on the Faroese language situation, much is made of the fact that the Faroese never spoke Danish amongst themselves. J.H.W. Poulsen, for example, notes that Danish never replaced Faroese (as a spoken language) other than in 'narrow, half-Danish circles in the capital, Tórshavn' (1980: 145). While it is true that Danish never became a standard spoken medium of communication between the Faroese, there are certain scenarios – mostly within the Church ISA – where Danish was used between them. These occurrences are often overlooked and their significance underplayed. For the communicative purposes, Danish spoken between Faroe Islanders is unnecessary. In those situations where the Danish language did function in this way, this was due to convention and a desire to maintain the social structure that had been created.

As J.P. Joensen points out, most churches in the Faroes often had to hold services without a priest: in the nineteenth century there were 36 parishes ('sóknir') in the Faroes and only 7 parochial districts ('prestagjöld'), so the priests each had several churches to oversee (1987: 182). As the priest H.J.J. Sørensen said in 1862, '[p]resturin

¹⁵⁴ "provoked such shock and anger that, although he [Hammershaimb] did not leave the islands until 23 years later in 1878, he *never* dared repeat the experiment."

fær vanliga bert vitjað eina av kirkjum sínum sunnu- og halgidagar. Í hinum kirkjunum verður lestur lisin. Deknurin syngur fyri og lesur lestur úr eini lestrabók, sum hvør kirkja hevur fleiri av' (cf. J.P. Joensen 1987: 182-3).¹⁵⁵ Whereas most priests on the islands were Danish, the parish clerk, or *deknurin*, was always Faroese (Hagström 1986: 18). Of course the readings themselves were in Danish, so even in isolated communities far from Tórshavn, albeit in limited circumstances, Danish functioned as a medium of communication between Faroese people when no Danes were present.

A striking account of this – particularly in view of how recent it is – comes from P.M. Rasmussen. He observes that the prestige of Danish within religious matters has been so fixed in Faroese consciousness, 'at eg sum prestur fleiri ferðir eri tiltalaður á donskum, bert tí at eg var prestur, og eg eri eisini spurdur, um eg ikki vildi halda eina danska prædiku' (1997: 101).¹⁵⁶ This scenario, however rare, does emphasise how some Faroese have sought to accord Danish its 'rightful' place.

3.6.2 Danish and the Family

Danish was very rarely used in family life: the *roykstova*, or living room (although it served as much more than a simple living room), was often portrayed as the most Faroese of places. In his criticism of Schrøter's Bible translation, Hammershaimb commented that the Danish 'er her fortrængt af en plat smagløs Oversættelse, som undertiden maa neddrage dem til den laveste Sfære i deres Røgstuer' (1844: 85).¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, there are examples, albeit few, of Danish being brought into this domain.

R. Rasmussen gives a detailed account of how parents would test their children on their biblical knowledge:

Harumframt vóru triggir spurningar, sum javnliga vórðu settir fram fyri børn bæði av foreldrum og øðrum, so brátt tey dugdu at tosa skilliga, teir vóru hesir: „Hvør hevur skapt teg?“ Svarið skuldi so verða: „Gud Fader!“ – „Hvør hevur genloyst teg?“ Svarið skuldi so verða: „Gudssön“ – „Hvør hevur heiliggjørt teg?“ Svarið skuldi so

¹⁵⁵ "The priest is usually only able to visit one of his churches on Sundays and holy days. In the remaining churches, readings are used. The parish clerk leads the singing and performs the readings from a book, of which every church has several."

¹⁵⁶ "that I, as a priest, have been addressed several times in Danish, just because I was a priest, and I have also been asked whether I wouldn't preach a Danish sermon."

¹⁵⁷ "is here displaced by a crude and tasteless translation, which must sometimes pull them down to the lowest sphere of their living room."

verða: „Gud den Helligaand!“ Merkiligt er, at spurningarnar vóru á føroyskum, men at svørini skuldu vera á donskum, men so var.¹⁵⁸

(R. Rasmussen 1949: 146)

That the children respond in Danish is not surprising in itself – we have already witnessed the outrage that met the first attempts to translate the Bible into Faroese: Danish remained the language of religious matters. The ritualising of these Danish responses ensured a continued presence of the Danish language within the domestic sphere. The bilingual nature of the dialogue also guaranteed that the blurred distinction between Danish and Faroese – and the ‘inbuilt’ power imbalance – would be inherited by the next generation. Faroese parents simply did not question the position of Danish here: as Rasmussen later adds, ‘eingin hugsaði um tilíkt tá’ (ibid.).¹⁵⁹ There is evidence to suggest that Faroese children did not necessarily understand the Danish words they spoke – H.P. Petersen (2010: 39) cites a letter in *Dimmalætting* in 1889 which reported that children in the villages would simply learn Danish sentences by heart and be prepared to regurgitate them for the visiting priest. In this context, however, I would argue that the children’s understanding of the language was of little consequence: Danish made inroads into the family domain whether it was understood or not. Furthermore, due to the close relationship between Danish and Faroese, it is unlikely that Faroese children would not have understood the Danish sentences given by Rasmussen above.

Rasmussen’s example is plainly related to the position of Danish as the Church language (and the Church ISA). The strength of the Althusserian approach is that a clearer picture is created of exactly what ‘Danish as the Church language’ entailed. Under the guise of its position as the only acceptable medium for religious matters, Danish was also able to extend its reach beyond the church building. The superior position of Danish within religious matters – a situation created by the Danish colonisers – was accepted and perpetuated by the Faroese and thus the language entered the family sphere. As J.P. Joensen explains, those who were unable to go to church

¹⁵⁸ “Furthermore, there were three questions that were regularly posed to children by both parents and others, as soon as they were able to speak clearly. They were these: [in Faroese] ‘Who created you?’ The answer was meant to be [in Danish] ‘God the Father!’; [in Faroese] ‘Who has redeemed you?’ The answer was meant to be [in Danish] ‘God’s Son!’; [in Faroese] ‘Who has sanctified you?’ The answer was meant to be [in Danish] ‘God, the Holy Spirit!’ It is strange that the questions were in Faroese, but that the answers were supposed to be in Danish, but that’s how it was.”

¹⁵⁹ “Nobody thought about that kind of thing then.”

would use Danish readings at home: children had to sit quietly and listen, as did any visitors to the house during the devotional period (1987: 184).

Danish also entered the *roykstova* through the new Danish folk songs and ballads that became popular on the islands (as outlined in 3.5.2), although only to a very limited extent. P.M. Rasmussen observes that ‘kvøðingin, songurin, frásøgnin hava livað toluliga órørd saman við arbeiðinum í roykstovuni við einum nýggjum tilskoti av donskum vísum’, so the traditional Faroese forms were never threatened in the family domain (1997: 32).¹⁶⁰

3.6.3 Danish and Education

Examples from most of the ISA areas of the Faroese maintaining the status quo, or the situation they were born into, are limited due to the minimal part the Faroese played in managing their own affairs during the period in question. Nevertheless, although the Faroese did not take full responsibility for their schools until 1979, there is a good example from the Education ISA in the early twentieth century. According to Thomassen (1985: 27), the demand for Faroese in education did not come from the general population: some were vehemently opposed to its introduction, such as Oluf Skaalum, the editor of *Dimmalætting*, who commented in 1906, ‘det viser sig jo ogsaa, at vi i det praktiske Liv ikke faar den ringeste Gavn af vort Færøsk, dertil er vort Samfund for lille’ (‘it is also clear that we do not gain the slightest benefit from our Faroese language in everyday affairs: our society is too small for that’; *ibid.* p.32). Nonetheless, Faroese became a subject at the teacher-training college in Tórshavn in 1907, and subsequently at the folk high school in 1912.

Despite cementing the Faroese language’s position within the school system, the School Act of 1912 ultimately confirmed Danish as the primary medium of education. Yet, as J.H.W. Poulsen points out, the most controversial paragraph in the school law was not directly imposed on the Faroese by the Danes: ‘[d]et skal understreges, at den omstridte famøse § 7 i skoleloven af 1912 var indsat efter initiativ fra et flertal i det færøske lagting og var ikke direkte noget dansk diktat’ (2004b: 411).¹⁶¹ Paragraph 7, often discussed, yet rarely cited, reads as follows:

¹⁶⁰ “the singing of ballads, the songs [and] the storytelling existed relatively untouched as part of the work in the living room, with a new input of Danish folk songs.”

¹⁶¹ “it must be stressed that the disputed [and] notorious §7 of the School Act of 1912 was inserted on the initiative of a majority in the Faroese *Løgting* and was not something dictated by the Danes.”

I enhver Skole skal der undervises i følgende Fag: Religion, Dansk, Færøsk, Skønskrivning, Dansk Retskrivning, Regning, Historie, Geografi og Sang. – Desuden skal der efter nærmere Bestemmelse i Undervisningsplanen kunne gives Undervisning i færøsk Retskrivning, Gymnastik, Svømning, Haandgerning, Tegning, Naturkundskab, Sundhedslære og Samfundslære. Der bør ved Undervisningen lægges Vægt paa, at Børnene, foruden at tilegne sig Lærestoffet, lære at forstaa og tale det danske Sprog, saa at de mundtlig kunne gøre Rede for det i hvert af Skolefagene lærte saavel paa Dansk som paa Færøsk. – Tilegnelsen af Stoffet kan og bør, særlig for de yngre Børns Vedkommende lettes ved Benyttelse af Børnenes sædvanlige Talesprog, Færøsk, medens det, for at den fornødne Færdighed i Brugen af det danske Sprog kan opnaas, er nødvendigt, at Undervisningen i de enkelte Fag, navnlig overfor de ældre Børn, hovedsagelig foregaar paa Dansk.

(*Hitt föroyska Studentafelagið* 1937: 9-10; tr.16)

Various changes were made to the Act in the following years: in 1920, for example, Faroese spelling became compulsory (J.H.W. Poulsen 1981: 120).

Thomassen (1985: 54) stresses (yet perhaps overplays) the ironic nature of the ruling: ‘Sambandspartiet skabte hermed en enestående historisk situation: et lille folk (koloni om man vil) laver en lav, der gør det til en forbrydelse at benytte folkets eget modersmål i fuld udstrækning i skolen’ (“With this, the Union Party created a unique historical situation: a small people [colony if you will] creates a law that makes it a crime to use their own mother tongue to its full extent in school”). However, the Act does not prohibit the use of Faroese entirely: indeed, it says that Faroese *should* be used (thereby implying that there were a number of Faroese teaching staff, at least for the younger children). However, it places Faroese in a firmly subordinate role – as we saw with Schrøter’s Bible translation, a scenario is advocated wherein Faroese primarily functions as an auxiliary language: a tool of Danicisation. Of course, there would have been pragmatic reasons for cementing the older pupils’ knowledge of Danish, but it is clear that still little pride is taken in Faroese some 24 years after the Christmas Meeting.

It should be noted that the Faroese were quick to change their minds about the famous seventh paragraph of the 1912 schools Act: by the time it was annulled in 1938, the Faroese Løgting had witnessed majority votes against it ten times (Holm 1992: 37). It is also important to remember that many Faroese teachers and much of the Faroese population were against paragraph seven, as the newspaper debate which followed its introduction demonstrated (*Hitt föroyska Studentafelagið* 1937: 10). In 1937 the Faroese Student Society (*Hitt föroyska Studentafelagið*) produced a booklet, *Til landsmenn* (‘To

Our Compatriots’), which called for the paragraph to be abolished.¹⁶² Even the Danish government attempted to redress the balance between the two languages: in 1925, Nina Bang, the Danish Minister for Education, sent a proposal to the Faroese *Løgting*, which would have made Faroese the main medium of education other than in Danish lessons, Danish history classes and geography, but the proposal was rejected (P.M. Rasmussen 1997: 183). In 1930, Bang’s successor, Fr. Borbjerg, made a speech in the Danish Parliament in which he suggested that the Danes should have understanding for the Faroese struggle for their mother tongue. Ultimately little could be achieved as the Faroese *Løgting* was unable to agree (ibid.).

3.6.4 Danish and Communication

In 3.6.2 it was shown that Danish was used as a spoken medium between the Faroese, although this was very rare. In the written sphere, however, Danish was their sole medium of communication well into the middle of the twentieth century – and for some Faroese even later. That this was a fully accepted practice is clear from the words of the famous nationalist poet and leader, Jóannes Patursson (1866-1946), at a meeting in 1905: ‘Um eg á hesum fundi stóð og tosaði danskt, so vildu øll her hildið tað verið ónatúrliga undarligt. Men setti eg míni orð upp á prent á donskum máli, so fanst eingin at tí. Og tó eg hetta líka so ónatúrligt sum hitt’ (in Lenvig 1996: 19).¹⁶³ One of the best-known letter exchanges in Faroese cultural history, between the Faroese merchant, Enok D. Bærentsen and his son, Christian Bærentsen, between 1879 and 1897 was entirely in Danish.¹⁶⁴ As mentioned in 1.6, J.H.W. Poulsen observed in 1993 that ‘[u]ntil only a few decades ago it would have been unthinkable to write even a love letter in anything but Danish’ (1993: 111). As late as in 1997 he noted that the writing of personal letters in Danish might not yet be fully confined to history (1997: 305).

In the public sphere, when the first Faroese newspaper was created in January 1878 (after a test issue in 1877), it bore the Danish name *Amtstidende for Færøerne* (‘County News for the Faroes’), with the Faroese subtitle, *Dimmalætting* (‘Daybreak’), a label created by Hammershaimb. As West remarks, despite the Faroese subtitle, the

¹⁶² This was delivered to every Faroese household (Thomassen 1985: 99).

¹⁶³ “If I were to stand at this meeting and speak Danish, everyone here would think it unnatural and strange. But if I were to put my words in print in the Danish language, no-one would complain about it, and yet, the one is just as unnatural as the other.”

¹⁶⁴ In O. Jacobsen (1968).

newspaper was written almost exclusively in Danish (1972: 116). Consequently, many of the language debates between the Faroese that were held in the print media and which characterised the early twentieth century were fought (at least on one side) through the Danish language. Even the rival to *Dimmalætting*, *Tingakrossur*, which appeared in 1901 and sought to appeal to nationally-minded Faroese readers, was almost exclusively in Danish (Thomassen 1985: 18).

Here in this ISA, then, we have examples of the Danish perception of the Faroes and their language being perpetuated by the Faroese themselves. However, although in the early days of the Faroese national movement, the Faroese communicated between themselves in Danish, as the years passed, it became increasingly common to see written Faroese in some areas of society. The first Faroese-language newspaper, *Føringatíðindi*, appeared as early as 1890. On the significance of this new paper, West states that it ‘can without exaggeration be said to have taught the Faroese nation to read and write its own language’ (1972: 116-17). Nevertheless, as noted, a century after *Føringatíðindi* commenced publication, Poulsen claimed that some Faroese were still writing to each other in Danish (1993: 111). While many factors doubtless contributed to the reluctance among some islanders to communicate in written Faroese – purism indubitably played a role, as did the complexities of its orthography and the fact that written Faroese did not become a compulsory school subject until 1920 – there was a very real sense in some Faroese quarters that writing in the vernacular was improper.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to examine the unique set of circumstances that were created by the fact that the two parties in the Faroese-Danish colonial relationship had a common linguistic heritage. The fact that the ‘other’ was not really ‘other’ meant that the Faroese language could be ignored and (at first) subconsciously incorporated into the language of the coloniser, rather than be simply replaced by it. Whatever ideas the Faroese previously had of their own place in the world were discarded. The concept of saming is useful here as there is no ‘them’ and ‘us’ – a binary dichotomy that has traditionally been fundamental to a post-colonial analysis. As the chapter has established, this saming phenomenon facilitated the emergence of synergetic linguistic products within Faroese society, as well as a process of ‘domino colonialism’, through which the Danish language could be further disseminated via existing Faroese cultural structures, with the

Faroese chain dance constituting the prime example. The chapter has also established the value of studying the reception of the earliest texts on language in the Faroes from the perspective of metropolitan Denmark: these did little to construct a separate Faroese linguistic identity in the minds of the metropolitan readership.

Althusser's ideas on ideology can be applied to the Faroes and his ideas of a people conditioned by the ideology of the coloniser can be supported by examples from the Faroese situation. Previous criticism of Althusser has focused on his lack of provision for opposition movements – and, of course, an opposition movement did eventually emerge on the islands, and the struggle for increased use of Faroese was long. However, the chapter has suggested that while *das Bestehende* was in place, very little protest can be discerned. Even Hammershaimb's defence of the principle of Bible translation into Faroese does not appear until 1844. The Islands' Assembly meeting can be seen to have broken *das Bestehende*: the Danish language was being too strongly promoted for some islanders, of whom a prominent example is Hammershaimb. Once he, supported by Grundtvig, had attacked Danish policy towards the Faroese language, a precedent was set for other dissenting voices, culminating in the *Jólafundur* of 1888 and the start of the Faroese national movement. Nevertheless despite the emergence of this movement, existing ideas on the superior status of the Danish language, while inherited from the colonisers, often continued to be perpetuated by the Faroese themselves. A politically-charged Althusserian analysis of social institutions/ISAs, rather than a more neutral domain analysis in the style of Fishman (see 2.5), facilitates an understanding of the perpetuation of the ideology behind language choices, and does not simply list the domains in which given languages operate. While a Fishmanian analysis provides interesting insights, Althusser's ISAs work very well within a post-colonial context.

The chapter has sought to determine the validity of post-colonial theories when considering the position of a former colonial language in society, rather than in literature and their validity when analysing a colonial society as atypical as the Faroes. As the chapter has demonstrated, post-colonial theories, despite their origin in literary studies, can undoubtedly be used within the framework of the sociology of language. Some ideas and concepts can be applied to the Faroes as they stand, such as hybridity/synergy and Althusser's ideas on ideology and interpellation; others such as Spivak's othering, need to be adapted or inverted for use in a colony as unconventional as the Faroes, but once this has been done, the resulting analysis can yield fascinating insights.

4. EMPIRICAL DATA

Teorier er videnskabelige værktøjer, som er ekstraheret fra en bred viden om en vis genstand. Hvis de studerende lærer dem, uden at de kender til genstanden – om det er musikalsk repertoire, kunstværker eller litterære tekster – bliver teorierne varm luft.

(Linda Maria Koldau, 2011)¹⁶⁵

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents most of the empirical data for the thesis. The quotation from Koldau emphasises the importance of connecting theory with fact. Post-colonial study has received particular criticism in this regard: Chapter 2 highlighted the concerns of McLeod (2000: 29) and Ashcroft (2001: 10), for example, that post-colonial theorising can be so impenetrable and abstract that it becomes detrimental to an effective literary or historical analysis. In an effort to connect the thesis with concrete facts about Danish in the Faroes, large-scale field research was undertaken.¹⁶⁶ This consisted of three questionnaire surveys carried out between April 2009 and November 2010: a postal questionnaire to 500 addresses in Tórshavn; a Faroes school survey of three *studentaskúlar* (in Tórshavn [Hoydalar], Kambsdalur and Hov) and the *handilsskúli* (“the Business School”) in Tórshavn; and a Greenlandic school survey, undertaken at the *gymnasium* in Nuuk, Greenland.¹⁶⁷ The results from Greenland are presented in Chapter 6.

The primary aims of the surveys were:

¹⁶⁵ “Theories are scientific tools, which are extracted from broad knowledge of a given object. If students learn them without knowing the object – be it a musical repertoire, works of art or literary texts – the theories become hot air.” *Politiken* (dated 12/06/11). (<http://politiken.dk/debat/ECE1306556/professor-dansk-humaniora-er-en-skandale/>, last accessed 13/06/11).

¹⁶⁶ 938 people participated in the Faroese field research and 267 in Greenland. The Faroese total represents some 1.93% of the entire Faroese population (based on a population of 48,702 on 01/01/09; www.hagstova.fo, last accessed 18/04/11).

¹⁶⁷ I had intended to complete the field-work within one year. In the Faroes this was achieved: the survey in Hoydalar and Kambsdalur took place in April/May 2009, the postal survey in May/June 2009 and the remaining schools were surveyed in April 2010. The eruption of the Icelandic Eyjafjallajökull volcano in April 2010 meant that the Greenlandic field-work was postponed until November 2010.

- a) to gauge opinion on the linguistic climate in the Faroes/Greenland and, more specifically, to elicit attitudes towards the Danish language. Of central importance is a consideration of the way in which Danish, which came to the territories as the coloniser's language, is contextualised within contemporary Faroese/Greenlandic society;
- b) to gather information on how Danish is used in practice within the societies: how comfortable the Faroese/Greenlanders are in using Danish and how this compares with their use of Faroese/Greenlandic;
- c) to give respondents the opportunity to offer comments as part of an 'open response' section. This could reveal new areas for research within the framework of the thesis which other studies may have neglected;
- d) to determine whether empirical data from the Faroes and Greenland supports the post-colonial perspective of the thesis.

4.2 Field-Work Development

4.2.1 Previous Field-Work in the Faroes

In an article from 2001, Akselberg analysed the history of sociolinguistic study in the Faroes. While the present study is not strictly sociolinguistic in nature – the focus is on the contextualisation of the colonial language within the post-colonial society rather than the traditional sociolinguistic consideration of 'who speaks what language to whom and when?'¹⁶⁸ – previous field-work within sociolinguistics has informed much of my field-work. Akselberg identified three works examining the spoken language in the Faroes from a sociolinguistic perspective: Søndergaard (1987), Holm (1992) and Selås (1996). To this list I add J.í.L. Jacobsen (2008) and Knudsen (2010). Of the works that Akselberg identified, he felt that only Selås' study could be characterised 'som tradisjonell sosiolingvistikk' ("as traditional sociolinguistics") as it analysed the correlation between language variation in Faroese and social factors (2001: 157-8). Nevertheless, Selås' focus on stress in the dialect of Tórshavn renders her work irrelevant to the thesis. J.í.L. Jacobsen's Ph.D. thesis (2008) is an excellent example of Faroese sociolinguistic research: he focuses on English loanwords in Faroese and correlates his results with social variables, such as lifestyle, knowledge of English and

¹⁶⁸ As articulated by Fishman (1965).

level of education. Despite its focus on English and the fact that it was completed well into the research period of the present study, Jacobsen's thesis is too significant to Faroese sociolinguistics to ignore. Consequently, although his work has only informed the thesis to a limited extent, parallels in results and methodology are highlighted. Knudsen's 2010 article on language use and linguistic nationalism in the Faroes challenges contemporary Faroese language policy and feels it to be inappropriate for such a small linguistic community. Although her work is fairly extensive – together with five fieldworkers she surveyed 615 12-13 years in 40 schools across the country – the article appeared after the field-work for the present study had been undertaken and was therefore unable to influence my methodology.

Undoubtedly the best known and most frequently cited surveys concerning the position of Danish in the Faroes are the other two mentioned by Akselberg: Søndergaard's *Unge uddannelsessøgende færingers holdninger til dansk og færøsk* ('Attitudes towards Danish and Faroese among Young Faroese Students in Further Education'; 1987) and Holm's 'Language Values of Students in Upper Secondary Education in the Faroes' (1992). These works provide much of the foundation upon which the present questionnaire surveys are based. Other, less comprehensive, investigations have been undertaken, such as Voss' (1982) and B.H. Jacobsen's (1984) dissertations, but these have contributed little to the thesis.¹⁶⁹ Brief outlines of Søndergaard's and Holm's investigations follow, including any conclusions or methodological suggestions that may bear relevance to the present study. Although it is perhaps unusual within sociolinguistic field-work to place such emphasis on previous research, these two projects have informed much of the linguistic debate on and analysis of Danish in the Faroes for over twenty years. While differences in research methods make direct data comparison between these works and the thesis difficult, a brief look at the conclusions should reveal whether any changes in the position of Danish on the islands have taken place. The concept of 'change' is, in fact, central to post-colonial study: McLeod notes that post-colonialism 'asserts the promise, the possibility, and the continuing necessity of change' (2000: 33). From a Faroese perspective, L. Joensen observes that the Dano-Faroese moment was 'just that: a moment, not sustainable' (2000: 66; cf. 2.4.1).

¹⁶⁹ Jacobsen's focus differs from that of the other works mentioned: she looks at bilingualism arising from a child's domestic background (i.e. in children with one/two Danish parent[s]), rather than as a direct consequence of the Faroese language climate.

Søndergaard's work was chiefly concerned with the pedagogical aspects of the Danish-Faroese language situation: he wanted to reveal the attitudes of young Faroese towards Danish, but also towards Faroese itself, by means of an attitude test. His aim was to determine the relationship between attitudes towards Danish and the motivation for learning it.¹⁷⁰ Søndergaard's sole research method was a questionnaire survey among 696 pupils at six Faroese colleges. All but one of the schools were located in Tórshavn, but as he could see no distinction between the college in Gøta and those in the capital, he took his findings to be representative of the Faroes in general (1987: 8). A limitation, however, is that no investigation was carried out on the southernmost island, Suðuroy, where the local vocabulary is noticeably closer to Danish (cf. 5.4.1). It is, therefore, not inconceivable that the situation there could have deviated from any identified norms. This is one weakness that the present study addresses.

Søndergaard concludes that the Faroese appear to have recognised Danish as a language that can be useful in certain circumstances: it is neither loved nor hated. Nor is Danish perceived to be a threat to Faroese anymore. In another article from 1988 Søndergaard reflects on the "pragmatic attitude" of the Faroese towards Danish thus: 'denne pragmatiske holdning til dansk beror imidlertid ikke på nogen emotional binding til dette sprog og den dermed forbundne kultur, thi de unge menneskers identitet er absolut færøsk' (p.32).¹⁷¹

Holm's more comprehensive study (albeit with fewer respondents) aimed:

- (1) To provide a socio-historical analysis of the background to the present language policy situation in the Faroes with specific reference to upper-secondary education (6th form college).
- (2) To investigate the language attitudes and values of young people enrolled in this level of education.

(Holm 1992: 1)

She undertook a language attitude survey of 289 pupils at four colleges, covering a wider geographical area than Søndergaard's investigation (Tórshavn, Gøta, Klaksvík

¹⁷⁰ 'Det er målet med denne undersøgelse, ved hjælp af en såkaldt attitudetest, at forsøge at blottlægge unge færingers holdninger primært til dansk, sekundært til færøsk, da der [...] undertiden vil være en sammenhæng herimellem. Det er imidlertid ikke det endegyldige mål blot at kalde disse attituder frem, men – om muligt – at klarlægge sammenhængen mellem holdningerne til sproget og motivationen for at indlære dette, thi denne sammenhæng er af basal vigtighed' (Søndergaard 1987: 5; tr.17).

¹⁷¹ "This pragmatic attitude towards Danish does not however depend on an emotional connection to the language and its associated culture, for the identity of the young people is absolutely Faroese."

and Suðuroy), but fewer institutions (1992: 56). Quoting useful examples of previous language attitude research not connected to the Faroes, Holm emphasises the value in supplementing questionnaire-based research with other types (cf. 2.5). She chooses interviews with two groups of students, classroom observation and in-depth interviews with people with key roles in the promotion of Faroese in education (1992: 55).

Like Søndergaard, Holm identifies a practical attitude ('an instrumental view'; p.74) towards Danish among Faroese college pupils. She finds that the students 'acknowledged the practical requirement that they should be able to read, write and have communicative competence in Danish' (ibid.).

Of particular interest to the thesis is Holm's conclusion that part of the difficulty in the Faroese education system at that time was the 'persistence of a colonized mentality among certain sections of the population and people involved in the education system' (p.110). Holm's observation that the colonial past continues to influence language decisions within the education system and Faroese society in general supports the premise of this thesis: an analysis of the Faroese language climate must consider the colonial past.

4.2.2 Questionnaire Design for the Present Study

The questionnaires were constructed over a number of months in consultation with lecturers at UCL and the University of the Faroes. The final versions were proof-read by a lecturer from the latter and by another Faroese reader who does not work in academia. Regarding literature on best survey practice, Bryman (2004) and Mangione (1995) were particularly useful.

Four broad areas of investigation were established for the postal questionnaire: background, Danish skills, Danish at school and Danish in society. While the first three dealt primarily with facts, the final area sought to elicit attitudes towards Danish in Faroese society and Danish influence on Faroese vocabulary. For the schools, a fifth area, Danish and the new media, was added. This aimed to establish the function Danish serves, if any, on Facebook, the social networking website. The present study is, to my knowledge, the only academic work to consider the islanders' language choices in relation to this new mode of social interaction.

As regards the questions themselves, the issue of whether to include the open variety is problematic in qualitative research design. Such questions, in which the respondent is not given a list of possible options but an opportunity to write a personal

response, can dissuade potential respondents due to the time and thought demanded. Their value lies in their ability to suggest possible new areas of research. Closed questions, on the other hand, include a list of possible options and the respondent is asked to put a cross by the most relevant response. The obligatory nature of the school survey – questionnaires were distributed in class and teachers waited for the pupils to complete them – offered a good opportunity to include a low number of open questions, whereas none was used in the postal survey.¹⁷² Nevertheless, for reasons of ease of comparison between responses, and speed, the vast majority of questions were closed. This mixture of methods – Woolard’s ‘methodological eclecticism’ (cf. 2.5) – is a strength rather than a weakness: as a student of Bryman’s expresses it, ‘by using both open and closed questions it was possible to gain the necessary statistics as well as opinions and experiences unique to each student’ (2004: 237).

Closed questions present their own difficulties: by their nature they polarise respondents’ opinions. This has to be taken into consideration when analysing the results. On several occasions respondents were given the opportunity to put a cross against an ‘Other’ option, allowing them to provide an answer that might not have been foreseen. The inclusion or omission of a ‘don’t know’ option in closed questions is another difficult issue. As Bryman explains (2004: 244) ‘the chief reason for including the “don’t know” option is that *not* to include one risks forcing people to express views that they do not really hold’. However, it was felt that the inclusion of such an option might encourage respondents not to think. Bryman mentions a series of American experiments that suggested that many respondents who opt for this response ‘do in fact hold an opinion’ (ibid.). I therefore decided to avoid a ‘don’t know’ option and this must be remembered when analysing the results.

One particularly relevant issue in the Faroes is which words to use when popular and recommended usage (by institutions and dictionaries, etc.) differ. On this issue, it was decided to steer a middle course: sometimes popular words were used (such as *danskari*, “Dane”, rather than *dani*), so that the questionnaire would not appear stilted to young respondents, and sometimes recommended terms were employed so that teachers at the institutions involved – upon whom I relied for the questionnaires to be distributed – would not be discouraged by a perceived overuse of Danicisms (see 1.2.2).

¹⁷² Respondents to the postal survey did have an opportunity to add comments at the end of the questionnaire.

All questionnaires were to be completed anonymously.¹⁷³

Whereas Jacobsen's 2008 thesis was largely constructed around his quantitative research (see 4.2.1), the questionnaire survey for the present study, while important in terms of its contribution to original research, is only one of several elements in the thesis. This factor, in addition to the fact that the survey had to be undertaken within a limited time span and that it only became clear at an advanced stage in the fieldwork that such large-scale quantitative research would be possible, meant that an investigative system as advanced as Jacobsen's would have proved difficult to implement. Jacobsen's thesis contains detailed probability analysis with each presentation of results. The difficulty of predicting what the response to my survey was to be, and how the results might need to be interpreted or used, as well as the lack of readily available statistical support 'in the field', meant that the decision was made not to pursue strict statistical sampling theory.

Nevertheless, as 4.2.3 explains, I attempted to make the selection of questionnaire recipients as random as possible, so that conclusions about the larger population (either Tórshavn's residents or pupils at Faroese colleges) could be drawn with some confidence. Furthermore, as 4.3.1 and 4.4.1 show, the rates of response were very high (just under 60% in the postal survey and 100% in the schools survey). Therefore, while it would have been useful if the survey had been created in such a way as to facilitate the drawing of strictly scientific conclusions, I am confident that my findings are valid for the purpose of the present thesis.

4.2.3 Particular Considerations for the Postal Survey

The postal survey was carried out in Tórshavn alone for two key reasons: firstly, selecting sources from across the country would introduce too many variables to the investigation, thus making it harder to draw conclusions; secondly, focusing on smaller villages could have made respondents identifiable.¹⁷⁴ This latter is an important consideration in a small society and one which has been touched upon by other

¹⁷³ This anonymity ensured that the research did not need approval from UCL's Ethics Committee, as specified under Exception C on the Committee's website (<http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/exemptions.php>, last accessed 05/04/11).

¹⁷⁴ Here 'Tórshavn' refers to Tórshavn proper and its satellite towns of Hoyvík and Argir. Tórshavn Municipality covers southern Streymoy and the islands of Nólsoy, Hestur and Koltur. As this includes the biggest settlement in the country and some of the most isolated communities, I felt that selecting respondents from across the municipality would include too many variables.

researchers, such as Didriksen in 1986 her work on the relationship between the Faroese language and gender.¹⁷⁵

While the residents of Tórshavn cannot necessarily be considered typical of the Faroese in general, 25.5% (12,886) of the population live in Tórshavn proper, while 40.3% (19,619) live in the capital municipality.¹⁷⁶ Since the construction of the Vágar and Northern Islands' tunnels, in 2002 and 2007 respectively, six islands are connected by road and considerable numbers of people commute to the capital. Some 86.1% (41,931) of the population are within two hours' drive of central Tórshavn: even the islanders from Suðuroy, the southernmost island, can be in Tórshavn within two hours. These factors suggest that the differences between Tórshavn and much of the rest of the Faroes are not as pronounced as in Svabo's day. Furthermore, the school survey does cover various Faroese regions.

For the postal survey the respondents had to be selected. The selection of addresses needed to be random to facilitate the creation of 'inferences from [the] information [...] to the population from which it was selected' (Bryman 2004: 177). Best sampling practice involves procuring a list of all members of the population and selecting names using a random number generator (p.172-3). Unfortunately it proved impossible to obtain an electoral register for Tórshavn, so it became necessary to use the telephone directory (*Føroya Tele* 2007). A distinct advantage of the Faroese directory over the British equivalent is that it lists the chief male and female occupants of the household and often secondary occupants. While the telephone directory method renders the selection of young people less likely, it was hoped that the method would still produce equality between the sexes and a reasonable range of ages. In any case, the school survey allows conclusions to be drawn on the position of Danish amongst younger people on the islands. The 500 names were selected using an online generator.¹⁷⁷ Some residents are listed more than once in the directory (with land-line and mobile numbers): when one name was selected twice, I moved down the list to the next available name. I am satisfied that this method was as close to achieving true randomness as was realistically possible.

¹⁷⁵ Didriksen (1986: 43): 'Da Færøerne er et lille land [...] har jeg såvidt muligt forsøgt at gøre udtalelserne anonyme for ikke at bryde den fortrolighed, som er lovet de interviewede' ("As the Faroes is a small country [...] I have tried as far as possible to keep the statements anonymous, so as not to break the confidentiality the interviewees were promised").

¹⁷⁶ Population statistics in this chapter as of 01/01/09; www.hagstova.fo (last accessed 18/04/11).

¹⁷⁷ At www.random.org (last accessed 05/04/11).

The postal survey relied heavily upon the goodwill of the respondent. Advice on how to enhance the response rate was taken from Bryman (2004), Mangione (1995) and Dillman (2000). Additionally, it was felt that rates could be improved if recipients were already familiar with the study before the questionnaire arrived. One of the two leading newspapers in the Faroes, *Sosialurin*, agreed to cover the project.¹⁷⁸ Part of the ensuing article (cf. Appendix 5) consisted of a column explaining that 500 Tórshavn residents would be receiving questionnaires through the post over the coming days and how important it was that they respond. This column was included on the reverse of the cover letter sent with each questionnaire. These were accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed to the University of the Faroes.

4.3 The Postal Survey: Data

4.3.1 Response

As stated previously, response to postal surveys is traditionally low, but, perhaps encouraged by the newspaper article, the rate in this instance exceeded my expectations. Of the 500 questionnaires sent, 297 were returned completed. Twenty unopened questionnaires were returned due to unrecognised addressees or addressees that had since moved. Of these, nineteen were re-sent to randomly selected addresses, whereas the twentieth took almost two months to return and was not re-sent. As this final questionnaire never reached an addressee, we can consider that 297 out of 499 questionnaires were returned completed, a response rate of 59.52%. This is the minimum response rate for this survey as other questionnaires may have failed to reach their addressee.

Mangione (1995: 60-1) addresses the question of what constitutes an acceptable response rate to a postal survey. His conclusions, tabulated by Bryman (2004: 219), are as follows (Table 4.1):

<i>Response Rate</i>	<i>Acceptability</i>
Over 85%	Excellent
70-85%	Very good
60-69%	Acceptable

¹⁷⁸ *Sosialurin* and *Dimmalætting* appear five times weekly. In 2007 *Sosialurin* had a circulation of 8,000 for each issue, just behind *Dimmalætting*'s circulation of 8,500 for each issue.

50-59%	Barely acceptable
Below 50%	Not acceptable

Table 4.1: Acceptable Rates of Response in Postal Surveys (Mangione 1995: 60-61)

Rounded to the nearest percentage point, the response rate to the postal survey is 60%, which falls into Mangione's 'acceptable' band. While there is naturally a degree of arbitrariness to Mangione's categories, they are useful as a guideline: once a large percentage of a sample has not responded to a survey, there could be qualities which characterise this group that the research will ignore. Failing to take these qualities into consideration may cause research to become biased. Based on my own impression and Mangione's categories, I am satisfied that the response to the postal survey is sufficient to enable conclusions to be drawn about the general population.¹⁷⁹ As this survey was about language – a topic which cannot be expected to interest everyone – the relatively high response rate and some of the comments written on the questionnaires suggest that the project managed to catch the imagination of many of the respondents.

4.3.2 The Presentation of Results

The presentation of results is divided into the same four data fields as the questionnaire: background, Danish skills, Danish at school and Danish in society. Following the responses to the questions posed within these fields, any significant comments given under the 'additional comments' section at the end of the questionnaire are taken into account. For many of the questions, the respondents are divided into age categories (40 years old and under; 41-60 years old and over 60 years old) to facilitate an examination of generational difference amongst residents. These groups are subdivided according to gender, to see whether there are discernible differences between the responses of male and female respondents. In order to understand the influence of Danish on the lives of those Faroese people who have had little direct contact with Danish, a further subcategory ('FO-bgd', or 'Faroese background') has been included where appropriate. To qualify, respondents must have Faroese as a main language and must have spent under six months in Denmark. As the thesis focuses on Faroese society as a whole, and only 34.3% of respondents fall into the FO-bgd subcategory, less is made of this subcategory in the analyses.

¹⁷⁹ 'Population' is used here in its statistical sense, i.e. 'the entire group from which the sample was selected'.

The presentation reflects the structure of the questionnaire.¹⁸⁰ The only exception to this is the first subsection under 4.3.3, with the heading ‘Age and Gender’, which is an amalgamation of the opening two questions. Each of the tables is accompanied by a short commentary highlighting trends in the data. These trends are summarised in the conclusion (4.3.8). Where relevant, the reasoning behind a specific question and any additional comments relating directly to that question made by the respondents are given in the commentary. In the tables, the numbers given in square brackets are the percentages of the total. For ease of comparison, the highest percentage in each category is marked in bold type. On some tables responses in different columns are added together: the resulting percentages are given in italic type. Of these new percentages, those that would have been the most popular if the category had appeared on the questionnaire appear in bold italic type.

4.3.3 Data 1: Background

1. Age and Gender

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>N/R</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents¹⁸¹</i>
All	157 [52.9]	138 [46.5]	2 [0.7]	297	[100.0]
FO-bgd	58 [56.9]	43 [42.2]	1 [1.0]	102	[34.3]
40 and under					
All	31 [47.0]	35 [53.0]	0 [0.0]	66	[22.2]
20 and younger	2 [66.6]	1 [33.3]	0 [0.0]	3	[1.0]
21-30	10 [76.9]	3 [23.1]	0 [0.0]	13	[4.4]
31-40	19 [38.0]	31 [62.0]	0 [0.0]	50	[16.8]
41-60					
All	76 [49.7]	76 [49.7]	1 [0.7]	153	[51.5]
41-50	37 [45.7]	43 [53.1]	1 [1.2]	81	[27.3]
51-60	39 [54.2]	33 [45.8]	0 [0.0]	72	[24.2]
61 and over					
All	50 [64.1]	27 [34.6]	1 [1.3]	78	[26.3]
61-70	37 [64.9]	19 [33.3]	1 [1.8]	57	[19.2]
71-80	13 [86.7]	2 [13.3]	0 [0.0]	15	[5.1]
81 and older	0 [0.0]	6 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	6	[2.0]

Table 4.2: (FPS) Age and Gender

As Table 4.2 demonstrates, the split between male and female respondents is fairly balanced – the proportion of men is slightly higher, although this is in keeping with the

¹⁸⁰ All questionnaires are included in Appendix 4.

¹⁸¹ Total percentages do not always constitute exactly 100% due to the addition of rounded percentages.

general gender balance in the Faroes (51.9% male, 48.1% female). In Tórshavn, Hoyvík and Argir, the difference is slightly smaller (50.3% male, 49.7% female), but the respondents can be considered reasonably representative as regards gender.

Once respondents are categorised according to their age group, it is only in the Over 60 category that the gender balance is considerably skewed, with an obvious over-representation of male respondents, as demonstrated in Table 4.3:

	<i>The Present Study</i>	<i>Hagstova Føroya</i>
40 and under ¹⁸²	31 [47.0]	2,662 [52.8]
41-60	76 [49.7]	2,532 [51.3]
Over 60	50 [64.1]	1,326 [45.9]
Total	157	6,520

Table 4.3: (FPS) Male Gender in Relation to Tórshavn in General

Regarding respondent age, the present study is less representative, as demonstrated in Table 4.4. While the Over 60 category is close to ideal, the 41-60 category is considerably over-represented and the 40 and under category is under-represented: only 16 respondents are under 30 years of age. J.Í.L. Jacobsen identified this problem of under-representation in the lower age brackets in his research (2008: 58). His chief explanation for this – the fact that young people do not have their own land-line number and are consequently not listed in the directory – is certain to apply here too. This under-representation was expected and was indeed identified in 4.2.3 as a weakness of the telephone directory method for selecting respondents.

	<i>The Present Study</i>	<i>Hagstova Føroya</i>
40 and under	66 [22.2]	5,040 [39.1]
41-60	153 [51.5]	4,940 [38.5]
Over 60	78 [26.3]	2,886 [22.4]
Total	297	12,886

Table 4.4: (FPS) Age in Relation to Tórshavn in General

2. What is your main language?

As Table 4.5 illustrates, Faroese functions as the sole main language for the vast majority of respondents in all age brackets, with only 5.4% considering Danish to be

¹⁸² The numbers for *Hagstova Føroya*, the Faroese statistical office, represent all those between 18 and 40 years old.

their sole or joint main language. This figure is marginally higher (7.2%) in the 41-60 category. It is, however, evident that no other language rivals Danish in its position as the second most common main language in Tórshavn. Only 1.7% give a language other than Faroese or Danish.

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Fa. + Da.</i>	<i>Fa. + Other</i>	<i>Da. + Other</i>	<i>Other</i>
All	276 [92.9]	5 [1.7]	11 [3.7]	3 [1.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [0.7]
40 and under						
All	62 [93.9]	1 [1.5]	2 [3.0]	1 [1.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	28 [90.3]	1 [3.2]	1 [3.2]	1 [3.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	34 [97.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
41-60						
All	140 [91.5]	4 [2.6]	7 [4.6]	1 [0.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.7]
Male	68 [89.5]	3 [3.9]	3 [3.9]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
Female	71 [93.4]	1 [1.3]	4 [5.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Over 60						
All	74 [94.9]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.6]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
Male	46 [92.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [4.0]	1 [2.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.0]
Female	27 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.5: (FPS) Main Language

3. How many times have you been to Denmark?

As Table 4.6 shows, almost all respondents in all age bands have visited Denmark several times – and all bar one of those that have not selected this option consider themselves to be from Denmark. Already at this stage in the data analysis, we can witness a high level of exposure to metropolitan Danish amongst the Tórshavn population.

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Several</i>	<i>From DK</i>
All	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.3]	286 [96.3]	10 [3.4]
40 and under					
All	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	64 [97.0]	2 [3.0]
Male	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	30 [96.8]	1 [3.2]
Female	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	34 [97.1]	1 [2.9]
41-60					
All	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.7]	145 [94.8]	7 [4.6]
Male	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	71 [93.4]	5 [6.6]
Female	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]	73 [96.1]	2 [2.6]
Over 60					
All	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	77 [98.7]	1 [1.3]

Male	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	49 [98.0]	1 [2.0]
Female	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	27 [100.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.6: (FPS) Visits to Denmark

4. Have you lived in Denmark?

The observation that there is a high level of exposure to metropolitan Danish amongst Tórshavn residents is further supported by Table 4.7. Combining the percentages for the relevant columns reveals that the majority of respondents (57.2%) have spent over a year in Denmark, and almost half (48.8%) have spent over two years there. Only 26.6% have never spent any protracted period of time in Denmark. In the lower two age brackets, a majority have lived in Denmark for over two years.

	<i>No</i>	<i>1-3 mth</i>	<i>3-6 mth</i>	<i>6 mth-1 yr</i>	<i>1-2 yr</i>	<i>2-5 yr</i>	<i>>5 yr</i>
All	79 [26.6]	7 [2.4]	19 [6.4]	22 [7.4]	25 [8.4]	57 [19.2]	88 [29.6]
40 and under							
All	15 [22.7]	2 [3.0]	5 [7.6]	6 [9.1]	4 [6.1]	17 [25.8]	17 [25.8]
Male	9 [29.0]	1 [3.2]	4 [12.9]	3 [9.7]	2 [6.5]	6 [19.4]	6 [19.4]
Female	6 [17.1]	1 [2.9]	1 [2.9]	3 [8.6]	2 [5.7]	11 [31.4]	11 [31.4]
41-60							
All	42 [27.5]	3 [2.0]	9 [5.9]	10 [6.5]	11 [7.2]	30 [19.6]	48 [31.4]
Male	19 [25.0]	1 [1.3]	6 [7.9]	4 [5.3]	6 [7.9]	19 [25.0]	21 [27.6]
Female	23 [30.3]	2 [2.6]	3 [3.9]	6 [7.9]	5 [6.6]	11 [14.5]	26 [34.2]
Over 60							
All	22 [28.2]	2 [2.6]	5 [6.4]	6 [7.7]	10 [12.8]	10 [12.8]	23 [29.5]
Male	16 [32.0]	2 [4.0]	3 [6.0]	5 [10.0]	5 [10.0]	5 [10.0]	14 [28.0]
Female	5 [18.5]	0 [0.0]	2 [7.4]	1 [3.7]	5 [18.5]	5 [18.5]	9 [33.3]

Table 4.7: (FPS) Time Lived in Denmark

4.3.4 Data 2: Danish Skills

5. How well do you know Danish?

Although Table 4.5 confirmed that the vast majority of respondents identify their main language as Faroese, Table 4.8 indicates nevertheless that the majority of Tórshavn residents – in all age brackets – consider themselves fluent in Danish, including a very high proportion of women in the Over 60 age bracket (74.1%). Here, for the first time, there is a significant difference between the youngest age band and the other two: firstly, almost three-quarters (74.2%) of respondents in the youngest age bracket claim to be fluent in Danish, and secondly, no respondents under 40 felt that, although their main language was Faroese, their Danish was better.

	<i>Fluent (main)</i>	<i>Fluent (better than main)</i>	<i>Fluent (not main)</i>	<i>Fluent (equal)</i>	<i>Well</i>	<i>Quite well</i>	<i>Not well</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	6 [2.0]	12 [4.0]	111 [37.4]	59 [19.9]	68 [22.9]	35 [11.8]	2 [0.7]	2 [0.7]	2 [0.7]
	188 [63.3]								
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	4 [3.9]	37 [36.3]	3 [2.9]	36 [35.3]	21 [20.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.0]
	44 [43.1]								
40 and under									
All	1 [1.5]	0 [0.0]	36 [54.5]	12 [18.2]	10 [15.2]	6 [9.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.5]	0 [0.0]
	49 [74.2]								
Male	1 [3.2]	0 [0.0]	18 [58.1]	4 [12.9]	5 [16.1]	2 [6.5]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.2]	0 [0.0]
	23 [74.2]								
Female	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	18 [51.4]	8 [22.9]	5 [14.3]	4 [11.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	26 [74.3]								
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	10 [47.6]	1 [4.8]	6 [28.6]	4 [19.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	11 [52.4]								
41-60									
All	4 [2.6]	8 [5.2]	48 [31.4]	30 [19.6]	42 [27.5]	18 [11.8]	1 [0.7]	1 [0.7]	1 [0.7]
	90 [58.8]								
Male	3 [3.9]	3 [3.9]	23 [30.3]	13 [17.1]	23 [30.3]	9 [11.8]	1 [1.3]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
	42 [55.2]								
Female	1 [1.3]	5 [6.6]	24 [31.6]	17 [22.4]	19 [25.0]	9 [11.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
	47 [61.9]								
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	2 [3.8]	20 [37.7]	1 [1.9]	21 [39.6]	8 [15.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.9]
	23 [43.4]								
Over 60									
All	1 [1.3]	4 [5.1]	27 [34.6]	17 [21.8]	16 [20.5]	11 [14.1]	1 [1.3]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
	49 [62.8]								
Male	1 [2.0]	2 [4.0]	13 [26.0]	13 [26.0]	10 [20.0]	9 [18.0]	1 [2.0]	1 [2.0]	0 [0.0]
	29 [58.0]								
Female	0 [0.0]	2 [7.4]	14 [51.9]	4 [14.8]	5 [18.5]	2 [7.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	20 [74.1]								
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	2 [7.1]	7 [25.0]	1 [3.6]	9 [32.1]	9 [32.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	11 [35.7]								

Table 4.8: (FPS) Danish Skills

6. When you speak Danish, do you try to adopt ... ?

Questions 6 and 7 address the pronunciation of Danish in the Faroes. Table 4.9 shows that the majority of respondents do not think consciously about their accent when they speak Danish. Regarding the subcategories, the only age bracket that bucks this trend is the 40 and under band, where half deliberately aim to make their accent metropolitan.

	<i>Fa. accent</i>	<i>Da. accent</i>	<i>Do not think</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
All	10 [3.4]	107 [36.0]	178 [59.9]	2 [0.7]
FO-bgd	6 [5.9]	30 [29.4]	65 [63.7]	1 [1.0]
40 and under				
All	3 [4.5]	33 [50.0]	30 [45.5]	0 [0.0]
Male	2 [6.5]	13 [41.9]	16 [51.6]	0 [0.0]
Female	1 [2.9]	20 [57.1]	14 [40.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	2 [9.5]	5 [23.8]	14 [66.7]	0 [0.0]
41-60				
All	6 [3.9]	51 [33.3]	94 [61.4]	2 [1.3]
Male	4 [5.3]	28 [36.8]	43 [56.6]	1 [1.3]
Female	2 [2.6]	22 [28.9]	51 [67.1]	1 [1.3]
FO-bgd	3 [5.7]	16 [30.2]	33 [62.3]	1 [1.9]
Over 60				
All	1 [1.3]	23 [29.5]	54 [69.2]	0 [0.0]
Male	0 [0.0]	17 [34.0]	33 [66.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	1 [3.7]	6 [22.2]	20 [74.1]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	1 [3.6]	9 [32.1]	18 [64.3]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.9: (FPS) Attempted Accent when Speaking Danish

7. Do you think that you speak Danish with ... ?

In Table 4.10, which focuses on self-evaluation of one's pronunciation of Danish, the percentages are more fragmented, with no majority agreement in any gender or age subcategory. The most common response, however, in all categories other than the male under 40 is that the respondent speaks Danish with a somewhat Faroese accent.

	<i>Strong Fa. Accent</i>	<i>Somewhat Fa. accent</i>	<i>More Da. Accent</i>	<i>Da. accent</i>	<i>Other influenced accent</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
All	9 [3.0]	120 [40.4]	67 [22.6]	86 [29.0]	12 [4.0]	3 [1.0]
FO-bgd	5 [4.9]	47 [46.1]	24 [23.5]	19 [18.6]	6 [5.9]	1 [1.0]
40 and under						
All	1 [1.5]	23 [34.8]	18 [27.3]	20 [30.3]	2 [3.0]	2 [3.0]
Male	0 [0.0]	8 [25.8]	9 [29.0]	10 [32.3]	2 [6.5]	2 [6.5]
Female	1 [2.9]	15 [42.9]	9 [25.7]	10 [28.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

FO-bgd	1 [4.8]	10 [47.6]	4 [19.0]	4 [19.0]	1 [4.8]	1 [4.8]
41-60						
All	5 [3.3]	66 [43.1]	29 [19.0]	47 [30.7]	5 [3.3]	1 [0.7]
Male	4 [5.3]	31 [40.8]	16 [21.1]	22 [28.9]	2 [2.6]	1 [1.3]
Female	1 [1.3]	35 [46.1]	12 [15.8]	25 [32.9]	3 [3.9]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	2 [3.8]	26 [49.1]	12 [22.6]	10 [18.9]	3 [5.7]	0 [0.0]
Over 60						
All	3 [3.8]	31 [39.7]	20 [25.6]	19 [24.4]	5 [6.4]	0 [0.0]
Male	3 [6.0]	18 [36.0]	15 [30.0]	12 [24.0]	2 [4.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	0 [0.0]	13 [48.1]	5 [18.5]	6 [22.2]	3 [11.1]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	2 [7.1]	11 [39.3]	8 [28.6]	5 [17.9]	2 [7.1]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.10: (FPS) Accent when Speaking Danish

8. Are you more comfortable reading Faroese or Danish?

Questions 8 and 9 examine whether the respondent is most comfortable using Faroese or Danish when reading (Table 4.11) or writing (Table 4.12). Table 4.11 shows that the majority of respondents are just as comfortable reading Faroese as reading Danish.

Interestingly, however, the female respondents within the lower two age bands are more likely to be equally comfortable with both languages than males.

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Depends on subject</i>	<i>No difference</i>
All	60 [20.2]	27 [9.1]	17 [5.7]	193 [65.0]
FO-bgd	34 [33.3]	7 [6.9]	9 [8.8]	52 [51.0]
40 and under				
All	14 [21.2]	8 [12.1]	7 [10.6]	37 [56.1]
Male	9 [29.0]	3 [9.7]	4 [12.9]	15 [48.4]
Female	5 [14.3]	5 [14.3]	3 [8.6]	22 [62.9]
FO-bgd	8 [38.1]	3 [14.3]	5 [23.8]	5 [23.8]
41-60				
All	35 [22.9]	11 [7.2]	4 [2.6]	103 [67.3]
Male	25 [32.9]	7 [9.2]	0 [0.0]	44 [57.9]
Female	10 [13.2]	4 [5.3]	4 [5.3]	58 [76.3]
FO-bgd	20 [37.7]	1 [1.9]	3 [5.7]	29 [54.7]
Over 60				
All	11 [14.1]	8 [10.3]	6 [7.7]	53 [67.9]
Male	6 [12.0]	4 [8.0]	5 [10.0]	35 [70.0]
Female	5 [18.5]	4 [14.8]	1 [3.7]	17 [63.0]
FO-bgd	6 [21.4]	3 [10.7]	1 [3.6]	18 [64.3]

Table 4.11: (FPS) Language Preference when Reading

9. Are you more comfortable writing Faroese or Danish?

As Table 4.12 demonstrates, the results are slightly more fragmented when written skills are considered. Danish plays a more significant role with around 20% in each age bracket preferring to write in Danish. There are clear age and gender distinctions here: in the oldest age bracket, among those who experienced a difference, respondents were more likely to favour Danish over Faroese. This trend is reversed among younger respondents. In the 40 and under age band there is a disparity between the genders, with young males again inclined towards Faroese.

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Depends on subject</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	82 [27.6]	59 [19.9]	11 [3.7]	143 [48.1]	1 [0.3]	1 [0.3]
FO-bgd	43 [42.2]	14 [13.7]	3 [2.9]	41 [40.2]	1 [1.0]	0 [0.0]
40 and under						
All	23 [34.8]	12 [18.2]	2 [3.0]	28 [42.4]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.5]
Male	13 [41.9]	4 [12.9]	2 [6.5]	12 [38.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	10 [28.6]	8 [22.9]	0 [0.0]	16 [45.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.9]
FO-bgd	13 [61.9]	3 [14.3]	2 [9.5]	3 [14.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
41-60						
All	44 [28.8]	29 [19.0]	3 [2.0]	76 [49.7]	1 [0.7]	0 [0.0]
Male	24 [31.6]	14 [18.4]	1 [1.3]	36 [47.4]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
Female	20 [26.3]	15 [19.7]	2 [2.6]	39 [51.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	22 [41.5]	3 [5.7]	0 [0.0]	27 [50.9]	1 [1.9]	0 [0.0]
Over 60						
All	15 [19.2]	18 [23.1]	6 [7.7]	39 [50.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	9 [18.0]	11 [22.0]	5 [10.0]	25 [50.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	6 [22.2]	6 [22.2]	1 [3.7]	14 [51.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	8 [28.6]	8 [28.6]	1 [3.6]	11 [39.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.12: (FPS) Language Preference when Writing

4.3.5 Data 3: Danish at School

10. Did you know Danish before you started to learn it at school?

Like Table 4.12, Table 4.13 also shows generational differences on the question of whether Danish was known prior to starting school. In the oldest bands, an absolute majority did not know Danish before school. This percentage, while still substantial, is much lower in the 40 and under bracket, with respondents just as likely to have had some knowledge of Danish. Significantly, for a population in which the vast majority

considers itself fluent in Danish, only 7.4% spoke it fluently before school. This percentage is considerably lower in the oldest band (2.6%).

	<i>Yes, fluently</i>	<i>Yes, well</i>	<i>Yes, a little</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	22 [7.4]	27 [9.1]	85 [28.6]	162 [54.5]	1 [0.3]
FO-bgd	2 [2.0]	12 [11.8]	31 [30.4]	57 [55.9]	0 [0.0]
40 and under					
All	5 [7.6]	11 [16.7]	25 [37.9]	25 [37.9]	0 [0.0]
Male	2 [6.5]	6 [19.4]	12 [38.7]	11 [35.5]	0 [0.0]
Female	3 [8.6]	5 [14.3]	13 [37.1]	14 [40.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	1 [4.8]	6 [28.6]	9 [42.9]	5 [23.8]	0 [0.0]
41-60					
All	15 [9.8]	12 [7.8]	40 [26.1]	86 [56.2]	0 [0.0]
Male	8 [10.5]	7 [9.2]	18 [23.7]	43 [56.6]	0 [0.0]
Female	7 [9.2]	5 [6.6]	22 [28.9]	42 [55.3]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	1 [1.9]	5 [9.4]	15 [28.3]	32 [60.4]	0 [0.0]
Over 60					
All	2 [2.6]	4 [5.1]	20 [25.6]	51 [65.4]	1 [1.3]
Male	1 [2.0]	2 [4.0]	12 [24.0]	35 [70.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	1 [3.7]	2 [7.4]	7 [25.9]	16 [59.3]	1 [3.7]
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	1 [3.6]	7 [25.0]	20 [71.4]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.13: (FPS) Danish Skills Prior to School

11. Should children learn the Faroese pronunciation of Danish in schools?

1.2.2 discussed the difficulties that the prescriptive nature of Faroese dictionaries can cause. In this question, the word *framburður* was used for ‘pronunciation’. The term is the first offered in both Skála *et al.*’s 1992 and Skála and Mikkelsen’s 2007(a) English-Faroese dictionaries. Although it was not foreseen, either by myself or proof-readers, that this choice would present difficulties, one respondent underlined the term and marked it with a question mark. Hindsight suggests that Fa. *úttala*, related to Da. *udtale*, might have been a preferable alternative. Nevertheless, *Føroysk orðabók* (J.H.W. Poulsen *et al.* 1998), the only monolingual Faroese dictionary, and Skála and Mikkelsen (2007b) mark *úttala* with the (*tlm.*) abbreviation (*talumál*, ‘spoken language’). As only one respondent appeared troubled by the term – others, of course, may have guessed the meaning, deduced it from the context or consulted a dictionary themselves – it seems fair to presume that the results are valid.

The responses are given in Table 4.14. The youngest and oldest bands agree that Faroese pronunciation of Danish should be taught alongside the metropolitan variety. A

slight majority of respondents in the middle band, however, envisage no place for Print-Danish in schools.

	<i>Yes, both</i>	<i>Yes, instead</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	150 [50.5]	16 [5.4]	122 [41.1]	1 [0.3]	8 [2.7]
FO-bgd	58 [56.9]	6 [5.9]	35 [34.3]	0 [0.0]	3 [2.9]
40 and under					
All	40 [60.6]	3 [4.5]	21 [31.8]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.0]
Male	20 [64.5]	2 [6.5]	8 [25.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.2]
Female	20 [57.1]	1 [2.9]	13 [37.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.9]
FO-bgd	17 [81.0]	0 [0.0]	4 [19.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
41-60					
All	62 [40.5]	10 [6.5]	77 [50.3]	1 [0.7]	3 [2.0]
Male	32 [42.1]	8 [10.5]	35 [46.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
Female	30 [39.5]	2 [2.6]	41 [53.9]	1 [1.3]	2 [2.6]
FO-bgd	23 [43.4]	5 [9.4]	23 [43.4]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.8]
Over 60					
All	48 [61.5]	3 [3.8]	24 [30.8]	0 [0.0]	3 [3.8]
Male	34 [68.0]	2 [4.0]	13 [26.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.0]
Female	13 [48.1]	1 [3.7]	11 [40.7]	0 [0.0]	2 [7.4]
FO-bgd	18 [64.3]	1 [3.6]	8 [28.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.6]

Table 4.14: (FPS) The Faroese Pronunciation of Danish in Schools

12. Do you think that books that are written in Danish by Faroese authors should be translated into Faroese?

As 2.4.1 identified, most post-colonial studies relating to the Faroes have focused on the authorship of J.F. Jacobsen and Heinesen, who both wrote in Danish. Table 4.15 depicts the opinions of the respondents on whether Danish-language works by Faroese authors should be translated into Faroese.¹⁸³ The majority of all respondents, in all categories, feel that this should be done. These majorities decrease for the older bands, with some 35.9% in the Over 60 category feeling that the works should not be translated.

Differences among female respondents are, however, less pronounced.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	215 [72.4]	75 [25.3]	1 [0.3]	6 [2.0]
FO-bgd	77 [75.5]	21 [20.6]	1 [1.0]	3 [2.9]
40 and under				
All	53 [80.3]	12 [18.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.5]

¹⁸³ Jacobsen's *Barbara* and the majority of Heinesen's novels – with the notable exception of *Det gode h b* (1964) – exist in Faroese translation.

Male	28 [90.3]	3 [9.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	25 [71.4]	9 [25.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.9]
FO-bgd	16 [76.2]	4 [19.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [4.8]
41-60				
All	114 [74.5]	35 [22.9]	1 [0.7]	3 [2.0]
Male	63 [82.9]	12 [15.8]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
Female	50 [65.8]	23 [30.3]	0 [0.0]	3 [3.9]
FO-bgd	41 [77.4]	9 [17.0]	1 [1.9]	2 [3.8]
Over 60				
All	48 [61.5]	28 [35.9]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.6]
Male	27 [54.0]	21 [42.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [4.0]
Female	20 [74.1]	7 [25.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	20 [71.4]	8 [28.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.15: (FPS) Danish-Writing Faroese Authors in Translation

4.3.6 Data 4: Danish in Society

13. Can one be Faroese without speaking Faroese?

Q.13 (Table 4.16) explores the connection between national identity and language.

When all respondents are taken together, those who believe that one can be Faroese without being able to speak Faroese are the slightly smaller group (47.8% ‘yes’, against 49.5% ‘no’), but the subcategories show certain patterns in the responses according to age and gender: older respondents are more likely to find Faroese language skills important for Faroese identity, whereas younger respondents see this as marginally less important. Regarding gender, this trend is much more pronounced among male respondents (a ‘yes’ range of 36.0 – 67.7%): the female range is much smaller (37.1 – 48.1%), and actually bucks the general trend across the age bands.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	142 [47.8]	147 [49.5]	8 [2.7]
FO-bgd	51 [50.0]	49 [48.0]	2 [2.0]
40 and under			
All	34 [51.5]	30 [45.5]	2 [3.0]
Male	21 [67.7]	10 [32.3]	0 [0.0]
Female	13 [37.1]	20 [57.1]	2 [5.7]
FO-bgd	11 [52.4]	10 [47.6]	0 [0.0]
41-60			
All	76 [49.7]	73 [47.7]	4 [2.6]
Male	39 [51.3]	35 [46.1]	2 [2.6]
Female	36 [47.4]	38 [50.0]	2 [2.6]
FO-bgd	29 [54.7]	23 [43.4]	1 [1.9]
Over 60			
All	32 [41.0]	44 [56.4]	2 [2.6]

Male	18 [36.0]	31 [62.0]	1 [2.0]
Female	13 [48.1]	13 [48.1]	1 [3.7]
FO-bgd	11 [39.3]	16 [57.1]	1 [3.6]

Table 4.16: (FPS) Faroese Language and Faroese Identity

14. Do you think that Danes who live in the Faroes should learn Faroese?

As Table 4.17 demonstrates, the vast majority of Tórshavn respondents in all categories believe that Danes living in the Faroes should learn Faroese. Generally, male respondents appear marginally less likely to hold this view. Three of those respondents who answer ‘yes’ feel it only necessary for Danes to learn to understand Faroese, not to speak it.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	264 [88.9]	28 [9.4]	2 [0.7]	3 [1.0]
FO-bgd	88 [86.3]	12 [11.8]	2 [2.0]	0 [0.0]
40 and under				
All	57 [86.4]	8 [12.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.5]
Male	25 [80.6]	6 [19.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	32 [91.4]	2 [5.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.9]
FO-bgd	19 [90.5]	2 [9.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
41-60				
All	137 [89.5]	13 [8.5]	2 [1.3]	1 [0.7]
Male	67 [88.2]	7 [9.2]	2 [2.6]	0 [0.0]
Female	69 [90.8]	6 [7.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
FO-bgd	43 [81.1]	8 [15.1]	2 [3.8]	0 [0.0]
Over 60				
All	70 [89.7]	7 [9.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
Male	43 [86.0]	6 [12.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.0]
Female	26 [96.3]	1 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	26 [92.9]	2 [7.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.17: (FPS) Whether Resident Danes Should Learn Faroese

Q.15 asks the respondents whether it is possible to live ‘a good life’ in the Faroes without being able to speak Faroese, while Q.16 asks the same about Danish. ‘A good life’ was deliberately left undefined: it was up to the respondent to decide what this constitutes. Only one respondent questioned the meaning of the phrase.

15. Is it possible to live a good life in the Faroes without speaking Faroese?

As Table 4.18 demonstrates, the vast majority of respondents in all categories – including the FO-bgd respondents – consider it possible to live a good life in the Faroes

without being able to speak Faroese. Older respondents are also more prone to underplay the importance of Faroese. In the lower age bands, female respondents are more likely to find a knowledge of Faroese important for living ‘a good life’ than male.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	246 [82.8]	46 [15.5]	1 [0.3]	4 [1.3]
FO-bgd	85 [83.3]	15 [14.7]	1 [1.0]	1 [1.0]
40 and under				
All	54 [81.8]	11 [16.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.5]
Male	28 [90.3]	3 [9.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	26 [74.3]	8 [22.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.9]
FO-bgd	18 [85.7]	3 [14.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
41-60				
All	118 [77.1]	32 [20.9]	1 [0.7]	2 [1.3]
Male	62 [81.6]	12 [15.8]	1 [1.3]	1 [1.3]
Female	56 [73.7]	19 [25.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
FO-bgd	41 [77.4]	11 [20.8]	1 [1.9]	0 [0.0]
Over 60				
All	74 [94.9]	3 [3.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
Male	47 [94.0]	2 [4.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.0]
Female	26 [96.3]	1 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	26 [92.9]	1 [3.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.6]

Table 4.18: (FPS) Quality of Life without Faroese

16. Is it possible to live a good life in the Faroes without speaking Danish?

Table 4.19 is surprisingly similar to Table 4.18: the vast majority of respondents in all categories believe it possible to live a good life on the islands without a knowledge of Danish. Interestingly, and perhaps somewhat unexpectedly in relation to Table 4.18, female respondents are more likely to consider knowledge of Danish important for ‘a good life’ than their male counterparts.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	248 [83.5]	44 [14.8]	5 [1.7]
FO-bgd	86 [84.3]	14 [13.7]	2 [2.0]
40 and under			
All	58 [87.9]	7 [10.6]	1 [1.5]
Male	29 [93.5]	2 [6.5]	0 [0.0]
Female	29 [82.9]	5 [14.3]	1 [2.9]
FO-bgd	21 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
41-60			
All	124 [81.0]	27 [17.6]	2 [1.3]
Male	68 [89.5]	7 [9.2]	1 [1.3]

Female	55 [72.4]	20 [26.3]	1 [1.3]
FO-bgd	43 [81.1]	10 [18.9]	0 [0.0]
Over 60			
All	66 [84.6]	10 [12.8]	2 [2.6]
Male	41 [82.0]	7 [14.0]	2 [4.0]
Female	24 [88.9]	3 [11.1]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	22 [78.6]	4 [14.3]	2 [7.1]

Table 4.19: (FPS) Quality of Life without Danish

17. To what extent do you agree with the following?

Danish is a foreign language in the Faroes.

Q.17 represents, to my knowledge, the first time Faroese respondents have been asked whether they consider Danish to be an FL in the Faroes, although much academic writing takes it for granted that they do (see 1.6). Table 4.20 shows that the question divides opinion considerably and that the view ‘on the ground’ is not as clear-cut as previous commentators have suggested. While the number of respondents who agree that Danish is an FL is very marginally higher than those who disagree, neither side constitutes an absolute majority. The table contains very few absolute majorities, but in the youngest age band, the majority of respondents disagree with the general proposition: for them, Danish is not an FL in the Faroes. It is also worth noting that, on average, 15.8% of respondents were unable to agree or disagree with the statement.

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
All	69 [23.2]	59 [19.9]	47 [15.8]	78 [26.3]	44 [14.8]
	128 [43.1]			122 [41.2]	
FO-bgd	24 [23.5]	19 [18.6]	12 [11.8]	32 [31.4]	15 [14.7]
	43 [42.1]			47 [46.1]	
40 and under					
All	8 [12.1]	12 [18.2]	11 [16.7]	18 [27.3]	17 [25.8]
	20 [30.2]			35 [53.1]	
Male	5 [16.1]	2 [6.5]	8 [25.8]	10 [32.3]	6 [19.4]
	7 [22.6]			16 [51.7]	
Female	3 [8.6]	10 [28.6]	3 [8.6]	8 [22.9]	11 [31.4]
	13 [37.2]			19 [54.3]	
FO-bgd	4 [19.0]	2 [9.5]	3 [14.3]	7 [33.3]	5 [23.8]
	6 [28.5]			12 [57.1]	
41-60					
All	38 [24.8]	37 [24.2]	21 [13.7]	38 [24.8]	19 [12.4]
	75 [49.0]			57 [37.7]	
Male	24 [31.6]	19 [25.0]	13 [17.1]	12 [15.8]	8 [10.5]
	43 [56.6]			20 [26.3]	
Female	14 [18.4]	17 [22.4]	8 [10.5]	26 [34.2]	11 [14.5]
	31 [40.8]			37 [48.7]	

FO-bgd	10 [18.9]	13 [24.5]	6 [11.3]	16 [30.2]	8 [15.1]
	23 [43.4]			24 [45.3]	
Over 60					
All	23 [29.5]	10 [12.8]	15 [19.2]	22 [28.2]	8 [10.3]
	33 [42.3]			30 [38.5]	
Male	13 [26.0]	6 [12.0]	11 [22.0]	14 [28.0]	6 [12.0]
	19 [38.0]			20 [40.0]	
Female	10 [37.0]	4 [14.8]	4 [14.8]	7 [25.9]	2 [7.4]
	14 [51.8]			9 [33.3]	
FO-bgd	10 [35.7]	4 [14.3]	3 [10.7]	9 [32.1]	2 [7.1]
	14 [50.0]			11 [39.2]	

Table 4.20: (FPS) Danish as a Foreign Language in the Faroes

18. To what extent do you agree with the following?

The Danish language threatens the Faroese language.

Table 4.21 is much easier to analyse: there is considerable consensus across all age bands and both genders. The majority of respondents do not see Danish as a threat to Faroese. Respondents in the youngest bracket are even less inclined to perceive Danish as a threat than in the others. Again, however, a large minority (17.2% on average) are unable to identify with either side of the argument. This percentage is highest amongst the middle age band (21.6%).

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	30 [10.1]	38 [12.8]	51 [17.2]	110 [37.0]	66 [22.2]	1 [0.3]	1 [0.3]
	68 [22.9]			176 [59.2]			
FO-bgd	9 [8.8]	16 [15.7]	18 [17.6]	38 [37.3]	21 [20.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	25 [24.5]			59 [57.9]			
40 and under							
All	7 [10.6]	7 [10.6]	7 [10.6]	24 [36.4]	20 [30.3]	1 [1.5]	0 [0.0]
	14 [21.2]			44 [66.7]			
Male	5 [16.1]	1 [3.2]	3 [9.7]	13 [41.9]	9 [29.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	6 [19.3]			22 [70.9]			
Female	2 [5.7]	6 [17.1]	4 [11.4]	11 [31.4]	11 [31.4]	1 [2.9]	0 [0.0]
	8 [22.8]			22 [62.8]			
FO-bgd	4 [19.0]	3 [14.3]	3 [14.3]	4 [19.0]	7 [33.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	7 [33.3]			11 [52.3]			
41-60							
All	13 [8.5]	20 [13.1]	33 [21.6]	56 [36.6]	31 [20.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	33 [21.6]			87 [56.9]			
Male	8 [10.5]	9 [11.8]	17 [22.4]	28 [36.8]	14 [18.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	17 [22.3]			42 [55.2]			
Female	5 [6.6]	11 [14.5]	16 [21.1]	27 [35.5]	17 [22.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	16 [21.1]			44 [57.9]			
FO-bgd	1 [1.9]	8 [15.1]	11 [20.8]	24 [45.3]	9 [17.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	9 [17.0]			33 [62.3]			

Over 60							
All	10 [12.8]	11 [14.1]	11 [14.1]	30 [38.5]	15 [19.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
	21 [26.9]			45 [57.7]			
Male	8 [16.0]	6 [12.0]	6 [12.0]	17 [34.0]	12 [24.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.0]
	14 [28.0]			29 [58.0]			
Female	2 [7.4]	5 [18.5]	5 [18.5]	13 [48.1]	2 [7.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	7 [25.9]			15 [55.5]			
FO-bgd	4 [14.3]	5 [17.9]	4 [14.3]	10 [35.7]	5 [17.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	9 [28.2]			15 [53.6]			

Table 4.21: (FPS) Danish as a Threat to Faroese

19. What is the most important reason for learning Danish?

Q.19 presented the respondents with seven possible reasons why it could be important for the Faroese to learn Danish:

1. In order to work/study
2. Because the Faroes belong together with Denmark
3. To be able to speak to Danes
4. To be able to live in Denmark
5. Because I want to be considered a Dane
6. Because the Faroes are in Scandinavia
7. To read texts that do not yet exist in Faroese

Respondents were able to identify their own reason instead. For ease of comparison, they were restricted to one reason only: the ‘invalid’ responses evident in Table 4.22 are cases where the respondent selected more than one.

The most common reason given is 6: Danish is important because the Faroes are in Scandinavia. This reason appears most frequently in the older two age bands, and almost represents the majority of cases in the oldest band. The second most common reason in both the older age categories, that Danish is important for work or study (Reason 1), is in fact the most common one in the 40 and under band as a whole, although male respondents in this category follow the general trend.

Regarding the ‘Other’ option, nine respondents give reasons that relate to the closeness of Danish to the other Scandinavian languages. It could be argued that this reasoning falls under 6. Several respondents challenged the premise of the question: two wrote that other Scandinavian languages could be learned instead; one commented on

the equal importance of English and one respondent wrote that s/he could see no reason for learning Danish.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	Other	Inv.	N/R
All	70 [23.6]	24 [8.1]	31 [10.4]	4 [1.3]	1 [0.3]	100 [33.7]	33 [11.1]	21 [7.1]	8 [2.7]	5 [1.7]
FO-bgd	18 [17.6]	11 [10.8]	13 [12.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.0]	38 [37.3]	12 [11.8]	5 [4.9]	2 [2.0]	2 [2.0]
40 and under										
All	20 [30.3]	4 [6.1]	6 [9.1]	1 [1.5]	0 [0.0]	17 [25.8]	8 [12.1]	9 [13.6]	1 [1.5]	0 [0.0]
Male	10 [32.3]	1 [3.2]	3 [9.7]	1 [3.2]	0 [0.0]	11 [35.5]	1 [3.2]	4 [12.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	10 [28.6]	3 [8.6]	3 [8.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	6 [17.1]	7 [20.0]	5 [14.3]	1 [2.9]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	7 [33.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [4.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	8 [38.1]	2 [9.5]	3 [14.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
41-60										
All	36 [23.5]	16 [10.5]	17 [11.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	48 [31.4]	15 [9.8]	10 [6.5]	7 [4.6]	4 [2.6]
Male	20 [26.3]	5 [6.6]	12 [15.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	26 [34.2]	6 [7.9]	3 [3.9]	4 [5.3]	0 [0.0]
Female	15 [19.7]	11 [14.5]	5 [6.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	22 [28.9]	9 [11.8]	7 [9.2]	3 [3.9]	4 [5.3]
FO-bgd	8 [15.1]	11 [20.8]	6 [11.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	17 [32.1]	5 [9.4]	2 [3.8]	2 [3.8]	2 [3.8]
Over 60										
All	14 [17.9]	4 [5.1]	8 [10.3]	3 [3.8]	1 [1.3]	35 [44.9]	10 [12.8]	2 [2.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
Male	5 [10.0]	4 [8.0]	5 [10.0]	1 [2.0]	1 [2.0]	24 [48.0]	7 [14.0]	2 [4.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [2.0]
Female	9 [33.3]	0 [0.0]	2 [7.4]	2 [7.4]	0 [0.0]	11 [40.7]	3 [11.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	3 [10.7]	0 [0.0]	6 [21.4]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.6]	13 [46.4]	5 [17.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.22: (FPS) The Most Important Reason for Learning Danish

20. To what extent do you agree with the following?

Words such as snakka and forstanda are as Faroese as tosa and skilja.

Questions 20-22 consider the secondary meaning of ‘Danish’ in the Faroes as established in 1.2: an almost metonymic usage which denotes Danish words used in Faroese. *Forstanda* (‘understand’, Da. *forstå*, standard Fa. *skilja*) and *snakka* (‘speak’, Da. *snakke*, standard Fa. *tosa*) were selected for the survey and it was hoped that respondents would identify these words as representative of Danicisms in general. Those who read the questionnaires prior to distribution understood them as

representative. *Forstanda* and *snakka* were not chosen randomly: they feature extensively in literature on loanwords in Faroese. Adams and Petersen (2009a: 14) identify these two terms as alternatives to *skilja* and *tosa* that are ‘much used colloquially’. Sandøy (1997: 37) mentions *snakka* as a word that Faroese has borrowed and names *forstanda* together with other verbs with prefixes inherited from Low German (via Danish) that are “neutral” (‘nøytrale’) in speech, but seldom written (p.40). Niclasen identifies *forstanda* as a word that Faroese purists find objectionable (2007: 36), as does Werner in the case of *snakka* (1968: 466). Jacobsen and Steintún (1992: 39) focus on general uncertainty amongst Faroese speakers regarding which words are socially acceptable, and maintain that the Faroese ‘vita ikki rættuliga, hvussu teir skulu “tosa/snakka”’.¹⁸⁴ H.P. Petersen uses *tosa* and *snakka* as an example of a pair of words that are presumably stored in the same part of Faroese speakers’ “mental vocabulary” (‘í [...] tí mentala orðastovninum’; 2001: 12). Both words are listed in *Føroysk orðabók* (J.H.W. Poulsen *et al.* 1998) and Skála and Mikkelsen’s *Føroysk-ensk orðabók* (2007b). In the former, *forstanda* and *snakka* are accompanied by the ubiquitous (*tlm.*) abbreviation. The Faroese-English dictionary also bestows the (*tlm.*) designation upon *forstanda*, and recommends *skilja* and *fata* as alternatives: *snakka*, conversely, is given standard headword status.

Table 4.23 reveals that the majority of respondents do not consider words such as *forstanda* and *snakka* as Faroese as *skilja* and *tosa*. Despite the overall consensus, an interesting pattern emerges which is similar to one seen in Table 4.14: the youngest and oldest age bands are united, in this case with both less emphatic about the non-Faroese nature of *forstanda* and *snakka*. Overall, these categories do differ, however, in the extent to which some respondents agree with the statement: those in the oldest band are more likely to agree with the statement (38.5%) than those in the youngest bracket (27.3%). In turn, the latter are much more likely than the other two bands to select the ‘neither’ option (19.7%); note that almost a third of males in this youngest bracket feel unable to agree with either side (29.0%).

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	29 [9.8]	61 [20.5]	36 [12.1]	99 [33.3]	71 [23.9]	1 [0.3]
	90 [30.3]			170 [57.2]		
FO-bgd	7 [6.9]	20 [19.6]	16 [15.7]	35 [34.3]	24 [23.5]	0 [0.0]
	27 [26.5]			59 [57.8]		

¹⁸⁴ “do not really know how they should ‘tosa/snakka’”.

40 and under						
All	4 [6.1]	14 [21.2]	13 [19.7]	17 [25.8]	18 [27.3]	0 [0.0]
	18 [27.3]			35 [51.3]		
Male	2 [6.5]	4 [12.9]	9 [29.0]	9 [29.0]	7 [22.6]	0 [0.0]
	6 [19.4]			16 [51.6]		
Female	2 [5.7]	10 [28.6]	4 [11.4]	8 [22.9]	11 [31.4]	0 [0.0]
	12 [34.3]			19 [54.3]		
FO-bgd	2 [9.5]	2 [9.5]	5 [23.8]	4 [19.0]	8 [38.1]	0 [0.0]
	4 [19.0]			12 [57.1]		
41-60						
All	13 [8.5]	29 [19.0]	16 [10.5]	57 [37.3]	38 [24.8]	0 [0.0]
	42 [27.5]			95 [62.1]		
Male	6 [7.9]	16 [21.1]	7 [9.2]	28 [36.8]	19 [25.0]	0 [0.0]
	22 [29.0]			47 [61.8]		
Female	7 [9.2]	13 [17.1]	8 [10.5]	29 [38.2]	19 [25.0]	0 [0.0]
	20 [26.3]			48 [63.2]		
FO-bgd	3 [5.7]	10 [18.9]	7 [13.2]	23 [43.4]	10 [18.9]	0 [0.0]
	13 [24.6]			33 [62.3]		
Over 60						
All	12 [15.4]	18 [23.1]	7 [9.0]	25 [32.1]	15 [19.2]	1 [1.3]
	30 [38.5]			40 [51.3]		
Male	8 [16.0]	11 [22.0]	4 [8.0]	16 [32.0]	10 [20.0]	1 [2.0]
	19 [38.0]			26 [52.0]		
Female	4 [14.8]	7 [25.9]	2 [7.4]	9 [33.3]	5 [18.5]	0 [0.0]
	11 [40.7]			14 [51.8]		
FO-bgd	2 [7.1]	8 [28.6]	4 [14.3]	8 [28.6]	6 [21.4]	0 [0.0]
	10 [35.7]			14 [50.0]		

Table 4.23: (FPS) *Snakka* and *Forstanda* as Faroese Words

As noted, the literature on *forstanda* and *snakka* – including the most recent dictionaries – has emphasised the difference between spoken and written Faroese. Questions 21 and 22 address this specific issue.

21. To what extent do you agree with the following?

We should avoid words such as *snakka* and *forstanda* when we speak.

Although, on average, the largest group (but not a majority) believe that words such as *forstanda* and *snakka* should be avoided in spoken Faroese, Table 4.24 displays a clear difference between the youngest age band and the older two. In the oldest groups, a majority believe that Danicisms should be avoided in spoken Faroese; people in the youngest bracket, however, are almost evenly divided (and actually marginally buck the trend as the most common response is that such words should not be avoided). As in the previous table, the percentage of respondents selecting ‘neither’ is considerably higher

in the youngest category (27.3%, compared to 15.7 and 15.4 in the 41-60 and Over 60 age bands respectively). Again, almost a third (32.3%) of male respondents in this band are unwilling to agree with either side. Two respondents commented that it amounts to a question of style ('stíl/niveau').

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	65 [21.9]	81 [27.3]	54 [18.2]	69 [23.2]	26 [8.8]	2 [0.7]
	146 [49.2]			95 [32.0]		
FO-bgd	23 [22.5]	26 [25.5]	21 [20.6]	26 [25.5]	6 [5.9]	0 [0.0]
	49 [48.0]			32 [31.4]		
40 and under						
All	9 [13.6]	14 [21.2]	18 [27.3]	15 [22.7]	10 [15.2]	0 [0.0]
	23 [34.8]			25 [37.9]		
Male	5 [16.1]	5 [16.1]	10 [32.3]	7 [22.6]	4 [12.9]	0 [0.0]
	10 [32.3]			11 [35.5]		
Female	4 [11.4]	9 [25.7]	8 [22.9]	8 [22.9]	6 [17.1]	0 [0.0]
	13 [37.1]			14 [40.0]		
FO-bgd	3 [14.3]	5 [23.8]	6 [28.6]	4 [19.0]	3 [14.3]	0 [0.0]
	8 [38.1]			7 [33.3]		
41-60						
All	37 [24.2]	45 [29.4]	24 [15.7]	39 [25.5]	7 [4.6]	1 [0.7]
	82 [53.6]			46 [30.1]		
Male	23 [30.3]	17 [22.4]	15 [19.7]	18 [23.7]	3 [3.9]	0 [0.0]
	40 [52.7]			21 [27.6]		
Female	14 [18.4]	28 [36.8]	8 [10.5]	21 [27.6]	4 [5.3]	1 [1.3]
	42 [55.2]			25 [32.9]		
FO-bgd	9 [17.0]	16 [30.2]	12 [22.6]	15 [28.3]	1 [1.9]	0 [0.0]
	25 [47.2]			16 [30.2]		
Over 60						
All	19 [24.4]	22 [28.2]	12 [15.4]	15 [19.2]	9 [11.5]	1 [1.3]
	41 [52.6]			24 [30.7]		
Male	15 [30.0]	11 [22.0]	8 [16.0]	9 [18.0]	6 [12.0]	1 [2.0]
	26 [52.0]			15 [30.0]		
Female	4 [14.8]	11 [40.7]	4 [14.8]	5 [18.5]	3 [11.1]	0 [0.0]
	15 [55.5]			8 [29.6]		
FO-bgd	11 [39.3]	5 [17.9]	3 [10.7]	7 [25.0]	2 [7.1]	0 [0.0]
	16 [57.2]			9 [32.1]		

Table 4.24: (FPS) *Snakka* and *Forstanda* in Spoken Faroese

22. To what extent do you agree with the following?

We should avoid words such as snakka and forstanda when we write.

There is greater consensus when it comes to the writing of *forstanda* and *snakka*: a comfortable majority in each subcategory do not advocate the inclusion of such terms in written Faroese.

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	109 [36.7]	109 [36.7]	31 [10.4]	32 [10.8]	15 [5.1]	1 [0.3]
	218 [73.4]			47 [15.9]		
FO-bgd	37 [36.3]	42 [41.2]	10 [9.8]	9 [8.8]	4 [3.9]	0 [0.0]
	79 [77.5]			13 [12.7]		
40 and under						
All	19 [28.8]	23 [34.8]	10 [15.2]	9 [13.6]	5 [7.6]	0 [0.0]
	42 [63.6]			14 [21.2]		
Male	8 [25.8]	10 [32.3]	6 [19.4]	5 [16.1]	2 [6.5]	0 [0.0]
	18 [58.1]			7 [22.6]		
Female	11 [31.4]	13 [37.1]	4 [11.4]	4 [11.4]	3 [8.6]	0 [0.0]
	24 [68.5]			7 [20.0]		
FO-bgd	7 [33.3]	7 [33.3]	3 [14.3]	2 [9.5]	2 [9.5]	0 [0.0]
	14 [66.6]			4 [19.0]		
41-60						
All	58 [37.9]	65 [42.5]	12 [7.8]	15 [9.8]	3 [2.0]	0 [0.0]
	123 [80.4]			18 [11.8]		
Male	28 [36.8]	29 [38.2]	8 [10.5]	9 [11.8]	2 [2.6]	0 [0.0]
	57 [75.0]			11 [14.4]		
Female	30 [39.5]	35 [46.1]	4 [5.3]	6 [7.9]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
	65 [85.6]			7 [9.2]		
FO-bgd	17 [32.1]	27 [50.9]	5 [9.4]	4 [7.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	44 [83.0]			4 [7.5]		
Over 60						
All	32 [41.0]	21 [26.9]	9 [11.5]	8 [10.3]	7 [9.0]	1 [1.3]
	53 [67.9]			15 [19.3]		
Male	19 [38.0]	13 [26.0]	7 [14.0]	6 [12.0]	4 [8.0]	1 [2.0]
	32 [64.0]			10 [20.0]		
Female	13 [48.1]	8 [29.6]	2 [7.4]	1 [3.7]	3 [11.1]	0 [0.0]
	21 [77.7]			4 [14.8]		
FO-bgd	13 [46.4]	8 [28.6]	2 [7.1]	3 [10.7]	2 [7.1]	0 [0.0]
	21 [75.0]			5 [17.8]		

Table 4.25: (FPS) *Snakka* and *Forstanda* in Written Faroese

23. To what extent do you agree with the following?

It's easier to read Danish subtitles than Faroese subtitles on the television.

In an attempt to keep the questionnaire short and relevant to respondents, no questions concerning the internet were included. However, as Danish plays a substantial role in subtitling, I felt it would be interesting to see whether this is a linguistic domain that could be taken over by Faroese if resources were available, or whether there would be local opposition to such a development. Faroese subtitles frequently appear on the news programme, *Dagur og vika*, and are increasingly common on American television

programmes aimed at adolescents.¹⁸⁵ Yet, as Althusser has argued (cf. 2.2.2), people often advocate continuation of the status quo.

Table 4.26 shows that opinions are split, but in all categories, most respondents disagree with the statement. The two sides are closest in the 40 and under band, although those in all age brackets who agree constitute a substantial minority. The percentage of those who feel unable to commit to either side is, again, relatively high (16.2% on average).

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	46 [15.5]	59 [19.9]	48 [16.2]	76 [25.6]	65 [21.9]	3 [1.0]
	105 [35.4]			141 [47.5]		
FO-bgd	17 [16.7]	24 [23.5]	15 [14.7]	24 [23.5]	22 [21.6]	0 [0.0]
	41 [40.2]			46 [45.2]		
40 and under						
All	13 [19.7]	14 [21.2]	9 [13.6]	15 [22.7]	14 [21.2]	1 [1.5]
	27 [40.9]			29 [43.9]		
Male	4 [12.9]	8 [25.8]	4 [12.9]	6 [19.4]	9 [29.0]	0 [0.0]
	12 [38.7]			15 [48.4]		
Female	9 [25.7]	6 [17.1]	5 [14.3]	9 [25.7]	5 [14.3]	1 [2.9]
	15 [42.8]			14 [40.0]		
FO-bgd	3 [14.3]	6 [28.6]	4 [19.0]	2 [9.5]	6 [28.6]	0 [0.0]
	9 [42.9]			8 [38.1]		
41-60						
All	17 [11.1]	37 [24.2]	24 [15.7]	39 [25.5]	36 [23.5]	0 [0.0]
	54 [35.3]			75 [49.0]		
Male	8 [10.5]	18 [23.7]	11 [14.5]	19 [25.0]	20 [26.3]	0 [0.0]
	26 [34.2]			39 [51.3]		
Female	9 [11.8]	19 [25.0]	12 [15.8]	20 [26.3]	16 [21.1]	0 [0.0]
	28 [36.8]			36 [47.4]		
FO-bgd	6 [11.3]	14 [26.4]	10 [18.9]	14 [26.4]	9 [17.0]	0 [0.0]
	20 [37.7]			23 [43.4]		
Over 60						
All	16 [20.5]	8 [10.3]	15 [19.2]	22 [28.2]	15 [19.2]	2 [2.6]
	24 [30.8]			37 [47.4]		
Male	10 [20.0]	4 [8.0]	11 [22.0]	11 [22.0]	12 [24.0]	2 [4.0]
	14 [28.0]			23 [46.0]		
Female	6 [22.2]	3 [11.1]	4 [14.8]	11 [40.7]	3 [11.1]	0 [0.0]
	9 [33.3]			14 [51.8]		
FO-bgd	8 [28.6]	4 [14.3]	1 [3.6]	8 [28.6]	7 [25.0]	0 [0.0]
	12 [42.9]			15 [53.6]		

Table 4.26: (FPS) Danish Subtitles

¹⁸⁵ During the field-work, these included *Malcolm in the Middle* (Fa. *Miðlingurin Malcolm*) and *Glee*.

4.3.7 Additional Comments

Sixty-eight respondents (22.9%) made additional comments at the end of the questionnaire. Table 4.27 summarises comments that were made by two or more respondents about the Faroese language situation.

<i>Comment</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
1. Faroese purism has gone too far.	8
2. Faroese is at risk.	5
3. It is good to be able to speak Danish.	4
4. There are regional differences.	4
5. English should be prioritised over Danish.	2
6. Faroese uses too many Danicisms.	2
7. There are better alternatives to <i>tosa</i> . ¹⁸⁶	2

Table 4.27: (FPS) Summary of Additional Comments

While most of the comments are self-explanatory, it is perhaps worthwhile to look at the first and fourth comments in greater detail, as these are of most interest to the thesis.

As stated in 1.2, there is evidence that Faroese purism has strengthened the position of Danish on the islands, as ‘new’ Faroese words alienate those who do not understand them. Three respondents wrote that they, or others they know, struggle to understand ‘new’ Faroese (commonly derogatively labelled *grótføroyskt*¹⁸⁷). This point of view is, perhaps, most poignantly expressed by one older respondent writing in Danish:

Jeg er 83 år og har svært ved at forstå mit eget modersmål da det er blevet for ‘færøskt’. Opskrifter, avisartikler o.s.v. må jeg have hjælp til at forstå nogle gange og det syndes [*sic*] jeg er en kedelig udvikling. [FP103]¹⁸⁸

Similarly, two respondents said that Faroese has become too ‘Icelandic’, with one remarking that this hinders understanding. A further two respondents wrote that the removal of ‘Danish’ words from Faroese is making the language poorer.

¹⁸⁶ One respondent suggests *snakka* and one *tala*. The latter is commonly used in modern Faroese for ‘to make a speech’.

¹⁸⁷ *Grótføroyskt* plays on the word *rótføroyskt*, lit. “root Faroese” i.e. “authentic Faroese” (Skála and Mikkelsen 2007b). The *grót*-element translates as ‘stone(s)’.

¹⁸⁸ “I am 83 years old and find it difficult to understand my own mother tongue as it has become too ‘Faroese’. I sometimes require help to understand recipes, newspaper articles, etc. and I think that is a sad development.”

Those who commented on regional differences did so in relation to Danish-influenced vocabulary in Faroese. One respondent implied that *forstanda*, while not used/heard ‘where s/he is’, may be used elsewhere, but no geographical location was specified:

Orðið ‘snakka’ verður betri góðtikið og verður meiri brúkt enn ‘forstanda’, ið nærum ikki kemur fyri longur – í øllum førum har eg eri. [FP232]¹⁸⁹

Similarly, a second respondent’s comment could be interpreted as implying that Faroese dialects differ in their use of Danish-based words, although it does not specify which dialects may be affected:

Eins týðningamikið tað er at verja føroyskt móti danskari ávirkan, er tað at verja føroyskar dialektir móti eini “einsrættan” av føroyskum. [FP255]¹⁹⁰

A third respondent separated Tórshavn from the rest of the islands:

Fólk á bygd tosað [*sic*] enn ‘gamalt’ føroyskt. Her í Havn tosað [*sic*] vit betri føroyskt. Vit eru trygg við nýggj orð – størri orða [*sic*] mál. Skuldi lært bygdafólk ordiligt føroyskt. [FP161]¹⁹¹

A fourth respondent specifically mentioned Suðuroy and its dialect as one which incorporates many Danish words:

[S]amstundis eri eg uppvoksin í Suðri har vit brúka nógv dansk orð. Eg meini at tað er øgiliga vígtigt at bevara dialektir so eg royni at tosa sum eg altíð havi gjørt við nógvum danskum orðum. [FP181]¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ “The word ‘snakka’ is more accepted and is used more than ‘forstanda’, which is hardly heard any more – at least not where I am.”

¹⁹⁰ “Just as important as protecting Faroese from Danish influence is protecting Faroese dialects from a ‘standardisation’ of Faroese.”

¹⁹¹ “People in the villages still speak ‘old’ Faroese. Here in Tórshavn we speak better Faroese. We are comfortable with new words – bigger vocabulary. Should teach the villagers proper Faroese.”

¹⁹² “[...]. At the same time, I grew up on Suðuroy where we use many Danish words. I think it is incredibly important to preserve dialects, so I try to speak as I have always done with lots of Danish words.”

No respondents were overly critical of the investigation itself: three commented that the closed nature of the questions sometimes made it difficult to respond; two remarked that the questions on *forstanda* and *snakka* did not take into account the question of style and six respondents challenged an additional question under the Danish in Society section as being poorly worded. It was subsequently removed from later questionnaires (used at Suðuroy and Handilsskúlin) and not analysed in this chapter. Conversely, ten respondents commented favourably on the questionnaire and the project in general, and either wished the best for the survey or wrote that such field-work is interesting or necessary in the Faroes.

4.3.8 Discussion and Conclusions

In view of the fact that the Faroese are bilingual, as discussed in 1.2.2, it is perhaps surprising that so few Faroese consider themselves to have both Faroese and Danish as joint main languages. As Table 4.5 showed, over 90% of respondents selected Faroese as their sole main language. This is, however, not entirely unexpected: as Grosjean (1982: 124) – with references to both Gal (1979) and Haugen (1973) – points out, bilinguals tend to underplay their competence in one or even both of their languages.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, the data from Table 4.5 appears to support Poulsen's claim that the Faroese do not view Danish as central to their own linguistic identity ('we [the Faroese] are monolingual, but with an unusually or abnormally good knowledge of a foreign language'; cf. 1.2.2): it is a language that they speak well, but it does not constitute part of who they are. This is true of all age groups in the survey.

However, once we acknowledge how comfortable the Faroese are with reading and writing Danish (Tables 4.11 and 4.12), we can see that the distinction between Faroese attitudes to the two languages is less pronounced. The majority of all respondents are more or less at home reading either language: only a fifth of respondents in the younger two brackets and a sixth in the oldest bracket show a preference for Faroese. When writing, the most popular response among all respondents is that there is no discernible difference, although this answer only forms an absolute majority in the oldest bracket. While it appears that younger Faroese are increasingly comfortable writing in Faroese, the fact remains that around a fifth of all respondents

¹⁹³ Data from Table 4.8 supports this view, as only 63.3% of respondents considered themselves fluent in Danish.

are more at ease with Danish. In light of these statistics, the claim that Danish constitutes an FL on the islands becomes even harder to substantiate.

The survey reveals the fact that the Faroese have considerable exposure to metropolitan Danish. As stated previously, all respondents had been to Denmark and the majority of respondents (57.2%) had spent a year or more there. Today's exposure to metropolitan Danish is doubtless one of the reasons why the pronunciation of Danish on the islands has changed over the past 100 years. Following the change from Print-Danish to metropolitan Danish, perhaps one of the most surprising findings arising from the research is that a slight majority of respondents feel that Print-Danish should be taught in schools. Since so many commentators have concluded that Print-Danish is all but extinct on the islands, a will to see it resurrected in the educational system is somewhat unexpected: especially since only 10 respondents (3.4%) indicated that they consciously strive to speak Danish with a Faroese accent.

The responses to the question on Print-Danish in schools formed a pattern which featured elsewhere in the survey: agreement between the youngest and oldest age brackets, with the central age bracket differing to some extent. In this case, the central age bracket is less willing to envisage a place for Print-Danish in Faroese schools, with a slight majority selecting 'no'. The same pattern, although not as pronounced, is seen on three further occasions. (1) While the majority of all respondents agreed it is possible to live a good life in the Faroes without being able to speak Faroese, the youngest and oldest bands are more emphatic in their response. (2) Although the majority disagree that words such as *snakka* and *forstanda* are as Faroese as *tosa* and *skilja*, more people in the middle band disagree with the statement than in the other two. (3) While the majority of respondents in each age category feel that words such as *snakka* and *forstanda* should be avoided in written Faroese, the majority in the central band is considerably larger.

The distinction between the two oldest brackets can perhaps be explained by the fact that the oldest group grew up in a society which was still heavily influenced by Danish: for example, anyone in that category would have been at least twelve by the time the official Faroese Bible translation appeared. As decolonisation ensued and Faroese incorporated new domains, it is conceivable that the younger Faroese of that era – respondents in the middle bracket – would have been more impassioned about its survival and defence. These younger Faroese would have been educated while Faroese purism was at its peak and while concerted efforts were being made to establish a

borderline between ‘Danishness’ and ‘Faroese’ness’. This could explain why fewer respondents in the middle bracket believe it is possible to live a good life in the Faroes without being able to speak Faroese and why these respondents are less in favour of Print-Danish having a place in Faroese schools. Print-Danish is a synergetic product which crosses the very cultural boundaries their childhood taught them to define.

It is against this background – the desire to separate the two languages – that the re-definition of Danish as an FL took place. However, the data from this survey hints at another ‘shift’ taking place within Faroese society. On the one hand, as noted above, the youngest bracket occasionally ‘agrees’ with the oldest age bracket; on the other hand, the youngest bracket occasionally differs from both older brackets. Examples of the latter are, crucially, in Table 4.20, where a slight majority in the youngest bracket do not consider Danish to be an FL, and Table 4.24, where a marginally larger group in the youngest bracket, although not a majority, do not feel that Danicisms should necessarily be avoided in spoken Faroese.

On a practical level, we can see that the Faroese are learning Danish at an earlier age (Table 4.13) and that, on the whole, the younger generation consider themselves better at it. This is perhaps best exemplified by Table 4.8 which shows that, in the youngest age bracket, a majority of those in the FO-bgd category claim that they speak fluent Danish. Table 4.22 emphasises that the youngest band consider a practical reason for learning Danish – to increase employment and study opportunities – to be marginally more important than a pan-Scandinavian ideological motivation.

A further feature is the high percentage of respondents in the youngest band in Tables 4.23 and 4.24 (on *snakka* and *forstanda* as Faroese words and whether they should be avoided in spoken Faroese) who ticked ‘neither’. The data appears to suggest that respondents in the youngest band have grown up in a period of Faroese language history where they are caught between the purist tendencies of the previous generation and an increasing inclination towards greater acceptance of Danicisms (as evidenced by Table 4.24). As we shall see, this could also be indicative of a greater acceptance of the Danish language within Faroese society (as indicated by Table 4.20), even if the respondents do not necessarily identify with the language personally.

Although the postal survey, unlike the school survey, sought to identify generational, rather than geographical trends, the comment on the dialect of Suðuroy and its greater use of Danish words (see 4.3.7) suggests a difference between the relationship of that island and the rest of the Faroes with Danish. As the school survey

includes responses from three separate regions, including Suðuroy, the analysis of those responses addresses this point.

Finally, it is difficult to identify any consistent trends relating to gender in the data. Admittedly, there are differences of up to 20% between the male and female responses to some of the questions, and on the whole men are more inclined to select the 'neither' option in the relevant tables, but there do not seem to be any significant variations in the overall picture. Even a brief analysis of the tables shows that it is problematic in many cases to distinguish the respondents according to gender, e.g. on the question of whether males or females are more pro-Danish/pro-Faroese in their opinions. Nevertheless, there are occasionally considerable differences. To take a few examples, Table 4.15 shows differences between the genders of around 20% in each age bracket, but while a majority of all respondents felt that works written by Faroese writers in Danish should be translated into Faroese, the degree to which they agreed varied markedly. In the youngest age bracket, 90.3% of male respondents answered 'yes', whereas only 71.4% of females did so; in the middle bracket (41-60), again a higher percentage of male respondents answered 'yes' (82.9% male-65.8% female), but in the oldest bracket, those over 60, female affirmative responses were around 20% higher than those given by males (74.1 female-54.0 male). Tables 4.16, 4.18 and 4.19 exhibit a similar pattern in terms of percentages, although the differences are less pronounced. Table 4.15, on its own, could lead to the conclusion that younger male respondents are more 'pro-Faroese' than younger females and older female respondents are more 'pro-Faroese' than older males – although, of course, all are generally pro-Faroese. However, Table 4.18, which examines opinions on the quality of life in the Faroes of someone who is not a Faroese-speaker, shows that in the two younger brackets, more male respondents than females find that it is possible to lead a good life without being able to speak Faroese. Similarly, Table 4.17 shows that, while all respondents feel that resident Danes in the Faroes should learn Faroese, a higher percentage of women hold this view. Table 4.17, therefore, might suggest that women are largely more pro-Faroese than men, in contrast to the conclusion that we were tempted to draw from Table 4.15. To sum up, it is very difficult to deduce any general conclusions from the survey results along gender lines.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ This perception is further exacerbated by the fact that men are more inclined to feel that it is possible to lead a good life without Danish (Table 4.18) and without Faroese (Table 4.19).

4.4 The Faroes School Survey: Data

4.4.1 Response

Four schools took part in the Faroes school survey:

- *Føroya studentaskúli og HF-skeið* in Hoydalar, Tórshavn (hereafter ‘Hoydalar’). Of the 632 pupils at the school, 192 participated (30% of the total);
- *Studentaskúlin og HF-skeiðið í Eysturoy* (hereafter ‘Eysturoy’) in Kambsdalur, on the outskirts of Fuglafjørður, on the island of Eysturoy. Of the 250 pupils enrolled at the school, 161 participated (64%);
- *Miðnámsskúlin í Suðuroy* (hereafter ‘Suðuroy’) in Hov, situated between the main settlements of Tvøroyri and Vágur on Suðuroy. Of the school’s 110 pupils, 92 participated (84%);
- *Føroya Handilsskúli* (hereafter ‘Handilsskúlin’) in Tórshavn. Of the 320 pupils enrolled, 190 participated (59%).

Several respondents were discounted due to their age: in order to focus solely on younger members of society, no respondents over 26 are included in the following tables. This affected 11 pupils from Hoydalar, 3 from Eysturoy, 1 from Suðuroy and 15 from Handilsskúlin.

Traditional discussion of response rates, as in 4.3.1, is irrelevant in the present instance: to my knowledge, all pupils who received questionnaires completed them, which represents a 100% rate. To achieve the highest level of response is ideal – we do not need to concern ourselves with ‘the characteristics of non-responders’ (Mangione 1995: 61) – but we need to consider the make-up of that response. Although the selection of pupils was not entirely random, depending as it did on pupil availability on the given days and at the given times, ‘human bias’ (Bryman 2004: 172) played no part in the selection process and an element of chance remained. Consequently, I consider the sample of questionnaire responses to be representative of the (statistical) population.

In the tables that follow, the FO-bgd distinction from 4.3.2 is used again. Table 4.28 shows the number of pupils who qualify for this category – a majority at each school:

	<i>FO-bgd</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Hoydalar	98	181	54.1
Eysturoy	109	164	65.5
Suðuroy	64	91	70.3
Handilsskúlin	109	175	63.2

Table 4.28: (FSS) Pupils in the FO-bgd Category

4.4.2 Data 1: Background

1. Age

All respondents who feature in the following tables were aged between 15 and 26.

2. Gender (cf. Tables 4.2, 6.2)

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Hoydalar	57 [31.5]	124 [68.5]	181
Eysturoy	54 [32.9]	110 [67.1]	164
Suðuroy	29 [31.9]	62 [68.1]	91
Handilsskúlin	94 [53.7]	81 [46.3]	175

Table 4.29: (FSS) Gender¹⁹⁵

Unlike the postal survey, the school survey included respondents from a wide geographical area. In order to analyse better the role geography might play in relation to the status of Danish in Faroese society, the following questions were included (Tables 4.30, 4.31):

3a. Do you live ... ?

	<i>In Tórshavn</i>	<i>Outside Tórshavn</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar	148 [81.8]	31 [17.1]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]
Eysturoy	1 [0.6]	163 [99.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin	133 [76.0]	42 [24.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.30: (FSS) Pupils Living in Tórshavn

3b. How long have you lived on Suðuroy?

	<i>>10 yr</i>	<i><10 yr</i>
Suðuroy	85 [93.4]	6 [6.6]

Table 4.31: (FSS) Length of Time Lived on Suðuroy

This information is used in the subsequent tables to create a further category for each school. As only 1 respondent from Eysturoy lived in Tórshavn, and no general

¹⁹⁵ Staff members from each school assured me that the percentages are representative of the gender composition at the respective schools.

conclusions can be based upon a single respondent, the location category was omitted for that school.

4. What is your main language? (cf. Tables 4.5, 6.6)

As in the postal survey, approximately 90% of respondents in the school survey consider Faroese to be their sole main language (Table 4.32). Of interest is the small number of pupils who feel that Danish is a main language: only one respondent (from Suðuroy) has Danish as his/her main language and, from all schools, only 46 (out of 611 pupils, 7.5%) see it as one of their principal languages. Very few languages other than Faroese and Danish are entered as main languages by the pupils.¹⁹⁶

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Fa. + Da.</i>	<i>Fa. + Other</i>	<i>Da. + Other</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
Hoydalar							
All	162 [89.5]	0 [0.0]	15 [8.3]	3 [1.7]	1 [0.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	132 [89.2]	0 [0.0]	13 [8.8]	2 [1.4]	1 [0.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy							
All	149 [90.9]	0 [0.0]	10 [6.1]	4 [2.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]
Suðuroy							
All	83 [91.2]	1 [1.1]	7 [7.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	80 [94.1]	0 [0.0]	5 [5.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin							
All	160 [91.4]	0 [0.0]	8 [4.6]	4 [2.3]	0 [0.0]	3 [1.7]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	121 [91.0]	0 [0.0]	6 [4.5]	3 [2.3]	0 [0.0]	3 [2.3]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.32: (FSS) Main Language

5. How many times have you been to Denmark? (cf. Tables 4.6, 6.7)

All respondents to the postal survey have been to Denmark at least twice. Table 4.33 shows that the vast majority of school survey respondents have also been to Denmark: only 2 pupils, out of 611, have never been there. As one might expect, the percentages for students who have been to Denmark several times, although very high everywhere, are highest at the Tórshavn schools.

¹⁹⁶ Tables A1 and A2 in Appendix 2 show which languages the pupils speak with which parent.

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Several</i>	<i>From DK</i>
Hoydalar					
All	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]	174 [96.1]	6 [3.3]
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.0]	97 [99.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.7]	142 [95.9]	5 [3.4]
Eysturoy					
All	1 [0.6]	2 [1.2]	4 [2.4]	152 [92.7]	5 [3.0]
FO-bgd	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]	3 [2.8]	103 [94.5]	1 [0.9]
Suðuroy					
All	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]	8 [8.8]	80 [87.9]	2 [2.2]
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]	7 [10.9]	56 [87.5]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]	8 [9.4]	76 [89.4]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin					
All	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]	170 [97.1]	2 [1.1]
FO-bgd	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]	106 [97.2]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]	1 [0.8]	129 [97.0]	2 [1.5]

Table 4.33: (FSS) Visits to Denmark

6. Have you lived in Denmark? (cf. Tables 4.7, 6.8)

Table 4.34 shows considerable geographical differences among the *studentaskúlar*: whereas approximately two-thirds of pupils from Eysturoy and Suðuroy have never spent over a month in Denmark, the majority of pupils from Hoydalar have. The result from Handilsskúlin is therefore interesting, as it resembles the schools on Eysturoy and Suðuroy, despite its Tórshavn location. While distinctions between the social backgrounds of pupils at the two schools in the capital could account for this, they are beyond the scope of the thesis. What is clear is that a fairly large minority of pupils (29.8% from Hoydalar, 21.4% from Eysturoy, 17.6% from Suðuroy and 20.6% from Handilsskúlin) have spent over a year in Denmark, and have consequently had considerable exposure to metropolitan Danish.

	<i>No</i>	<i>1-3 mth</i>	<i>3-6 mth</i>	<i>6 mth-1 yr</i>	<i>1-2 yr</i>	<i>2-5 yr</i>	<i>>5 yr</i>
Hoydalar							
All	86 [47.5]	4 [2.2]	14 [7.7]	23 [12.7]	14 [7.7]	15 [8.3]	25 [13.8]
FO-bgd	80 [81.6]	4 [4.1]	14 [14.3]				
Tórshavn	68 [45.9]	3 [2.0]	12 [8.1]	21 [14.2]	12 [8.1]	12 [8.1]	20 [13.5]
Eysturoy							
All	103 [62.8]	11 [6.7]	7 [4.3]	8 [4.9]	8 [4.9]	18 [11.0]	9 [5.5]
FO-bgd	94 [86.2]	11 [10.1]	4 [3.7]				

Suðuroy							
All	61 [67.0]	2 [2.2]	7 [7.7]	5 [5.5]	4 [4.4]	8 [8.8]	4 [4.4]
FO-bgd	57 [89.1]	2 [3.1]	5 [7.8]				
Suð.	58 [68.2]	2 [2.4]	7 [8.2]	5 [5.9]	4 [4.7]	8 [9.4]	1 [1.2]
Handilsskúlin							
All	110 [62.9]	11 [6.3]	3 [1.7]	15 [8.6]	15 [8.6]	10 [5.7]	11 [6.3]
FO-bgd	99 [90.8]	8 [7.3]	2 [1.8]				
Tórshavn	83 [62.4]	7 [5.3]	3 [2.3]	12 [9.0]	10 [7.5]	9 [6.8]	9 [6.8]

Table 4.34: (FSS) Time Lived in Denmark

4.4.3 Data 2: Danish Skills

7. How well do you know Danish? (cf. Tables 4.8, 6.9)

As Table 4.35 demonstrates, Faroese pupils consider themselves to have a very good command of Danish. The majority of pupils in all schools bar one think their Danish is fluent: in Suðuroy a very large minority are of this opinion. There are clear regional differences: in their self-assessment, the pupils at Hoydalar have the best knowledge of Danish, with two-thirds of respondents claiming to speak it fluently; followed by Handilsskúlin, Eysturoy and Suðuroy respectively. Although the percentage of those claiming to be fluent is noticeably smaller at Handilsskúlin than in Hoydalar – despite their shared Tórshavn location – the data shows that those at Handilsskúlin who live in Tórshavn think they have better Danish than those who do not.

As with the youngest band in the postal survey, the most popular response for all schools bar one – although it never forms an absolute majority – is that the respondent speaks Danish fluently, but not as well as s/he speaks his/her main language. On Suðuroy, the most popular response, again without being an absolute majority, was that the respondent speaks Danish ‘well’.

Of all 611 pupils from across the Faroes, only 10 (1.64%) felt they did not speak the language well.

	<i>Fluent (main)</i>	<i>Fluent (better than main)</i>	<i>Fluent (not main)</i>	<i>Fluent (equal)</i>	<i>Well</i>	<i>Quite well</i>	<i>Not well</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
Hoydalar								
All	2 [1.1]	24 [13.3]	70 [38.7]	25 [13.8]	42 [23.2]	16 [8.8]	2 [1.1]	0 [0.0]
	121 [66.9]							
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	7 [7.1]	41 [41.8]	8 [8.2]	29 [29.6]	12 [12.2]	1 [1.0]	0 [0.0]
	56 [57.1]							

Tórshavn	1 [0.7]	22 [14.9]	55 [37.2]	21 [14.2]	35 [23.6]	12 [8.1]	2 [1.4]	0 [0.0]
	99 [67.0]							
Eysturoy								
All	1 [0.6]	13 [7.9]	61 [37.2]	8 [4.9]	48 [29.3]	29 [17.7]	4 [2.4]	0 [0.0]
	83 [50.6]							
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	5 [4.6]	42 [38.5]	1 [0.9]	37 [33.9]	21 [19.3]	3 [2.8]	0 [0.0]
	48 [44.0]							
Suðuroy								
All	1 [1.1]	7 [7.7]	29 [31.9]	6 [6.6]	41 [45.1]	6 [6.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]
	43 [47.3]							
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	2 [3.1]	21 [32.8]	3 [4.7]	34 [53.1]	4 [6.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	25 [43.1]							
Suð.	0 [0.0]	6 [7.1]	28 [32.9]	6 [7.1]	39 [45.9]	6 [7.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	40 [47.1]							
Handilsskúlin								
All	0 [0.0]	11 [6.3]	64 [36.6]	20 [11.4]	45 [25.7]	27 [15.4]	4 [2.3]	4 [2.3]
	95 [54.3]							
FO-bgd	0 [0.0]	4 [3.7]	35 [32.1]	11 [10.1]	32 [29.4]	21 [19.3]	4 [3.7]	2 [1.8]
	50 [45.9]							
Tórshavn	0 [0.0]	10 [7.5]	56 [42.1]	15 [11.3]	32 [24.1]	18 [13.5]	1 [0.8]	1 [0.8]
	81 [60.9]							

Table 4.35: (FSS) Danish Skills

8. When you speak Danish, do you try to adopt ...? (cf. Tables 4.9, 6.11)

Although there is a fairly balanced distribution in Table 4.36 between the responses stating that the pupils try to speak with a Danish accent and that they do not think consciously about the accent they adopt, the most significant element here is the fact that the surveyed Faroese pupils do not attempt to sound Faroese when they speak Danish: only 15 pupils across the country (2.5%) claim to emphasise their Faroese identity by purposefully speaking Print-Danish.

	<i>A Fa. accent</i>	<i>A Da. accent</i>	<i>Do not think</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar					
All	2 [1.1]	99 [54.7]	80 [44.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	1 [1.8]	26 [45.6]	30 [52.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	1 [0.8]	73 [58.9]	50 [40.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	2 [2.0]	55 [56.1]	41 [41.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	1 [0.7]	82 [55.4]	65 [43.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy					
All	3 [1.8]	66 [40.2]	93 [56.7]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]
Male	2 [3.7]	24 [44.4]	27 [50.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.9]
Female	1 [0.9]	42 [38.2]	66 [60.0]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	3 [2.8]	44 [40.4]	61 [56.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]

Suðuroy					
All	2 [2.2]	52 [57.1]	36 [39.6]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]
Male	1 [3.4]	13 [44.8]	14 [48.3]	1 [3.4]	0 [0.0]
Female	1 [1.6]	39 [62.9]	22 [35.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	2 [3.1]	34 [53.1]	27 [42.2]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	2 [2.4]	49 [57.6]	33 [38.8]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin					
All	8 [4.6]	88 [50.3]	79 [45.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	7 [7.4]	52 [55.3]	35 [37.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	1 [1.2]	36 [44.4]	44 [54.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	7 [6.4]	50 [45.9]	52 [47.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	5 [3.8]	73 [54.9]	55 [41.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.36: (FSS) Attempted Accent when Speaking Danish

9. Do you think that you speak Danish with ... ? (cf. Tables 4.10, 6.12)

Similarly, few respondents feel that they speak Danish with a strong Faroese accent (Table 4.37). As regards the other three main options, overall responses from Tórshavn and Suðuroy show relative parity, with approximately a third of respondents in each category. Only Eysturoy differs: a majority of pupils there claim that they speak Danish with a Faroese accent and less than a fifth consider their accent to be fully metropolitan. One respondent from Handilsskúlin [FBT142], who wrote that s/he spoke with a strong Faroese accent, called it ‘Gøtudanskt’.

	<i>Strong Fa. accent</i>	<i>Less Fa. accent</i>	<i>More Da. accent</i>	<i>Da. accent</i>	<i>Other influenced accent</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar							
All	5 [2.8]	51 [28.2]	57 [31.5]	60 [33.1]	5 [2.8]	3 [1.7]	0 [0.0]
Male	2 [3.5]	16 [28.1]	17 [29.8]	20 [35.1]	2 [3.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	3 [2.4]	35 [28.2]	40 [32.3]	40 [32.3]	3 [2.4]	3 [2.4]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	4 [4.1]	39 [39.8]	32 [32.7]	19 [19.4]	2 [2.0]	2 [2.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	3 [2.0]	39 [26.4]	49 [33.1]	52 [35.1]	4 [2.7]	1 [0.7]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy							
All	9 [5.5]	75 [45.7]	45 [27.4]	31 [18.9]	3 [1.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]
Male	3 [5.6]	27 [50.0]	14 [25.9]	8 [14.8]	2 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	6 [5.5]	48 [43.6]	31 [28.2]	23 [20.9]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]
FO-bgd	8 [7.3]	58 [53.2]	28 [25.7]	11 [10.1]	3 [2.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]
Suðuroy							
All	1 [1.1]	32 [35.2]	31 [34.1]	24 [26.4]	2 [2.2]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]
Male	1 [3.4]	14 [48.3]	8 [27.6]	6 [20.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	0 [0.0]	18 [29.0]	23 [37.1]	18 [29.0]	2 [3.2]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	1 [1.6]	29 [45.3]	20 [31.3]	11 [17.2]	2 [3.1]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	1 [1.2]	31 [36.5]	30 [35.3]	20 [23.5]	2 [2.4]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]

Handilsskúlin							
All	15 [8.6]	48 [27.4]	57 [32.6]	48 [27.4]	5 [2.9]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.1]
Male	9 [9.6]	27 [28.7]	31 [33.0]	24 [25.5]	2 [2.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]
Female	6 [7.4]	21 [25.9]	26 [32.1]	24 [29.6]	3 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
FO-bgd	11 [10.1]	38 [34.9]	36 [33.0]	21 [19.3]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]
Tórshavn	7 [5.3]	35 [26.3]	49 [36.8]	37 [27.8]	4 [3.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]

Table 4.37: (FSS) Accent when Speaking Danish

The obligatory nature of the school survey (see 4.2.2) meant that the two questions from the postal survey on whether the respondent was most comfortable reading and writing Danish or Faroese could be expanded and that a useful distinction between inside and outside school could be made.

10. Are you more comfortable reading Danish or Faroese in school (in textbooks, etc.)? (cf. Tables 4.11, 6.14)

Even though Table 4.32 showed that some 90% of respondents have Faroese as their main language, Table 4.38 suggests that the situation is not so straightforward: while overall the largest number from each school prefer to read Faroese, they do not form a majority in any school.

Responses to this question do not reveal any significant gender or geographical distinctions: in each school males are marginally more likely to favour Danish than females, as were respondents from the capital's schools. Across the country, though, few pupils favour Danish, with percentages ranging from 9.9% (Suðuroy) to 16.0 (Hoydalar). Pupils from Suðuroy are marginally more likely than others to claim that there is no difference between reading Danish or Faroese in school.

One pupil from Hoydalar [FST162] wrote that 'grótføroyskt' (see fn.187) can be 'difficult to understand' ('ringt at skilja').

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Depends on subject</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar						
All	80 [44.2]	29 [16.0]	24 [13.3]	47 [26.0]	1 [0.6]	0 [0.0]
Male	23 [40.4]	14 [24.6]	9 [15.8]	11 [19.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	57 [46.0]	15 [12.1]	15 [12.1]	36 [29.0]	1 [0.8]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	57 [58.2]	5 [5.1]	13 [13.3]	22 [22.4]	1 [1.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	63 [42.6]	21 [14.2]	22 [14.9]	42 [28.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy						
All	78 [47.6]	17 [10.4]	26 [15.9]	41 [25.0]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]

Male	22 [40.7]	6 [11.1]	8 [14.8]	18 [33.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	56 [50.9]	11 [10.0]	18 [16.4]	23 [20.9]	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]
FO-bgd	60 [55.0]	7 [6.4]	17 [15.6]	23 [21.1]	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]
Suðuroy						
All	43 [47.3]	9 [9.9]	10 [11.0]	29 [31.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	17 [58.6]	5 [17.2]	2 [6.9]	5 [17.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	26 [41.9]	4 [6.5]	8 [12.9]	24 [38.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	38 [59.4]	4 [6.3]	5 [7.8]	17 [26.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	41 [48.2]	6 [7.1]	10 [11.8]	28 [32.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin						
All	77 [44.0]	25 [14.3]	20 [11.4]	50 [28.6]	3 [1.7]	0 [0.0]
Male	40 [42.6]	15 [16.0]	7 [7.4]	30 [31.9]	2 [2.1]	0 [0.0]
Female	37 [45.7]	10 [12.3]	13 [16.0]	20 [24.7]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	57 [52.3]	10 [9.2]	15 [13.8]	25 [22.9]	2 [1.8]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	55 [41.4]	18 [13.5]	19 [14.3]	39 [29.3]	2 [1.5]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.38: (FSS) Language Preference when Reading in School

11. Are you more comfortable reading Danish or Faroese outside school? (cf.

Tables 4.11, 6.15)

Table 4.39 resembles 4.38 in several key areas: again, males are marginally more likely to favour Danish than females, as are respondents from Tórshavn's schools. Similarly, those pupils favouring Danish constitute the smallest response group once more, with percentages ranging between 9.8 (Eysturoy) and 19.9 (Hoydalar). However, the percentage of those who favour reading Faroese outside school is even lower than for those who favour reading it in school, with percentages between 31.5 (Hoydalar) and 40.2 (Eysturoy). The most popular response in all schools is that it makes no difference to the pupil whether s/he read Danish or Faroese outside school: this group constitutes an overall majority in Suðuroy.

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar					
All	57 [31.5]	36 [19.9]	86 [47.5]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]
Male	16 [28.1]	16 [28.1]	25 [43.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	41 [33.1]	20 [16.1]	61 [49.2]	1 [0.8]	1 [0.8]
FO-bgd	44 [44.9]	6 [6.1]	47 [48.0]	1 [1.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	46 [31.1]	28 [18.9]	73 [49.3]	1 [0.7]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy					
All	66 [40.2]	16 [9.8]	80 [48.8]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.2]
Male	20 [37.0]	5 [9.3]	29 [53.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	46 [41.8]	11 [10.0]	51 [46.4]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]
FO-bgd	51 [46.8]	7 [6.4]	49 [45.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]

Suðuroy					
All	29 [31.9]	15 [16.5]	46 [50.5]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]
Male	10 [34.5]	7 [24.1]	11 [37.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.4]
Female	19 [30.6]	8 [12.9]	35 [56.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	26 [40.6]	5 [7.8]	32 [50.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]
Suð.	29 [34.1]	12 [14.1]	43 [50.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
Handilsskúlin					
All	68 [38.9]	32 [18.3]	75 [42.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	34 [36.2]	19 [20.2]	41 [43.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	34 [42.0]	13 [16.0]	34 [42.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	52 [47.7]	14 [12.8]	43 [39.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	48 [36.1]	23 [17.3]	62 [46.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.39: (FSS) Language Preference when Reading outside School

12. Are you more comfortable writing Danish or Faroese in school (in essays, etc.)?

(cf. Tables 4.12, 6.16)

Table 4.40 shows that when pupils are asked about their preferences for writing in either Danish or Faroese in school, the pattern differs slightly from their reading preferences. Although the percentages for preferring Faroese when writing in school are comparable to those who prefer it when reading at Hoydalar, Eysturoy and Handilsskúlin – and this is still the biggest group – the percentage of those who favour Danish when writing in school is higher than for reading. In Suðuroy the differences are more marked: whereas 47.9% prefer reading Faroese in school, only 33.0% favour Faroese when writing. This is only marginally ahead of the 29.7 who favour Danish. Respondents from Suðuroy are, as in the previous two tables, more likely to have no preference. As in the preceding tables, the percentage of pupils from Eysturoy who favour Danish is considerably lower.

There is some variation in the subcategories: in Hoydalar, male respondents preferring Danish outweigh those who prefer Faroese. Amongst female respondents on Suðuroy, the percentages favouring Faroese and those favouring Danish are equal; and although the percentage of pupils who prefer Faroese is discernably lower at Suðuroy, male respondents there actually favour Faroese to a greater extent than males at any other school. While one would expect the percentages of those favouring Faroese to be higher amongst the FO-bgd pupils – and at Hoydalar, Eysturoy and Handilsskúlin this is the case, with an absolute majority in this subcategory favouring Faroese at each school – only 39.1% of pupils in this category show a preference for Faroese at Suðuroy. It is

perhaps surprising that, at every school, around a fifth of respondents in the FO-bgd category prefer Danish when writing in school.

It is hard to identify consistent trends based on gender: while the percentage of females at Hoydalar and Eysturoy who favour Faroese form an overall majority and males are less likely to prefer Faroese, this pattern is reversed at Suðuroy and Handilsskúlin.

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Depends on subject</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar					
All	83 [45.9]	55 [30.4]	16 [8.8]	26 [14.4]	1 [0.6]
Male	20 [35.1]	22 [38.6]	7 [12.3]	7 [12.3]	1 [1.8]
Female	63 [50.8]	33 [26.6]	9 [7.3]	19 [15.3]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	61 [62.2]	19 [19.4]	8 [8.2]	10 [10.2]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	63 [42.6]	46 [31.1]	13 [8.8]	25 [16.9]	1 [0.7]
Eysturoy					
All	77 [47.0]	34 [20.7]	19 [11.6]	34 [20.7]	0 [0.0]
Male	20 [37.0]	10 [18.5]	5 [9.3]	19 [35.2]	0 [0.0]
Female	57 [51.8]	24 [21.8]	14 [12.7]	15 [13.6]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	57 [52.3]	18 [16.5]	13 [11.9]	21 [19.3]	0 [0.0]
Suðuroy					
All	30 [33.0]	27 [29.7]	7 [7.7]	27 [29.7]	0 [0.0]
Male	13 [44.8]	10 [34.5]	1 [3.4]	5 [17.2]	0 [0.0]
Female	17 [27.4]	17 [27.4]	6 [9.7]	22 [35.5]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	25 [39.1]	12 [18.8]	5 [7.8]	22 [34.4]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	29 [34.1]	23 [27.1]	6 [7.1]	27 [31.8]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin					
All	74 [42.3]	50 [28.6]	17 [9.7]	34 [19.4]	0 [0.0]
Male	41 [43.6]	29 [30.9]	5 [5.3]	19 [20.2]	0 [0.0]
Female	33 [40.7]	21 [25.9]	12 [14.8]	15 [18.5]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	55 [50.5]	24 [22.0]	9 [8.3]	21 [19.3]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	57 [42.9]	34 [25.6]	16 [12.0]	26 [19.5]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.40: (FSS) Language Preference when Writing in School

13. Are you more comfortable writing Danish or Faroese outside school? (cf. Tables 4.12, 6.17)

Whereas the last three tables did not reveal an overall preference for Faroese, Table 4.43 does so: at every school bar Suðuroy, the majority of pupils favour Faroese when writing outside school. Males from Suðuroy are much more likely to prefer Faroese than those from the rest of the country, but the small percentage of females who show a preference for Faroese there pulls down the southern island's overall percentage in that

category. Conversely, the very high proportion of females at Hoydalar and Eysturoy who favour Faroese inflates the overall percentage, even though male respondents at those schools are less emphatic in their preference for Faroese. Only at Handilsskúlin are the percentages for male and female respondents similar.

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar					
All	97 [53.6]	36 [19.9]	48 [26.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	25 [43.9]	15 [26.3]	17 [29.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	72 [58.1]	21 [16.9]	31 [25.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	63 [64.3]	8 [8.2]	27 [27.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	77 [52.0]	28 [18.9]	43 [29.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy					
All	98 [59.8]	14 [8.5]	51 [31.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]
Male	25 [46.3]	4 [7.4]	25 [46.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	73 [66.4]	10 [9.1]	26 [23.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]
FO-bgd	74 [67.9]	7 [6.4]	27 [24.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]
Suðuroy					
All	42 [46.2]	12 [13.2]	37 [40.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	18 [62.1]	5 [17.2]	6 [20.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	24 [38.7]	7 [11.3]	31 [50.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	32 [50.0]	6 [9.4]	26 [40.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	42 [49.4]	8 [9.4]	35 [41.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin					
All	92 [52.6]	29 [16.6]	53 [30.3]	1 [0.6]	0 [0.0]
Male	50 [53.2]	18 [19.1]	26 [27.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	42 [51.9]	11 [13.6]	27 [33.3]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	69 [63.3]	10 [9.2]	29 [26.6]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	68 [51.1]	19 [14.3]	46 [34.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.41: (FSS) Language Preference when Writing outside School

4.4.4 Data 3: Danish at School

14. Did you know Danish before you started to learn it at school? (cf. Tables 4.13, 6.18)

By adding the percentages in the first three columns of Table 4.42 we see that the vast majority of pupils at all schools knew some Danish when they started school: 82.9% at Hoydalar, 84.7% at Eysturoy, 87.9% at Suðuroy and 82.3% at Handilsskúlin. Between 11.0% (Suðuroy) and 21.5% (Hoydalar) spoke it fluently. At all schools the largest number of pupils – although only at Suðuroy does this constitute an absolute majority – knew a little Danish by the time they started school.

Two pupils who wrote that they spoke ‘a little’ Danish prior to starting school added that they had learned Danish through the media: one from Hoydalar [FST096] wrote simply ‘sjónvarp’ (“television”), while another from Handilsskúlin [FBT095] put ‘frá teknifilmum’ (“from cartoons”).

	<i>Yes, fluently</i>	<i>Yes, well</i>	<i>Yes, a little</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
Hoydalar					
All	39 [21.5]	43 [23.8]	68 [37.6]	31 [17.1]	0 [0.0]
Male	13 [22.8]	12 [21.1]	18 [31.6]	14 [24.6]	0 [0.0]
Female	26 [21.0]	31 [25.0]	50 [40.3]	17 [13.7]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	3 [3.1]	26 [26.5]	52 [53.1]	17 [17.3]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	32 [21.6]	35 [23.6]	54 [36.5]	27 [18.2]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy					
All	32 [19.5]	31 [18.9]	76 [46.3]	25 [15.2]	0 [0.0]
Male	9 [16.7]	6 [11.1]	29 [53.7]	10 [18.5]	0 [0.0]
Female	23 [20.9]	25 [22.7]	47 [42.7]	15 [13.6]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	7 [6.4]	22 [20.2]	60 [55.0]	20 [18.3]	0 [0.0]
Suðuroy					
All	10 [11.0]	24 [26.4]	46 [50.5]	11 [12.1]	0 [0.0]
Male	3 [10.3]	8 [27.6]	14 [48.3]	4 [13.8]	0 [0.0]
Female	7 [11.3]	16 [25.8]	32 [51.6]	7 [11.3]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	1 [1.6]	13 [20.3]	40 [62.5]	10 [15.6]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	8 [9.4]	23 [27.1]	43 [50.6]	11 [12.9]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin					
All	28 [16.0]	33 [18.9]	83 [47.4]	29 [16.6]	2 [1.1]
Male	18 [19.1]	16 [17.0]	41 [43.6]	18 [19.1]	1 [1.1]
Female	10 [12.3]	17 [21.0]	42 [51.9]	11 [13.6]	1 [1.2]
FO-bgd	6 [5.5]	19 [17.4]	59 [54.1]	23 [21.1]	2 [1.8]
Tórshavn	23 [17.3]	27 [20.3]	62 [46.6]	20 [15.0]	1 [0.8]

Table 4.42: (FSS) Danish Skills Prior to School

15. Should children learn the Faroese pronunciation of Danish in schools?

As Table 4.43 shows, responses from the schools in Tórshavn are very similar: roughly half favour the teaching of Print-Danish alongside metropolitan Danish at schools, with half opposed. At Eysturoy, the results are less balanced, with a slight majority in favour of Print-Danish being brought into the Faroese education system. At Suðuroy, however, some 71.4% are in favour of Print-Danish in school, with only 18.7% opposed. Very few pupils (between 2.2% [Hoydalar] and 6.6% [Suðuroy]) feel that metropolitan Danish should be excluded altogether from the syllabus.

Two pupils commented that they did not understand the question (see 4.3.5, Q.11).

	<i>Yes, both</i>	<i>Yes, instead</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar				
All	86 [47.5]	4 [2.2]	83 [45.9]	8 [4.4]
Male	29 [50.9]	2 [3.5]	22 [38.6]	4 [7.0]
Female	57 [46.0]	2 [1.6]	61 [49.2]	4 [3.2]
FO-bgd	50 [51.0]	2 [2.0]	41 [41.8]	5 [5.1]
Tórshavn	74 [50.0]	2 [1.4]	64 [43.2]	8 [5.4]
Eysturoy				
All	88 [53.7]	6 [3.7]	62 [37.8]	8 [4.9]
Male	31 [57.4]	2 [3.7]	19 [35.2]	2 [3.7]
Female	57 [51.8]	4 [3.6]	43 [39.1]	6 [5.5]
FO-bgd	61 [56.0]	5 [4.6]	38 [34.9]	5 [4.6]
Suðuroy				
All	65 [71.4]	6 [6.6]	17 [18.7]	3 [3.3]
Male	23 [79.3]	2 [6.9]	4 [13.8]	0 [0.0]
Female	42 [67.7]	4 [6.5]	13 [21.0]	3 [4.8]
FO-bgd	50 [78.1]	4 [6.3]	8 [12.5]	2 [3.1]
Suð.	60 [70.6]	6 [7.1]	16 [18.8]	3 [3.5]
Handilsskúlin				
All	84 [48.0]	9 [5.1]	78 [44.6]	4 [2.3]
Male	39 [41.5]	7 [7.4]	46 [48.9]	2 [2.1]
Female	45 [55.6]	2 [2.5]	32 [39.5]	2 [2.5]
FO-bgd	52 [47.7]	6 [5.5]	47 [43.1]	4 [3.7]
Tórshavn	64 [48.1]	6 [4.5]	59 [44.4]	4 [3.0]

Table 4.43: (FSS) The Faroese Pronunciation of Danish in Schools

16. Do you think that books that are written in Danish by Faroese authors should be translated into Faroese? (cf. Table 4.15)

The responses shown in Table 4.44 are straightforward, with little deviation across the country: approximately three-quarters of respondents in all schools feel that such works should be translated into Faroese.

Two pupils ([FST185] and [FBT143]) added that they considered the Faroese translations to be devoid of ‘sjarma’ (‘charm’).

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar				
All	130 [71.8]	48 [26.5]	2 [1.1]	1 [0.6]
Male	39 [68.4]	16 [28.1]	1 [1.8]	1 [1.8]
Female	91 [73.4]	32 [25.8]	1 [0.8]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	72 [73.5]	25 [25.5]	1 [1.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	104 [70.3]	42 [28.4]	1 [0.7]	1 [0.7]
Eysturoy				
All	127 [77.4]	33 [20.1]	1 [0.6]	3 [1.8]

Male	39 [72.2]	13 [24.1]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.7]
Female	88 [80.0]	20 [18.2]	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]
FO-bgd	90 [82.6]	16 [14.7]	1 [0.9]	2 [1.8]
Suðuroy				
All	70 [76.9]	18 [19.8]	2 [2.2]	1 [1.1]
Male	21 [72.4]	8 [27.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	49 [79.0]	10 [16.1]	2 [3.2]	1 [1.6]
FO-bgd	54 [84.4]	10 [15.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	65 [76.5]	17 [20.0]	2 [2.4]	1 [1.2]
Handilsskúlin				
All	130 [74.3]	42 [24.0]	2 [1.1]	1 [0.6]
Male	71 [75.5]	22 [23.4]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]
Female	59 [72.8]	20 [24.7]	1 [1.2]	1 [1.2]
FO-bgd	81 [74.3]	25 [22.9]	2 [1.8]	1 [0.9]
Tórshavn	97 [72.9]	34 [25.6]	1 [0.8]	1 [0.8]

Table 4.44: (FSS) Danish-Writing Faroese Authors in Translation

4.4.5 Data 4: Danish in Society

17. Can one be Faroese without speaking Faroese? (cf. Tables 4.16, 6.19)

The figures in Table 4.45 resemble those in Table 4.16, the corresponding table from the postal survey: the responses from most schools and in most categories show an approximate 50-50 split. The only school to deviate significantly from this norm is Eysturoy, where a clear majority do not believe that one can be Faroese without being able to speak Faroese.

There are some differences between the genders at both Eysturoy and Suðuroy: a significant majority of female respondents from Eysturoy (62.7% vs. 50.0% male) do not think that one can be Faroese without being able to speak Faroese, while a clear majority of male respondents from Suðuroy (62.1% vs. 50.0% female) believe that one can.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar				
All	89 [49.2]	89 [49.2]	0 [0.0]	3 [1.7]
Male	28 [49.1]	27 [47.4]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.5]
Female	61 [49.2]	62 [50.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]
FO-bgd	45 [45.9]	52 [53.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.0]
Tórshavn	76 [51.4]	70 [47.3]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.4]
Eysturoy				
All	64 [39.0]	96 [58.5]	1 [0.6]	3 [1.8]
Male	27 [50.0]	27 [50.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	37 [33.6]	69 [62.7]	1 [0.9]	3 [2.7]
FO-bgd	42 [38.5]	65 [59.6]	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]

Suðuroy				
All	49 [53.8]	41 [45.1]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]
Male	18 [62.1]	11 [37.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	31 [50.0]	30 [48.4]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	35 [54.7]	28 [43.8]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	46 [54.1]	38 [44.7]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin				
All	87 [49.7]	85 [48.6]	3 [1.7]	0 [0.0]
Male	45 [47.9]	46 [48.9]	3 [3.2]	0 [0.0]
Female	42 [51.9]	39 [48.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	50 [45.9]	58 [53.2]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	66 [49.6]	66 [49.6]	1 [0.8]	0 [0.0]

Table 4.45: (FSS) Faroese Language and Faroese Identity

18. Do you think that Danes who live in the Faroes should learn Faroese? (cf.

Tables 4.17, 6.20)

Table 4.46 again displays a similar response pattern across the four schools: between 76.9% (Suðuroy) and 81.7% (Eysturoy) feel that resident Danes should learn Faroese.

In the previous tables, no countrywide gender patterns were found: here, however, male respondents are more likely to answer ‘no’ than their female counterparts within each school. Although at Hoydalar this distinction is slight, it is more pronounced at Eysturoy and Handilsskúlin; even more so at Suðuroy, where the percentage of males who answer ‘no’ is double that of females (27.6% for males, compared to 12.9% for females).

Nine pupils (from the three *studentaskúlar*) wrote that it is up to the individual whether or not s/he learns Faroese. Six pupils (representing all four schools) wrote that Danes should at least learn to understand Faroese.

	Yes	No	Inv.	N/R
Hoydalar				
All	148 [81.8]	30 [16.6]	0 [0.0]	3 [1.7]
Male	45 [78.9]	10 [17.5]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.5]
Female	103 [83.1]	20 [16.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]
FO-bgd	83 [84.7]	14 [14.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.0]
Tórshavn	119 [80.4]	26 [17.6]	0 [0.0]	3 [2.0]
Eysturoy				
All	134 [81.7]	23 [14.0]	1 [0.6]	6 [3.7]
Male	44 [81.5]	9 [16.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.9]
Female	90 [81.8]	14 [12.7]	1 [0.9]	5 [4.5]
FO-bgd	91 [83.5]	12 [11.0]	1 [0.9]	5 [4.6]

Suðuroy				
All	70 [76.9]	16 [17.6]	1 [1.1]	4 [4.4]
Male	20 [69.0]	8 [27.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.4]
Female	50 [80.6]	8 [12.9]	1 [1.6]	3 [4.8]
FO-bgd	51 [79.7]	10 [15.6]	0 [0.0]	3 [4.7]
Suð.	67 [78.8]	13 [15.3]	1 [1.2]	4 [4.7]
Handilsskúlin				
All	139 [79.4]	29 [16.6]	2 [1.1]	5 [2.9]
Male	69 [73.4]	19 [20.2]	2 [2.1]	4 [4.3]
Female	70 [86.4]	10 [12.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
FO-bgd	92 [84.4]	13 [11.9]	1 [0.9]	3 [2.8]
Tórshavn	106 [79.7]	22 [16.5]	2 [1.5]	3 [2.3]

Table 4.46: (FSS) Whether Resident Danes Should Learn Faroese

19. Is it possible to live a good life in the Faroes without speaking Faroese? (cf.

Tables 4.18, 6.21)

The percentage of respondents who feel that it is possible to live a good life in the Faroes without being able to speak Faroese is surprisingly high: the vast majority of pupils feel that it is possible, and the only difference between schools is the strength of this positive response. Pupils at Handilsskúlin are marginally less emphatic in their positive response, with ‘only’ 77.7% responding ‘yes’, whereas some 92.3% of Suðuroy pupils (including 95.2% of female respondents) answered in the affirmative.

Four pupils (two from Eysturoy, one from Hoydalar and one from Handilsskúlin) thought that the individual must be able to understand Faroese. Two pupils, one from Hoydalar and one from Handilsskúlin, felt that ‘a good life’ needed clarification.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar				
All	159 [87.8]	16 [8.8]	4 [2.2]	2 [1.1]
Male	47 [82.5]	7 [12.3]	2 [3.5]	1 [1.8]
Female	112 [90.3]	9 [7.3]	2 [1.6]	1 [0.8]
FO-bgd	91 [92.9]	5 [5.1]	2 [2.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	131 [88.5]	11 [7.4]	4 [2.7]	2 [1.4]
Eysturoy				
All	137 [83.5]	21 [12.8]	2 [1.2]	4 [2.4]
Male	48 [88.9]	4 [7.4]	1 [1.9]	1 [1.9]
Female	89 [80.9]	17 [15.5]	1 [0.9]	3 [2.7]
FO-bgd	92 [84.4]	12 [11.0]	2 [1.8]	3 [2.8]
Suðuroy				
All	84 [92.3]	5 [5.5]	1 [1.1]	1 [1.1]

Male	25 [86.2]	3 [10.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.4]
Female	59 [95.2]	2 [3.2]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	59 [92.2]	4 [6.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]
Suð.	78 [91.8]	5 [5.9]	1 [1.2]	1 [1.2]
Handilsskúlin				
All	136 [77.7]	26 [14.9]	6 [3.4]	7 [4.0]
Male	73 [77.7]	13 [13.8]	4 [4.3]	4 [4.3]
Female	63 [77.8]	13 [16.0]	2 [2.5]	3 [3.7]
FO-bgd	82 [75.2]	18 [16.5]	5 [4.6]	4 [3.7]
Tórshavn	104 [78.2]	18 [13.5]	6 [4.5]	5 [3.8]

Table 4.47: (FSS) Quality of Life without Faroese

20. Is it possible to live a good life in the Faroes without speaking Danish? (cf. Tables 4.19, 6.22)

The results displayed in Table 4.48 are, perhaps, more in keeping with what one would expect: at all schools over 80% of the total number of pupils felt that it is possible to lead a good life in the Faroes without being able to speak Danish. The percentage at Hoydalar is marginally lower (83.4%), due to the low percentage of female respondents who were of this opinion, when compared to the other schools.

Two of the pupils who responded ‘no’ gave reasons: ‘tí annarhvør lækni tosar ikki føroyskt’ (“because every second doctor is unable to speak Faroese”, [FSE038]) and ‘tá tað kemur til at studera í skúlanum’ (“when it comes to studying at school” [FST159]).

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar				
All	151 [83.4]	26 [14.4]	2 [1.1]	2 [1.1]
Male	54 [94.7]	2 [3.5]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.8]
Female	97 [78.2]	24 [19.4]	2 [1.6]	1 [0.8]
FO-bgd	82 [83.7]	15 [15.3]	1 [1.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	122 [82.4]	22 [14.9]	2 [1.4]	2 [1.4]
Eysturoy				
All	149 [90.9]	12 [7.3]	0 [0.0]	3 [1.8]
Male	52 [96.3]	2 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	97 [88.2]	10 [9.1]	0 [0.0]	3 [2.7]
FO-bgd	98 [89.9]	10 [9.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]
Suðuroy				
All	82 [90.1]	4 [4.4]	1 [1.1]	4 [4.4]
Male	24 [82.8]	2 [6.9]	0 [0.0]	3 [10.3]
Female	58 [93.5]	2 [3.2]	1 [1.6]	1 [1.6]
FO-bgd	57 [89.1]	3 [4.7]	0 [0.0]	4 [6.3]
Suð.	76 [89.4]	4 [4.7]	1 [1.2]	4 [4.7]

Handilsskúlin				
All	150 [85.7]	18 [10.3]	2 [1.1]	5 [2.9]
Male	81 [86.2]	8 [8.5]	1 [1.1]	4 [4.3]
Female	69 [85.2]	10 [12.3]	1 [1.2]	1 [1.2]
FO-bgd	92 [84.4]	13 [11.9]	1 [0.9]	3 [2.8]
Tórshavn	112 [84.2]	16 [12.0]	2 [1.5]	3 [2.3]

Table 4.48: (FSS) Quality of Life without Danish

21. To what extent do you agree with the following? (cf. Tables 4.20, 6.23)

Danish is a foreign language in the Faroes.

Table 4.49 shows that the majority of respondents from all categories and backgrounds – including those in the FO-bgd classification – and at all schools do not consider Danish to be an FL in the Faroes. The only difference is again one of degree. Suðuroy, where 72.6% of students are of this opinion, differs from the other three schools, where the corresponding percentage is in the low sixties (64.7% at Hoydalar, 61.6% at Eysturoy and 61.2% at Handilsskúlin). Additionally, Suðuroy pupils are considerably more likely to disagree ‘strongly’.

It should also be noted that, due to a fairly large number of pupils who chose the ‘neither’ category (16.5% at Eysturoy, 20.0% at Handilsskúlin), the overall percentages of pupils who feel that Danish is an FL on the islands are rather low (between 7.7% [Suðuroy], 21.3% [Eysturoy]). At all schools, male respondents are more likely to view Danish as an FL than females.

Only two pupils added comments: one from Eysturoy [FSE123] wrote that ‘tey flestu duga danskt í FØ’ (“most people in the Faroes know Danish”); one from Suðuroy [FSS034] commented that ‘Suðringar [sic] tosa meira danskt enn føroyskt’ (“people from Suðuroy speak more Danish than Faroese”).

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar							
All	14 [7.7]	16 [8.8]	33 [18.2]	72 [39.8]	45 [24.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]
	30 [16.5]			117 [64.7]			
Male	4 [7.0]	9 [15.8]	5 [8.8]	29 [50.9]	9 [15.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.8]
	13 [22.8]			38 [66.7]			
Female	10 [8.1]	7 [5.6]	28 [22.6]	43 [34.7]	36 [29.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	17 [13.7]			79 [66.4]			
FO-bgd	8 [8.2]	7 [7.1]	18 [18.4]	44 [44.9]	21 [21.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	15 [15.3]			65 [69.2]			
Tórshavn	10 [6.8]	12 [8.1]	27 [18.2]	62 [41.9]	36 [24.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.7]
	22 [14.9]			98 [66.2]			

Eysturoy							
All	22 [13.4]	13 [7.9]	27 [16.5]	62 [37.8]	39 [23.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]
	35 [21.3]			101 [61.6]			
Male	9 [16.7]	6 [11.1]	6 [11.1]	23 [42.6]	10 [18.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	15 [27.8]			33 [61.1]			
Female	13 [11.8]	7 [6.4]	21 [19.1]	39 [35.5]	29 [26.4]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]
	20 [18.2]			68 [61.9]			
FO-bgd	12 [11.0]	9 [8.3]	18 [16.5]	45 [41.3]	24 [22.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]
	21 [19.3]			69 [63.3]			
Suðuroy							
All	1 [1.1]	6 [6.6]	17 [18.7]	28 [30.8]	38 [41.8]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]
	7 [7.7]			66 [72.6]			
Male	1 [3.4]	3 [10.3]	6 [20.7]	9 [31.0]	9 [31.0]	1 [3.4]	0 [0.0]
	4 [13.7]			18 [62.0]			
Female	0 [0.0]	3 [4.8]	11 [17.7]	19 [30.6]	29 [46.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	3 [4.8]			48 [77.4]			
FO-bgd	1 [1.6]	6 [9.4]	13 [20.3]	20 [31.3]	23 [35.9]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]
	7 [11.0]			43 [67.2]			
Suð.	1 [1.2]	6 [7.1]	15 [17.6]	27 [31.8]	35 [41.2]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]
	7 [8.3]			62 [73.0]			
Handilsskúlin							
All	18 [10.3]	15 [8.6]	35 [20.0]	60 [34.3]	47 [26.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	33 [18.9]			107 [61.2]			
Male	16 [17.0]	10 [10.6]	13 [13.8]	34 [36.2]	21 [22.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	26 [27.6]			55 [58.5]			
Female	2 [2.5]	5 [6.2]	22 [27.2]	26 [32.1]	26 [32.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	7 [8.7]			52 [64.2]			
FO-bgd	13 [11.9]	11 [10.1]	24 [22.0]	36 [33.0]	25 [22.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	24 [22.0]			61 [55.9]			
Tórshavn	13 [9.8]	13 [9.8]	31 [23.3]	46 [34.6]	30 [22.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	26 [19.6]			76 [57.2]			

Table 4.49: (FSS) Danish as a Foreign Language in the Faroes

22. To what extent do you agree with the following? (cf. Tables 4.21, 6.24)

The Danish language threatens the Faroese language.

As Table 4.50 shows, opinions on whether Danish threatens Faroese are fairly evenly divided: based on overall percentages from each school, neither side of the argument achieves a majority. Respondents from Suðuroy are noticeably less likely to agree.

As with the preceding table, considerable numbers of pupils at each school have no firm opinion, yet these percentages are even higher for this question, ranging from 20.4% at Hoydalar to some 33.0% at Suðuroy. Male respondents are, however, more likely to have an opinion than female pupils.

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar							
All	17 [9.4]	55 [30.4]	37 [20.4]	47 [26.0]	21 [11.6]	2 [1.1]	2 [1.1]
	72 [39.8]			68 [37.6]			
Male	4 [7.0]	9 [15.8]	9 [15.8]	24 [42.1]	10 [17.5]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.8]
	13 [22.8]			34 [59.6]			
Female	13 [10.5]	46 [37.1]	28 [22.6]	23 [18.5]	11 [8.9]	2 [1.6]	1 [0.8]
	59 [47.6]			34 [27.4]			
FO-bgd	9 [9.2]	33 [33.7]	23 [23.5]	24 [24.5]	9 [9.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	42 [42.9]			33 [33.7]			
Tórshavn	13 [8.8]	51 [34.5]	30 [20.3]	36 [24.3]	14 [9.5]	2 [1.4]	2 [1.4]
	64 [43.3]			50 [33.8]			
Eysturoy							
All	25 [15.2]	37 [22.6]	46 [28.0]	35 [21.3]	18 [11.0]	1 [0.6]	2 [1.2]
	62 [37.8]			53 [32.3]			
Male	9 [16.7]	10 [18.5]	11 [20.4]	11 [20.4]	12 [22.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.9]
	19 [35.2]			23 [42.6]			
Female	16 [14.5]	27 [24.5]	35 [31.8]	24 [21.8]	6 [5.5]	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]
	43 [39.0]			30 [27.3]			
FO-bgd	17 [15.6]	29 [26.6]	21 [19.3]	26 [23.9]	14 [12.8]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]
	46 [42.2]			40 [36.7]			
Suðuroy							
All	5 [5.5]	16 [17.6]	30 [33.0]	29 [31.8]	10 [11.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]
	21 [23.1]			39 [42.8]			
Male	1 [3.4]	4 [13.8]	8 [27.6]	10 [34.5]	5 [17.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.4]
	5 [17.2]			15 [51.7]			
Female	4 [6.5]	12 [19.4]	22 [35.5]	19 [30.6]	5 [8.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	16 [25.9]			24 [38.7]			
FO-bgd	4 [6.3]	11 [17.2]	25 [39.1]	19 [29.7]	4 [6.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]
	15 [23.5]			23 [36.0]			
Suð.	5 [5.9]	15 [17.6]	29 [34.1]	26 [30.6]	9 [10.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
	20 [23.5]			35 [41.2]			
Handilsskúlin							
All	16 [9.1]	40 [22.9]	41 [23.4]	47 [26.9]	25 [14.3]	0 [0.0]	6 [3.4]
	56 [32.0]			72 [41.2]			
Male	12 [12.8]	16 [17.0]	18 [19.1]	26 [27.7]	18 [19.1]	0 [0.0]	4 [4.3]
	28 [29.8]			44 [46.8]			
Female	4 [4.9]	24 [29.6]	23 [28.4]	21 [25.9]	7 [8.6]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.5]
	28 [34.5]			28 [34.5]			
FO-bgd	12 [11.0]	24 [22.0]	24 [22.0]	30 [27.5]	15 [13.8]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.7]
	36 [33.0]			45 [41.3]			
Tórshavn	10 [7.5]	33 [24.8]	31 [23.3]	39 [29.3]	16 [12.0]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.0]
	43 [32.3]			55 [41.3]			

Table 4.50: (FSS) Danish as a Threat to Faroese

23. What is the most important reason for learning Danish? (cf. Tables 4.22, 6.25)

Q.23 presented the pupils with the same potential reasons for learning Danish as Q.19 did in the postal survey and asked them to select the most important:

1. In order to work/study
2. Because the Faroes belong together with Denmark
3. To be able to speak to Danes
4. To be able to live in Denmark
5. Because I want to be considered a Dane
6. Because the Faroes are in Scandinavia
7. To read texts that do not yet exist in Faroese

Respondents were able to identify their own reason instead. For ease of comparison, the pupils were restricted to one reason only: the 'invalid' responses evident in Table 4.51 selected more than one.

The most popular response across all schools and backgrounds and for both genders is that the most important reason for learning Danish is the first one, although this group only constitutes an absolute majority at Suðuroy. Females are more likely than males to select this response, and these constitute an absolute majority at Suðuroy and at Handilsskúlin.

There was some variation across the country as regards the second choice: 19.9% of respondents at Hoydalar feel that the fact that the Faroes are in Scandinavia is the most important reason, as do 13.4% of pupils at Eysturoy. The second most popular choice at Suðuroy is that the Faroes belong with Denmark (12.1%), while at Handilsskúlin, it is that Danish is needed to read texts that are not yet available in Faroese (11.4%).

	<i>1.</i>	<i>2.</i>	<i>3.</i>	<i>4.</i>	<i>5.</i>	<i>6.</i>	<i>7.</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar										
All	78 [43.1]	13 [7.2]	9 [5.0]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]	36 [19.9]	19 [10.5]	13 [7.2]	7 [3.9]	4 [2.2]
Male	21 [36.8]	4 [7.0]	5 [8.8]	1 [1.8]	0 [0.0]	14 [24.6]	5 [8.8]	3 [5.3]	2 [3.5]	2 [3.5]
Female	57 [46.0]	9 [7.3]	4 [3.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]	22 [17.7]	14 [11.3]	10 [8.1]	5 [4.0]	2 [1.6]
FO-bgd	32 [32.7]	5 [5.1]	8 [8.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.0]	26 [26.5]	15 [15.3]	5 [5.1]	3 [3.1]	3 [3.1]
Tórshavn	69 [46.6]	9 [6.1]	7 [4.7]	1 [0.7]	1 [0.7]	28 [18.9]	14 [9.5]	10 [6.8]	6 [4.1]	3 [2.0]
Eysturoy										
All	73 [44.5]	16 [9.8]	9 [5.5]	5 [3.0]	0 [0.0]	22 [13.4]	16 [9.8]	13 [7.9]	6 [3.7]	4 [2.4]
Male	22 [40.7]	4 [7.4]	4 [7.4]	2 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	10 [18.5]	7 [13.0]	5 [9.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Female	51 [46.4]	12 [10.9]	5 [4.5]	3 [2.7]	0 [0.0]	12 [10.9]	9 [8.2]	8 [7.3]	6 [5.5]	4 [3.6]
FO-bgd	50 [45.9]	10 [9.2]	8 [7.3]	5 [4.6]	0 [0.0]	18 [16.5]	9 [8.3]	6 [5.5]	1 [0.9]	2 [1.8]
Suðuroy										
All	48 [52.7]	11 [12.1]	4 [4.4]	3 [3.3]	0 [0.0]	7 [7.7]	8 [8.8]	5 [5.5]	4 [4.4]	1 [1.1]
Male	13 [44.8]	4 [13.8]	2 [6.9]	1 [3.4]	0 [0.0]	3 [10.3]	1 [3.4]	3 [10.3]	1 [3.4]	1 [3.4]
Female	35 [56.5]	7 [11.3]	2 [3.2]	2 [3.2]	0 [0.0]	4 [6.5]	7 [11.3]	2 [3.2]	3 [4.8]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	35 [54.7]	7 [10.9]	2 [3.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	5 [7.8]	7 [10.9]	4 [6.3]	3 [4.7]	1 [1.6]
Suð.	45 [52.9]	11 [12.9]	3 [3.5]	2 [2.4]	0 [0.0]	7 [8.2]	8 [9.4]	5 [5.9]	3 [3.5]	1 [1.2]
Handilsskúlin										
All	83 [47.4]	18 [10.3]	8 [4.6]	4 [2.3]	0 [0.0]	19 [10.9]	20 [11.4]	9 [5.1]	8 [4.6]	6 [3.4]
Male	40 [42.6]	8 [8.5]	8 [8.5]	3 [3.2]	0 [0.0]	14 [14.9]	10 [10.6]	3 [3.2]	4 [4.3]	4 [4.3]
Female	43 [53.1]	10 [12.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]	5 [6.2]	10 [12.3]	6 [7.4]	4 [4.9]	2 [2.5]
FO-bgd	54 [49.5]	7 [6.4]	4 [3.7]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]	11 [10.1]	15 [13.8]	7 [6.4]	6 [5.5]	4 [3.7]
Tórshavn	64 [48.1]	14 [10.5]	5 [3.8]	4 [3.0]	0 [0.0]	14 [10.5]	15 [11.3]	5 [3.8]	8 [6.0]	4 [3.0]

Table 4.51: (FSS) The Most Important Reason for Learning Danish

Responses to the ‘Other’ option can best be summarised in tabular form, where the reasons given have been grouped into categories (Table 4.52). Those reasons marked in bold were already available in the list the respondents were given (but the pupils offered them under “other” anyway):

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Hoydalar</i>	<i>Eysturoy</i>	<i>Suðuroy</i>	<i>Handilsskúlin</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
The Faroes are in Scandinavia ¹⁹⁷	10	1	1	2	14
In order to work/study	2	3	-	1	6
In order to read schooltextbooks ¹⁹⁸	2	2	1	-	5
The Faroese need to know other languages	1	1	1	1	4
Because we have a lot to do with Denmark	-	1	1	-	2
In order to communicate	-	-	-	2	2
It is good to learn languages	1	1	-	-	2
Because of family resident in Denmark	-	1	-	-	1
Danes are unable to speak English	1	-	-	-	1
In order to cooperate with Danes	-	-	-	1	1

¹⁹⁷ This includes all those who wrote that knowledge of Danish helps the Faroese understand/speak the other Scandinavian languages.

¹⁹⁸ These comments could have been considered under the first reason on the questionnaire, but a separate grouping was created as the respondents mentioned schooltextbooks specifically.

In order to understand our laws	-	1	-	-	1
It is part of Faroese culture	-	1	-	-	1
It is useful if you go to Denmark frequently	-	-	1	-	1
So that the Faroes can develop	-	-	-	1	1
We belong to Denmark	1	-	-	-	1
We cannot cope without Danish	1	-	-	-	1

Table 4.52: (FSS) Other Reasons Given for Learning Danish

24. To what extent do you agree with the following? (cf. Table 4.20)

Words such as snakka and forstanda are as Faroese as tosa and skilja.

At first glance, Table 4.53 appears fairly straightforward: on the whole all schools disagree with the statement, although these percentages only constitute an absolute majority at Hoydalar and Eysturoy. The figure from Hoydalar is particularly high: almost three-quarters of respondents from that school disagree that *snakka* and *forstanda* are as Faroese as *tosa* and *skilja*.

However, there are certain factors that merit closer attention. The percentage of pupils at Suðuroy, for example, who agree with the statement is considerably higher than from the other schools.

Once more, the percentages of pupils who refuse to be drawn on an opinion are unexpectedly high: particularly at Eysturoy (26.8%) and Handilsskúlin (29.1%).

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar							
All	12 [6.6]	16 [8.8]	22 [12.2]	69 [38.1]	61 [33.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]
	28 [15.4]			130 [71.8]			
Male	6 [10.5]	7 [12.3]	9 [15.8]	18 [31.6]	16 [28.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.8]
	13 [22.8]			34 [59.7]			
Female	6 [4.8]	9 [7.3]	13 [10.5]	51 [41.1]	45 [36.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	15 [12.1]			96 [77.4]			
FO-bgd	4 [4.1]	5 [5.1]	11 [11.2]	35 [35.7]	43 [43.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	9 [9.2]			78 [79.6]			
Tórshavn	9 [6.1]	14 [9.5]	18 [12.2]	55 [37.2]	51 [34.5]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.7]
	23 [15.6]			106 [71.7]			
Eysturoy							
All	8 [4.9]	18 [11.0]	44 [26.8]	53 [32.2]	37 [22.6]	1 [0.6]	3 [1.8]
	26 [15.9]			80 [54.9]			
Male	5 [9.3]	8 [14.8]	13 [24.1]	14 [25.9]	12 [22.2]	1 [1.9]	1 [1.9]
	13 [24.1]			26 [48.1]			
Female	3 [2.7]	10 [9.1]	31 [28.2]	39 [35.5]	25 [22.7]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]
	13 [11.8]			64 [58.2]			
FO-bgd	4 [3.7]	10 [9.2]	31 [28.4]	34 [31.2]	27 [24.8]	1 [0.9]	2 [1.8]
	14 [12.9]			61 [56.0]			

Suðuroy							
All	11 [12.1]	19 [20.9]	17 [18.7]	31 [34.1]	12 [13.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]
	30 [33.0]			43 [47.3]			
Male	4 [13.8]	7 [24.1]	4 [13.8]	9 [31.0]	4 [13.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.4]
	11 [37.9]			13 [44.8]			
Female	7 [11.3]	12 [19.4]	13 [21.0]	22 [35.5]	8 [12.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	19 [30.7]			30 [48.4]			
FO-bgd	7 [10.9]	13 [20.3]	11 [17.2]	23 [35.9]	9 [14.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]
	20 [31.2]			32 [50.0]			
Suð.	9 [10.6]	18 [21.2]	15 [17.6]	30 [35.3]	12 [14.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
	27 [31.8]			42 [49.4]			
Handilsskúlin							
All	10 [5.7]	25 [14.3]	51 [29.1]	50 [28.6]	33 [18.9]	0 [0.0]	6 [3.4]
	35 [20.0]			83 [47.5]			
Male	6 [6.4]	14 [14.9]	23 [24.5]	25 [26.6]	21 [22.3]	0 [0.0]	5 [5.3]
	20 [21.3]			46 [48.9]			
Female	4 [4.9]	11 [13.6]	28 [34.6]	25 [30.9]	12 [14.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
	15 [18.5]			37 [45.7]			
FO-bgd	8 [7.3]	12 [11.0]	32 [29.4]	33 [30.3]	20 [18.3]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.7]
	20 [18.3]			53 [48.6]			
Tórshavn	7 [5.3]	20 [15.0]	37 [27.8]	37 [27.8]	28 [21.1]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.0]
	27 [20.3]			65 [48.9]			

Table 4.53: (FSS) *Snakka* and *Forstanda* as Faroese Words

The additional comments from the pupils are particularly enlightening as they reveal three different classifications for *snakka* and *forstanda*: ‘tálumál’ (‘spoken language’, [FSE048]), ‘eldri orð’ (‘older words’, [FSE074]) and ‘suðuroyarmál’ (‘Suðuroy dialect’, [FSS076]). Three pupils, all from Eysturoy, make a distinction between the two Danicisms: one [FSE038] stated that *forstanda* is not Faroese, one [FSE084] felt that *snakka* is acceptable while *forstanda* is not and one [FSE093] wrote that *snakka* can be said but should not be written in an essay. Another from Eysturoy [FSE103] wrote that ‘orð sum “snakka” eru skandinavisk, tí er tað akkurát líka føroyskt sum tað er danskt’.¹⁹⁹

25. To what extent do you agree with the following? (cf. Table 4.24)

We should avoid words such as *snakka* and *forstanda* when we speak.

The responses detailed in Table 4.54 exhibit considerable geographical difference. Whereas opinions appear to be divided at all schools, a (slight) majority of pupils at Hoydalar feel that Danicisms should be avoided in spoken Faroese. Although more pupils at Handilsskúlin agree with the statement than not, there is no majority

¹⁹⁹ “Words such as ‘snakka’ are Scandinavian, therefore it is just as Faroese as it is Danish.”

agreement, and a large percentage (36.0%) are unable/unwilling to select either option (including 43.2% of female respondents). Conversely, the pupils at Eysturoy, where the number of pupils who select ‘neither’ is somewhat lower, demonstrate a tendency to disagree with the statement rather than agree, although there was no overall majority. Once again, the results from Suðuroy are noteworthy – almost half of the respondents there (46.2%) disagree with the statement, including 62.1% of males. The percentage of pupils who agree in any way is also much lower there. Overall, the percentage of pupils who opt not to choose either side of the argument is relatively high, although there is a considerable distinction between male and female respondents at Suðuroy and Handilsskúlin.

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar							
All	42 [23.2]	51 [28.2]	38 [21.0]	36 [19.9]	14 [7.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	93 [51.4]			50 [27.6]			
Male	15 [26.3]	14 [24.6]	9 [15.8]	13 [22.8]	6 [10.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	29 [50.9]			19 [33.3]			
Female	27 [21.8]	37 [29.8]	29 [23.4]	23 [18.5]	8 [6.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	64 [51.6]			31 [25.0]			
FO-bgd	24 [24.5]	31 [31.6]	23 [23.5]	16 [16.3]	4 [4.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	55 [56.1]			20 [20.4]			
Tórshavn	35 [23.6]	43 [29.1]	28 [18.9]	29 [19.6]	13 [8.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	78 [52.7]			42 [28.4]			
Eysturoy							
All	20 [12.2]	30 [18.3]	49 [29.9]	43 [26.2]	20 [12.2]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.2]
	50 [30.5]			63 [38.4]			
Male	7 [13.0]	8 [14.8]	17 [31.5]	15 [27.8]	7 [13.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	15 [27.8]			22 [40.8]			
Female	13 [11.8]	22 [20.0]	32 [29.1]	28 [25.5]	13 [11.8]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]
	35 [31.8]			41 [37.3]			
FO-bgd	15 [13.8]	21 [19.3]	33 [30.3]	26 [23.9]	14 [12.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	36 [33.1]			40 [36.7]			
Suðuroy							
All	6 [6.6]	12 [13.2]	30 [33.0]	30 [33.0]	12 [13.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]
	18 [19.8]			42 [46.2]			
Male	2 [6.9]	3 [10.3]	5 [17.2]	14 [48.3]	4 [13.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.4]
	5 [17.2]			18 [62.1]			
Female	4 [6.5]	9 [14.5]	25 [40.3]	16 [25.8]	8 [12.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	13 [21.0]			24 [38.7]			
FO-bgd	4 [6.3]	9 [14.1]	22 [34.4]	22 [34.4]	6 [9.4]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]
	13 [20.4]			28 [43.8]			
Suð.	6 [7.1]	11 [12.9]	29 [34.1]	29 [34.1]	9 [10.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
	17 [20.0]			38 [44.7]			

Handilsskúlin							
All	26 [14.9]	34 [19.4]	63 [36.0]	27 [15.4]	19 [10.9]	0 [0.0]	6 [3.4]
	60 [34.4]			46 [26.3]			
Male	15 [16.0]	18 [19.1]	28 [29.8]	17 [18.1]	11 [11.7]	0 [0.0]	5 [5.3]
	33 [35.1]			28 [29.8]			
Female	11 [13.6]	16 [19.8]	35 [43.2]	10 [12.3]	8 [9.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
	27 [33.3]			18 [22.2]			
FO-bgd	16 [14.7]	22 [20.2]	39 [35.8]	15 [13.8]	13 [11.9]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.7]
	38 [34.9]			28 [25.7]			
Tórshavn	22 [16.5]	27 [20.3]	44 [33.1]	23 [17.3]	13 [9.8]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.0]
	49 [36.8]			36 [27.1]			

Table 4.54: (FSS) *Snakka* and *Forstanda* in Spoken Faroese

Only two pupils made additional comments on this statement: one [FBT120], who strongly disagreed with it, simply wrote ‘suðringar’ [*sic*] (‘people from Suðuroy’) and one [FSE100] remarked, in English, ‘we don’t care’.

26. To what extent do you agree with the following? (cf. Table 4.25)

*We should avoid words such as **snakka** and **forstanda** when we write.*

Whereas the issue of whether *snakka* and *forstanda* are acceptable in spoken Faroese divides opinion somewhat, the responses are much more straightforward when it comes to the written language: as Table 4.55 shows, the majority of pupils in all schools and subcategories bar one agree that such Danicisms have no place in written Faroese. Only among female respondents from Handilsskúlin was there no absolute majority, although even these pupils were more in agreement than not. The results from Handilsskúlin are striking as the majority who disagree is much smaller there: 52.6% overall, in contrast to 80.6% at Hoydalar, 71.3% at Eysturoy and 68.2 at Suðuroy. It seems that the pupils found this question much easier to answer than the one on the spoken language, as the percentage of those who responded by marking the ‘neither’ option is considerably lower at all schools, although that from Handilsskúlin remains fairly high.

One pupil [FST021] implied that use of such Danicisms is merely a question of style, although it would seem that the majority of his/her peers disagree with this sentiment.

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar							
All	92 [50.8]	54 [29.8]	19 [10.5]	10 [5.5]	5 [2.8]	1 [0.6]	0 [0.0]
	146 [80.6]			15 [8.3]			

Male	25 [43.9]	17 [29.8]	7 [12.3]	4 [7.0]	3 [5.3]	1 [1.8]	0 [0.0]
	42 [73.7]			7 [12.3]			
Female	67 [54.0]	37 [29.8]	12 [9.7]	6 [4.8]	2 [1.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	104 [83.8]			8 [6.4]			
FO-bgd	56 [57.1]	28 [28.6]	9 [9.2]	4 [4.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.0]	0 [0.0]
	84 [85.7]			4 [4.1]			
Tórshavn	81 [54.7]	37 [25.0]	16 [10.8]	8 [5.4]	5 [3.4]	1 [0.7]	0 [0.0]
	118 [79.7]			13 [8.8]			
Eysturoy							
All	52 [31.7]	65 [39.6]	26 [15.9]	14 [8.5]	5 [3.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.2]
	117 [71.3]			19 [11.5]			
Male	18 [33.3]	15 [27.8]	13 [24.1]	6 [11.1]	2 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	33 [61.1]			8 [14.8]			
Female	34 [30.9]	50 [45.5]	13 [11.8]	8 [7.3]	3 [2.7]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]
	84 [76.4]			11 [10.0]			
FO-bgd	38 [34.9]	42 [38.5]	16 [14.7]	9 [8.3]	4 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	80 [73.4]			13 [12.0]			
Suðuroy							
All	30 [33.0]	32 [35.2]	13 [14.3]	8 [8.8]	7 [7.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]
	62 [68.2]			15 [16.5]			
Male	6 [20.7]	13 [44.8]	3 [10.3]	4 [13.8]	2 [6.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.4]
	19 [65.5]			6 [20.7]			
Female	24 [38.7]	19 [30.6]	10 [16.1]	4 [6.5]	5 [8.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	43 [69.3]			9 [14.6]			
FO-bgd	23 [35.9]	24 [37.5]	8 [12.5]	4 [6.3]	4 [6.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]
	47 [73.4]			8 [12.6]			
Suð.	29 [34.1]	31 [36.5]	10 [11.8]	8 [9.4]	6 [7.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
	60 [70.6]			14 [16.5]			
Handilsskúlin							
All	46 [26.3]	46 [26.3]	49 [28.0]	15 [8.6]	13 [7.4]	0 [0.0]	6 [3.4]
	92 [52.6]			28 [16.0]			
Male	30 [31.9]	22 [23.4]	22 [23.4]	9 [9.6]	6 [6.4]	0 [0.0]	5 [5.3]
	52 [55.3]			15 [16.0]			
Female	16 [19.8]	24 [29.6]	27 [33.3]	6 [7.4]	7 [8.6]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
	40 [49.4]			13 [16.0]			
FO-bgd	29 [26.6]	29 [26.6]	29 [26.6]	9 [8.3]	9 [8.3]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.7]
	58 [53.2]			18 [16.6]			
Tórshavn	36 [27.1]	36 [27.1]	35 [26.3]	13 [9.8]	9 [6.8]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.0]
	72 [54.2]			22 [16.6]			

Table 4.55: (FSS) *Snakka* and *Forstanda* in Written Faroese

27. Are there contexts where Danish works better than Faroese?

This is another question that could be added to the school survey due to its obligatory nature (see 4.2.2). Table 4.56 shows that the majority of pupils at Hoydalar feel that Danish does work better in some contexts, whereas the majority of pupils at the remaining schools disagree.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar				
All	94 [51.9]	74 [40.9]	0 [0.0]	13 [7.2]
Male	35 [61.4]	20 [35.1]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.5]
Female	59 [47.6]	54 [43.5]	0 [0.0]	11 [8.9]
FO-bgd	36 [36.7]	57 [58.2]	0 [0.0]	5 [5.1]
Tórshavn	81 [54.7]	58 [39.2]	0 [0.0]	9 [6.1]
Eysturoy				
All	63 [38.4]	90 [54.9]	1 [0.6]	10 [6.1]
Male	25 [46.3]	25 [46.3]	0 [0.0]	4 [7.4]
Female	38 [34.5]	65 [59.1]	1 [0.9]	6 [5.5]
FO-bgd	39 [35.8]	61 [56.0]	1 [0.9]	8 [7.3]
Suðuroy				
All	38 [41.8]	47 [51.6]	0 [0.0]	6 [6.6]
Male	12 [41.4]	15 [51.7]	0 [0.0]	2 [6.9]
Female	26 [41.9]	32 [51.6]	0 [0.0]	4 [6.5]
FO-bgd	24 [37.5]	35 [54.7]	0 [0.0]	5 [7.8]
Suð.	34 [40.0]	45 [52.9]	0 [0.0]	6 [7.1]
Handilsskúlin				
All	62 [35.4]	99 [56.6]	1 [0.6]	13 [7.4]
Male	34 [36.2]	51 [54.3]	1 [1.1]	8 [8.5]
Female	28 [34.6]	48 [59.3]	0 [0.0]	5 [6.2]
FO-bgd	33 [30.3]	66 [60.6]	0 [0.0]	10 [9.2]
Tórshavn	51 [38.3]	74 [55.6]	1 [0.8]	7 [5.3]

Table 4.56: (FSS) Whether Danish is Better in Certain Circumstances

If they responded ‘yes’, the pupils were then asked to name the contexts in which Danish worked better. As Table 4.57 shows, a great number of pupils responded by writing ‘in Denmark’, which suggests a problem in the wording, but the other reasons given are often highly informative. Only those contexts which appeared more than once are included on the table:

<i>Context</i>	<i>Hoydalar</i>	<i>Eysturoy</i>	<i>Suðuroy</i>	<i>Handilsskúlin</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
When talking to Danes	14	6	5	7	32
If Danes are present	12	5	3	5	25
In Denmark	7	8	2	8	25
It is sometimes easier to express yourself in Da.	7	7	3	5	22
Certain fields (mathematics, science, etc.)	9	5	-	3	17
Da. has words for everything	5	3	-	6	14
Often a Da. word/phrase comes to you first	4	1	7	1	13
Some Fa. words are difficult/hard to understand	2	2	4	2	10
For international words	5	1	2	1	9
I don’t know ²⁰⁰	4	1	-	4	9
Da. proverbs/metaphors are useful	1	1	1	5	8

²⁰⁰ These pupils still ticked ‘yes’.

For the internet (e-mail, Facebook, etc.)	3	1	1	1	6
Some Da. words sound better	4	-	1	1	6
Da. is easier to write	2	-	1	2	5
If the teacher does not understand Fa.	-	2	2	-	4
Subtitles	3	-	1	-	4
Yes, but just individual words	-	1	2	-	3
Da. almost always works better	-	-	1	1	2
Da. textbooks are better	-	2	-	-	2
When I translate from En., Da. is easier		1	-	1	2
When talking to other Scandinavians	2	-	-	-	2
When writing essays	-	1	-	1	2

Table 4.57: (FSS) Where Danish Works Better

4.4.6 Data 5: Danish and the New Media

The school survey presented a good opportunity to investigate language choice among Faroese pupils on the internet, namely the choice of language setting on e-mail and Facebook accounts. While other Faroese studies have considered the internet, such as Gaini's (2006) analysis of Faroese 'chatting' habits and J.í.L. Jacobsen's (2005) article on Faroese translations of 'e-mail', the present study is, to my knowledge, the first to investigate language use on social networks in the Faroes.

28. Do you use e-mail? (cf. Table 6.29)

According to Table 4.58, the overwhelming majority of respondents at all surveyed schools on the islands use e-mail. At Hoydalar the figure was 100%.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar	181 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy	159 [97.0]	3 [1.8]	2 [1.2]
Suðuroy	89 [97.8]	2 [2.2]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin	173 [98.9]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]

Table 4.58: (FSS) E-Mail Use

29a. Which language is your e-mail account in? (cf. Table 6.30)

Table 4.59 shows that although there are Faroese e-mail providers,²⁰¹ the vast majority of pupils do not use these – most opt to have an e-mail account in Danish or English. The latter is the most popular choice at Hoydalar, Eysturoy and Handilsskúlin, whereas, based on these results, Danish accounts are marginally more popular at Suðuroy. At all schools, approximately one third of respondents use a Danish e-mail account (between

²⁰¹ Such as, in 2009, www.tpost.fo.

30.5% [Eysturoy] and 41.8% [Suðuroy]). The percentages of those who returned invalid responses to this question are unexpectedly high: most of these respondents ticked more than one box – unfortunately the questionnaire did not cater for the possibility that respondents might have more than one account.

At all schools, it seems that male respondents are considerably more likely to use English accounts than females; conversely, female respondents are more likely to use Danish accounts than males.

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>En.</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>	<i>N/A</i>
Hoydalar							
All	5 [2.8]	68 [37.6]	89 [49.2]	0 [0.0]	19 [10.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	2 [3.5]	19 [33.3]	34 [59.6]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	3 [2.4]	49 [39.5]	55 [44.4]	0 [0.0]	17 [13.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	1 [1.0]	36 [36.7]	49 [50.0]	0 [0.0]	12 [12.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	5 [3.4]	52 [35.1]	75 [50.7]	0 [0.0]	16 [10.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy							
All	4 [2.4]	50 [30.5]	91 [55.5]	1 [0.6]	13 [7.9]	2 [1.2]	3 [1.8]
Male	3 [5.6]	13 [24.1]	33 [61.1]	0 [0.0]	5 [9.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	1 [0.9]	37 [33.6]	58 [52.7]	1 [0.9]	8 [7.3]	2 [1.8]	3 [2.7]
FO-bgd	4 [3.7]	31 [28.4]	65 [59.6]	1 [0.9]	7 [6.4]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]
Suðuroy							
All	7 [7.7]	38 [41.8]	33 [36.3]	2 [2.2]	9 [9.9]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.2]
Male	3 [10.3]	6 [20.7]	14 [48.3]	1 [3.4]	4 [13.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.4]
Female	4 [6.5]	32 [51.6]	19 [30.6]	1 [1.6]	5 [8.1]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]
FO-bgd	4 [6.3]	26 [40.6]	26 [40.6]	1 [1.6]	7 [10.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	7 [8.2]	36 [42.4]	31 [36.5]	2 [2.4]	7 [8.2]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.4]
Handilsskúlin							
All	5 [2.9]	59 [33.7]	76 [43.4]	0 [0.0]	33 [18.9]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]
Male	2 [2.1]	19 [20.2]	52 [55.3]	0 [0.0]	20 [21.3]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]
Female	3 [3.7]	40 [49.4]	24 [29.6]	0 [0.0]	13 [16.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
FO-bgd	4 [3.7]	31 [28.4]	48 [44.0]	0 [0.0]	24 [22.0]	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]
Tórshavn	1 [0.8]	44 [33.1]	64 [48.1]	0 [0.0]	22 [16.5]	1 [0.8]	1 [0.8]

Table 4.59: (FSS) Language of E-Mail Account

29b. Is your e-mail account a Hotmail account? (cf. Table 6.31)

This question sought to ascertain whether some respondents choose Danish or English language accounts because they wish to use Microsoft's Hotmail service (www.hotmail.com). Sources dating from May 2010 indicate that Hotmail was the

world's largest e-mail provider at the time,²⁰² but there is not yet a Faroese-language version of the site.

As Table 4.60 shows, a substantial majority of pupils at all schools do indeed have Hotmail accounts:

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>	<i>N/A</i>
Hoydalar	145 [80.1]	17 [9.4]	19 [10.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy	133 [81.1]	12 [7.3]	14 [8.5]	2 [1.2]	3 [1.8]
Suðuroy	60 [65.9]	20 [22.0]	9 [9.9]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.2]
Handilsskúlin	135 [77.1]	22 [12.6]	16 [9.1]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]

Table 4.60: (FSS) Hotmail Use

29c. If Hotmail were available in Faroese, would you use it instead? (cf. Table 6.32)

Respondents with Hotmail accounts were asked whether they would use a Faroese version of the service if it were possible, i.e. whether they were perhaps only using a Danish account because they wanted to use Hotmail. As Table 4.61 shows, at all schools bar one the valid results are fairly balanced, with approximately half responding that they would use a Faroese version and half that they would not. Only at Suðuroy is the pattern noticeably different: there, pupils with valid responses tend to favour Danish and fewer than a third wish to use a Faroese version. At all schools more females select 'yes' than their male counterparts.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar				
All	76 [46.3]	66 [40.2]	19 [11.6]	3 [1.8]
Male	21 [44.7]	23 [48.9]	2 [4.3]	1 [2.1]
Female	55 [47.0]	43 [36.7]	17 [14.5]	2 [1.7]
FO-bgd	48 [54.5]	26 [29.5]	12 [13.6]	2 [2.3]
Tórshavn	60 [45.1]	54 [40.6]	16 [12.0]	3 [2.5]
Eysturoy				
All	65 [43.6]	58 [38.9]	14 [9.4]	12 [8.0]
Male	17 [35.4]	21 [43.8]	5 [10.4]	5 [10.4]
Female	48 [47.5]	37 [36.6]	9 [8.9]	7 [6.9]
FO-bgd	49 [50.0]	37 [37.8]	8 [8.1]	4 [4.0]
Suðuroy				
All	20 [29.4]	33 [48.5]	11 [16.2]	4 [5.9]
Male	4 [20.0]	11 [55.0]	4 [20.0]	1 [5.0]
Female	16 [33.3]	22 [45.8]	7 [14.6]	3 [6.2]
FO-bgd	17 [34.7]	22 [44.9]	8 [16.3]	2 [4.1]
Suð.	20 [31.3]	31 [48.4]	9 [14.1]	4 [6.3]

²⁰² www.bbc.co.uk/news/10120572 (last accessed 21/06/11).

Handilsskúlin				
All	64 [41.8]	63 [41.2]	21 [13.7]	5 [3.3]
Male	31 [37.3]	36 [43.4]	12 [14.5]	4 [4.8]
Female	33 [47.1]	27 [38.6]	9 [12.9]	1 [1.4]
FO-bgd	40 [44.0]	30 [33.0]	17 [18.7]	4 [4.4]
Tórshavn	48 [41.0]	51 [43.6]	16 [13.7]	2 [1.7]

Table 4.61: (FSS) Theoretical Use of a Hotmail Account in Faroese

30. Do you use Facebook? (cf. Table 6.33)

Facebook, the world's largest social network, was founded in February 2004.²⁰³ As Table 4.62 shows, the vast majority of all pupils have Facebook accounts.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar	154 [85.1]	27 [14.9]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy	113 [68.9]	46 [28.0]	5 [3.0]
Suðuroy	87 [95.6]	4 [4.4]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin	160 [91.4]	14 [8.0]	1 [0.6]

Table 4.62: (FSS) Facebook Use²⁰⁴

31. In which language do you use Facebook? (cf. Table 6.34)

From a Faroese-language perspective Facebook presents a particularly intriguing new area of research, as – unusually for non-domestic websites – Faroese is one of the languages in which the material can be viewed.²⁰⁵

Table 4.63 shows some variation across the country: at Eysturoy, Faroese is the most popular overall, ticked by almost half of the pupils. Danish comes in third place, behind English, although almost a fifth selected it. This ordering is mirrored at Hoydalar, although Faroese is slightly less popular there, and just under a quarter of respondents favour Danish. At Handilsskúlin, Faroese is also the most popular language, and Danish narrowly beats English into second place. At Suðuroy, however, only a fifth of respondents prefer Faroese – overall Danish is the most popular option,

²⁰³ www.facebook.com (last accessed 21/06/11).

²⁰⁴ Presumably the percentages are higher at Suðuroy and Handilsskúlin as, for practical reasons, the survey was carried out in these locations almost eleven months later and the numbers reflect growing use of the site. Had all schools been surveyed at the same time it is highly probable that the percentages would have resembled each other.

²⁰⁵ This has been possible since October 2008 (www.kringvarp.fo/index.asp?s=49&Id=62733, last accessed 29/10/08).

with English in second place, although the English setting is more popular than Danish amongst male respondents.²⁰⁶

	<i>Far</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>En.</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar						
All	62 [40.3]	38 [24.7]	49 [31.8]	2 [1.3]	3 [1.9]	0 [0.0]
Male	22 [47.8]	7 [15.2]	16 [34.8]	1 [2.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	40 [37.0]	31 [28.7]	33 [30.6]	1 [0.9]	3 [2.8]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	40 [46.5]	15 [17.4]	29 [33.7]	1 [1.2]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]
Tórshavn	52 [40.9]	31 [24.4]	40 [31.5]	1 [0.8]	3 [2.4]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy						
All	56 [47.4]	21 [17.8]	35 [29.7]	1 [0.8]	0 [0.0]	5 [4.2]
Male	13 [40.6]	5 [15.6]	13 [40.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [3.1]
Female	43 [50.0]	16 [18.6]	22 [25.6]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]	4 [4.7]
FO-bgd	40 [52.6]	12 [15.8]	23 [30.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
Suðuroy						
All	18 [20.7]	37 [42.5]	31 [35.6]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	6 [20.7]	7 [24.1]	16 [55.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	12 [20.7]	30 [51.7]	15 [25.9]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	17 [27.9]	22 [36.0]	21 [34.4]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Suð.	17 [21.0]	33 [40.7]	30 [37.0]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin						
All	64 [39.8]	47 [29.2]	42 [26.1]	3 [1.9]	4 [2.5]	1 [0.6]
Male	34 [40.5]	21 [25.0]	25 [29.8]	1 [1.2]	2 [2.4]	1 [1.2]
Female	30 [39.0]	26 [33.8]	17 [22.1]	2 [2.6]	2 [2.6]	0 [0.0]
FO-bgd	42 [42.9]	22 [22.4]	28 [28.6]	1 [1.0]	4 [4.1]	1 [1.0]
Tórshavn	49 [40.5]	30 [24.8]	38 [31.4]	1 [0.8]	2 [1.7]	1 [0.8]

Table 4.63: (FSS) Language of Facebook Account

Many respondents gave reasons for rejecting the Faroese language setting (Table 4.64). Only those reasons given by two pupils or more are included in the table:

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Hoydalar</i>	<i>Eysturoy</i>	<i>Suðuroy</i>	<i>Handils-skúlin</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
It is hard to understand the Fa. version The Fa. translation is poor The Fa. translation is 'too Faroese'	16	8	23	21	68
I prefer En./the En. version I am used to En./the En. Version	10	7	8	18	43
I do not feel like changing it It makes no difference/There is no point	11	1	7	11	30
I prefer Da./the Da. version I am used to Da./the Da. version	7	3	6	13	29

²⁰⁶ Table A3 in Appendix 2 shows that the vast majority of pupils were aware of Facebook's Faroese-language setting.

I have not been able to switch (yet) I have had technical difficulties	5	-	1	2	8
I want to learn En./Da./another language	4	1	1	2	8
Fa. should not be used on the internet I do not like to use Fa. on the internet	3	-	-	3	6
I am used to what I have	-	1	1	1	3
Not everything is translated	-	-	2	1	3
I am Danish/have lived in DK	-	-	1	1	2
I do not like Fa.	-	-	1	1	2
I prefer to use a different language ²⁰⁷	-	-	-	2	2

Table 4.64: (FSS) Reasons Not to Have Facebook in Faroese

4.4.7 Additional Comments

Although most did not, some pupils took the opportunity to make additional comments at the end of the questionnaire. Table 4.65 summarises comments made by two or more respondents about the Faroese language situation.

<i>Comment</i>	<i>Hoydalar</i>	<i>Eysturoy</i>	<i>Suðuroy</i>	<i>Handils-skúlin</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
1. Faroese purism has gone/could go too far.	2	1	3	-	6
2. There are regional differences re. Danicisms	1	-	3	-	4
3. English should be prioritised over Danish	-	1	-	2	3
4. More people should learn Faroese	-	1	-	2	3
5. We need more Faroese material in schools	1	-	1	1	3
6. Danicisms do not matter	1	1	-	-	2
7. More on the internet should be in Faroese	1	1	-	-	2
8. Faroese is at risk.	1	-	-	1	2

Table 4.65: (FSS) Summary of Additional Comments

While most of the comments are self-explanatory, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at the first, second and sixth comments, as these are most relevant to the thesis.

The first and sixth comments represent two expressions of a single general viewpoint: Danicisms should not be replaced by new ‘Faroese’ words. One respondent from Hoydalar gave the following reason:

Vit skulu ansa eftir, at tað føroyska málið ikki falmar burtur, men tó er býtt at finna uppá nýggj føroysk orð nú! Tað danska skal taka so lítið sum gjørligt yvir men HALLÓ, hvat er meiningin við at siga farteleson, tá øll onnur siga mobil?? [sic] [FST022]²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Other than English or Danish.

²⁰⁸ “We have to ensure that the Faroese language doesn’t fade away, but it’s stupid to invent new Faroese words now! Danish should take over as little as possible but HELLO, what is the point of saying *farteleson* [‘mobile telephone’] when everyone else says *mobil* [‘mobile’]??”

Of particular interest to me is the respondent's use of 'nú' ('now'), which suggests that the time period in which new words would have been acceptable has now passed. This point is addressed in 5.2. The anti-neologism sentiment of this remark is echoed by a pupil from Suðuroy:

Haldi ikki at fremmendaorð [sic] skulu umsetast til føroysk orð, sum t.d. sygeplejerske, hví ikki bara brúka sjúkrasystur í staðin fyri tað langa orðið sum eg ikki eingong [sic] dugi at siga? [FSS049]²⁰⁹

Here, the respondent is undoubtedly making reference to the criticised Faroese neologism, *sjúkrarøktarfrøðingur*. This pupil's comment is noteworthy for the fact that the Faroese word the respondent suggests as, effectively, an 'un-translated' Faroese equivalent to the Danish *sygeplejerske* is not directly related to it. *Sygeplejerske* is literally a 'female sick-carer', whereas *sjúkrasystir* (nom.) means 'sick-sister' (as in the German *Krankenschwester*). In this specific example, the pupil does not want to replace *sjúkrasystir* with *sjúkrarøktarfrøðingur* and it is interesting that s/he uses a non-cognate Danish word to explain this.

These comments demonstrate quite clearly that the respondents in question are unable to identify with the new Faroese terms that have been created for them. Another pupil, this time from Hoydalar, exhibited a more inclusive approach:

Málið verður rúmligari og ríkari í allar ættir. Ein økissmissur er tískil ikki katastrofal. Gott er at duga bæði tey føroysku heitin OG tey útlendsku. [FST115]²¹⁰

Another pupil from Hoydalar, however, saw no place for Danicisms in Faroese schools:

Tey orð vit eiga, sum eru brúkbær, skulu nýtast. Og í stílum skal lærarin rætta tað, um orðið er danisma [FST143]²¹¹

²⁰⁹ "I don't think that foreign words should be translated into Faroese words, such as *sygeplejerske* [Da. 'nurse'], for example. Why not just use *sjúkrasystir* instead of that long word which I can't even say?"

²¹⁰ "The language is becoming broader and richer in every direction. A domain loss is not therefore catastrophic. It is good to know both the Faroese terms AND the foreign ones."

²¹¹ "The words we have which are usable should be used. And in essays the teacher should correct it if the word is a Danicism."

Nevertheless, the respondent him-/herself uses a Danicism: *brúkbar*, ‘usable’, from Da. *brugbar*, is found in neither Skála and Mikkelsen’s Faroese-English dictionary (2007b) nor *Føroysk orðabók* (J.H.W. Poulsen *et al.* 1998). Skála and Mikkelsen (2007a) suggests *nýtandi*, *nýtiligur* or *gegniligur* as translations of ‘usable’. The same contradiction arises several times in the additional comments: in their prose, 14 respondents (representing all schools) use the words *snakka* and *forstanda*, although 5 of them feel that such words should be avoided in written Faroese.

It should be noted that the views on Faroese purism represented by the last two respondents were very much in the minority.

Several comments from the postal study implied that there were regional differences concerning the position of and attitudes towards Danish in the Faroes, with one respondent stating that people from the southernmost island of Suðuroy use many more Danish words. In addition to those mentioned in 4.4.1 (Q.21 and Q.25), four of the comments included at the end of the school survey also picked up this point. From Hoydalar:

Tað danska málið hevur longu so stóra ávirkan á okkara mál at tey flestu hugsa ikki um tað. Serliga tá hugsað verður um tey í syðri helvt av landinum. [FST043]²¹²

And from Suðuroy:

[E]g haldi at oftast skulu føroyingar hava tað so grótføroyskt og tá havi eg tað lættari við at skilja tey dansku orðini. Tað hava allir suðringar [*sic*] sum heild. [FSS001]²¹³

Bara tí at okur onkuntíð nýta dansk orð, merkir tað ikki at okur eru danir. Tað eitur ‘dialekt’. [FSS050]²¹⁴

²¹² “The Danish language already has such great influence on our language that most people don’t think about it. Particularly those who live in the southern half of the country.”

²¹³ “I think that Faroese people usually want things to be so *grótføroyskt* [see fn.187] and then I find the Danish words easier to understand. All people from Suðuroy do as a whole.”

²¹⁴ “Just because we sometimes use Danish words, it doesn’t mean that we are Danes. It’s called ‘dialect’.” Although the respondent does not specify that s/he is from Suðuroy, s/he uses the *suðuroyarmál* pronoun *okur*, ‘we’, cf. standard Fa. *vit*.

Og hvat bilar tað um vit siga onsdag og tórsdag og onnur orð sum tey í DK? Tað er nógv nemmari. [FSS064]²¹⁵

Pupils were not asked to give feedback on the survey, but a small number did. This was both positive and negative, as summarised in Table 4.66.

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Hoydalar</i>	<i>Eysturoy</i>	<i>Suðuroy</i>	<i>Handilss kúlin</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
Positive feedback	3	10	1	3	17
Negative feedback	3	4	2	10	19

Table 4.66: (FSS) Positive and Negative Feedback

While the responses were too few for any regional differences to be determined, individual comments do provide useful insights.

Much of the ‘negative’ feedback related to the perceived ‘uselessness’ of the survey, characterised by words such as ‘trivielt’ (“trivial” [FSE076]), ‘meiningsleyst’ (“meaningless” [FSE100]), ‘óneyðugt’ (“unnecessary” [FSS091]) and the ‘we don’t care’ comment noted in 4.4.5 (Q.25). In a similar vein, one respondent from Suðuroy [FSS035] commented dismissively: ‘Brúki [*sic*] pengarnar til okkurt fornuftigari enn at senda eitt spurnablað út, í [*sic*] tit onki petti fãa burturúr, enn hvat tit vistu í forvegin’.²¹⁶ As with the postal survey, there were a couple of criticisms about the nature of the questions: ‘fyrakantaðir spurningar’ (“square questions” [FST140]), ‘spurningarnir sindur for smælir’(*sic*) (“the questions are too narrow” [FBT079]), ‘Í summun spurningum skuldi man kunna (*sic*) sett “x” við meir enn eitt’ (“In some questions you should be able to put ‘x’ by more than one [response]” [FBT093]).

Positive feedback was mostly of the general type ‘Góða eydnu’ (“Good luck”, written in English on several occasions), although several respondents related their comments to the survey itself: ‘frálík spurnabløð’ (“great questionnaires” [FST069]), ‘fin/relevant kanning’ (“good/relevant investigation” [FBT128]).

One comment, although based on a pupil’s misconception, was especially telling. The schools had all been primed prior to my arrival, and I had therefore hoped

²¹⁵ “And what does it matter if we say *onsdagur* [*sic*; ‘Wednesday’, cf. Da. *onsdag*, standard Fa. *mikudagur*] and *tórsdagur* [‘Thursday’, cf. Da. *torsdag*, standard Fa. *hósdagur*] and other words like them in Denmark? It’s much easier.”

²¹⁶ “Use the money for something more sensible than sending out a questionnaire from which you [pl.] won’t find anything out that you didn’t know already.”

that the teachers would pass on some of the information they received about the survey to their class, but this did not always happen. One pupil [FST137], who presumably thought the questionnaire stemmed from the University of the Faroes, wrote ‘tit eru alt ov bangin fyri øðrum málum’ (“you [pl.] are much too afraid of other languages”).

4.4.8 Discussion and Conclusions

In many respects, the results from the school survey correlate with those from the postal survey: the overwhelming majority of *all* those surveyed consider Faroese to be their first language; they have also been to Denmark several times; they claim to be fluent in Danish (apart from at the schools in Eysturoy and Suðuroy, where approximately half claim this); they believe that resident Danes should learn Faroese; they agree that the works of authors who wrote in Danish should be available in Faroese and they agree it is possible for an individual to live a good life in the Faroes even if that person only speaks either Danish or Faroese.

Other areas were less straightforward. In the postal survey, one recurrent trend was that the youngest band (under 40) often differed from the middle band (41-60); sometimes the youngest group reflected the results of the oldest group (over 60), sometimes it reflected a different position entirely to the older two brackets. The responses to the school survey often correlated with those of the youngest band in the postal survey. For example, the youngest bracket in the postal survey did not consider Danish to be an FL in the Faroes and the majority of pupils from all schools in the school survey also held this view; similarly, overall, the youngest bracket in the postal survey agreed with the four schools that the most important reason for learning Danish is in order to work or study – the older two brackets largely felt that the fact that the Faroes are in Scandinavia is the most important reason.

It is not always possible to generalise the results from the four schools: the responses suggest geographical differences. The postal survey hinted at regional variation across the country in relation to Danish and Danicisms in the Faroes, with one respondent highlighting Suðuroy as an area in which many Danish words are used. The school survey further strengthened the idea of Suðuroy having a unique relationship to Danish: the additional comments demonstrated this directly by suggesting there were more Danish words in the Suðuroy dialect than elsewhere in the Faroese, but the tables also show differences on Suðuroy.

In many ways, the responses from Suðuroy reflect those of the other schools: based on their self-evaluation the Danish of Suðuroy pupils appears no better than in the rest of the country, and their preferences when reading a language mirror those elsewhere. When it comes to preferences when writing in school, the respondents from Suðuroy are less fond of Faroese, but the percentage of those who favour Danish resembles the percentages in the other schools.

In some tables, however, Suðuroy displays different tendencies: pupils on Suðuroy support the reintroduction of Print-Danish into schools to a far greater level than elsewhere and to a greater extent than elsewhere they feel that Danish is not an FL (the percentage of those who think that it is is half of that at Hoydalar and a third of that at Eysturoy). Although all schools disagree with the statement that *snakka* and *forstanda* are just as Faroese as *tosa* and *skilja*, pupils from Suðuroy are twice as likely as those from Hoydalar and Eysturoy to agree, and 1.5 times more likely than respondents from Handilsskúlin. A higher percentage of pupils from Suðuroy than elsewhere feel that Danicisms should not be excluded from spoken Faroese. As regards Facebook, respondents from Suðuroy are much more likely to select the Danish setting and considerably less likely to select the Faroese setting: moreover, Suðuroy was the only school where Danish is more popular than Faroese (and doubly so). Chapter 5 considers the impact this regional difference has from a post-colonial perspective.

The chief conclusion of Søndergaard's (1987) and Holm's (1992) research projects was that Faroese pupils have a pragmatic attitude towards Danish, and we previously noted Søndergaard's claim that the pupils' identity is "absolutely Faroese" and that there is no "emotional connection" to Danish (see 4.2.1). While the questionnaire surveys agree about the Faroese identity – between 89.5% (Hoydalar) and 91.4% (Handilsskúlin) of pupils at the four schools identify Faroese as their main language, not Faroese *and* Danish – some of the data does suggest a limited emotional connection to Danish. The majority do not consider Danish to be an FL, a significant minority prefer it in various spheres to Faroese (between 9.9% [Suðuroy] and 16.0% [Hoydalar] when reading in school; between 9.8% [Eysturoy] and 19.9% [Hoydalar] when reading outside school; between 20.7% [Eysturoy] and 30.4% [Hoydalar] when writing in school; between 8.5% [Eysturoy] and 19.9% [Hoydalar] when writing outside

school and between 17.8% [Eysturoy] and 42.5% [Suðuroy] on Facebook).²¹⁷ In addition, 22 pupils commented that it is sometimes easier to express oneself in Danish and 8 that it is useful to use Danish metaphors and proverbs. I do not consider this indicative of a population which takes an ‘instrumental view’ of Danish (Holm 1992: 74), one which merely uses it as a tool where necessary. On the contrary, assuming that the observations of Søndergaard and Holm were accurate when they were made, the data here suggest a possible shift from a practical view of Danish in the late 1980s/early 1990s to a language the Faroese are quite comfortable with – sometimes more so than with Faroese itself – in a range of societal spheres.

²¹⁷ These figures represent those who favour Danish outright. Many indicated no overall preference in the first four areas. Although no school stood out from the others as much as Suðuroy, these particular statistics reflect the trend that the role of Danish is generally less pronounced at Eysturoy.

5. DECOLONISATION

*The post-colonial desire is the desire of
decolonized communities for an identity.*

(During 1987: 43)

5.1 Introduction

Ashcroft *et al.* (2007: 56) define decolonisation as ‘the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms’. Chapter 5 examines this ‘dismantling’ in the Faroese language context. Although Chapter 3 made use of Althusser’s writings on ideology – ideas which have been frequently referenced elsewhere within post-colonial studies – it was nevertheless argued that the Faroes constitute a somewhat unusual colonial society and that the close relationship between the coloniser and the colonised necessitated special models of post-colonial analysis. One example given was *saming*, derived from Spivak’s *othering*. Such a process would be unthinkable in ‘traditional’ post-colonial societies, such as in Africa and South-East Asia, where the cultures of the coloniser and of the colonised differed so widely. Although this chapter demonstrates that many of the decolonising processes and concepts found elsewhere in the world *do* have direct counterparts in the Faroes, it also suggests that the special Danish-Faroese colonial relationship has enabled the linguistic situation in the Faroes to develop in a unique way.

Much post-colonial literary analysis focuses on decolonisation – precisely because many commentators interpret ‘post-colonial’ as ‘after-colonialism’ (Ashcroft *et al.* 2006: 1) and decolonisation often follows the colonial period. The methodology for this chapter borrows heavily from such literary analysis. Accepting the premise that it is artificial to separate analysis of language use in literature from that elsewhere in society, this chapter attempts to provide a post-colonial ‘reading’ of language in Faroese society, based on Kossew’s methodology as outlined in 2.5 (iv). It is suggested that the language developments that have occurred since the Faroese began to take responsibility for their own affairs, such as purism and the desire among some to view Danish as an FL, can largely be seen within a traditional post-colonial framework as resistance to colonial

power. The evidence that emerges in this chapter supports the argument that the Faroes deserve a place in post-colonial study.

In order to place Faroese decolonisation within an international context, it is useful to refer to the three waves of global decolonisation identified by McLeod (2000: 9). The first of these was the loss of the British colonies in North America and their subsequent union and declaration of independence in the late-eighteenth century. McLeod's second wave is marked by the 'creation of the "dominions"', the granting of political autonomy to the British settler colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa between 1867 and 1909 (*ibid.*). Ashcroft *et al.* (2007: 59) think that these nations have been 'far less successful than other kinds of colonies' in carrying out social and cultural decolonisation, due in part to their 'filiative' relationship with Britain as 'sons and daughters of the Empire'.

McLeod describes the third category of nations thus:

Unlike the self-governing settler dominions, the colonised lands in South Asia, Africa and the Caribbean did not become sites of mass European migration, and tended to feature larger dispossessed populations settled by small British colonial elites. The achievement of independence in these locations occurred mainly after the Second World War, often as a consequence of indigenous anti-colonial nationalism and military struggle.

(McLeod 2000: 9)

Decolonisation in the Faroes must form part of this third wave: although the achievement of autonomy did not involve military struggle, neither did it in, for example, the Caribbean or Malta. Faroese autonomy, however, did stem from anti-colonial nationalism and did occur after the Second World War. Furthermore, the Faroes did not experience large-scale colonial migration, but were ruled by a small Danish elite. Although there is a common cultural heritage between the Danes and the Faroese – as there is between the British and the dominions they established – the relationship in this case is not filiative, and so the context of subsequent developments is quite different.

Of course, the Faroes are not an independent state but part of the Danish Kingdom. I regard this as largely inconsequential: 2.3.3 showed that political independence and the cessation of colonial influence often have little to do with each

other.²¹⁸ Since the Home Rule Act of 1948, the Faroese have had considerable influence over the internal running of their country. As regards language, continued political affiliation with Denmark does ensure a place for Danish within Faroese society and Danish remains a joint official language with Faroese, but, as the Greenlanders demonstrated with their 2009 referendum and the subsequent Self Rule Act of 2009 (see 1.5.2), membership of *Rigsfællesskabet* (“the Commonwealth of the Realm”) does not prevent change to official language status.

After an examination of the practical use of Danish in the Faroes today (5.2), the rest of the chapter is presented in four sections:

5.3 ‘Language Othering’: Through the new concept of language othering, this section considers how the two meanings of ‘Danish’ in the Faroes – the Danish language itself and the use of Danish words in Faroese – have been ‘rethought’ within Faroese society, as an act of resistance against the hegemony of Danish.

5.4 Purism: This section looks at the topic of language purism in the Faroes.

Although purism directly affects Faroese rather than Danish, this is relevant because the field-work in Chapter 4 provided clear examples of instances where Faroese purism has strengthened the position of Danish in Faroese society.

5.5 Acceptance of Danish: Previous post-colonial study in the Faroes by Malan Marnersdóttir and Leyvoy Joensen has identified a growing acceptance of the historical role of Danish in Faroese society, most specifically within Faroese literature. Joensen (2005: 250) has labelled this the ‘dawning acknowledgement of our bilingual history’. 5.5 suggests that this ‘acknowledgement’ within the literary sphere can be recognised in various aspects of post-colonial Faroese society, not just literature. Within this context, the current position of *Gøtudanskt* (Print-Danish) is set out.

5.6 The Faroese-Danish Relationship: In the thesis much has been made of the unique relationship between the coloniser and the colonised in the Faroes. This final section looks into the impact this close relationship has had on the position of Danish in Faroese society today.

²¹⁸ In any case, McLeod argued that the creation of the dominions (1867-1909) constituted the second period of global decolonisation, even though these did not achieve full legislative power until they adopted the 1931 Statute of Westminster.

The material selected for analysis remains ‘eclectic’ (see 2.5), with examples taken from literature, from writing on the Faroese language situation, the surveys outlined in Chapter 4 and observations from field research on the islands between 2008 and 2010.

5.2 Practical Use of Danish in the Faroes Today

The legal position of Danish remains unchanged from that accorded it in 1948 (see 1.5.1): it is a co-official language together with Faroese. Nevertheless, from a practical perspective, great changes have taken place since the Act was passed. This section briefly considers the ways in which Danish is used on the islands today to supplement the information from the two surveys.

In the 1970s and 1980s several commentators on the Faroese language situation pointed out that Danish functioned as a vehicle for contact with the outside world: Hagström calls Danish ‘ett fönster mot världen’ (‘a window on the world’, 1986: 18) and Haugen refers to Danish as ‘the language of outside contact’ (1980: 109). In translation between Faroese and other languages, this intermediary function was particularly salient as the Faroese needed to use Danish-medium dictionaries. When J.H.W. Poulsen saw Danish functioning as a ‘mellemlid’ (‘connecting link’) in 1977, he noted that there were still only Danish-Faroese and Faroese-Danish dictionaries (1977: 97). In the past twenty-five years, however, this situation has changed dramatically with the advent of dictionaries between Faroese and other languages: English (Skarði 1984; Young and Clewer 1985; Skála *et al.* 1992; Skála and Mikkelsen 2007a, 2007b), Norwegian (Nynorsk; Lehmann 1987), Italian (Contri 2004), Icelandic (Jón Hilmar Magnússon 2005) and Spanish (Meitil and Remmel 2009). Sprotin, at the time of writing a particularly prolific Faroese publisher, has also created an online two-way dictionary between Faroese and English and one-way Faroese-Spanish, Danish-Faroese, Faroese-Italian and, for the first time, German-Faroese dictionaries. It has additionally announced plans for online Russian-Faroese, Spanish-Faroese and French-Faroese dictionaries.²¹⁹ Consequently, the ‘mellemlid’ role of Danish in translation has greatly decreased.

²¹⁹ <http://www.sprotin.fo/?sida=hald> (last accessed 25/08/11).

The vast majority of adult literature is still read in Danish. Traditionally only ‘classics’ have been published in Faroese translation, such as works by Shakespeare, Laxness and Tolkien. Although some non-classic titles are now appearing in Faroese, such as, during the research period, the Norwegian author Johan Harstad’s *Buzz Aldrin, hvor ble det av deg i alt mylderet?* (Fa. *Buzz Aldrin, hvar bleivst tú av í ruðuleikanum?*; Eksil 2009), the Swedish author Mikael Niemi’s *Populärmusik från Vittula* (Fa. *Popptónleikur úr Vittula*; Sprotin 2009), and the Icelandic crime writer Arnaldur Indriðason’s *Mýrin* (Fa. *Mýrin*; Sprotin 2010), this is a recent phenomenon and is still the exception.²²⁰ As noted in 1.2.2, the situation for children’s literature is quite different.

Danish continues to play an important role in two other key areas: education and the media.²²¹ Faroese enjoys virtually a monopoly as the spoken medium of education at all levels, including the university, but, as the surveys indicated, a considerable number of teaching materials are in Danish only.

Danish is very prominent when it comes to television and films. J.Í.L. Jacobsen reports that, during any week in July 2001, only between 17 and 28% of programming was Faroese-produced (and therefore in Faroese) or adapted for Faroese viewers (with dubbing or subtitles) – everything else was in Danish or had Danish subtitles (2002: 121). He notes that *Sjónvarp Føroya* aimed to have all foreign material subtitled in Faroese by 1st January 2003 (ibid.).²²² As of 2011 this has not yet happened. All children’s programming, however, is either originally Faroese or dubbed in Faroese. Some programmes aimed at young adults have Faroese subtitles. At the cinema, all international films are subtitled in Danish and all children’s films are dubbed into

²²⁰ While non-classic translations have appeared previously, such as one of Swedish author Henning Mankell’s ‘Wallander’ crime novels in 1998 (Sw. *Mördare utan ansikte*, Fa. *Skortleysir manndráparar*; Sprotin), these were rare.

²²¹ A third area, the law, ought to be mentioned. Dealings with the legal system invariably involve direct contact with Danish, as judicial authority and the police remain areas of Danish jurisdiction. Sentencing, for example, is carried out in Danish. The majority of police prosecutors are Danish and for that reason cross-examinations are generally conducted in Danish, but the Faroese are usually able to answer in Faroese. If a police prosecutor is Faroese, the defendant is Faroese and the judge understands Faroese, cross-examinations can be carried out in Faroese. Some police officers write reports in Danish and some in Faroese. All officers are trained in Denmark. While the subject of the law is interesting as it provides an otherwise rare example of a contemporary situation in which two Faroese people may be required to converse in Danish, I will not focus on this domain for two reasons. Firstly, as this area remains under Denmark, language choice does not depend on attitudes or what resources permit, but is frequently dictated. Secondly, while those Faroese whose jobs concern the law will come into regular contact with Danish, most Faroese will not enter this domain on a daily basis.

²²² See ‘Udredning om sprogpoltiske initiativer og domænetab i færøsk’ at <http://www.sprakforsvaret.se/sf/index.php?id=647> (last accessed 07/07/11).

Danish. Only these Danish versions of films are on sale on the islands. As regards print media, all domestic newspapers are in Faroese.

Although the majority of respondents in the surveys answered that it is possible to lead ‘a good life’ in the Faroes without speaking Danish (Tables 4.19 and 4.48), it remains a fact that an ability to understand Danish is necessary – as several respondents indicated. It is perhaps difficult for the Faroese to judge this for themselves, as all understand Danish. H.P. Petersen (2010: 41) tells of a Polish woman who reported in *Dimmalætting* (dated 19/09/07) that it is not possible to manage everyday life on the Faroes without knowing Danish.²²³

While a small Danish community does exist on the islands, most people who have been there for any considerable period of time understand Faroese. As a result of this, it is not unusual to hear bilingual conversations, with Danes and the Faroese each using their own language (H.P. Petersen 1997: 12). One respondent to the postal survey described this as ‘pura (*sic*) vanligt’ (“completely usual”; [FP084]). It is, however, a relatively recent phenomenon that was only starting to emerge at the time B.H. Jacobsen wrote her dissertation in 1984 (p.12). Previously, conversations between Danes and islanders would have taken place in Danish.

5.3 Language Othering

2.3.2 introduced language othering as the process whereby the position of the colonial language is redefined. For political, practical or ideological reasons, the colonial language cannot always be removed from the colonial society altogether, but it can be ‘rethought’ so that the colonised no longer feel subjectified by its use. As with Spivak’s othering, separate new identities for the colonised and the coloniser are created and the colonised population’s notion of its place in the world is re-assessed. A key difference is that language othering is an element of decolonisation, rather than colonisation – the colonised are the ‘otherers’ – but this is no great deviation from Spivak’s concept, as othering can only be carried out by someone in a position to do so. One of the

²²³ My own experience suggests that knowledge of Danish is taken for granted. On several occasions during the research period I was addressed in fluent Danish by a resident Dane who assumed I would understand.

interesting features of Spivak's analysis is her view that othering is not just performed by the political leaders of a territory, but also by the functionaries.²²⁴

In the Faroese context, language othering must work within two spheres: in relation to the Danish language and to Danish words in Faroese. As the questionnaire surveys showed, both of these areas are commonly categorised under the label 'Danish' (cf. 1.4).

This section argues for four methods of language othering on the islands, all of which seem to have emerged since the Second World War: reclassification, paratextuality, temporary translation and separation. These methods are symptomatic of traditional post-colonial resistance to the dominating power and, I suggest, attempt to render Danish acceptable. As in Chapter 3, macro concepts are illustrated by concrete micro examples.

5.3.1 Reclassification

Althusser's writings on ideology (2.2.2) emphasised the importance of labelling within colonial contexts. Althusser's interpellation was defined by Ashcroft *et al.* as "call[ing] people forth" as subjects, and ... provid[ing] the conditions by which, and the contexts in which, they obtain subjectivity' (2007: 203). The Danish colonisers were largely able to same the Danish and Faroese languages in the Faroes by labelling the two varieties as 'the same'. Thus Faroese could be subjectified and an environment created in which the two varieties effectively *were* the same. Naming is an important part of colonial practice, particularly as regards place names: as Ashcroft *et al.* explain, 'naming or, in almost all cases, renaming spaces [is] a symbolic and literal act of mastery and control' (2007: 28). As colonisers discovered 'new' territories, they named them, mapped them and reinforced their control over both the land and its inhabitants. Consequently, after the start of decolonisation, many places were renamed either with new, local alternatives or original forms as the colonised attempted to reaffirm their identity and control over the land: Salisbury in Rhodesia became Harare in Zimbabwe in 1982;²²⁵ in India Bombay became Mumbai in 1995, etc.

²²⁴ 'What I am trying to insist on here is that the agents of this cartographic transformation in the narrow sense are not only great names like Vincent van Gogh, but small unimportant folk like Geoffrey Birch [see 2.2.1], as well as the policy makers' (Spivak 1985: 133).

²²⁵ Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1980 upon its (*de jure*) independence.

Similarly, I suggest, former colonial languages can be popularly renamed, or rather, reclassified, as an act of resistance to their hegemony. Examples of this can be found in relation to both meanings of the word ‘Danish’ on the Faroes:

1. Danish Words in Faroese

Direct evidence of the reclassification of words of Danish origin used in Faroese can be found in the school survey. In 4.4.5 the Danicisms *snakka* and *forstanda* were labelled by the pupils as ‘talumál’ (“spoken language”, [FSE048]), ‘eldri orð’ (“older words”, [FSE074]) and ‘suðuroyarmál’ (“Suðuroy dialect”, [FSS076]), even though, elsewhere in the survey, these Danicisms were a) *written* b) written by *school pupils* and c) came *from around the country* (see 4.4.7).²²⁶ It is, therefore, difficult to think of them as belonging purely to spoken language, as being old words or being restricted to the island of Suðuroy.²²⁷ Nevertheless, these labels continue to be used as euphemisms for ‘Danicism’.²²⁸ Through their use, it is possible to mark certain words out as ‘other’, yet to do so without referring to the colonial power.

Examples of these labels abound. In a newspaper review of his fourth crime novel, *Adventus Domini* (2007), Jógvan Isaksen was criticised for overuse of ‘talumál’ in his prose. Instead of his ‘... fólir [stingir í kroppinum]’ (“feels [stabbing pains in his body]”, Da. *føler* [...]), ‘støvsúgvaranum’ (“vacuum cleaner”, Da. *støvsuger*) and ‘jólamusikkur’ (“Christmas music”, Da. *julemusik*), the reviewer suggested ‘... kennir [stingir í kroppinum]’, ‘dustsúgvaranum’ and ‘jólátónleikur’ respectively (D. Olsen 2007). Each example of ‘talumál’ here is, of course, a Danicism.

During the field-work, I heard an additional label for a Danicism: at a choir rehearsal, one singer queried the prepositional phrase ‘for meg’ in an old gospel song (“for me”, cf. Da. *for mig*, standard Fa. *fyri meg*), to which another responded that this was an example of ‘yrkingarmál’ (“poetic language”).

The use and success of these labels vary: the most common, by far, is ‘talumál’ (or ‘talað mál’ in *Føroysk orðabók* [J.H.W. Poulsen *et al.* 1998]). By ‘success’ I mean that the term ‘talumál/talað mál’ has become a widespread euphemism for Danicism. As

²²⁶ In the postal survey, one respondent [FP186] reclassified *snakka* and *forstanda*, in English, as ‘informal language’. This can be seen as synonymous with the ‘talumál’ label.

²²⁷ Although Danicisms *are* more likely to be used by older speakers (cf. fn.30; J.H.W. Poulsen 1977: 100), less likely to be written (cf. Barnes 2002a: 1583; Hagström 2002c: 1758) and more widespread on Suðuroy (see 5.3.1), the school survey indicates that the situation is not straightforward.

²²⁸ Of course there are words in each category that are not Danicisms.

the surveys showed, the majority of people wish to keep a distinction between ‘spoken language’ (where Danicisms are more likely to be accepted) and ‘written language’ (where they are not). Most Danicisms which make it into one of the Faroese dictionaries – and few do – are marked with the (*tlm.*) designation.

Of the other three labels discussed here, only ‘suðuroyarmál’ (*Suð.*) is used in *Føroysk orðabók*, and only sparingly, e.g. for the two Suðuroy pronominal forms that are not Danicisms, *okur* (‘we’, standard Fa. *vit*) and *tykur* (‘you’ (pl.), standard Fa. *tit*), and for a restricted number of Danicisms, such as *jeg* (‘I’, standard Fa. *eg*), *ónsdagur* and *tórsdagur* (see 4.4.7).²²⁹ Presumably this reluctance to label words *suðuroyarmál* is caused by the fact that many Danicisms are widely used – as evidenced by the survey – and because increased use of the label would suggest acceptance of these, even if only in one region of the country. The widespread ‘*talumál*’ label, however, coupled with the industrious production of purist terms to oust the controversial Danicisms, has led to the emergence of what can be considered a diglossic situation in the Faroes today (see fn.136).

2. The Danish Language on the Faroes

As Fasold notes, when selecting a national language in most post-colonial societies, ‘the old colonial language is usually a terrible choice on nationalist grounds’ (1987: 5). He adds that ‘[f]or a nationality which has just acquired its own geographical territory, the last language it would want as a national symbol would be the language of the state that had denied it territorial control’ (ibid.). While this may be the case in many post-colonial territories, the thesis has shown that the situation is not quite so straightforward in the Faroes: for various reasons, Danish remains a co-official language. However, as this section shows, attempts can be made to reclassify (‘to other’) a language in order to demonstrate resistance to the hegemony of the coloniser/coloniser’s culture.

The most salient expression of language othering on the Faroes – and much of the focus for the thesis – is the attempted redefinition of Danish as an FL on the islands. As noted, several academics have concluded that Danish on the Faroes constitutes an FL (see 1.6). Despite the ubiquitous nature of this conclusion – to my knowledge, the present study is the first to challenge it directly – this reclassification does not seem to concur with the opinions of most young Faroese. The majority of pupils in the school

²²⁹ It is also used of several dialectal words that are not Danicisms, such as *óniri* (‘shy or poor sheep’, standard Fa. *ónæra*). English translation from Skála and Mikkelsen (2007a).

survey, and the majority of respondents in the youngest of the three bands in the postal survey rejected the idea of Danish as an FL. Respondents in the middle bracket marginally agreed that it is an FL (49.0% for, 37.7% against), which is to be expected in light of the discussion in 4.3.8, while the opinions of those in the oldest bracket were evenly divided. So the ‘success’ of this reclassification, while considerable in academic discourse, has been more mixed among the Faroese population.

Wylie observed in 1981 that there is a tendency on the islands to think of Danish as ‘a variety of pan-Scandinavian’ (1981: 82). This too is an example of reclassification. The surveys confirmed the importance of Danish as a medium of communication for the Faroese across Scandinavia: in the postal survey, this was given as the most important reason for learning Danish in the Over 60 and 40-60 brackets, and as second in the Under 40 bracket; in the school survey, this was the second most important reason for learning Danish at Hoydalar and Eysturoy, and third at Suðuroy and Handilsskúlin. Pan-Scandinavian communication is clearly significant for the Faroese: as they are unable to use their own language to this end (J.H.W. Poulsen 1982a: 125), Danish must be used.

The context of this reclassification is particularly significant from a post-colonial theoretical perspective. There is a common trend amongst post-colonial nations to seek to (re-)connect with ‘brethren’, peoples/nations with similar heritage or culture. Examples abound, such as Greenland’s membership of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), an organisation which aims to protect the interests of Inuit across Greenland, Canada, the United States and Russia. By definition, these brethren are traditionally unlike the coloniser. In the Faroes, however, the situation is very different. The brethren, i.e. the people with whom the Faroese feel natural affinity (other Scandinavians) are also of the same heritage as the coloniser and communication with them can only (practicably) take place through the colonial language. While the proceedings of the ICC take place in English – a colonial language as far as Canadian and American Inuit are concerned – use of this language differs from Danish in the Faroes in two key ways. Firstly, English is the medium of global communication among colonised and non-colonised peoples. This has arguably bestowed a character of neutrality upon it in international communication. Secondly, English is not part of what connects the Inuit: its use is therefore auxiliary rather than symbolic.

Conversely, ‘Scandinavian’ is, as Vikør notes, regarded by many Scandinavians ‘as a substantial part of the *raison d’être* of the Nordic community’ (2001a: 134). An inability to communicate with this community in an MSc. medium would alienate the

Faroese from this – as far as Faroese identity is concerned – most crucial of groups.²³⁰ By reclassifying Danish as merely a language of pan-Scandinavian contact, interaction with Scandinavian partners can continue, but in a way that is in accordance with the core ideal of decolonisation, which is to demonstrate resistance.

5.3.2 Paratextuality

Within literary studies, Gérard Genette, the French scholar, defines paratexts as ‘a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author’s name, a title, a preface, illustrations [which] surround [the text] and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it’ (1997: 1). I suggest that within post-colonial analysis, paratexts, conceptualised as ‘paratextuality’, can also be considered part of the process of language othering: added text which surrounds the colonial language to present it as ‘other’.

Table 4.57 in the school survey shows that 8 pupils felt that proverbs and metaphors constitute areas where Danish ‘works better than Faroese’. Two examples of such sayings were given: ‘Stop mens legen er god’ (“Stop while the going is good”, [FBT014]) and ‘Den tid, den sorg’ (“Don’t cross your bridges before you come to them”, [FBT158]).²³¹ While there is a direct and codified Faroese equivalent of the first saying, *Gevast, meðan leikur er góður* (Skála and Mikkelsen 2007b), for the second I have heard *Tann tíð, tann sorg* used, although it is not to be found in reference works.²³² Nevertheless, these pupils presumably feel that the Danish-language and Faroese-language versions are not fully equivalent²³³ – or, as 13 pupils put it in the survey (Table 4.57), sometimes Danish words come to mind first.²³⁴ Set Danish phrases are often written in the Faroes, although rarely without some modifying phrase, or paratext,

²³⁰ The importance of Danish in this context was stressed by the Faroese priest and linguist, Jákup Dahl, as early as 1903 (Thomassen 1985: 24).

²³¹ Lit. “Stop while the game is good” and “That time, that grief”. The non-literal English translation of the latter comes from Axelsen (2005: 784).

²³² *Tann tíð, tann sorg* is also used in an article by Ólavur í Beiti (05/05/10) at Vágaportalurin, the news service for Vágar island, <http://new.vagaportal.fo/pages/posts/jorgen-niclasen-er-nokkso-stuttligur-1251.php?p=8> (last accessed 29/06/11).

²³³ Within translation studies, Nida distinguishes between formal and dynamic equivalence (1964: 159). While the Faroese translation may be the formal equivalent of the Danish saying, i.e. it says the same in the same form, it may not be dynamically equivalent, i.e. it does not have the same effect on the reader.

²³⁴ One example is: ‘Tað er viðhvørt [*sic*] man sigur okkurt á donskum, tá man ikki fer [*sic*] tað føroyska orðið framman [*sic*]’ [FSS064] (‘Sometimes you say something in Danish when the Faroese word doesn’t come to you’).

to make them more acceptable. One common example is *sum danir siga* (“as Danes say”). In a recent Faroese-language pamphlet produced by the Nólsoy Island Tourist Information Centre about Ove Joensen, the Faroese rower who successfully rowed from the Faroes to Copenhagen in 1986, the following can be found:

Men „tredje gang er lykkens gang”, *sum danir siga*, og 11. august kundi Ove kyssa kendu havfrúnna á Langelinie eftir væleydnaðari ferð um Atlantshav.²³⁵

(Nólsoy Information Centre 2009, emphasis added)

The phrase *sum danir siga* does not form part of the content of the text, but it frames the Danish it follows and creates distance between it and the author. From a post-colonial perspective this distance represents the space between the Faroese and Danish cultures.²³⁶ A similar example can be found in an online article from 2009 about whether to ‘thaw’ the annual subsidy the Faroes receive from Denmark. Johan Petersen, from *Sambandsflokkurin* (“the Union Party”), observes that *Fólkaflokkurin* (“the People’s Party”) and *Javnaðarflokkurin* (“the Social Democrats”) ‘eru snøgt sagt *sum danir siga tað* uden for pedagogisk [sic] rækkevidde’ (“are frankly *as Danes say* ‘uden for pedagogisk rækkevidde [beyond teaching]’”).²³⁷ The Danish saying carries the meaning Petersen wishes to convey, but blatant use of Danish words cannot go ‘unchecked’. Similar examples abound, such as ‘Spøg til side *sum danir siga* [...]’ (“Joking apart, *as Danes say* [...]”), found on an online discussion page from 2006.²³⁸

An early, and quite different, example of a paratext – and one much closer to the traditional meaning of the word – can be found in the 1968 re-publication of Landt’s *Forsøg til en Beskrivelse af Færøerne* (cf. 2.4). Unlike the first version, which was

²³⁵ “But ‘tredje gang er lykkens gang’ (≈ “third time lucky”), *as* [the] *Danes say* and on 11th August, Ove was able to kiss the famous Little Mermaid on Langelinie after a successful journey across the Atlantic.”

²³⁶ This alludes to the concept of the metonymic gap within post-colonial studies, defined by Ashcroft *et al.* as ‘the cultural gap formed when appropriations of a colonial language insert unglossed words, phrases or passages from a first language, or concepts, allusions or references that may be unknown to the reader’ (2007: 122-3). Here, however, the writer does not seek to create otherness in the mind of a reader from the colonising territory, but of a reader from the colonised territory. See Marnersdóttir (2004b; 2005) on the gap in Heinesen’s *Det gode håb*.

²³⁷ Dated 29/09/09; <http://www.samband.fo/sambandfo/Default.asp?cid=1&pg=76&id=2039> (last accessed 29/06/11).

²³⁸ http://www.kvinna.fo/Default.aspx?pageid=12065&IFrame_OverrideURL=http%3A%2F%2Fservices%2Ekvinna%2Efo%2Fkjak%2Easp%3Faction%3Dkjak%26subaction%3Dvistrad%26kjakid%3D7%26trapid%3D3997 (last accessed 29/06/11). The Faroese equivalent is *Skemt til viks* (Skála and Mikkelsen 2007a).

(naturally) published in Copenhagen, the re-publication was produced in Tórshavn. The front cover preserves the title of the original, but includes the Faroese words ‘Við myndum’ (“with pictures”). These words set the context for the Danish text, frame it and establish distance between the Faroese and Danish cultures. ‘Við myndum’, I would argue, makes the publication of a Danish book in the Faroes more acceptable. The existence of Faroese words on the cover of a book from 1800 – some 46 years before the creation of the Faroese written language – also stresses the historical nature of Danish on the islands.

5.3.3 Temporary Translation

A phenomenon I have labelled ‘temporary translation’ could also be interpreted as an element of language othering within the post-colonial language situation. Temporary translation refers to the translation of book titles, programme titles, etc., into the colonised language, even though the product will be consumed in the language of the coloniser. This practice thus suggests the existence of a domestic-language product which is not to be found. The illusion is always temporary as it must disappear at the point of consumption.

For example, a book review of Stieg Larsson’s bestselling novel, *Luftslottet som sprängdes* (Norstedts 2007),²³⁹ displayed at the *Rit og Rák* bookshop in Tórshavn in May 2009, began: ‘Triði og seinasti partur í Milleniumtrilogiini tekur um endan har *Gentan, ið spældi við eldin* endaði.’ (“The third and final part of the Millennium Trilogy begins where [Fa.] *Gentan, ið spældi við eldin* [‘The Girl Who Played with Fire’] ended”). The reader of the review would, however, be hard-pressed to find a book bearing this title: the only widely-available version of it on the islands (and in *Rit og Rák*) is the Danish *Pigen, der legede med ilden* (Modtryk 2008).²⁴⁰ By translating the title into Faroese, an illusion is created whereby the reader can effectively ‘forget’ that the book will ultimately be read in Danish. It remains the case that the reader will consume the book in Danish, but the degree to which the colonial language is seen/read is restricted. This can be seen as typical post-colonial resistance.

Larsson’s trilogy proves fertile ground for further examples of temporary translation. In February 2009, Tórshavn municipality advertised a showing of the film

²³⁹ Lit. “The Castle in the Air that was Blown Up” (2007).

²⁴⁰ Swedish original (Norstedts 2006) as *Flickan som lekte med elden* (“The Girl Who Played with Fire”).

based upon Larsson's first book, *Män som hatar kvinnor* (Norstedts 2005),²⁴¹ under the synonymous Faroese title *Menn, ið hata kvinnur*, even though this Swedish film was to be shown with Danish subtitles.²⁴² The second and third instalments were shown later that year, advertised as the literally-translated *Gentan, ið spældi við eld* and *Kastellið, sum fór í luftina* ("The Castle that Exploded") respectively.²⁴³ The slight variation on the title of the second film in relation to the book mentioned in the review (*eld* "fire" [acc.] as opposed to *eldin* "the fire" [acc.]) – as well as the fact that *Sosialurin* advertised the showing of the third film under the title *Sprongda luftkastellið* ("The Exploded Air Castle")²⁴⁴ – illustrates a logical side-effect of temporary translation: individuals can translate however they see fit, as the version of the product being discussed does not exist. The significance of this is discussed in 5.6.

Temporary translation is based upon a telling assumption: that the reader/viewer is bilingual. In order for the consumer to enjoy the cultural good being advertised, s/he must understand both Faroese and Danish and this is clearly assumed. Such translation is also an example of synergy: the advertising and the product create a synergetic 'package', which by definition has to cross the cultural boundaries. Temporary translation reflects the inherent interdependence of synergetic products: without the Faroese translation the text is arguably less acceptable, yet a Danish original is clearly needed for there to be a Faroese translation of the title.

The post-colonial nature of temporary translation in the Faroes is further emphasised by the fact that it appears to be much more directed towards Danish than English. With book titles this is to be expected as Danish is much more in evidence than English, but it does seem that English is more likely to go 'unchecked'. *Sjónvarp Føroya*, translates almost all film/programme titles into Faroese, but sometimes some English ones are left in the original language (such as the regularly-broadcast *The Daily Show*). Similarly, on the programme for the 2009 *Mentanarnátt* ("Night of Culture") in Tórshavn were four English-language film showings: two of these kept their English titles (*Terminator Salvation* and *State of Play*), while two were translated into Faroese

²⁴¹ Lit. "Men Who Hate Women".

²⁴² <http://www.torshavn.fo/Default.aspx?pageid=615&EventsShow=1&EventsFirstDate=2-27-2009> (last accessed 02/07/11).

²⁴³ <http://www.torshavn.fo/Default.aspx?pageid=609&NewsItemID=1707> and <http://www.torshavn.fo/Default.aspx?pageid=609&NewsItemId=1716> (both last accessed 02/07/11).

²⁴⁴ http://www.wap.fo/news_2.php?grein=59786 (last accessed 02/07/11).

(*Einglar og illir Andar* [Angels and Demons] and *Nátt á Fornminnisavnninum* [Night at the Museum]).²⁴⁵ Both films that acquired Faroese titles were marketed under Danish titles in Denmark (respectively *Engle og Dæmoner* and *Nat på museet*). Again we see evidence of dependence – the creation of a Faroese title is dependent on the creation of a Danish one; if a film is distributed in Denmark under an English name, it is probable that this will also be the case in the Faroes.

5.3.4 Separation

Separation is perhaps the most straightforward of the four methods of language othering discussed in this section, in that it entails keeping the two languages as far apart as possible. This practice is clear from the almost complete lack of dual-language books on the islands, in contrast to the situation in Greenland (see 6.7). Those multilingual titles that do exist are primarily aimed at tourists/foreigners. By 2008, for example, fifteen art books had been published: two in Faroese and Danish, eleven in Faroese, Danish and English and two in Faroese, Norwegian and English.²⁴⁶ However, such publications increasingly appear in separate Faroese and Danish editions – such as, during the research period, *Livandi list/Levende kunst* (Sørensen, Myndlist.net 2008) and *Myndir í myndum/Skal vi se på billeder?* (Bugge and Didriksen, Listasavn Føroya 2009). Again, an illusion is created here: the reader can forget the existence of the book in the other language, whereas a bilingual edition constantly reminds the reader of its synergetic nature.

5.4 Purism

Decolonisation has frequently been characterised in post-colonial societies by a desire to eradicate all influence from the colonial period in an attempt to return to some unspoilt pre-colonial authenticity (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007: 17). As Loomba (2005: 152) observes, for ‘many nationalists and anti-colonialists [...] liberation [...] hinged upon the discovery or rehabilitation of their cultural identity which European colonialism had disparaged and wrecked’. While, again, ‘European’ is a misnomer in this particular

²⁴⁵ The programme for 2009’s *Mentanarnátt* is available at: <http://www.torshavn.fo/Default.aspx?pageid=609&NewsItemID=1473> (last accessed 02/07/11).

²⁴⁶ Figures from personal communication with Malan Marnersdóttir in 2011.

context (the Faroese are also European), we are able to find evidence of this ‘desire’ in examples from the Faroese decolonisation process.

Language purism in the Faroes can be seen as an attempt to ignore the colonial period and return to the pure Faroese that would still be spoken now, had colonisation never occurred.²⁴⁷ Brunstad, whose comparative study of Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Faroese purism (2001) provides the best overview and historical context of the subject in the Faroes, gives the following definition:

Purisme er ein normeringsideologi der målet er å halde språket reint frå framande innslag som vert oppfatta som “ureine”. Dette målet er gjerne kombinert med arbeid for å avløyse framande innslag med heimlege, eller å tilpasse dei til ei form som er heimleg. Purismen kan vere retta imot alle lingvistiske nivå, men er oftast fokusert på det leksikalske.

(Brunstad 2001: 27; tr.18)

This is a useful definition and one that Brunstad devised after having considered a number of others. What constitutes ‘framande innslag’ (‘foreign elements’), however, varies from society to society – the term does not necessarily refer to all traceable foreign influence. Vikør (2001b: 193) distinguishes between general and selective purism. Icelandic purism is the standard example of the former as it seeks to eliminate *all* foreign influence on vocabulary.²⁴⁸ Selective purism, however, concerns attempts to remove influence from a single language which is viewed negatively due to past or present dominance/oppression (ibid.). Purism in the Faroes is of this latter type as it focuses almost exclusively on Danish. As far as the purists are concerned, Danish elements ‘contaminate’ pure Faroese (Holm 1992: 87). Nowhere is this more explicitly expressed than in the journal *Orðafar*, which was created by *Málnevndin* (‘the Language Council’) in 1986 to correct ‘skeivt mál’ (‘incorrect language’).²⁴⁹ In the second issue, the Council comments:

²⁴⁷ Purism can essentially be viewed as indirect language othering; the removal of Danish words in Faroese can only serve to make Danish ‘other’. To repeat an example from 1.2, if Faroese children hear only *firvaldur* (‘butterfly’), and not *summarfuglur*, it is questionable whether they will understand the Danish word *sommerfugl* when hearing it for the first time (particularly as it literally means ‘summer bird’).

²⁴⁸ This is the case today. At the beginning of the nineteenth century when the language revival movement started, however, ‘the primary motivation for the policy of purism was the desire to combat foreign domination as mediated through Danish’ (Vikør 2001a: 215).

²⁴⁹ *Orðafar* 1, 01/11/86 (<http://www.finn.fo/ordafar/ordafar.htm>, last accessed 16/08/11).

Í talumáli – og í skriftmáli hjá summun við – yður í donskum orðum og máliskum, ið eru meira ella minni lagað at føroyskum. Hetta eru lúnskar málspillur, sum ikki altíð er so lætt at vara seg fyri, tí danskt er so rótgrógvíð hjá okkum øllum.²⁵⁰

(*Orðafar* 2, 01/02/86)²⁵¹

The idea of authenticity or purity is central here: as L. Joensen points out, the Faroese language struggle (*málstrev*) has ‘dramatise[d] modern Faroese culture as a battle between authentic Faroese and parasitic Danish’ (2000: 66). The selective direction of Faroese purism is perhaps best expressed by J.H.W. Poulsen, who chaired *Málnevndin* between 1985 and 1997. He is responsible for many Faroese neologisms and is considered by Brunstad to be ‘den siste i rekkja av store færøyske puristar’ (‘the last in the line of great Faroese purists’; 2001: 277).²⁵² Poulsen states: ‘færøsk sprogrøgt fornemste opgave har altid været at trække så tydelige grænser som muligt mellem færøsk og dansk’ (1985b: 153).²⁵³ The selective nature of Faroese purism is demonstrated by the fact that purists have often taken their suggested replacements for Danicisms straight from Icelandic: these are therefore also ‘foreign elements’. Poulsen claims that some Icelandic words for modern phenomena – he lists *útvarp* (‘radio’), *sjónvarp* (‘television’) and *fjølmiðil* (‘media’) – seem ‘so Faroese’ (‘alføroysk’) that they can easily be appropriated into the language (1998: 134).

Vikør claims that societies that subscribe to selective purism often do so for only a limited period of time (2001b: 194). As the native language becomes more stable, the desire for purism decreases; this is accompanied by a simultaneous need for new words to cover new domains and thus a greater requirement for loanwords (*ibid.*). Evidence from the Faroes supports this view: since the 1980s there has been a well-documented rise in criticism of purism (Sandøy 1997: 41; Brunstad 2001: 282).²⁵⁴ This criticism is multi-faceted: some commentators, for instance, have criticised the negative effect that

²⁵⁰ “The spoken language – and also some people’s written language – is teeming with Danish words and phrases which are adapted to a greater or lesser extent to Faroese. This is a treacherous type of incorrect usage, against which it is not always so easy to guard oneself, as Danish is rooted so deeply in all of us.”

²⁵¹ Source as in fn.249.

²⁵² Brunstad, who considers Poulsen to be particularly influenced by Icelandic, gives 75 of Poulsen’s neologisms (2001: 277-8). Some of the most successful are: *telda* (‘computer’), *fløga* (‘compact disc’), *farstøð* (‘terminal’), *flogbóltur* (‘volleyball’) and *hugburður* (‘attitude’).

²⁵³ “the primary task of Faroese purism has always been to draw as clear a boundary as possible between Faroese and Danish.”

²⁵⁴ Brunstad suggests that the earliest traces of this phenomenon are found in the 1960s (2001: 282).

purism has on schoolchildren. Thomsen (1996: 17) condemns the fact that many children arrive at school to be told that their language is ‘vánaligt’ (‘bad’) and that they must learn to replace Danicisms with the recommended ‘pure’ words. He considers this practice ‘*psykologist [...] sosialt, praktiskt og pedagogiskt skeivt*’ (‘*psychologically [...] socially, practically and pedagogically wrong*’). Others criticise the fact that many of these recommended words are unknown to most Faroese.²⁵⁵ As Magnussen observes:

Grummar søgur hoyrast sjálvandi enn um setursfyrilestrar og annað
slíkt, har ongin av teimum høgt útbúnu áhoyrarunum skilti eitt kis, tí
alt var so gjøgnumført á nýføroyskum, at tað eins væl kundi verið
serbokroatiskt.²⁵⁶

(Magnussen 1999: 40)

What Magnussen describes as ‘nýføroyskt’ (‘New Faroese’) is a language devoid of Danicisms and one which uses the neologisms or Icelandic loanwords/derivations advised by the Faroese Language Council and commonly associated with the University of the Faroes (hence the name *setursmál* [‘university language’], Sandøy 1997: 41). Those who argue – with justification – that a diglossic situation has evolved on the islands consider this to be the H-language (Thomsen 1996; Gullbein 2006; Majbritt Pauladóttir 2008).

5.3.2 mentioned Nida’s consideration of equivalence and his conclusion that two words/phrases which appear to be equivalent in meaning may not be so as regards their effect. Another criticism levelled against purism – and one reflected in the surveys – is that, in the minds of some Faroese, certain recommended words do not have equivalence with the Danish ones they are intended to replace. Several examples were given in the surveys: one pupil [FSE138] complained that the recommended word for ‘schizophrenia’, *hugkloyvingur* (Da. *skizofreni*), literally ‘mind-splitting’, was unacceptable, as a split personality is ‘bert eitt av fyrbrigdunum við skizofreni’ (‘just one of the symptoms of *skizofreni*’);²⁵⁷ another pupil [FST119] did not feel that the

²⁵⁵ In the surveys one respondent [FSE075] mentioned a Faroese word which s/he felt would not be readily understood by most Faroese people: namely, *einskiljing* (‘privatisation’, Da. *privatisering*).

²⁵⁶ “Grim stories are of course still heard about lectures at the University of the Faroes and similar things where none of the highly-educated listeners were able to understand a single word, because everything was so entirely in New Faroese that it might as well have been Serbo-Croat.”

²⁵⁷ The Greek word ‘schizophrenia’ also means ‘split mind’ (Allen 2003), but this is not directly evident to anyone unfamiliar with Greek. Ultimately, whether or not the pupil is correct is of little consequence: in his/her mind, the recommended word does not cover Danish *skizofreni*.

recommended Faroese *jaligt/neiligt* were comparable to the Danish *positivt/negativt* (“positive/negative”) and a third pupil [FBT046] felt that Faroese words such as *parlag* (“relationship”) have no place on Facebook, implying that the Danish equivalent was better.

André Niclasen (b. 1938) is frequently mentioned as a critic of the purist tendency (cf. Holm 1992: 88; Brunstad 2001: 284; Gullbein 2006: 29). His many newspaper articles on the problems associated with Faroese purism were published in a bestselling book, *Føroya mál á manna munni*, in 2007. Niclasen argues that purism eliminates stylistic variation in Faroese, that much recommended use is based on linguistic fallacies (such as the tendency to put genitive modifiers after the noun they modify: Niclasen considers this to be un-Faroese; 2007: 156-8) and that the whole purism project is founded upon ‘danofobi’ (“fear of the Danes/Danish”; 1992: 2).²⁵⁸ His arguments frequently contain emotive words and lines of argument, such as ‘orðadráp’ (“word-killing”; 2007: 37) and ‘málið skal ikki misbrúkast’ (“the language must not be abused”; 1992: 2). Niclasen is particularly critical of the Icelandic basis for much of ‘pure’ Faroese, stressing that Faroese should not be reduced ‘til bara at vera suðuríslenskt’ (“to simply being southern Icelandic”; 1992: 8). This final sentiment is also found in Jógvan Isaksen’s first crime novel, *Blíð er summarnátt á Føroyalandi* (“Mild is the Summer Night in the Faroes”, 1990), in relation to the legend about Risin and Kellingin, two giants who aimed to drag the Faroes towards Iceland:

Nú á døgum hevur eingin fyri neyðini at fáa risar at flyta Føroyar til Íslands, vit gera tað sjálvi. Vit lúka í tí danska og seta íslenskt í staðin. Um nøkur áratíggjur eru vit kanska komin í himmiríkið og eru vorðin íslendingar. Danaveldið megnaði ikki at gera okkum til danskarar, sjálvt ikki eftir fleiri øldum, nú royna vit at gerast íslendingar eftir bert hundrað árum.²⁵⁹

(Isaksen 1990: 139)

²⁵⁸ Niclasen also uses the term ‘danskaraðslan’ (2007: 159). Here, due to the linguistically unusual *danska*-element, it is difficult to tell whether he refers to fear of ‘Danes’ or ‘Danish’.

²⁵⁹ “These days no-one needs to make giants move the Faroes to Iceland, we’re doing that ourselves. We are removing the Danish and putting Icelandic in its place. In a few decades we will perhaps have reached the Promised Land and have become Icelanders. Danish rule was unable to make us Danes, even in the course of several centuries, [but] now we’re trying to become Icelanders in the course of just one hundred years.”

Similar attitudes can be found in the postal survey: one respondent wrote ‘heldur danskt enn íslenskt’ (“rather Danish than Icelandic” [FP067]) and another that Faroese had gone ‘alt ov nógv yvir í tað íslanska [*sic*] málið’ (“much too far towards the Icelandic language” [FP119]). Brunstad comments that critics of purism often use the term ‘Icelandic’ as a means of strengthening their argument (2001: 266) – effectively a ‘vote-winner’ to attract support. However, since purists such as J.H.W. Poulsen have openly stated that they use Icelandic as their inspiration (1998: 134), criticism of Icelandification has some basis in reality. There is, of course, no guarantee that ‘television’ would have become *sjónvarp* in Faroese had the Danes never colonised the islands. As Memmi points out, ‘we have no idea what the colonized would have been without colonization’ (1957b: 158). Nevertheless, Icelandic *sjónvarp* has been appropriated into Faroese in an attempt to return the language to its original state of authenticity. A fascinating example of Icelandic being perceived as ancient Faroese came out of the surveys. One pupil criticised the word that is used on the Faroese version of Facebook for what is called the ‘Profile’ in English. This is the main page on which basic information about a person can be found, where messages to them can be left and where their photographs can be viewed. The Faroese term for the page is *vangamynd*. The pupil [FBT143] writes that this word is ‘avoldað’ (“antiquated”) and inferior to the Danish *profil*. However, it appears that *vangamynd* – which comes across to the pupil as so dated and ‘traditional’ – is taken straight from Icelandic.²⁶⁰

In their seminal work *The Empire Writes Back* (2002), Ashcroft *et al.* tackle the traditional post-colonial longing for authenticity. They show how post-colonial critics of the 1960s and 1970s began to challenge the search for authenticity of the earliest post-colonial writers, arguing that the ‘inauthentic’ is in fact the ‘real’ (2002: 40). These critics began ‘to assert [that] the syncretic [i.e. synergetic] and hybridized nature of post-colonial experience refutes the privileged position of a standard code in the language and any monocentric view of human experience’ (ibid.). Therefore, the search for authenticity eventually becomes an acceptance of the synergetic nature of the post-

²⁶⁰ The Faroese term appears to stem from mistranslation. Icelandic and Faroese *vangamynd* relate to a portrait taken/drawn from the side (Sverrir Hólmarsson *et al.* 1989; J.H.W. Poulsen *et al.* 1998). English and Danish ‘profile/profil’ also signify this, but in the Facebook context they presumably relate to another definition, ‘a concise written or spoken biographical or descriptive outline’ (Allen 2003). *Vangamynd* cannot be used in this sense in Icelandic and neither is it used in the Icelandic version of Facebook. It appears that someone has looked up *profil* in a Danish-Faroese dictionary and selected a word, assuming it to be equivalent in every sense. Yet in the Faroese purism context, this loanword – merely because it does not resemble Danish – is seen by some to embody inherent and historical ‘Faroese-ness’.

colonial society. This fact suggests that the Faroese desire for rediscovery of its authentic language is likely to come to an end as people realise the ‘inauthenticity’ of what is purported to be ‘authentic’, and the greater ‘authenticity’ of that which is purported to be ‘corrupt’.

The import of Icelandicisms into Faroese can perhaps be seen as tantamount to Eric Hobsbawm’s ‘invention of tradition’. Hobsbawm defines this as:

[T]aken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.

(Hobsbawm 1992: 1)

He adds that these values and norms of behaviour ‘attempt to establish continuity with a *suitable* historic past’ (ibid.; emphasis added). Many ‘invented’ traditions become successful and contribute towards a nation’s sense of cultural identity: Trevor-Roper claims that the creation of the Scottish Highland tradition, for example, with its distinctive kilt and bagpipe music, and its subsequent ‘imposition’ on to the whole of Scotland, was largely a creation of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (1992: 16). Nevertheless, this tradition was accepted and adopted and now constitutes a fundamental element ‘whenever Scotchmen gather together to celebrate their national identity’ (p.15). In the Faroese post-colonial context, the purists have sought to ‘establish continuity’ with what they consider to be a ‘suitable’ (i.e. pre-Danish) past. Loomba notes that these invented traditions are often used to challenge authority (2005: 164), which supports the suggestion that purism can be seen as part of traditional post-colonial resistance to the coloniser’s influence.

Trevor-Roper observes that the Highland traditions were presented as ‘ancient, original and distinctive’ (1992: 16). In the Faroes, however, some people have not been able to identify with – or in many cases, even understand – the neologisms and do not consider them to be ‘ancient’ words, but artificial impositions. One consequence of this – as seen in the surveys – is that some Faroese people feel more comfortable with Danish in certain contexts. H.P. Petersen, who declares that because of this ‘much [...] hard-line purist work has failed’ (2010: 48), gives a dramatic example of the perils of purism and the comfort offered by the colonial language. *Læknabók á sjógvi og landi* (“Doctor’s Manual for Sea and Land”) could paradoxically, he maintains, be considered

a dangerous tool as it contains many neologisms that people will not understand: it becomes ‘a monstrous book’ which forces people towards the Danish alternatives (ibid.).

The fact that both selective purism and the search for authenticity operate within limited timeframes indicates that the Faroese purist tendency, as it has functioned thus far, was never likely to last for long. Furthermore, if we subscribe to the view that all post-colonial cultures are inherently synergetic – Ashcroft *et al.* give the example that even a novel in Bengali is synergetic as it juxtaposes a colonised language with a European literary form (2002: 29) – then the fight for authenticity is largely in vain.²⁶¹ It seems that some Faroese are coming to believe that striving for what is ‘real’ via language purification causes them to compromise their identity. Nowhere is this more salient than on the southernmost island of Suðuroy, where the identities of the coloniser and of the colonised are remarkably blurred. This results in a confrontation between the Faroese desire for ‘authenticity’ on the one hand and Suðuroy’s aspiration to retain its unique character on the other.

5.4.1 The Suðuroy Paradox

Throughout this thesis, reference has been made to the unique situation of the Suðuroy dialect (*suðuroyarmál*).²⁶² Whereas the differences between most Faroese dialects are primarily phonological, the language of the southernmost island is today distinguished from the others by both phonology and vocabulary. The word ‘today’ is of central importance as vocabulary was not considered a particularly significant distinguishing feature when Svabo (1782) and even Hammershaimb (1891) wrote their descriptions of the Faroese dialects.²⁶³ Svabo considers ‘den Suderøeske’ (“the Suðuroy dialect”) to

²⁶¹ One could argue that Faroese purism itself derived from the colonial power. The Faroese have based their purism on that of the Icelanders: as J.H.W. Poulsen says, ‘tað er tó eins sjálvandi, at at kalla altíð verður hugt at, hvussu íslendskt hevur greitt spurdómin’ (“it is, nevertheless, just as obvious, so to speak, that one always looks to see how Icelandic has solved the problem”; 1998: 134). However, Kvaran (2006: 77) points out that the Icelanders themselves were inspired by the Danish purism of the late eighteenth century. In their attempt to limit Danish influence, the Faroese have used a process indirectly inspired by the Danes.

²⁶² Although the thesis refers to *suðuroyarmál* as a single unit, there is phonological variation across the island. Regarding vocabulary, the dialect seems more uniform. In H.P. Petersen’s article on *suðuroyarmál*, mentioned later in this section, he reports that the Suðuroy pupils he surveyed identify the island’s greatest dialect boundaries to lie between the villages of Sandvík and Hvalba and Porkeri and Vágur (2009b: 132).

²⁶³ Hammershaimb observes, ‘Det, hvori disse diall. [*sic*] afvige fra hverandre, angår især lyd læren’ (“That which differentiates these dialects is the sound system in particular”; 1891: LIX).

form one of four main dialect areas, and contends that it covers both Suðuroy and Sandoy (1782: 265). Hammershaimb classes ‘Søndenfjordsmålet’ (‘the language south of the [Skopun] fjord’) as one of two main dialect areas in the islands; this area can be further subdivided into ‘Suderøsmål’ (‘Suðuroy language’) and ‘Sandøsmål’ (‘Sandoy language’), which are separated by various phonological differences (1891: LVII). Regarding non-phonological difference, Hammershaimb only mentions that Suðuroy uses *ogur* and *tygur* for the standard Faroese personal pronouns *vit* (‘we’) and *tít* (‘you’ [pl.]) respectively (p.LIX). In his dictionary, Svabo rarely refers to dialectal differences, but he describes *okur* (cf. Hammershaimb’s *ogur*) as occurring in both Suðuroy and Sandoy (Weyhe 1987: 301). Nowadays this usage is restricted to Suðuroy.

Today it is widely accepted that *suðuroyarmál* – meaning only the dialect of Suðuroy – is also distinguished by its vocabulary. It is recognised as using many more Danicisms than the other Faroese dialects, although no studies have been carried out to examine the Suðuroy word stock.²⁶⁴ Weyhe has the following thoughts on why *suðuroyarmál* differs to such an extent:

Sjálvur havi eg varhugan av at tað hongur saman við at Suðuroy tðliga gjørdist ein vinnuligur miðdepil (skiftið frá bóndasamfelag til fiskivinnusamfelag), við skipaferðslu, havnum og skúlum, og skúlarnir vóru leingi danskir. Henda støða var tó ikki bara galdandi fyri Suðuroy, men eisini fyri Tórshavn.²⁶⁵

Presumably the fact that the purism which characterised Faroese language policy after the Second World War centred on Tórshavn, the home of relevant institutions, such as the university, accounts for the fact that the speech of the capital has lost many of its Danicisms. In his day, Svabo considered the speech of Tórshavn to be ‘den mest fordervede’ (‘the most corrupt’, 1782: 265). He finds that the vowel sounds which characterise the Suðuroy dialect (incl. Sandoy) ‘upaatvilelig ere nærmere ved det gamle rene Sprog’ (‘are undeniably closer to the old, pure language’; *ibid.*).

²⁶⁴ From personal correspondence (2009) with Eivind Weyhe, an authority on Faroese dialects and a professor at the Faroese university: ‘Tað er rætt at tað ofta hevur verið sagt at suðuroyarmál er nógv ávirkað av donskum orðum og málburði. Men nøkur vísindalig kanning hevur ikki verið gjørd av tí.’ (‘It is true that it has often been said that *suðuroyarmál* is highly influenced by Danish words and style. But no scientific investigations have looked into this.’) Used with permission.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* ‘Personally I suspect this has to do with the fact that Suðuroy became an industrial centre quite early (the shift from an agricultural society to a fishing society), with shipping, harbours and schools, and the schools remained Danish for a long time. This situation did not just apply to Suðuroy, however, but also to Tórshavn’.

During the research period, the first, very brief, article on the dialect was published by H.P. Petersen (2009b). From a perspective based on Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT),²⁶⁶ Petersen sought to examine attitudes towards *suðuroyarmál* among pupils in one class at the *Miðnámsskúli* via a brief questionnaire. He concludes that the pupils are positively disposed towards the dialect and that all regard it as part of their identity (p.134).

From a post-colonial perspective, and as part of an analysis of how Danish is used and perceived on the islands, *suðuroyarmál* is particularly interesting; it is strange that it has gone unanalysed for so long. Whereas most colonial nations needed to create national identities where there were none (such as in French Indochina at the beginning of the twentieth century; Anderson 2006: 124), in the case of *suðuroyarmál*, ‘dialectal’ regional identity was largely created by colonial influence. Certainly there were already phonological differences between the dialects of Suðuroy and Sandoy (Hammershaimb 1891: LVII), but colonial influence drove these varieties much further apart as regards vocabulary. The linguistic legacy of this phenomenon is that a post-colonial paradox exists on Suðuroy where Faroese purist tendencies clash with Suðuroy’s regional identity: an identity which is partially based upon that of the coloniser. As the speakers of *suðuroyarmál*, who as noted have a strong identity, are unable to identify with the neologisms disseminating from Tórshavn, Danish is afforded a considerably stronger position on the island. This is demonstrated by the Facebook language choice of Suðuroy school pupils. Not only was Danish twice as popular as Faroese for the language setting (Table 4.63), some 26.4% of Suðuroy pupils voluntarily pointed out that they struggled to understand the Faroese version (compared to between 6.8% [Eysturoy] and 10.4% [Hoydalar] at the other schools; numbers calculated from Table 4.64). The results showed that pupils from Suðuroy felt they were no better at Danish, but they were more comfortable with it in the face of the purist direction of Faroese. Purism, a component of decolonisation on the Faroes, thus seems to have had a counterproductive effect on Suðuroy and has helped safeguard the colonial language there.

²⁶⁶ The objective of CAT is to explain ‘the cognitive and affective factors that influence individuals to change their speech (and other forms of communication) in ways that either converge with or diverge from that of their interlocutors’ (Winford 2003: 119).

5.5 The Acceptance of Danish

Speaking to Niger's National Assembly in December 1965, Tunisian President, Habib Bourguiba, declared:

[F]or you, as for us, the French language constitutes a special addition to *our cultural heritage*, enriches our thinking, expresses our action, contributes to the forging of our intellectual destiny and to making us into fully fledged human beings, belonging to the community of free nations ... the criteria are above all philosophical, based on *the great ideals of the France of 1789*, aspirations of Humanity going by the names of 'liberty, dialogue, mutual support'.
(In Deniau 1983: 17, emphasis added)²⁶⁷

By harking back to 'the great ideals of the France of 1789' and stressing the historical position of French in the two countries ('our cultural heritage'), Bourguiba is able to render the continued existence of the language in the former colonies acceptable. Bourguiba, who was instrumental in Tunisia's obtaining independence from France, would presumably not accept any suggestion that his country was still under French influence: there is no mention of modern-day France.

Post-colonial analysis of Faroese literature has similarly focused on increasing acceptance of its Danish-language heritage. Now that Danish is not perceived to be a threat by most Faroese, it has become more common to see literary critics celebrating its historical position in the islands' literature. The few post-colonial articles that have been written since Malan Marnersdóttir's assertion that 'vit eiga William' ('we own William'; Simonsen 1993) have commented on the fact that, because they wrote in Danish, Heinesen and J.F. Jacobsen have only recently been able to acquire a place in Faroese literary history. The Faroese character of the works (and of the language in them) cannot be denied. Hagström (1991c: 150) observes:

Det förefaller som om mycket i Barbara ursprungligen är tänkt på färöiska. Stoffet tycks ha varit så bundet vid den färöiska språkformen, att den färöiske författaren inte har kunnat frigöra sig från denna, när han har skrivit danska.

(Hagström 1991c: 150; tr.19)

²⁶⁷ In Majumdar (2007: 163).

Nevertheless, the inherent ‘Faroese-ness’ of Heinesen and Jacobsen’s works was underplayed as the Faroese sought to increase the status of their own language on the islands. L. Joensen (2000: 66-7) points out that Matras makes no mention of Heinesen in his *Føroysk bókmentasøga* (“Faroese Literary History”, 1935), even though he had already published his first novel, *Blæsende Gry*, by that point. She concludes that ‘from Matras’ point of view, Danish should and would be expelled from the Faroes, and there would be no room for Heinesen’s work in Faroese literature’ (ibid.). This is perhaps somewhat unfair: Heinesen’s novel was only published in 1934 and just six years later, in a short article on the Faroese language and people, Matras himself commented ‘Foruden de her nævnte Forfattere, der alle skriver paa Færøsk, maa nævnes to danskskrivende Digtere, nemlig William Heinesen og Jørgen-Frantz Jacobsen’ (Matras 1941: 96).²⁶⁸ He proceeds to call Heinesen ‘en fin Skildrer af færøsk Natur og færøsk Sind’ (“a fine portrayer of the Faroese landscape and the Faroese mind”) and to refer to Jacobsen’s *Barbara* as ‘den fremragende historiske Roman’ (“the outstanding historical novel”, ibid.). Two years earlier, in 1939, Matras claimed that Heinesen ‘af æt og sind er [...] ikke mindre Færing end hans færøsskrivende kolleger’ (1939: 80).²⁶⁹ However, J.H.W. Poulsen, writing in 1968, explicitly rejects Heinesen and Jacobsen as authors of Faroese literature: ‘De færøske digtere og forfattere, der skriver på dansk [...] er ikke medtaget i denne oversigt, da deres værker må henregnes til dansk litteratur’,²⁷⁰ although he does acknowledge that one must have an understanding of the Faroese language for a full appreciation of the works’ literary merits (1968: 58, emphasis added).²⁷¹

Today, however, as L. Joensen points out, the works of Heinesen and Jacobsen are celebrated on the islands (2000: 67). This, she argues, ‘can be attributed to the successful completion of the program of linguistic nationalism so that the domestic

²⁶⁸ “Apart from the authors mentioned here, who all write in Faroese, two Danish-language writers must be mentioned, William Heinesen and Jørgen-Frantz Jacobsen.”

²⁶⁹ “in heritage and disposition is [...] no less Faroese than his colleagues who write in Faroese.”

²⁷⁰ “The Faroese writers and authors who write in Danish [...] are not included in this overview, as *their works must be attributed to Danish literature*.”

²⁷¹ Denmark, however, has easily appropriated Heinesen and Jacobsen, despite their Faroese roots. Gyldendal’s *Litteraturhåndbogen* (vol. 2, Hansen *et al.* 1996: 59) mentions that Heinesen’s father was Faroese and his mother Danish, but still states ‘somen dansk forfatter kan han sammenlignes både med socialrealistiske og -satiriske forfattere som Hans Kirk og Hans Scherfig [...]’ (“as a Danish author, he can be compared to authors of both social realism and social satire, such as Hans Kirk and Hans Scherfig”). In *Contemporary Danish Authors* (Claudi 1952) Heinesen is described as a representative of Faroese literature, but only his ‘pure Danish’ mother is mentioned (p.92). His very inclusion indicates his successful appropriation into Danish literary history.

literary establishment can now afford to claim bilingual Faroese culture’ (ibid.). 5.5.1, 5.5.2 and 5.5.3 look at the manifestations of the acceptance of this ‘bilingual Faroese culture’ and the evidence that Danish is no longer seen as the oppressive tool of the coloniser, but a medium that can also embody Faroese identity – both historically and today. What Joensen describes as ‘the successful completion of the program’ is addressed in 5.5.4.

5.5.1 The Death of *Gøtudanskt*?

As mentioned, many commentators on Danish in the Faroes have concluded that *Gøtudanskt*, and by this they generally mean Print-Danish, has given way to a metropolitan Danish pronunciation (cf. 1.6). While this is largely true – schools do focus on a metropolitan accent (Nielsen 1988: 180) and this accent is used when conversing with Danes (and sometimes other Scandinavians) – the conclusion obscures the reality that Print-Danish has not died out. It continues to exist, but within a different context.

As noted, L. Joensen describes *Gøtudanskt* as a ‘folk category [which] perhaps does not cohere with scholarly classifications’ (2005: 246-7; see 2.4.1). This seems to be an accurate observation: people tend to use ‘Gøtudanskt’ in a vague and general sense, as discussed in 3.1. It is not uncommon to come across the term: in early 2010 I carried out an archive search for mention of ‘gøtudanskt’ (or ‘gøtudonskum’ [dat.]) in both *Sosialurin* and *Dimmalætting*. The search – which went back to 1997 – found 22 and 13 articles respectively. The overwhelming majority related to Print-Danish. While these numbers are not large, it is evident that the concept of *Gøtudanskt* has not died out, even if it is claimed that Print-Danish has.

In an article in *Sosialurin* in 2009, Guttesen declared that *Gøtudanskt* (by which he meant Print-Danish) is ‘eitt fínt varðveitt málsligt fornminni, sum ikki er at finna nakra aðrastaðni. Tað burdi verið friðað’ (“a finely preserved linguistic relic which cannot be found anywhere else. It should be preserved”; Guttesen 2009). In recent years, the preservation he urged has become reality and a plethora of cultural products have re-appropriated Print-Danish and marketed it as something uniquely and historically Faroese. Several Faroese musical acts, for example, have included songs in Print-Danish on their releases: the group Clickhaze on their CD, *EP* (2002), Eivør Páldóttir on her album, *Yggdrasil* (2002), and the heavy-metal band Týr on their recordings *Eric the Red* (2006) and *The Lay of Thrym* (2011). In reviews of the first of

these two recordings in *Sosialurin*, the reviewers noted that tracks were included ‘á gøtudonskum’ (‘in *Gøtudanskt*’; *Sosialurin* 2002, Samuelsen 2002). In each case Print-Danish was used for historical reasons: as the song in question was either taken from the ballads (on *Yggdrasil* and the Týr recordings) or one of Kingo’s hymns (on *EP* and, again, *Yggdrasil*).²⁷² Similarly, Print-Danish is widely used in the 1997 film version of Jacobsen’s *Barbara*, set in the eighteenth century when Print-Danish would have been heard extensively on the islands. One reviewer of the film commented ‘[t]að at Barbara tosar gøtudanskt, er genialt, tí tað er við til at gera hana sympatiska’ (‘the fact that Barbara speaks *Gøtudanskt* [Print-Danish] is very clever, because it helps make her likeable’; D. Joensen 1997). This affinity with *Barbara*, created through the use of Print-Danish, indicates that the variety, although not Faroese, can function as an instrument of collective identity.

Thus, in one area, Print-Danish continues to survive as a marker of this Faroese identity. In 1.7 I mentioned Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s description of the ‘dual character’ of language, functioning as both as a means of communication and a carrier of culture (1986: 13). If this is applied to the Faroese situation, it can be argued that with the growing acceptance of Danish in the islands, the two sides of the language’s character have been effectively split. Print-Danish represents historical Faroese culture and standard Danish functions as a medium of communication where necessary.²⁷³ Of course, this only relates to the spoken language, as written Danish has always been of the standard variety: an interesting situation where abrogation, the rejection of standard use of the colonial language by the colonised (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007: 3-4), has had no effect on the written language. Nowhere, perhaps, is the division between cultural and communicative functions better realised than at the cultural evenings presented at *Sjónleikarhúsið* (‘the theatre’) in central Tórshavn. These events aim to offer tourists a general overview of Faroese culture, including ballads, food and the chain dance. As Samuelsen (2005) observes in her review of one such evening, the event commences with an explanation in Danish of what is about to take place. Here Danish functions simply as a medium of communication for the Danish tourists that are inevitably

²⁷² J.H.W. Poulsen notes that Print-Danish is invariably used when singing Danish ballads to accompany the chain dance (1993: 112) and is traditionally employed for Kingo’s hymns (2003: 383)

²⁷³ Even when language functions as a carrier of culture, it naturally still functions as a medium of communication, but the important factor here is that Print-Danish is not *required* in this communicative function. Its continued existence is essentially symbolic.

present.²⁷⁴ Afterwards, however, the proceedings continue in Faroese, English (out of necessity for the English-speaking visitors) and *Gøtudanskt* (Print-Danish). Here Print-Danish does not (primarily) function as a medium of communication, but as a carrier of culture and an indicator of the unique Faroese identity. To the Danes, the Faroese are established as ‘other’, but through a medium that they can understand.

It seems, however, that modern manifestations of Print Danish do not solely reflect historical use (as in the recording of traditional ballads/hymns or the cultural evenings). It can still be heard sporadically on the islands outside that specific domain. On one occasion during the field-work period, for example, I witnessed a young Faroese man in Tórshavn receiving a Danish joke in an SMS text message. He read the message out to all around him in what can only be described as Print-Danish. He was, however, capable of using a metropolitan accent, as I heard him do this on several other occasions, when speaking to Danes or mimicking them speaking on the television. Yet presumably in this context a metropolitan accent would have seemed affected. It would be very difficult to analyse such use of Print-Danish scientifically because it would effectively require ‘closet’ observation. It is very unusual to hear Faroese conversing with each other in Danish, and when they do, circumstances usually dictate the use of a metropolitan accent.

Elsewhere in the thesis it has been emphasised that the close relationship between Faroese and Danish negates the need for code-switching (see 3.5.1; 5.6). However, due to the fact that Danish instruction manuals are frequently consulted and that Danish is used for the standard language setting on, for example, mobile telephones (H.P. Petersen 2010: 41), Danish words must sporadically enter into Faroese conversation. As an illustration of this, again from the field research period, I can instance a Faroese teenager who was teaching his mother how to use his mobile telephone. He told her: ‘Og nú tryst uppá “Start”’ (“And now press ‘Start’”), with the /r/ of Da. *start* realised as the Faroese retroflex approximant [ɹ̥], a sound not found in Danish.²⁷⁵ This too is effectively Print-Danish: the adaptation of standard Danish to a Faroese phonological substratum.

Aside from these observations, which confirm the continued use of Print-Danish in specific social and linguistic contexts, there are printed sources which hint at a more

²⁷⁴ In 2000 two-thirds of tourists in the Faroes were from Denmark (A.W. Joensen 2002: 154).

²⁷⁵ IPA-usage based upon Höskuldur Thráinsson *et al.* (2004: 42).

general existence of the phenomenon. One newspaper article from *Sosialurin* (2008) concerned two young Finland-Swedish girls who had engaged in work experience at the newspaper. Regarding communication, the paper commented:

Tað hevur stórt sæð gingið væl at samskifta, og dáma [sic] teimum væl, at føroyingar práta ‘gøtudanskt’, sum er væl lættari hjá teimum at skilja, enn vanligt danskt við danskari úttalu.²⁷⁶

(Simonsen 2008)

The claim that ‘føroyingar práta “gøtudanskt”’ (“the Faroese speak ‘*Gøtudanskt*’ [Print-Danish]”) offers a valuable insight into an area which is difficult to research. It implies that, when necessary/desirable, all Faroese are able to adapt their Danish in the direction of Print-Danish. Some have argued that Print-Danish should be introduced into schools: the schoolteacher, Eyðun á Borg, for example, urged in a column in *Sosialurin* that pupils should be taught *Gøtudanskt* (Print-Danish) to facilitate pan-Scandinavian conversation (Borg 2008).²⁷⁷ This seems unnecessary: the nature of Print-Danish means that it can be employed as needed without training to facilitate inter-Nordic communication.

Most of the examples given thus far of the continued use of Print-Danish have stressed the historical nature of Danish on the islands or suggested a practical reason for its employment. There are, however, instances of Print-Danish being used to emphasise ‘Faroese-ness’ within a modern setting. Johan Harstad’s *Buzz Aldrin, hvor ble det av deg i alt mylderet?* (2005; cf. 5.2), a Norwegian novel set on the Faroes, was turned into a four-part television series (*Buzz Aldrin*) in 2009 by the Norwegian production company, Motlys. Although the series has not yet been broadcast, *Sosialurin* reported that the Faroese actors were required to speak Print-Danish (Anthoniussen 2009). Unlike the film version of *Barbara*, set in a time when Print-Danish would have been heard in church, and used when conversing with Danes, etc., *Buzz Aldrin* is contemporary. Therefore, the historical aspect which renders Print-Danish acceptable is absent. By using this synergetic, yet inherently Faroese variety, the actors are able to reinforce their

²⁷⁶ “Communication has largely worked well, and they like the fact that the Faroese speak ‘*Gøtudanskt*’, which is considerably easier for them to understand than ordinary Danish with a Danish pronunciation.”

²⁷⁷ Borg comments ‘Í dansktímunum plaga vit onkuntið, men kanska ov sjáldan, at lesa/tosa gøtudanskt. Kanska áttu allir dansklærarar at gjørt tað av og á’ (“In the Danish classes we sometimes, but perhaps too seldom, read/speak *Gøtudanskt*. Perhaps all Danish teachers should do so now and again”). From the context, Borg means Print-Danish.

unique (and contemporary) identity, but do so through a medium that can be understood across Scandinavia.

5.5.2 The Exploitation of Synergy

This section has emphasised how people in general accept the historical place of Danish in Faroese society. There are, however, examples of the Faroese breaking with the policy of separating Danish from Faroese (5.2.4), perpetuating the use of Danish in contemporary Faroese cultural products and exploiting the fact that the Faroese understand both languages. I mentioned Isaksen's crime novels in 5.4: in his second book, *Gráur oktober* (2004), unglossed Danish is included on four occasions (pp. 81, 104, 199 and 200). An interesting non-literary example of the same comes from the Faroese satirical sketch show, *E elski Førrjar* ("I Love the Faroes"; 2004).²⁷⁸ This series of six programmes, a first for the islands in the genre, has enjoyed considerable success.²⁷⁹ From a post-colonial perspective the show is particularly interesting because large portions of it would not be accessible to any Faroese who do not understand Danish. Several of the main characters are Danes who, naturally, speak Danish (although played by Faroese actors). Similarly, any viewers who do not know Faroese will be unable to enjoy the show, as most characters are Faroese and the programme is not subtitled. In both of these examples we have synergetic cultural products which can only be appreciated by those who know both languages.

The popularity of *E elski Førrjar* supports L. Joensen's claim that the Faroese constitute 'a bilingual population that enjoys the jokes resulting from the Dano-Faroese encounter' (2005: 248) and, in my opinion, is indicative of how comfortable the Faroese have become with the continued presence of the colonial language in their country. As early as 1982 J.H.W. Poulsen characterised this dawning 'comfort' with the language situation as 'ligegyldighed' ("indifference"): 'Nu mener man, at der ikke er mere at kæmpe for – sejren er jo vundet – og man har lagt sig til hvile på laurbærrene' ("Now people think that there is nothing left to fight for – the victory is won, isn't it? – and people are resting on their laurels"; 1982a: 126). I would argue, however, that the creation of synergetic cultural goods is symptomatic of a much more active and conscious turnaround and reasoned acceptance of the role of Danish in Faroese society.

²⁷⁸ The programme's title uses a quasi-phonetic spelling of standard Faroese *Eg elski Føroyar*.

²⁷⁹ Approximately 5,000 people watched the stage adaptation at *Norðurlandahúsið* ("The Nordic House"), Tórshavn, in 2008. Figures taken from the *LIVE 2008* DVD.

5.5.3 Increased Acceptance of Danicisms

Growing acceptance of Danish coupled with weariness of the purist movement has created an environment in which Danicisms are increasingly acceptable in Faroese. Faroese dictionaries are traditionally highly prescriptive (cf. 1.2.2), the few Danicisms that have entered into them invariably being accompanied by the (*tlm.*) (“spoken language”) designation, but moves towards a more pragmatic attitude are now discernable. According to Barnes, ‘recent dictionaries [...] have been considerably less puristic than their predecessors’ (2002a: 1583). This trend also manifests itself in other language-related books: in the new textbook for English-language learners of Faroese (Adams and Petersen 2009a/b) the authors dismiss the recommended counting system for tens above forty, which is advocated by the Faroese dictionaries (e.g. *fimmti* “fifty”, *seksti* “sixty”, *sjeyti* “seventy”; 2009b: 92). Rather, they advise the use of the terms based on the Danish score system (i.e. *hálvtrýss* “fifty”, *trýss* “sixty”, *hálvfjerðs* “seventy”),²⁸⁰ a system classed as *talumál* in *Føroysk orðabók* (J.H.W Poulsen *et al.* 1998), as ‘it is the only number system that is used in colloquial Faroese’. While, as noted, several Faroese academics have published articles on what they consider to be the inappropriateness of the purist policy, this is one of the first textbooks to distance itself from recommended usage so openly.²⁸¹

5.5.4 Linguistic Autonomy

2.3.3 established that the granting of independence or self-government does not necessarily coincide with the cessation of continued colonial influence or the replacement of elements of the coloniser’s culture, such as language. In the Faroes, for example, Danish has maintained a presence as a language through which the formerly colonised can interact with the outside world. While this remains necessary, based on the evidence I have gathered, it seems that a transformation has taken place.

The postal survey showed that the younger generation are more accepting of the position of Danish on the islands than the middle-aged band. The school survey

²⁸⁰ Da. *halvtreds, tres, halvfjerds*.

²⁸¹ W.B. Lockwood’s pioneering English-language textbook, *An Introduction to Modern Faroese* (1955), also rejects the non-score system: he observes that these terms ‘have no currency in the spoken language’ (p.64). Nevertheless, he adds that ‘[m]ore recently, however, these forms have been adopted in broadcasting’. We can see that the recommended terms were beginning to appear when Lockwood wrote his work. I would argue in the fifty years between the publication of the two English-language textbooks, it would have been unlikely that a new textbook would have rejected the recommended terms so readily.

confirmed that the majority of pupils across the islands consider Danish to neither an FL nor a threat. Evidence from this chapter has shown that the Faroese have begun to re-appropriate Print-Danish as part of their culture and to embrace synergetic cultural products. Yet they have simultaneously created a society in which Faroese is the only medium of education (although Danish textbooks are often used), the only language used in day-to-day conversation and, in the case of children, the only language in which they need to read books. Very few comments on the questionnaires indicated that the respondents considered Faroese to be at risk; on the contrary the position of the language is perceived to be so secure that Danish can be allocated a place in Faroese culture. This place has been created by the Faroese themselves, so there can be no question (as regards the language situation) of neo-colonialism.

I propose the concept of ‘linguistic autonomy’ to describe a post-colonial situation such as this. The colonial language cannot be fully ousted, but its use is sufficiently limited, uncontentious and unintrusive that the formerly colonised do not feel that they bear the yoke of the colonisers’ culture. That the language may be seen as a mere tool is invariably part of linguistic autonomy, but that in itself is not enough: the society must effectively function monolingually. This, for example, is what separates the use of Danish in the Faroes from the use of English in Nigeria or India. Achebe, for example, writes in English because it is a reality in Nigeria (cf. 2.3.3). This nevertheless leaves him open to attack from Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o. Such an attack would be less likely in a Faroese context. Linguistic autonomy in the Faroes has been previously classified as the noted shift from an SL to an FL (cf. 1.7), but this is an insufficient description of the new period in Faroese cultural history.

In the case of the Faroes the autonomy takes on a wider dimension as the islanders are able to accept Danish as part of their historical identity. In 2009, for example, a re-publication of Jakob Jakobsen’s *Færøske folkesagn og æventyr* (“Faroese Folk Legends and Fairytales”), which originally came out in 1898-1901, appeared in Faroese bookshops. While the text of the book is in Faroese, the front cover with its Danish title gives no indication of this fact. This, I suggest, could be interpreted as indicative of a population that no longer feels the need to offer traditional post-colonial resistance, but one that can comfortably embrace the synergetic nature of its past. Similarly, although recent laws have strengthened the position of Faroese in advertising and on signs, older signs in Danish are still found, such as *Søger Herren* (“Seek the Lord”) above the entrance to the church in Vágur, Suðuroy, and the plaque erected in

honour of the Faroese Nobel Prize winner, Niels R. Finsen, in the centre of Tórshavn. That such ‘colonial’ signage can be left unchallenged and regarded as acceptable further demonstrates a nation ‘at ease’ with its synergetic past. Even if these Danish relics remain because of inertia on the part of the Faroese, the fact that they do not feel compelled to remove them is significant, cf. the removal of colonial ‘Salisbury’ signage (and its subsequent replacement with ‘Harare’ signs) in post-independence Zimbabwe.

As discussed in 5.5, L. Joensen concluded that the acceptance of Danish and of a bilingual past can be ‘attributed to the successful completion of the program of linguistic nationalism’ (2000: 67). The idea of ‘completion’ is supported by the results from the surveys: whereas several older respondents in the postal survey remarked that the survey was useful and that more research should be done, a few respondents from the school survey felt that there was no point to the research. There is a sense that some school pupils at least consider the topic of Danish on the islands to be *færdigdiskuteret*, i.e. that the discussion is largely over. This is, I suggest, a reflection the achievement of linguistic autonomy.

Simon During’s declaration that: ‘the postcolonial desire is the desire of decolonized communities for an identity’ (1987: 43), as quoted at the beginning of the chapter, is often mentioned. As regards their language (and, of course, in many other respects beyond the scope of the thesis) the Faroese have successfully achieved this.

5.6 The Faroese-Danish Relationship

Here I will argue that the close Faroese-Danish relationship has permitted the Faroese to achieve linguistic decolonisation to perhaps a greater extent than any other nation that is still required to use the colonial language.

Although the programme for Tórshavn’s *Mentanarnátt* of 2009 gave the title of one of the films on show as *Einglar og illir Andar* (*Angels and Demons*, see 5.2.3), the film was widely referred to on the islands as *Einglar og demonir*.²⁸² This is a form much closer to the Danish *Engle og dæmoner* which was used in advertising. As has previously been mentioned (cf. fn.16), due to the close relationship between the two languages, Danish words can easily be given Faroese form and used as though they are

²⁸² <http://www.123.fo/print.aspx?articleid=6182> (last accessed 02/07/11).

Faroese.²⁸³ This effectively negates the need for code-switching in Faroese: whether the recommended Faroese word for a given product comes quickly to mind or not – and the surveys showed that they frequently do not – is of no consequence. The Faroese are able to speak about anything Danish ‘off the cuff’ without leaving the confines of their own language. As Anderson stresses in his oft-quoted *Imagined Communities* (2006), the imagination, or mind, plays a pivotal role in the creation of an identity. Therefore, what the speaker *thinks* s/he is doing is highly significant: even if the Faroese speaker uses spontaneous Danicisms, s/he will not feel that any other language than Faroese has been spoken or that his/her Faroese identity has necessarily been compromised. S/he is, therefore, free of the colonial ‘humiliation’ inherent in using a language that is not one’s own, as described by Caruana (1903: 6; mentioned in 2.3.3).

Similarly, the unique relationship means that Danish, in Faroese *sprogdragt*,²⁸⁴ can be used as an auxiliary language to explain neologisms that may be unfamiliar to the consumer of a product. For example, at the Faroese National Library (*Føroya landsbókasavn*) there are signs informing people where certain books are to be found. During the research period, these signs used Faroese neologisms, but some of them were explained by a Danicism in parentheses in an auxiliary function, such as *byggilist* (*arkitekturur*) (‘architecture’, Da. *arkitektur*); *háspeki* (*metafysikk*) (‘metaphysics’, Da. *metafysik*); *loynispeki* (*okkultisma*) (‘the occult’, Da. *okkultisme*) and *átrúnaðarspeki* (*religiónsfilosofi*) (‘the philosophy of religion’, Da. *religiønsfilosofi*).²⁸⁵ Without using a word of Danish, signs have been produced that can be understood by all.²⁸⁶

Another consequence of the shared linguistic heritage of the languages of the coloniser and the colonised in the Faroes is that it is relatively easy for Danes to acquire an understanding of Faroese. In the majority of colonial relationships, the native language(s) of the colony is/are so different from the colonial language that diligent

²⁸³ See also Plate A1 in Appendix 3.

²⁸⁴ See fn.140.

²⁸⁵ Neologisms that are better known, generally because they refer to school subjects, such as *alisfrøði* (‘physics’) and *støddfrøði* (‘mathematics’), remain unglossed.

²⁸⁶ One notable exception to the practice of putting words in Faroese *sprogdragt* is *Føroysk orðabók* (J.H.W. Poulsen *et al.* 1998). Here, auxiliary Danish is given in Danish form: i.e. ‘**byggifrøðingur** [...] handverkari við hægri tøkni- og ástøðiligari útbúgving [*da. konstruktør*]’ (‘**civil engineer** [...] craftsman with higher technical and theoretical education [Da. *konstruktør*]’; 1998: 169). Presumably, in line with the dictionary’s purist policy (*ibid.* 9), giving the Danicisms Faroese *sprogdragt* would unintentionally perpetuate their use. This criticism was levelled against Jógvan við Ánna’s *Óføroysk-føroysk orðabók* (‘UnFaroese-Faroese Dictionary’; 1961–1977, 4 volumes). Designed as an ultra-purist work, it effectively became a reference work on established loanwords in Faroese (Brunstad 2001: 267).

study is needed to obtain even a basic understanding of it/them. In the Faroes, however, Danes are able to understand Faroese merely after exposure (albeit extended) to the language. This means that the Faroese are able to speak their own language with resident Danes (who respond in Danish) – a highly fortunate position in comparison to most post-colonial societies. Although the conversation as a whole can be considered a synergetic product, the constituent parts are separate and, again, the Faroese are able to avoid compromising their identity.

A related consequence of the close relationship is the fact that Danes are able to read Faroese signposts, and the like, with little effort. Section 1.2.2 mentioned and defined ‘linguistic landscape’, the study of which has been hailed as a new approach to multilingualism (Gorter 2006b: 1). The concept of the ‘linguistic landscape’ is useful in contexts where there is a power imbalance between two or more languages: Cenoz and Gorter, for example, focus on Dutch and Frisian in the Netherlands and Spanish and Basque in the Spanish Basque Country (Cenoz and Gorter 2006). This focus on an imbalance renders it an interesting approach in the analysis of a post-colonial society. Calvet (1990: 73) makes a distinction between *in vitro* and *in vivo* signage: the former refers to signs made by the authorities and the latter to those made by citizens. In the Faroes both *in vitro* and *in vivo* signage is solely in Faroese.²⁸⁷ J.H.W. Poulsen’s comment in the 1980s/1990s (2004b: 414) that Tórshavn’s signage made it resemble a provincial Danish town is now out-dated.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to outline the characteristics of the decolonisation process in the Faroes as it affects language.

For practical, ideological, political and historical reasons the Danish language is guaranteed a position in the Faroes for the foreseeable future. The complete removal of Danish, although desired by some, cannot reasonably take place at the present time. Based on evidence from the Faroes, I have argued, however, that various steps can be taken in former colonies to ‘other’ the coloniser’s language: to re-think and adapt its use according to the colonised’s desire for an independent identity. This ‘language othering’

²⁸⁷ Exceptions to this are Kingdom-wide materials in those few areas where Denmark retains full jurisdiction, such as the flight regulations displayed at the islands’ airport.

is based on Spivak's concept of othering, as established in Chapter 2. In the present chapter I have argued for the existence of four methods of language othering: reclassification, paratextuality, temporary translation and separation. In the Faroes, these four methods function within the areas of society where Danish still plays a prominent role. Clearly, the most extreme expression of 'othering' is to remove Danish from those domains in which it is no longer required, and, where possible, the Faroese have done this.

It ought to be stressed that, although Danish still plays a key role in certain spheres of Faroese life, most notably the media and education,²⁸⁸ its position is not static. Over the past ten years, for example, we can confidently assume that there has been a reduction in the use of Danish as an intermediary language in translation, with the advent of dictionaries between Faroese and other European languages.

As Chapter 3 identified, the close relationship between the coloniser and the colonised meant that colonisation operated differently in the Faroes from elsewhere: the traditional post-colonial distinction between the Other and the other was much harder to determine. Therefore, the distinction could be, and was, blurred. As regards Faroese decolonisation, however, there are clear parallels between the situation on the islands and other, more conventional, post-colonial societies. Many of the linguistic developments that have occurred since the Faroese took control of their own affairs can be seen as symptomatic of two traditional post-colonial desires: to create an identity, as expressed by During (1987: 43), and to resist the hegemonic power, as expressed by Kossew (1996: 11-12).

These two desires are reflected in many post-colonial countries by a determination to exorcise the influence of the colonial power and return the society to its original state of authenticity. In the Faroese linguistic context, this search for authenticity has manifested itself in the linguistic purism which developed exponentially after the Second World War. Here the colonial past is important. Faroese purism was not an attempt to rid the language of all foreign elements: on the contrary, elements from Icelandic have often been brought *into* the language as part of the purist project. Faroese purism is selective and is directed firmly against Danish. However, the purism that emerged was unlikely to last for long, partly due to the comprehension difficulties and the sense of alienation it created and partly due to the fact that much of

²⁸⁸ See fn.221 on Danish and the legal domain.

what was purported to be authentic was not (cf. Hobsbawm's 'invention of tradition'). Arguably, another factor is the dawning acceptance of the synergetic nature of Faroese cultural history. Evidence of this can be traced back to the earliest post-colonial articles on the position of Heinesen and Jacobsen in Faroese literature which appeared in the early nineties, but subsequently it appears to have extended beyond the written word into other cultural spheres.

Another potential reason presented in this chapter for reaction against the purist direction of language planning – even if it only affects one island – is the specific cross-cultural character of the dialect of Suðuroy, *suðuroyarmál*. Here, on the southernmost island of the archipelago, an interesting clash between the quest for 'Faroeness' and the island's own identity has arisen.

The fact that Danish is often connected with the past is central to an understanding of the role the language plays in contemporary Faroese society. Other than official Kingdom-wide notices or those aimed at the considerable number of Danish tourists, the only Danish signs seen on the islands' streets can be regarded as historical relics. As regards the spoken language, it is largely within the historical context that Print-Danish, popularly referred to as *Gøtudanskt*, has survived. Print-Danish is, to many Faroese, the only acceptable medium for the performance of Danish-language ballads and the singing of the hymns of Kingo: here, the 'newness' of metropolitan Danish jars with the perceived ancience of the source material. However, I have given brief examples of the perpetuation of Print-Danish in areas not connected with the Faroese past: as a practical medium of pan-Scandinavian communication where metropolitan Danish is less effective; as an indicator of contemporary Faroese independent culture (such as in the *Buzz Aldrin* dramatisation) and as a practical method of bypassing the phonological shift required by code-switching on those (rare) occasions when a Danish word in Danish *sprogdragt* enters spoken Faroese. Those mourning the passing of the Print-Danish pronunciation have clearly done so prematurely. Although Print-Danish functions within limited domains – it is no longer the uncontested standard method of pronouncing Danish for the Faroese – it still exists.

The acceptance of the synergetic nature of Faroese cultural history is perhaps best exemplified through its subsequent exploitation. There are numerous examples from contemporary Faroese society of cultural goods that rely on the ability of the Faroese to understand both Danish and their own language – any residents unable to do so are marginalised. The prime instance of this, I would argue, due to the considerable

number of people exposed to it, is the Faroese satirical series, *E elski Førrjar*. Although it is chiefly the Danish characters who speak Danish, the series represents a uniquely Faroese synergetic whole. It is interesting that two of the methods of language othering identified in the chapter, paratextuality and temporary translation, are also synergetic in nature: the intention is to create distance between the Danish and Faroese languages, but their ability to function relies on Faroese bilingualism.

That Faroese decolonisation can largely be viewed as comparable to the same process elsewhere is not to say that the close relationship between the colonised and the coloniser on the Faroes is inconsequential. On the contrary, it is this unique relationship that has enabled the Faroes to achieve what I have termed linguistic autonomy so quickly – a situation where the language of the coloniser is no longer perceived as a threat or a colonial imposition, but is also removed from as many domains of society as possible. The fact that some young Faroese seem to consider the subject of Danish on the islands as *færdigdiskuteret* is perhaps symptomatic of this new period in Faroese cultural history. In my view, the achievement of linguistic autonomy has been largely facilitated by the linguistic closeness of Faroese and Danish. It is this closeness that enables Faroese to be the only language of the linguistic landscape; it facilitates bilingual conversations, so that the Faroese are often able to communicate with resident Danes in Faroese; and it allows the Faroese to discuss Danish products in Faroese (such as *Einglar og demonir*, 5.6), even if the terms used do not always reflect recommended usage. In these contexts, Danish, only present in the islands because of their colonial past, may continue to exist without the Faroese feeling that their independent identity has been compromised.

6. GREENLAND

‘Synes du, at danskere, der bor i Grønland bør lære grønlandsk?’

“Do you think that Danes who live in Greenland should learn Greenlandic?”

‘[Ja], fordi grønlandsk sprog er ved at forsvinde.’

“[Yes], because the Greenlandic language is disappearing.”

[GSN001]

‘[Nej], behøves ikke.’

“[No], not necessary.”

[GSN022]

6.1 Introduction

As Ashcroft *et al.* observe, since the 1960s comparative analysis has been an integral element of the study of Commonwealth literature (2007: 45-7), the field of research that McLeod terms ‘an important antecedent for post-colonialism’ (McLeod 2000: 10). Similarly, Kossew’s description of what a post-colonial reading of a text should entail includes comparison ‘with other post-colonial texts and/or literatures’ (1996: 11-12; see 2.2). It is therefore fitting that the present study, which seeks to undertake a post-colonial ‘reading’ of Faroese society, should include such analysis. This seems even more important in an investigation into the Faroese post-colonial language situation: throughout the thesis it has been stressed that the Faroes constitute a highly unusual post-colonial territory due to the close relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. The significance of this relationship can only be fully appreciated in contrast to that of a ‘traditional’ post-colonial society. Greenland represents this society in the thesis: not only is it a ‘traditional’ post-colonial territory, but the same coloniser and thus the same colonial language are involved as in the Faroese analysis.

Chapter 6 offers an opportunity to view the source material comparatively and also contributes to a current trend for such analyses of the NAR (see 6.2). Reflecting the ‘eclectic’ methodologies used elsewhere in the thesis, this chapter includes the empirical

data collected and observations made during a research trip to Greenland in late 2010. The primary function of this chapter is to shed further light on the Faroese situation: for that reason, the Greenlandic analysis is not as extensive as the Faroese one. Although brief background information is included so that the empirical data can be understood within context, the overriding aim is to facilitate the comparison of the questionnaire surveys in the two countries.

6.2 Comparative Analysis

Research on the position of Danish in the Faroes and Greenland has traditionally tended to focus on the countries individually.²⁸⁹ There is clear evidence, however, that comparative analysis of post-colonial societies can prove useful.

To take an example from another European post-colonial nation: Hull notes that the ‘sheer smallness of the Maltese population’ has always excluded the possibility of Maltese becoming the sole medium of communication there (1993: 362). He adds that ‘[t]he question of a second language in Malta has therefore always been one of capital importance’ (ibid.). Hull’s description of Maltese as ‘perceived essentially as a *dialect*, [...] a domestic and local idiosyncrasy socially subordinate to English’ (p.363) may be accurate, but the experience of Iceland and, to a lesser extent, the Faroes suggests that Malta’s ‘smallness’ cannot be the sole reason for its reliance on another language. In 2.3.2, I discussed Greene’s opinion (1980: 2) that Iceland is almost certainly the smallest linguistic community in which ‘a citizen can choose to remain a functional monoglot and yet play a full part in the economic life of his country, and participate in every aspect of the culture of the modern world’. The Maltese population is, however, approximately 1.3 times that of Iceland.²⁹⁰ Even in the Faroes, where the population is 8.5 times smaller than in Malta,²⁹¹ children’s literature is exclusively in the local language. By contrast, very little children’s literature exists in Maltese. Clearly, there are other factors involved that cannot be fully appreciated without comparative study.

²⁸⁹ Two exceptions, although brief ones, are Søndergaard (1988), who compares the teaching of Danish across the NAR, and B. Jacobsen (2003), mentioned in fn.113.

²⁹⁰ Based on 2009 populations. Malta: 412,970 (est., http://www.nso.gov.mt/statdoc/document_file.aspx?id=2840 [last accessed 20/06/11]); Iceland: 319,368 (<http://www.statice.is/Statistics/Population/Overview> [last accessed 04/01/11]).

²⁹¹ Based on the 2009 Faroese population of 48,702 (www.hagstova.fo [last accessed 20/06/11]).

To take an example from the NAR, Kvaran observes that in Iceland there is ‘en almindelig opfattelse at hvis islændinge ikke havde sagt nej til en dansk bibel i det 16. århundrede og krævet at få en islandsk, ville man have talt dansk på Island i dag’ (2006: 83).²⁹² In 3.4 it was explained that the Danish Bible was the only one used in the Faroes until the mid-twentieth century, but the Faroese have nevertheless maintained their language. Whether or not Kvaran gives a true reflection of the Icelanders’ perception, it seems likely that other factors featured there.

There has recently been a trend towards comparative analysis and collaborative works taking in two or all of the three nations of the NAR. The establishment of *Vestnordisk Råd* (“the West Nordic Council”)²⁹³ in 1985 effectively marked the start of cooperation across the region. In 1995 *NORA* was established under the Nordic Council of Ministers.²⁹⁴ While culture is not the main remit of either body, they have supported various cultural projects (see, for example, *NORA* 2008). The West Nordic History Network (*VNH-netværk*), created in 2002 and led by researchers from all three countries, seeks to establish a Centre for West Nordic History and Society (*Center for vestnordisk historie og samfund*). Its publications (Thorleifsen 2003; Mortensen *et al.* 2006; 2007) compare the common histories of the NAR. Most importantly in relation to the thesis, the third of these publications promotes Copenhagen as the historical capital of the NAR.

Some research has concerned just two NAR societies: the *Fraendafundur* conferences, for example, which have taken place roughly every three years in Reykjavík or Tórshavn since 1993, aim to draw parallels between Iceland and the Faroes. The conferences (and subsequent books) cover areas as diverse as language, culture, art, history and industry. Every Icelandic paper/article has a Faroese-language counterpart examining the same research area in the Faroes.

Regarding the Faroes and Greenland where, apart from their political status, areas of similarity are less apparent, Marquardt (2005: 176) observes that there is

²⁹² “a commonly believed understanding that if Icelanders had not said ‘no’ to a Danish Bible in the 16th century and demanded an Icelandic one, they would be speaking Danish in Iceland today.”

²⁹³ Named *Vestnordens Parlamentariske Samarbejdsråd* (“The West Nordic Parliamentary Council of Cooperation”) until 1997. It aims ‘to cooperate on common problems and to conduct positive and constructive cooperation regarding West Nordic, or North Atlantic, issues with the Nordic Council as well as other organisations’ (<http://www.vestnordisk.is/Apps/WebObjects/SW.woa/wa/dp?id=1295>, last accessed 15/07/11).

²⁹⁴ *NORA* (*Nordisk Atlantsamarbejde*, lit. “Nordic Atlantic Cooperation”) also includes coastal Norway (*Kystnorge*).

nevertheless an increasing awareness ‘at måderne at leve, tænke og agere på i de to nordatlantiske lande har så stærke fællespræg, at det retfærdiggør talen om en særlig lighed mellem de to befolkninger’.²⁹⁵ The present study aims to contribute towards the growing trend of analysing these similarities.

6.3 Danish in Greenland

6.3.1 Greenlandic Colonialism

In 1721, the Norwegian missionary, Hans Egede, ‘re-discovered’ Greenland and the Inuit (Vikør 2001a: 27). This was a re-discovery as the Norse colonies established in Greenland around the year 1000 had died out some 300 years before. While there had been Inuit in Greenland at that time, the ancestors of today’s Greenlanders arrived around 1300. Seven years after his arrival, in 1728, Egede founded the city of Godthåb (Gr. Nuuk), today’s capital. Although Denmark had enjoyed *de facto* ownership of the NAR during the unequal union of Denmark and Norway, the Treaty of Kiel of 1814 officially confirmed the colonies as Danish territories.

The status of Greenland within the Kingdom has changed several times over the past century: in 1916, the country was officially accorded the status of a colony; in 1953, it became a Danish county (*amt*), to the chagrin of the United Nations (Thisted 2005: 17), which advocated decolonisation across the world (*ibid.*; Viemose 1977: 74); in 1979 the territory gained Home Rule, followed by Self Rule in 2009 (see 1.5.2).

Analyses of Greenland from a post-colonial perspective require less justification than those of the Faroes or Iceland. Not only did Greenland have official colonial status, but it also embodies the traditional understanding of what a colony ‘should be’. The Greenlanders were of different ethnicity to the Danes, they spoke an alien polysynthetic language (Vikør 2001a: 77), and they had established what the Danes considered to be a primitive hunter-gatherer society. This is not to say that Greenland’s post-colonial status is completely uncontested: R. Petersen reveals that the democratic organs that were established in Greenland have caused some to challenge it (1992: 184), but he adds that most colonies have had bodies with a semblance of democracy.²⁹⁶ Few would query the

²⁹⁵ “that the ways in which people in the two North Atlantic countries live, think and act have such strong common characteristics that talk about an unusual similarity between the two populations is justified.”

²⁹⁶ Cf. Viemose (1977: 8).

parallels that are often drawn between Greenland and traditional colonies within the British colonial sphere, such as India (Manniche 2002: 49).

Unlike in the Faroes, Greenlandic academic articles frequently focus on Greenland's 'colonial' past, covering societal elements such as law (H. Petersen 2005), songs (K. Langgård 2003a), technology (Colding-Jørgensen 1994) and history (Seiding 2007). While most works use the term 'post-colonial' in a strictly historical sense to refer to Greenland's status, others bring post-colonial theories into their analyses.

6.3.2 Danish in Colonial Greenland

From Hans Egede's arrival in 1721, concerted efforts were made by the missionaries to learn Greenlandic. As Manniche (2002: 1) observes, the alternative would have been to teach the Greenlanders Danish, but this would have contravened the Lutheran desire to disseminate God's word through the mother tongue. In the Faroes this tongue was not recognised, but there was no question of ignoring Greenlandic: it was so far removed from Danish that considerable study was necessary for successful interaction with the Greenlanders. Consequently, the Greenlandic New Testament, translated by Egede's son, Poul, appeared as early as 1766 (Haugen 1980: 111), some 171 years before its Faroese counterpart in 1937.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Danish tradesmen began to consider forcing the Greenlanders to learn Danish, rather than supporting the missionaries' view that outsiders should learn Greenlandic (Manniche 2002: 23). Manniche gives the example of a Sisimiut-based doctor, C.F. von Linden, who wrote a letter to the Danish Prime Minister in 1780, under the lengthy heading 'Forsøg paa om det ikke var muligt til Gavn for Fædrelandet og den kgl. Grønlandske Handel lidt efter lidt at afskaffe det grønlandske Sprog og indføre det danske' (ibid.).²⁹⁷ Nothing came of Linden's suggestion, but the question arose numerous times over the following decades.

Despite obvious differences, the Faroese and Greenlandic colonial experiences were not completely dissimilar. While the process of 'saming' cannot have occurred in Greenland, Althusser's ideas on ideology, as discussed in 2.2.2 and applied to the Faroes in Chapter 3, do have Greenlandic parallels. Manniche observes that the Greenlanders 'optog koloniherrns optik' ("adopted the view of the colonial master") in the nineteenth century as they began to refer to Denmark as 'hjem' ("home"; 2002: 37).

²⁹⁷ "Attempt to see whether it might not be possible for the benefit of the Fatherland and the Royal Greenlandic Trade gradually to abolish the Greenlandic language and introduce the Danish."

He notes how the Danes also displayed a tendency to refer to the Greenlanders as ‘vores grønlændere’ (“our Greenlanders”) or even, individually, ‘mine grønlændere’ (“my Greenlanders”; *ibid.*).²⁹⁸ A striking example of a Greenlander accepting this Danish ideology and incorporating it into his own world-view is provided by K. Langgård (2003a: 129). In the hymn *Danmarkip pia* (“Denmark’s Property”; 1913) by Jonathan Petersen, the following lines are to be found:

<i>Danmarki qujanarsili!</i>	Tak være Danmark!
<i>Isumagaa qitornani;</i>	- at det betænker sine børn;
<i>anaanatummi pigami</i>	det er jo som en moder
<i>isumaginniinnarli!</i>	Og gid det vil fortsat betænke dem!
	(K. Langgård 2003a: 129) ²⁹⁹

While in the Faroes this ideological inheritance kept the native population in a subordinate role for several generations, in Greenland it grew so strong that it threatened to eliminate the local language altogether.

N.B. Trondhjem notes that in 1925 there were few Danes in Greenland, few Greenlanders able to speak Danish, and Greenlandic was very much ‘folkets sprog’ (“the language of the people”; 2005: 130). The 1950s, however, were characterised by a clear policy of Danification (*danisering*). This decade marked the change in Greenland’s status to that of a Danish county. Wishing to urbanise the Greenlanders, the Danes built factories, hospitals and schools: teachers were imported from Denmark and the learning of Danish was prioritised (*ibid.*: 131). Many Greenlandic parents, particularly in Nuuk, supported the policy and did not speak Greenlandic with their children, feeling it could prove a hindrance in later life (*ibid.*).

Opposition to Danification began to emerge in the 1960s (P. Langgård 1992: 108). As Langgård notes, this gradually increased so that the 1970s were characterised by Greenlandification (*grønlandisering*), primarily caused by the fact that Greenlandic was perceived to be threatened. This period culminated in the Greenlandic Home Rule Act of 1979 (see 1.5.2). As the next section demonstrates, the effects of these two periods and their opposing ideologies continue to be felt to the present day.

²⁹⁸ That the colonised are considered child-like is not uncommon in colonial societies. K. Langgård (2003a) further discusses this idea in relation to Greenland.

²⁹⁹ “Thanks to Denmark! / for thinking of its children; / it is like a mother / and long may it continue to think of them!” From Langgård’s Danish translation.

6.3.3 The Situation Today

Due to space limitations and the fact that the thesis concentrates on the Faroes, this outline of the current linguistic climate in Greenland cannot be exhaustive, but it serves to place the following data within the correct context.

Since 2009, Greenland has been officially monolingual.³⁰⁰ However, as Trondhjem's table demonstrates, the language situation remains complex:

	%	Number
a) Always speaks Greenlandic.	30	16,950
b) Has Greenlandic as a first language, can cope well in Danish.	40	22,600
c) Speaks only Danish.	15	8,475
d) Danish-speaking, and speaks Greenlandic well.	15	8,475

(N.B. Trondhjem 2005: 133)³⁰¹

As the table shows, some 15% of the population do not speak Greenlandic. While many of those under c) are resident Danes, some are non-Greenlandic-speaking Greenlanders – largely a legacy of the *danisering* period. In the early 1990s, P. Langgård observed that many of these Greenlanders were *blandinger*, people of mixed Greenlandic-Danish descent, who were raised as monolingual Danish-speakers, something which caused many of them identity problems (1992: 118). He noted that their lack of Greenlandic skills precluded their sense of belonging to the Greenlandic community, yet their Danish skills were often characterised by inherited Greenlandic influence, such as reduced aspiration, lack of *stød* and limited lexical and syntactical variation (ibid.). He added, however, that *blandinger* were increasingly raised bilingually.

Problems of identity are not encountered in literature on the Faroese language climate, yet this remains a salient topic in contemporary Greenland. Popular books such as *Hjemmestyrets børn: årgang '79* ("The Children of Home Rule: Class of '79") by Bryld (2002) and Mondrup's *De usynlige grønlandere/Kalaallit takussaannigitsut* ("The Invisible Greenlanders"; 2003) focus on these very issues of identity: these books have no Faroese counterparts.

The long distance between Greenlandic and Danish has created a situation whereby it is possible for Danes to co-exist with Greenlanders, yet never learn the

³⁰⁰ Some, such as K. Langgård, have stated that Greenlandic was already monolingual (2001: 255), as the Home Rule Act states "Greenlandic is the main language" (see 1.5.2). However, the fact that Danish, according to the Act, can be used in public affairs effectively negates this claim. The Self Rule Act (2009) does not mention Danish at all.

³⁰¹ My translation from the original Danish.

language. P. Langgård, who undertook surveys in 1979 and 1995, has observed that ‘[i]n 1979 Danes in Greenland generally spoke no Greenlandic and the same is true in 1995’ (1996: 172). Indeed, he observes that it has become firmly established as ‘fact’ that Danes are unable to learn Greenlandic because it is so different and difficult (ibid.: 171), a ‘fact’ he convincingly challenges. This is a dramatically different situation from the Faroese situation, where, as stated previously, resident Danes eventually learn to understand Faroese merely through exposure.

Regarding practical use, 5.2 identified two areas in which Danish continues to play an important role in the Faroes: education and the media.³⁰² As regards education, whereas Greenlandic is officially the medium of instruction in most Greenlandic schools, Danish performs this function at the three sixth-form colleges and at the university. Greenlandic is, however, a compulsory subject at the colleges. As in the Faroes, Danish remains the language of the media in Greenland: foreign television programmes are either dubbed into Danish or given Danish subtitles, as are films at the cinema or for purchase. The national television channel, KNR1, caters for limited domestic-language viewing.

As regards printing, whereas children’s literature in the Faroes is effectively monolingual, this is not yet the case in Greenland. Danish books would naturally need to be available for those children who do not read Greenlandic, but there is not yet enough material for Greenlandic-speaking children to read solely Greenlandic material. In 5.2 I discussed the *mellemlæd* function of Danish, where Danish works as an intermediary between Faroese and the wider world, and concluded that this function is less significant with the advent of dictionaries between Faroese and other languages. The situation in Greenland, however, reflects the former situation in the Faroes: only dictionaries between Greenlandic and Danish exist.

Three recent studies on Danish in Greenland prove useful in creating the appropriate context for an understanding of the empirical data to follow: K. Langgård (2001), B. Jacobsen (2003) and Valgreen (2004).

K. Langgård’s paper forms part of a larger comparative analysis between Greenlandic and Danish in Greenlandic schools and Inuktitut and English in schools in Nunavut, Canada. As Søndergaard and Holm did in the Faroes in the late 1980s/early

³⁰² As in the Faroes, judicial authority and the police are under Danish jurisdiction (cf. fn.221).

1990s (see 4.2.1), Langgård identifies a pragmatic attitude towards Danish in Greenland, and comments that Greenlandic is no longer perceived to be threatened:

Further, the pilot project shows the tendency towards a very pragmatic attitude towards Danish as an instrumental language, which is absolutely necessary in educational context. The very positive element in this is that no complaints were uttered. The victimized attitude of the former generation is being replaced by a pragmatic active attitude. The precondition for this is, of course, that Greenlandic is felt not to be endangered.

(K. Langgård 2001: 262-3)

B. Jacobsen's paper *Colonial Danish*, mentioned in fn.113 and fn.289, is one of few to compare the position of Danish across the NAR, although not from a post-colonial perspective. Of particular relevance to the thesis are Jacobsen's remarks on what she calls Nuuk-Danish. This variety is spoken primarily by Danish speakers living in Greenland, but ones who have a close relationship to Greenland: they may have Greenlandic parents or may have lived there for several years. Characterised by peculiar stress, aspiration and *stød* patterns, a staccato rhythm and strongly retracted and lowered vowels before 'r', Nuuk-Danish demonstrates solidarity with Greenland, even when speaking Danish (2003: 161).

Valgreen's unpublished dissertation on problems concerning language and politics in post-colonial Greenland (2004) considers the hegemony of Danish in the 1950s when, as we have seen, attempts were made (even by many Greenlanders) to exorcise Greenlandic from society and that of Greenlandic in the 1970s when it was heavily prioritised over Danish. Valgreen imagines that the two 'hegemonies' have balanced out by 2003. The idea that the Greenlandic language situation might have reached 'new ground' where neither side enjoys hegemony is interesting in light of the ideas expressed in 5.5.4 on a sense of 'completion' in the Faroes. The empirical data from Greenland analysed in the next section tackles this idea further, but Valgreen's study hints at an acceptance of a degree of 'Danishness' i.e. the language, within Greenlandic society.

6.4 The Greenlandic school survey

6.4.1 Introduction

In November 2010, I carried out a survey at Nuuk's sixth-form college (Da. *gymnasium/Gr. Ilinniarnertuunnngorniarfik*).³⁰³ Until recently, Greenland's three sixth-form colleges were part of the Danish education system (K. Langgård 2001: 240). Danish remains the medium of education in all classes bar Greenlandic and most teachers are Danes.

The questionnaire resembled that used in the Faroese schools, with the same five question categories. Questions that could not be related to Greenland were omitted, although several questions on Greenlandic matters were added. The major difference between the surveys is that it was necessary to make the questionnaire available in Danish and Greenlandic: both were handed to pupils in class and it was made clear to them that they could complete either version. The process was otherwise the same as in the Faroes.

The results are presented as in Chapter 4, although comparative analysis of the Greenlandic and Faroese responses features alongside the tables where necessary.

6.4.2 'Overrendsproblematikken'

A brief examination of language research in Greenland showed that it operates within an entirely different context from that in the Faroes. 3.4 considered the different perceptions of the Greenlanders and the Faroese at the end of the nineteenth century in metropolitan Denmark, exemplified by the exchange in the Folketing. As Marquardt explains, for the Danes, the Greenlanders were a 'primitivt naturfolk' ("primitive nature people"), whereas the Faroese were 'kulturfolk' ("people of culture"; 2005: 176) and, importantly, kin. The repercussions from this distinction remain evident today: there are issues which are important for non-domestic researchers in Greenland to address which never surface in literature focusing on the Faroes.

One such issue is 'overrendsproblematikken', as discussed by K.V. Olsen (2002: 49). The term, literally "the problems of pestering", describes a situation where those under investigation are reluctant to respond to an outsider's questions 'som følge af at

³⁰³ The school's official name is Da. *Midtgrønlands Gymnasiale Skole/Gr. Qeqqani Ilinniarnertuunnngorniarfik*. It is commonly referred to as GU-Nuuk and this name is used in the thesis.

de er så objektgjorte af videnskabsfolkene' (ibid.).³⁰⁴ She describes this as a phenomenon peculiar to 'naturfolk' ('nature people'), such as the Sámi in Scandinavia, Indians in America and Inuit in Siberia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland. Olsen specifically attributes this reticence towards non-domestic researchers to their tendency not to give feedback to the populations they have studied (p.50). Greenlandic academics, she adds, generally do reveal their findings, either via the media or a Greenlandic journal, such as *Grønlands kultur- og samfundsforskning*. Furthermore, due to the small sizes of these 'nature' populations, many feel over-investigated.

My own experience of the problem was mixed. On the one hand, the difficulties are palpable: one school I was to visit withdrew late on due to a perceived lack of enthusiasm among pupils for constant questionnaire research. Similarly, two pupils at GU-Nuuk expressed displeasure at being asked to take part in yet another investigation.³⁰⁵ However, the reaction amongst most pupils in Nuuk was very positive (see 6.5.7).³⁰⁶

In light of Olsen's observations, it was made clear to GU-Nuuk that the results would be made available to staff and pupils as soon as possible.

6.4.3 'The Nuuk Problem'

Sørensen (2008: 115) recalls that when he went to Nuuk to undertake anthropology field-work, he was frequently told that he should travel outside Nuuk in order to experience Greenlandic culture. He recalls his 'puzzlement' at hearing this, as although Nuuk has a far higher percentage of Danes than any other Greenlandic town, it also has the largest Greenlandic population. However, Nuuk has acquired a status of being in Greenland, yet not of Greenland (see 6.3.3).

Nuuk became the only base for my own field-work. Like Sørensen, I too was frequently told that my research would be unrepresentative of Greenland. However, despite the capital's reputation for un-Greenlandicness, GU-Nuuk, as K. Langgård observes, is particularly interesting as 'those who graduate from the gymnasium are those from whom many of the future's most influential Greenlanders will be recruited' (2001: 241).

³⁰⁴ "As a consequence of[their] being so objectified by the researchers."

³⁰⁵ 'Hvorfor får vi altid sådan nogle spørgsmålskemaer?' ("Why do we always get these kinds of questionnaires?") [GSN202]); 'Er nærmest træt af at få denne her form for spørgeskemaer' ("Am fairly tired of getting this sort of questionnaire") [GSN209]).

³⁰⁶ In Greenland I was once even approached on the street by pupils who enquired how the project was going and asked about my findings.

Furthermore, even though the results cannot be seen as generally representative of Greenland, with some 32.6% of the territory's population,³⁰⁷ Nuuk is a Greenlandic reality that cannot be ignored.

It should also be stressed that the catchment area for GU-Nuuk stretches far beyond the capital's borders: as far north as Kangaamiut, and as far east as the East Greenlandic towns of Tasiilaq (formerly Ammassalik) and Ittoqqortormiut (Dan. Scoresbysund), the latter one of Greenland's most remote settlements. The inclusion of East Greenland is particularly revealing due to its peculiar linguistic situation. East Greenland's isolation has caused the local dialect to differ considerably from standard (Central) West Greenlandic (Rischel 1986: 126; R. Petersen 1986: 113).³⁰⁸ Due to the lateness of colonisation in East Greenland (around 1900; K. Langgård 2001: 264), East Greenlandic has no written standard, although there are calls for this.³⁰⁹ Consequently, the Bible only exists in West Greenlandic and in the schools any material that is not in Danish is in West Greenlandic (Hvalsum *et al.* 1992: 147, 150). For this reason, Petersen has discussed West Greenlandic 'cultural imperialism' in East Greenland (1977: 189). As regards Danish, Hvalsum *et al.* observe that East Greenlandic children struggle somewhat with the language as they have had to learn West Greenlandic first (1992: 154).

6.5 The Greenlandic school survey: data

6.5.1 Response

At GU-Nuuk 267 pupils (out of 337) participated in the investigation: this represents 79.2% of the total number. 97% of respondents filled out the questionnaire in Danish.³¹⁰

As Table 6.1 shows, a number of categories have been included in the tables in order to cover the complexities of the language situation and the Greenlandic issues of identity. In addition to the 'bgd' category used in Chapter 4, the tables also include 'b.GL' for pupils born in Greenland and 'GLR-ID' for those who identify themselves as

³⁰⁷ Based on 2010 populations of 15,469 (Nuuk) and 47,461 (Greenland; Baunbæk 2010: 9).

³⁰⁸ As Vikør notes, there are three main Greenlandic dialects: West, North and East Greenlandic, although the vast majority (90%) speak West Greenlandic, which is considered the standard language. East Greenlandic differs most from this (2001: 77).

³⁰⁹ Reported by P. Langgård in B. Jacobsen (2004: 36).

³¹⁰ 273 questionnaires were completed, but 6 were rejected due to age (see 4.4.1).

Greenlanders.³¹¹ The ‘b.GL, NK <3yr’ category reflects an attempt to identify those people who have grown up in other parts of Greenland but come to Nuuk for their three-year education. As Nuuk is often portrayed as being an untypical Greenlandic settlement, these respondents could also have attitudes towards and levels of Danish that differ from others.

	<i>Danish</i>	<i>Greenlandic</i>	<i>Total</i>
All	259 [97.0]	8 [3.0]	267
Male	108 [98.2]	2 [1.8]	110
Female	151 [96.2]	6 [3.8]	157
b.GL	237 [96.7]	8 [3.3]	245
b.GL, NK <3yr	69 [92.0]	6 [8.0]	75
GL-bgd	62 [95.4]	3 [4.6]	65
GL-bgd, m.	25 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	25
GL-bgd, f.	37 [92.5]	3 [7.5]	40
GLR-ID	200 [96.2]	8 [3.8]	208

Table 6.1: (GSS) Selected Language for the Questionnaire

6.5.2 Data 1: Background

1. Age

As with the Faroese schools’ survey, all respondents were aged between 15 and 26.

2. Gender

Although female respondents outnumber the males by a considerable margin (Table 6.2), I was assured by staff that this is representative of the school overall.

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
All	110 [41.2]	157 [58.8]	267

Table 6.2: Gender

Questions 3-5

These were included to enable the creation of the categories as outlined in 6.5.1:

³¹¹ The GL-bgd category is slightly different in the Greenlandic analysis. In the Faroese postal survey this category covered all who had Faroese as their main language and had not spent over six months in Denmark; in the schoolsurvey it covered all who had Faroese as their main language, had not spent over 6 months in Denmark and who spoke only Faroese with both parents. In analysis of the results from Greenland, however, it became clear that many respondents who spoke Greenlandic with both parents and who had not spent over six months in Denmark still often put down Danish as their joint main language together with Greenlandic. As this is a surprising finding, without parallel in the Faroes, those considered part of the GL-bgd category may not have selected only Greenlandic as their main language.

3. How long have you lived in Nuuk?

As Table 6.3 shows, the majority of pupils have lived in Nuuk for over three years. Those that have lived in Nuuk for less than this are likely to have moved to the capital to enrol at the school.

	<i>Under 3 years</i>	<i>Over 3 years</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	82 [30.7]	182 [68.2]	3 [1.1]

Table 6.3: Length of Time Lived in Nuuk

4. Were you born in Greenland?

As Table 6.4 demonstrates, the vast majority of respondents were born in Greenland.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	245 [91.8]	21 [7.9]	1 [0.4]
Male	103 [93.6]	7 [6.4]	0 [0.0]
Female	142 [90.4]	14 [8.9]	1 [0.6]
GLR-ID	196 [94.2]	11 [5.3]	1 [0.5]

Table 6.4: Birth in Greenland

5. Do you consider yourself to be a Greenlander?

Table 6.5 shows that the majority of respondents consider themselves to be Greenlanders.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Partly</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	208 [77.9]	48 [18.0]	6 [2.2]	4 [1.5]	1 [0.4]
Male	80 [72.7]	22 [20.0]	4 [3.6]	3 [2.7]	1 [0.9]
Female	128 [81.5]	26 [16.6]	2 [1.3]	1 [0.6]	0 [0.0]
b.GL	196 [80.0]	44 [18.0]	1 [0.4]	3 [1.2]	1 [0.4]
b.GL, NK <3yr	60 [80.0]	12 [16.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.7]	1 [1.3]
GL-bgd	58 [89.2]	3 [4.6]	0 [0.0]	3 [4.6]	1 [1.5]

Table 6.5: Identification as a Greenlander

Some of the additional comments offered in response to this question are particularly illuminating in light of the issues of identity discussed in 6.3.3. Three respondents commented that it depends on where they are: ‘Kommer an på selskabet’ (“Depends on the company [i.e. ‘who I’m with’]” [GSN029]); ‘Når jeg er i GL føler jeg mig mere dansk, og når jeg er i DK føler jeg mig mere grønlandsk’ (“When I’m in Greenland I feel more Danish and when I’m in Denmark I feel more Greenlandic” [GSN079]) and similarly: ‘Føler mig som en dansker i Grønland, og føler mig som en grønlander i

Danmark’ (“[I] feel like a Dane in Greenland and like a Greenlander in Denmark” [GSN181]). One respondent who selected ‘partly’ commented, ‘Hører i den gruppe der ikke bliver set som en af dem’ (“[I] belong to the group of those who aren’t considered to be either” [GSN240]).

6. What is your main language? (cf. Table 4.32)

Table 6.5 is quite unlike its Faroese equivalent. Regarding overall numbers of pupils, those who consider Greenlandic alone to be their main language are in a slight minority (42.7%, compared to 89.5% [Hoydalar] and 91.4% [Handilsskúlin] for Faroese in the Faroes). The percentages are, as one would expect, higher amongst those who have moved to Nuuk, presumably from elsewhere in Greenland (56.0%) and who come from Greenlandic-speaking family backgrounds (64.6%). A large percentage of pupils (almost 40%) regard Danish and Greenlandic as their main languages (compared to between 4.6% [Handilsskúlin] and 8.3% [Hoydalar] for Danish and Faroese at the Faroese schools).

In the Faroes, only one pupil (at Suðuroy) gave Danish alone as his/her main language, whereas 14.6% of respondents at GU-Nuuk have done this. Significantly, 9.0% of those born in Greenland and 7.7% of those who identify themselves as Greenlanders take Danish to be their main language. Generally speaking, many more pupils in officially monolingual Greenland identify with Danish than Faroese pupils in the officially bilingual Faroes.

One pupil [GSN266] selected ‘Greenlandic’ but added in parentheses ‘østgrønlandsk’ (“East Greenlandic”). In answer to the following two questions about which language the respondent used with his/her mother and father respectively – not discussed here, but included in Appendix 2 – another pupil [GSN027] wrote the same.

	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Gr.</i>	<i>Da. + Gr.</i>	<i>Da. + Other</i>	<i>Gr. + Other</i>	<i>Da., Gr. + Other</i>
All	39 [14.6]	114 [42.7]	105 [39.3]	5 [1.9]	1 [0.4]	3 [1.1]
b.GL	22 [9.0]	111 [45.3]	103 [42.0]	5 [2.0]	1 [0.4]	3 [1.2]
b.GL, NK <3yr	3 [4.0]	42 [56.0]	29 [38.7]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd	0 [0.0]	42 [64.6]	20 [30.8]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.5]	2 [3.1]
GLR-ID	16 [7.7]	105 [50.5]	84 [40.4]	1 [0.5]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.0]

Table 6.6: Main Language³¹²

³¹² No pupils selected ‘other’.

7. How many times have you been to Denmark? (cf. Table 4.33)

As in the Faroese school survey, the vast majority of pupils have been to Denmark several times. The high cost of travelling between Greenland and Denmark presumably accounts for the fact that the proportion who have only been once or twice is significantly higher than in the Faroes.

	<i>Never</i>	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Several</i>	<i>From DK</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
All	4 [1.5]	16 [6.0]	15 [5.6]	219 [82.0]	11 [4.1]	2 [0.7]
b.GL	4 [1.6]	16 [6.5]	15 [6.1]	208 [84.9]	2 [0.8]	0 [0.0]
b.GL, NK <3yr	4 [5.3]	8 [10.7]	8 [10.7]	54 [72.0]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd	3 [4.6]	10 [15.4]	8 [12.3]	44 [67.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
GLR-ID	4 [1.9]	13 [6.3]	12 [5.8]	175 [84.1]	2 [1.0]	2 [1.0]

Table 6.7: Visits to Denmark

8. Have you lived in Denmark? (cf. Table 4.34)

Despite, or possibly due to, the high cost of travel out of Greenland, the Greenlandic pupils have generally spent longer in Denmark than those from the Faroes (Table 6.8). Adding together the relevant columns reveals that the majority of pupils have spent over six months in Denmark (57.6% compared to between 23.1% [Suđuroy] and 42.5% [Hoydalar] at the Faroese schools).

	<i>No</i>	<i>1-3 mth</i>	<i>3-6 mth</i>	<i>6 mth-1 yr</i>	<i>1-2 yr</i>	<i>2-5 yr</i>	<i>>5 yr</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	86 [32.2]	15 [5.6]	11 [4.1]	29 [25.8]	42 [15.7]	23 [8.6]	20 [7.5]	1 [0.4]
b.GL	84 [34.3]	15 [6.1]	10 [4.1]	68 [27.8]	39 [15.9]	19 [7.8]	9 [3.7]	1 [0.4]
b.GL, NK <3yr	30 [40.0]	5 [6.7]	5 [6.7]	18 [24.0]	12 [16.0]	4 [5.3]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd	51 [78.5]	9 [13.8]	5 [7.7]					
GLR-ID	75 [36.1]	9 [4.3]	7 [3.4]	62 [29.8]	31 [14.9]	13 [6.3]	10 [4.8]	1 [0.5]

Table 6.8: Time Lived in Denmark

6.5.3 Data 2: Danish Skills

9. How well do you know Danish? (cf. Table 4.35)

As Table 6.9 shows, responses to this question exhibit considerable variation. The majority of pupils in all categories claim to speak Danish fluently, but the context of their fluency differs. In general and in most categories, the most popular response was that the respondent speaks Danish fluently, but it is not his/her main language.

Nevertheless, this never constitutes a majority. That was also the case in the Faroes (although the total number of pupils claiming fluency there was lower). The major difference between the Greenlandic and Faroese responses – as we would expect in the

light of Table 6.5 – is that a much higher percentage of pupils in Greenland consider Danish to be their main language (18.4% compared to between 0.0% [Handilsskúlin] and 1.1% [Suðuroy/Hoydalar] at the Faroese schools). The only category in which the largest response was not one of the ‘fluent’ options was formed by those pupils who have moved to Nuuk in the last three years.

14 pupils answered that they did not speak Danish well. We know from Table 6.1 that only 8 pupils completed the Greenlandic questionnaire: the implication is, therefore, that several chose to complete the questionnaire in Danish even though they do not consider their Danish to be good. This suggests a diglossic mind-set among some pupils: if Danish is the language of the school domain, then a questionnaire at school should be completed in Danish.

	<i>Fluent (main)</i>	<i>Fluent (better than main)</i>	<i>Fluent (not main)</i>	<i>Fluent (equal)</i>	<i>Well</i>	<i>Quite well</i>	<i>Not well</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	49 [18.4]	36 [13.5]	64 [24.0]	41 [15.4]	49 [18.4]	13 [4.9]	14 [5.2]	1 [0.4]
	190 [71.3]							
b.GL	33 [13.5]	35 [14.3]	61 [24.9]	41 [16.7]	48 [19.6]	13 [5.3]	13 [5.3]	1 [0.4]
	170 [69.4]							
b.GL, <3yr NK	8 [10.7]	8 [10.7]	14 [18.7]	12 [16.0]	19 [25.3]	5 [6.7]	9 [12.0]	0 [0.0]
	42 [56.1]							
GL-bgd	0 [0.0]	5 [7.7]	23 [35.4]	7 [10.8]	19 [29.2]	5 [7.7]	6 [9.2]	0 [0.0]
	35 [53.9]							
GLR-ID	17 [8.2]	24 [11.5]	61 [29.3]	35 [16.8]	46 [22.1]	11 [5.3]	13 [6.3]	1 [0.5]
	137 [65.9]							

Table 6.9: Danish Skills

10. How well do you know Greenlandic?

As Danish is the medium of instruction at GU-Nuuk, it is possible for non-Greenlandic-speaking pupils to enrol there. It was therefore necessary to ask whether the pupils spoke Greenlandic, unlike with Faroese in the Faroes. As Table 6.10 demonstrates, the majority of pupils in all categories claim to speak fluent Greenlandic.³¹³

It is perhaps unexpected that the percentage of those who consider their Greenlandic to be fluent is not even higher in the GL-bgd category: these pupils have, after all, spoken nothing but Greenlandic with their parents. This could be evidence of the tendency mooted by Grosjean that bilinguals tend to underplay their language skills (see 4.3.8).

³¹³ Therefore, the majority of pupils at GU-Nuuk consider themselves fluent in Danish and Greenlandic.

It is noteworthy that 4.8% of those who see themselves as Greenlanders do not think they speak Greenlandic well: in total, some 18% in this category claim not to speak it fluently.

	<i>Fluent (main)</i>	<i>Fluent (better than main)</i>	<i>Fluent (not main)</i>	<i>Fluent (equal)</i>	<i>Well</i>	<i>Quite well</i>	<i>Not well</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	160 [59.9]	4 [1.5]	12 [4.5]	14 [5.2]	22 [8.2]	28 [10.5]	21 [7.9]	3 [1.1]	2 [0.7]	1 [0.4]
	190 [71.1]									
b.GL	156 [63.7]	3 [1.2]	12 [4.9]	14 [5.7]	18 [7.3]	23 [9.4]	13 [5.3]	3 [1.2]	2 [0.8]	1 [0.4]
	185 [75.5]									
b.GL, NK <3yr	52 [69.3]	2 [2.7]	6 [8.0]	1 [1.3]	6 [8.0]	5 [6.7]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.7]	0 [0.0]
	61 [81.3]									
GL-bgd	56 [86.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.5]	0 [0.0]	5 [7.7]	3 [4.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
	57 [87.7]									
GLR-ID	150 [72.1]	4 [1.9]	7 [3.4]	10 [4.8]	10 [4.8]	14 [6.7]	10 [4.8]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.0]	1 [0.5]
	171 [82.2]									

Table 6.10: Greenlandic Skills

11. When you speak Danish, do you try to adopt ... ? (cf. Table 4.36)

Table 6.11 depicts a pattern quite different from that in the equivalent Faroese table: while, as in the Faroes, very few people deliberately speak Danish with a local accent, the overwhelming majority do not think about the accent they use. In the Faroes, however, the overall majority (in all schools bar Eysturoy) made an effort to speak Danish with a metropolitan accent.

	<i>A Gr. Accent</i>	<i>A Da. accent</i>	<i>Do not think</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	5 [1.9]	25 [9.4]	232 [86.9]	2 [0.7]	3 [1.1]
Male	0 [0.0]	16 [14.5]	91 [82.7]	2 [1.8]	1 [0.9]
Female	5 [3.2]	9 [5.7]	141 [89.8]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.3]
b.GL	5 [2.0]	21 [8.6]	214 [87.3]	2 [0.8]	3 [1.2]
b.GL, NK <3yr	3 [4.0]	6 [8.0]	64 [85.3]	1 [1.3]	1 [1.3]
GL-bgd	1 [1.5]	4 [6.2]	60 [92.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
GLR-ID	4 [1.9]	18 [8.7]	184 [88.5]	1 [0.5]	1 [0.5]

Table 6.11: Attempted Accent when Speaking Danish

12. Do you think that you speak Danish with ... ? (cf. Table 4.37)

Table 6.12 is not dissimilar to the equivalent from the Faroes: very few think that they speak Danish with a strong local accent, with a fairly even distribution across the second to fourth columns. As expected, those who have presumably moved to Nuuk from other parts of Greenland for their education (b.GL, NK <3yr) and those from a Greenlandic-speaking family background (GL-bgd) are more likely to speak Danish with a Greenlandic accent. The percentage of pupils who believe that they speak with a metropolitan accent is very similar to those in the Faroese school survey: 26.6% at GU-Nuuk, between 18.9% (Eysturoy) and 33.1% (Hoydalar) in the Faroes.

	<i>Strong Gr. Accent</i>	<i>Less Gr. Accent</i>	<i>More Da. accent</i>	<i>Da. accent</i>	<i>Other influenced accent</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	9 [3.4]	92 [34.5]	62 [23.2]	71 [26.6]	10 [3.7]	7 [2.6]	16 [6.0]
Male	3 [2.7]	30 [27.3]	24 [21.8]	35 [31.8]	5 [4.5]	4 [3.6]	9 [8.2]
Female	6 [3.8]	62 [39.5]	38 [24.2]	36 [22.9]	5 [3.2]	3 [1.9]	7 [4.5]
b.GL	8 [3.3]	90 [36.7]	58 [23.7]	57 [23.3]	9 [3.7]	7 [2.9]	16 [6.5]
b.GL, NK <3yr	3 [4.0]	33 [44.0]	18 [24.0]	9 [12.0]	4 [5.3]	1 [1.3]	7 [9.3]
GL-bgd	4 [6.2]	34 [52.3]	11 [16.9]	5 [7.7]	2 [3.1]	1 [1.5]	8 [12.3]
GLR-ID	8 [3.8]	82 [39.4]	49 [23.6]	40 [19.2]	10 [4.8]	6 [2.9]	13 [6.3]

Table 6.12: Accent when Speaking Danish

13. Is it important to speak Danish like the Danes speak it?³¹⁴

Table 6.13 shows that approximately a quarter of respondents think it important to speak Danish ‘as the Danes speak it’, i.e. with a metropolitan accent. While the percentages are similar across the categories, the percentage is noticeably higher (34.7%) among pupils who have recently moved to Nuuk.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Doesn't matter</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	63 [23.6]	69 [25.8]	129 [48.3]	4 [1.5]	2 [0.7]
Male	27 [24.5]	27 [24.5]	55 [50.0]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]
Female	36 [22.9]	42 [26.8]	74 [47.1]	3 [1.9]	2 [1.3]
b.GL	58 [23.7]	61 [24.9]	120 [49.0]	4 [1.6]	2 [0.8]

³¹⁴ With hindsight, this question did not need the ‘it doesn’t matter’ (Da. ‘det gør ikke noget’) option, which essentially mirrors ‘no’.

b.GL, NK <3yr	26 [34.7]	19 [25.3]	28 [37.3]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.7]
GL-bgd	16 [24.6]	13 [20.0]	32 [49.2]	3 [4.6]	1 [1.5]
GLR-ID	50 [24.0]	54 [26.0]	98 [47.1]	4 [1.9]	2 [1.0]

Table 6.13: Importance of a Danish Accent

14. Are you more comfortable reading Danish or Greenlandic in school (in textbooks, etc.)? (cf. Table 4.38)

When analysing Table 6.14, it must be borne in mind that Danish is the medium of instruction at GU-Nuuk in all classes bar Greenlandic. Consequently, very little Greenlandic is read at school. Overall, the majority of pupils are more comfortable reading Danish than Greenlandic. This is considerably different from the situation in the Faroes with Danish and Faroese (57.3% at GU-Nuuk, between 9.9% [Suðuroy] and 16.0% [Hoydalar] in the Faroes). The Greenlanders are also considerably more likely to show a preference either outright or in given contexts, with fewer selecting ‘no difference’ (10.5% at GU-Nuuk, between 25.0% [Eysturoy] and 31.9% [Suðuroy] in the Faroes). In neither country did a majority select the local language.

There are some differences between male and female respondents, with males more inclined to favour Danish (63.6% male, 52.9% female). Among those pupils from a Greenlandic-speaking family background the differences are more pronounced: here, no male respondents have a preference for Greenlandic (cf. 12.5% female) and the percentage of females favouring Danish is considerably lower than among males (35.0% female, 52.0% male).³¹⁵

	<i>Gr.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Depends on subject</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
All	21 [7.9]	153 [57.3]	59 [22.1]	28 [10.5]	6 [2.2]
Male	8 [7.3]	70 [63.6]	19 [17.3]	9 [8.2]	4 [3.6]
Female	13 [8.3]	83 [52.9]	40 [25.5]	19 [12.1]	2 [1.3]
b.GL	20 [8.2]	134 [54.7]	58 [23.7]	27 [11.0]	6 [2.4]
b.GL, NK <3yr	10 [13.3]	32 [42.7]	23 [30.7]	8 [10.7]	2 [2.7]
GL-bgd	5 [7.7]	27 [41.5]	27 [41.5]	6 [9.2]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd, m.	0 [0.0]	13 [52.0]	10 [40.0]	2 [8.0]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd, f.	5 [12.5]	14 [35.0]	17 [42.5]	4 [10.0]	0 [0.0]
GLR-ID	21 [10.1]	101 [48.6]	54 [26.0]	27 [13.0]	5 [2.4]

Table 6.14: Language Preference when Reading in School

³¹⁵ On Tables 6.14-6.17 the GL-bgd category is split into male/female subcategories. During the analysis, it became clear that in this category there were noticeable differences between male and female responses.

15. Are you more comfortable reading Danish or Greenlandic outside school? (cf. Table 4.39)

Table 6.15 differs notably from the equivalent Faroese table: the majority of pupils also favour reading Danish outside school.³¹⁶ This is true for all categories bar those who come from a Greenlandic-speaking family background; even here, however, Danish is the largest response group.

As noted, Nuuk is frequently portrayed as the only part of Greenland where Danish plays a central role: however, as the table shows, even among those who have presumably come to Nuuk from other parts of Greenland for their education (b.GL, NK <3yr) a majority prefer Danish when reading.

The differences between the genders identified in Table 6.14 can also be seen here: for a second time males are more inclined to favour Danish (67.3% male, 57.3% female). Again the differences, while not dramatic, are more pronounced among those pupils from a Greenlandic-speaking family background: females again display a preference for Greenlandic (17.5% female, 8.0% male) and the percentage of females favouring Danish is noticeably lower than among males (40.0% female, 52.0% male).

	<i>Gr.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
All	23 [8.6]	164 [61.4]	76 [28.5]	4 [1.5]
Male	6 [5.5]	74 [67.3]	29 [26.4]	1 [0.9]
Female	17 [10.8]	90 [57.3]	47 [29.9]	3 [1.9]
b.GL	22 [9.0]	146 [59.6]	73 [29.8]	4 [1.6]
b.GL, NK <3yr	11 [14.7]	40 [53.3]	22 [29.3]	2 [2.7]
GL-bgd	9 [13.8]	29 [44.6]	27 [41.5]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd, m.	2 [8.0]	13 [52.0]	10 [40.0]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd, f.	7 [17.5]	16 [40.0]	17 [42.5]	0 [0.0]
GLR-ID	23 [11.1]	109 [52.4]	72 [34.6]	4 [1.9]

Table 6.15: Language Preference when Reading outside School

16. Are you more comfortable writing Danish or Greenlandic in school (in essays, etc.)? (cf. Table 4.40)

Table 4.16 shows that while Greenlandic is more popular when writing than when reading at school, under a fifth of pupils (17.6%) favour it outright. Danish remains the largest response group among most categories.

³¹⁶ In the Faroes, there was a tendency to choose 'no difference' marginally over 'Faroese' (with the difference between the two most pronounced at Suðuroy and Hoydalar). There, only between 9.8% (Eysturoy) and 19.9% (Hoydalar) preferred Danish.

The afore-mentioned differences between the genders are evident here: males, indeed a majority, favour Danish (55.5% male, 38.9% female). The differences are considerably more pronounced among pupils from a Greenlandic-speaking family background: females demonstrate a preference for Greenlandic (30.0% female, 8.0% male) and the percentage of females favouring Danish is dramatically lower than among males (5.0% female, 56.0% male).

	<i>Gr.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Depends on subject</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>Inv.</i>
All	47 [17.6]	122 [45.7]	57 [21.3]	34 [12.7]	7 [2.6]
Male	11 [10.0]	61 [55.5]	18 [16.4]	16 [14.5]	4 [3.6]
Female	36 [22.9]	61 [38.9]	39 [24.8]	18 [11.5]	3 [1.9]
b.GL	46 [18.8]	106 [43.3]	54 [22.0]	33 [13.5]	6 [2.4]
b.GL, NK <3yr	12 [16.0]	30 [40.0]	22 [29.3]	10 [13.3]	1 [1.3]
GL-bgd	14 [21.5]	16 [24.6]	24 [36.9]	10 [15.4]	1 [1.5]
GL-bgd, m.	2 [8.0]	14 [56.0]	5 [20.0]	3 [12.0]	1 [4.0]
GL-bgd, f.	12 [30.0]	2 [5.0]	19 [47.5]	7 [17.5]	0 [0.0]
GLR-ID	46 [22.1]	70 [33.7]	52 [25.0]	33 [15.9]	7 [3.4]

Table 6.16: Language Preference when Writing in School

17. Are you more comfortable writing Danish or Greenlandic outside school? (cf. Table 4.41)

Preference for writing Danish or Greenlandic outside school is much the same as in school: overall, Danish is the largest response group, but this only constitutes a majority among male respondents. Indeed, the gender differences are again pronounced: a majority of males favour Danish (51.8% male, 38.2% female). The differences are more pronounced among pupils from a Greenlandic-speaking family background: females have a stronger preference for Greenlandic (35.0% female, 16.0% male) and the percentage of females favouring Danish is much lower than among males (7.5% female, 40.0% male).

In the Faroese survey, out of the four questions of language preference, Faroese was strongest here, with a majority at all schools bar Suðuroy. Whereas Greenlandic also performs better when it comes to writing over reading, it is clear that Faroese is in a stronger position in this respect: 17.6% favour Greenlandic outright at GU-Nuuk as regards writing outside school, whereas the figure for Faroese at the Faroese schools was between 46.2% (Suðuroy) and 59.8% (Eysturoy).

Two students made additional comments here: ‘Så jeg kan lære det [dansk] bedre’ (“So I can learn it [Danish] better” [GSN079]) and ‘Grønlandske ord er lidt for lange’ (“Greenlandic words are a little too long” [GSN239]).

	<i>Gr.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	47 [17.6]	117 [43.8]	98 [36.7]	4 [1.5]	1 [0.4]
Male	13 [11.8]	57 [51.8]	39 [35.5]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]
Female	34 [21.7]	60 [38.2]	59 [37.6]	3 [1.9]	1 [0.6]
b.GL	46 [18.8]	100 [40.8]	95 [38.8]	3 [1.2]	1 [0.4]
b.GL, NK <3yr	16 [21.3]	28 [37.3]	30 [40.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]
GL-bgd	18 [27.7]	13 [20.0]	31 [47.7]	2 [3.1]	1 [1.5]
GL-bgd, m.	4 [16.0]	10 [40.0]	10 [40.0]	1 [4.0]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd, f.	14 [35.0]	3 [7.5]	21 [52.5]	1 [2.5]	1 [2.5]
GLR-ID	44 [21.2]	67 [32.2]	92 [44.2]	4 [1.9]	1 [0.5]

Table 6.17: Language Preference when Writing outside School

6.5.4 Data 3: Danish at School

18. Did you know Danish before you started to learn it at school? (cf. Table 4.42)

As in the Faroes, Table 6.18 shows that the majority of pupils at GU-Nuuk knew some Danish before starting school: however, again as in the Faroes, few were fluent.

	<i>N/A</i>	<i>Yes, fluently</i>	<i>Yes, well</i>	<i>Yes, a little</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	17 [6.4]	44 [16.5]	52 [19.5]	79 [29.6]	67 [25.1]	3 [1.1]	5 [1.9]
b.GL	11 [4.5]	37 [15.1]	47 [19.2]	77 [31.4]	65 [26.5]	3 [1.2]	5 [2.0]
b.GL, NK <3yr	2 [2.7]	6 [8.0]	13 [17.3]	24 [32.0]	27 [36.0]	0 [0.0]	3 [4.0]
GL-bgd	0 [0.0]	1 [1.5]	10 [15.4]	20 [30.8]	30 [46.2]	3 [4.6]	1 [1.5]
GLR-ID	4 [1.9]	25 [12.0]	40 [19.2]	69 [33.2]	62 [29.8]	3 [1.4]	5 [2.4]

Table 6.18: Danish Skills Prior to School

6.5.5 Data 4: Danish in Society

19. Can one be Greenlandic without speaking Greenlandic? (cf. Table 4.45)

In the Faroes, the responses for ‘yes’ and ‘no’ to the question of whether one can be Faroese without speaking Faroese were approximately equal, with Eysturoy as the only exception (‘yes’ 39.0%, ‘no’ 58.5%). As Table 6.19 shows, the situation among pupils at GU-Nuuk is quite different: the majority of pupils in all categories bar one (GL-bgd, f.) feel that one can be Greenlandic without speaking Greenlandic.

As one would expect, the overall percentage among pupils from a Greenlandic-speaking family background is lower, although still a majority (53.8%). However, this figure obscures the considerable differences between male and female respondents in

the GL-bgd category: a minority of these females answer ‘yes’ (40.0% female, cf. 76.0% male). The ‘no’ response among these female respondents is also much higher than elsewhere.³¹⁷

Several respondents made additional comments to this question and these reveal considerable differences of opinion: two wrote that one can answer ‘yes’ and ‘no’,³¹⁸ two commented that the issue is debatable; two wrote that it depends, either on one’s ‘tankegang’ (‘mind-set’; [GSN025]) or on where one is born [GSN239] and another wrote ‘naamerluinnaq!’ (‘never!’; [GSN072]). One respondent [GSN254], who did not answer, simply wrote ‘dilema’ [*sic*] (‘dilemma’).

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	180 [67.4]	61 [22.8]	9 [3.4]	17 [6.4]
Male	84 [76.4]	17 [15.5]	2 [1.8]	7 [6.4]
Female	96 [61.1]	44 [28.0]	7 [4.5]	10 [6.4]
b.GL	162 [66.1]	59 [24.1]	8 [3.3]	16 [6.5]
b.GL, NK <3yr	48 [64.0]	17 [22.7]	3 [4.0]	7 [9.3]
GL-bgd	35 [53.8]	21 [32.3]	3 [4.6]	6 [9.2]
GL-bgd, m.	19 [76.0]	4 [16.0]	1 [4.0]	1 [4.0]
GL-bgd, f.	16 [40.0]	17 [42.5]	2 [5.0]	5 [12.5]
GLR-ID	131 [63.0]	54 [26.0]	9 [4.3]	14 [6.7]

Table 6.19: Greenlandic Language and Greenlandic Identity

20. Do you think that Danes who live in Greenland should learn Greenlandic? (cf. Table 4.46)

Table 6.20 displays a pattern similar to that of the corresponding Faroese table: the majority feel that the local language should be learned, although this percentage is marginally lower in Greenland (70.8% at GU-Nuuk, between 76.9% [Suðuroy] and 81.7% [Eysturoy] in the Faroes). A fifth of respondents do not feel that Danes should have to learn Greenlandic: this is marginally higher than in the Faroes (19.5% at GU-Nuuk, between 14.0% [Eysturoy] and 17.6% [Suðuroy] in the Faroes).

In the Faroese analysis it was observed that a marginally higher percentage of male respondents answered ‘no’ than their female counterparts – at Suðuroy the difference was more pronounced, where 27.6% of male respondents selected ‘no’, compared to 12.9% of female respondents. The same pattern emerges at GU-Nuuk: 28.2% of male respondents select ‘no’, compared to 13.4% of female respondents.

³¹⁷ The same trends can be seen in the overall male and female categories, although the differences are not as pronounced.

³¹⁸ One of these pupils, plus eight others, selected both ‘yes’ and ‘no’, which the survey did not permit.

Among those pupils with a Greenlandic-speaking family background, the difference is again more pronounced: 24.0% of male respondents answer ‘no’, compared to 7.5% of female respondents.

As in the Faroes, several respondents (three at GU-Nuuk, 9 overall in the Faroes) commented that it is up to the individual to decide. Three other noteworthy comments were made: ‘[ja] fordi grønlandsk sprog er ved at forsvinde’ (“[yes] because Greenlandic is disappearing” [GSN001]); ‘[nej] behøves ikke’ (“[no] it’s not necessary” [GSN022]) and ‘[ja] vi kommer jo til Danmark og taler dansk, hvorfor skulle de ikke komme til Grønland og lære grønlandsk?’ (“[yes] we come to Denmark and speak Danish, why shouldn’t they come to Greenland and speak Greenlandic?” [GSN239]).

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	189 [70.8]	52 [19.5]	8 [3.0]	18 [6.7]
Male	72 [65.5]	31 [28.2]	2 [1.8]	5 [4.5]
Female	117 [74.5]	21 [13.4]	6 [3.8]	13 [8.3]
b.GL	174 [71.0]	49 [20.0]	7 [2.9]	15 [6.1]
b.GL, NK <3yr	54 [72.0]	15 [20.0]	4 [5.3]	2 [2.7]
GL-bgd	48 [73.8]	10 [15.4]	3 [4.6]	4 [6.2]
GL-bgd, m.	18 [72.0]	6 [24.0]	1 [4.0]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd, f.	31 [77.5]	3 [7.5]	2 [5.0]	4 [10.0]
GLR-ID	158 [76.0]	29 [13.9]	7 [3.4]	14 [6.7]

Table 6.20: Whether Resident Danes Should Learn Greenlandic

21. Is it possible to live a good life in Greenland without speaking Greenlandic? (cf. Table 4.47)

The data displayed here resembles the equivalent data from the Faroes: here 79.0% feel it possible to lead a good life without the local language, in the Faroes, the percentages were between 77.7% [Handilsskúlin] and 92.3% [Suðuroy]. In both countries, an overwhelming majority believe that one can manage with Danish alone.

Four respondents commented on geographical difference: two remarked that it depends on where in Greenland one is; one thought it possible to live a good life without Greenlandic in large towns (‘i storbyer’), but not in villages (‘bygde’) and one wrote that it is possible in Nuuk. Two other noteworthy comments were given: ‘[ja] men der er stadig nogle der kan være racistiske over for “kun dansk talende”’ (“[yes] but there are still some who can be racist towards those who are ‘only Danish-speaking’” [GSN012]) and ‘Til “sociale hygge”, snakker man mest grønlandsk, til

kaffemik f.eks.’ (“When ‘socialising’, more Greenlandic is spoken, e.g. at *kaffemik*” [GSN142]).³¹⁹

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	211 [79.0]	38 [14.2]	12 [4.5]	6 [2.2]
Male	91 [82.7]	14 [12.7]	2 [1.8]	3 [2.7]
Female	120 [76.4]	24 [15.3]	10 [6.4]	3 [1.9]
b.GL	191 [78.0]	37 [15.1]	12 [4.9]	5 [2.0]
b.GL, NK <3yr	63 [84.0]	11 [14.7]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]
GL-bgd	50 [76.9]	13 [20.0]	2 [3.1]	0 [0.0]
GLR-ID	158 [76.0]	37 [17.8]	9 [4.3]	4 [1.9]

Table 6.21: Quality of Life without Greenlandic

22. Is it possible to live a good life in Greenland without speaking Danish? (cf. Table 4.48)

Table 6.22 resembles its Faroese equivalent – the vast majority believe one can have a good life without Danish – although the percentage is marginally lower in Greenland (74.5% at GU-Nuuk, between 83.4% [Hoydalar] and 90.9% [Eysturoy] in the Faroes).

The additional comments for this question resemble those from the previous one. Three respondents commented on geographical difference: two remarked that it depends on where you live and one wrote that it is not possible in Nuuk. There were two other noteworthy comments: ‘Jeg ved det ikke – jeg synes det er godt at kunne kommunikere med de danske borgere’ (“I don’t know – I think it’s good to be able to communicate with the Danish citizens” [GSN012]) and ‘Så kan man ikke rigtig studere, eller forstå varer i butikker’ (“[Without Danish] Then you can’t really study or understand products in shops” [GSN142]).

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	199 [74.5]	42 [15.7]	18 [6.7]	8 [3.0]
Male	86 [78.2]	16 [14.5]	5 [4.5]	3 [2.7]
Female	113 [72.0]	26 [16.6]	13 [8.3]	5 [3.2]
b.GL	183 [74.7]	41 [16.7]	16 [6.5]	5 [2.0]
b.GL, NK <3yr	59 [78.7]	10 [13.3]	4 [5.3]	2 [2.7]
GL-bgd	45 [69.2]	12 [18.5]	6 [9.2]	2 [3.1]
GLR-ID	154 [74.0]	33 [15.9]	15 [7.2]	6 [2.9]

Table 6.22: Quality of Life without Danish

³¹⁹ *Kaffemik* is a Greenlandic loanword commonly heard in Greenlandic Danish. According to R. Petersen, it translates as ‘kaffeslabberads’ (≈ “the sharing of coffee and cakes”; 1997: 195). Elsewhere, he notes that the *-mik* ending, often said to mean ‘gilde’ (“feast”) and heard in various Greenlandic Danish constructions – *gå til dansemik* (“go out to dance”), *blive budt til kaffemik* (“be invited to coffee”) – is not an independent gloss in Greenlandic (1976: 24). These forms are only used when speaking Danish to a Dane (ibid.).

23. To what extent do you agree with the following? (cf. Table 4.49)

Danish is a foreign language in Greenland.

Table 6.23 depicts a pattern quite unlike that of the Faroese equivalent: in the Faroes a majority of pupils at all four schools considered Danish not to be an FL (between 61.2% [Handilsskúlin] and 72.6% [Suðuroy]). While at GU-Nuuk those pupils who decide either way largely disagree with the statement, a large minority (40.1%, the largest response group overall) are unable/unwilling to decide.

Again, the additional comments focused on geographical difference: ‘Det kommer an på hvor man er’ (‘It depends where one is’ [GSN036]); ‘[enig] men ikke i Nuuk’ (‘[agree] but not in Nuuk’ [GSN079]) and similarly ‘[hverken...eller...] alle i Nuuk taler dansk mere end grønlandsk’ (‘[neither...nor...] everyone in Nuuk speaks Danish more than Greenlandic’ [GSN239]).

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	16 [6.0]	35 [13.1]	107 [40.1]	68 [25.5]	30 [11.2]	1 [0.4]	10 [3.7]
	51 [19.1]			98 [36.7]			
Male	3 [2.7]	18 [16.4]	44 [40.0]	26 [23.6]	17 [15.5]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]
	21 [19.1]			43 [39.1]			
Female	13 [8.3]	17 [10.8]	63 [40.1]	42 [26.8]	13 [8.3]	1 [0.6]	8 [5.1]
	30 [19.1]			55 [35.1]			
b.GL	14 [5.7]	32 [13.1]	98 [40.0]	63 [25.7]	28 [11.4]	1 [0.4]	9 [3.7]
	46 [18.8]			91 [37.1]			
b.GL, NK <3yr	3 [4.0]	8 [10.7]	33 [44.0]	20 [26.7]	9 [12.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.7]
	11 [14.7]			29 [38.7]			
GL-bgd	3 [4.6]	12 [18.5]	26 [40.0]	17 [26.2]	4 [6.2]	0 [0.0]	3 [4.6]
	15 [23.1]			21 [32.4]			
GLR-ID	13 [6.3]	28 [13.5]	86 [41.3]	49 [23.6]	21 [10.1]	1 [0.5]	10 [4.8]
	41 [19.8]			70 [33.7]			

Table 6.23: Danish as a Foreign Language in Greenland

24. To what extent do you agree with the following? (cf. Table 4.50)

The Danish language threatens the Greenlandic language.

In the Faroese school survey, opinions were relatively evenly divided on the subject of whether Danish constitutes a threat to Faroese. In Greenland, however, approximately half (across all categories) consider Greenlandic to be at risk from Danish. Most other respondents are unable/unwilling to decide.

One pupil, who disagreed with the statement, commented that Greenlandic is only threatened in Nuuk [GSN273].

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	47 [17.6]	89 [33.3]	84 [31.5]	33 [12.4]	6 [2.2]	3 [1.1]	5 [1.9]
	136 [50.9]			39 [14.6]			
Male	16 [14.5]	31 [28.2]	40 [36.4]	18 [16.4]	3 [2.7]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.8]
	47 [42.7]			21 [19.1]			
Female	31 [19.7]	58 [36.9]	44 [28.0]	15 [9.6]	3 [1.9]	3 [1.9]	3 [1.9]
	89 [56.6]			18 [11.5]			
b.GL	41 [16.7]	80 [32.7]	80 [32.7]	31 [12.7]	6 [2.4]	3 [1.2]	4 [1.6]
	121 [49.4]			37 [15.1]			
b.GL, NK <3yr	12 [16.0]	26 [34.7]	26 [34.7]	6 [8.0]	2 [2.7]	0 [0.0]	3 [4.0]
	38 [50.7]			8 [10.7]			
GL-bgd	14 [21.5]	19 [29.2]	20 [30.8]	8 [12.3]	1 [1.5]	1 [1.5]	2 [3.1]
	33 [50.7]			9 [13.8]			
GLR-ID	38 [18.3]	65 [31.3]	68 [32.7]	24 [11.5]	5 [2.4]	3 [1.4]	5 [2.4]
	103 [49.6]			29 [13.9]			

Table 6.24: Danish as a Threat to Greenlandic

25. What is the most important reason for learning Danish? (cf. Table 4.51)

Q.25 presented the pupils with the same reasons as in the Faroese surveys, but adapted to the Greenlandic context.

1. In order to work/study
2. Because Greenland belongs together with Denmark
3. To be able to speak to Danes
4. To be able to live in Denmark
5. Because I want to be considered a Dane
6. Because Greenland co-operates with the Nordic countries
7. To read texts that do not yet exist in Greenlandic

Again, respondents were able to identify their own reason instead. For ease of comparison, the pupils were restricted to one only: the ‘invalid’ responses in Table 6.25 selected more than one.

	<i>1.</i>	<i>2.</i>	<i>3.</i>	<i>4.</i>	<i>5.</i>	<i>6.</i>	<i>7.</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	197 [73.8]	2 [0.7]	9 [3.4]	5 [1.9]	0 [0.0]	12 [4.5]	9 [3.4]	2 [0.7]	21 [7.9]	10 [3.7]
Male	78 [70.9]	0 [0.0]	4 [3.6]	2 [1.8]	0 [0.0]	11 [10.0]	4 [3.6]	1 [0.9]	7 [6.4]	3 [2.7]
Female	119 [75.8]	2 [1.3]	5 [3.2]	3 [1.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]	5 [3.2]	1 [0.6]	14 [8.9]	7 [4.5]
b.GL	180 [73.5]	2 [0.8]	9 [3.7]	4 [1.6]	0 [0.0]	11 [4.5]	7 [2.9]	2 [0.8]	21 [8.6]	9 [3.7]

b.GL, NK <3yr	56 [74.7]	1 [1.3]	4 [5.3]	1 [1.3]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]	2 [2.7]	0 [0.0]	8 [10.7]	2 [2.7]
GL-bgd	51 [78.5]	1 [1.5]	1 [1.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.1]	1 [1.5]	1 [1.5]	4 [6.2]	4 [6.2]
GLR-ID	155 [74.5]	2 [1.0]	6 [2.9]	5 [2.4]	0 [0.0]	7 [3.4]	7 [3.4]	1 [0.5]	15 [7.2]	10 [4.8]

Table 6.25: The Most Important Reason for Learning Danish

In the Faroes, only approximately half of the respondents selected the first reason: at GU-Nuuk, however, a clear majority in each category selected this. To facilitate comparison of the other reasons, Table 6.26 displays the overall Greenlandic percentages against those from the Faroes. The most interesting differences as regards the thesis are: firstly, that union with Denmark is perceived even less in Greenland as a reason for learning Danish, and secondly, the pupils at GU-Nuuk appear to show less interest than the Faroese pupils (particularly at Hoydalar) in the pan-Scandinavian nature of Danish.

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Greenland (%)</i>	<i>Faroes (%)</i>
1.	73.8	43.1 (Hoydalar)-52.7 (Suðuroy)
2.	0.7	7.2 (Hoydalar)-12.1 (Suðuroy)
3.	3.4	4.4 (Suðuroy)-5.5 (Eysturoy)
4.	1.9	0.6 (Hoydalar)-3.3 (Suðuroy)
5.	0.0	0.0 (Eysturoy, Suðuroy, Handilsskúlin)-0.6 (Hoydalar)
6.	4.5	7.7 (Suðuroy)-19.9 (Hoydalar)
7.	3.4	8.8 (Suðuroy)-11.4 (Handilsskúlin)

Table 6.26: Greenlandic/Faroese Comparison of Reasons for Learning Danish

Unlike in the Faroese schools where a considerable number of pupils marked the ‘other’ option and gave their own reason, only two pupils at GU-Nuuk did this. Both gave different reasons: firstly, ‘så man kan lære engelsk til det’ (‘then you can learn English too’ [GSN017]) and secondly, ‘på grund af vores fremtid’ (‘because of our future’ [GSN065]). One further comment is perhaps noteworthy: ‘Det er nemmere at lære engelsk, når man kan dansk’ (‘It’s easier to learn English when you know Danish’ [GSN036]).³²⁰

³²⁰ This pupil selected more than one option. His/her response was therefore invalid.

26. Since June 2009 Greenlandic has been the only official language in Greenland.

Do you think that was the correct decision?

Pupils were asked their opinions on the fact that Greenlandic had recently become the only official language in Greenland. As Table 6.27 shows, approximately two-thirds of respondents feel that this decision was correct.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	169 [63.3]	60 [22.5]	9 [3.4]	29 [10.9]
Male	68 [61.8]	31 [28.2]	2 [1.9]	9 [8.2]
Female	101 [64.3]	29 [18.5]	7 [4.5]	20 [12.7]
b.GL	156 [63.7]	53 [21.6]	9 [3.7]	27 [11.0]
b.GL, NK <3yr	53 [70.7]	11 [14.7]	3 [4.0]	8 [10.7]
GL-bgd	43 [66.2]	11 [16.9]	3 [4.6]	8 [12.3]
GLR-ID	138 [66.3]	38 [18.3]	8 [3.8]	24 [11.5]

Table 6.27: Opinions on Language in *Lov om Grønlands Selvstyre*

Many students made additional comments here: those made by more than two pupils have been summarised in Table 6.28:

<i>Comment</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
[yes] Greenland is Greenland	13
[no] A lot of Danish is spoken/Danish is important	9
Unsure	6
[yes] Greenlandic is at risk/needs protection	6
It makes no difference	5
[no] Emphasis should be placed on English	3
[no] They should not have done that	3
[no] It's good to have more than one language	3
[no] People in the towns speak better Danish than Greenlandic	2
People should be able to speak whichever language they want	2
[no] Not in Nuuk	2
I am not bothered	2
[no] Greenland should be international	2
[yes] We should speak more Greenlandic	2

Table 6.28: Comments on *Lov om Grønlands Selvstyre*

6.5.6 Data 5: Danish and the New Media

Although, as in the Faroes, there are brief studies of language use on the internet in Greenland, such as B. Jacobsen's (2007) analysis of the language used when 'chatting', to my knowledge the present study is the first to include language settings on social networks in Greenland.

27. Do you use e-mail? (cf. Table 4.58)

As in the Faroese schools, the overwhelming majority of respondents at GU-Nuuk use e-mail (Table 6.29):

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	251 [94.0]	10 [3.7]	6 [2.2]

Table 6.29: E-mail Use

28a. Which language is your e-mail account in? (cf. Table 4.59)

The majority of all pupils at GU-Nuuk use an e-mail account in Danish, as shown in Table 6.30. The percentage is much higher than in the Faroes (72.1% overall at GU-Nuuk, but between 30.5% [Eysturoy] and 41.8% [Suðuroy] in the Faroes). However, English is significantly less popular in Greenland (17.4% overall at GU-Nuuk, but between 36.3% [Suðuroy] and 55.5% [Eysturoy] in the Faroes).

	<i>Gr.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>En.</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	7 [2.7]	186 [72.1]	45 [17.4]	1 [0.4]	10 [3.9]	9 [3.5]
Male	2 [1.9]	68 [64.2]	22 [20.8]	0 [0.0]	8 [7.5]	6 [5.7]
Female	5 [3.3]	118 [77.6]	23 [15.1]	1 [0.7]	2 [1.4]	3 [2.0]
b.GL	7 [3.0]	173 [73.3]	38 [16.1]	1 [0.4]	9 [3.8]	8 [3.4]
b.GL, NK <3yr	1 [1.4]	57 [79.2]	8 [11.1]	1 [1.4]	4 [5.6]	1 [1.4]
GL-bgd	0 [0.0]	46 [73.0]	12 [19.0]	1 [1.6]	1 [1.6]	3 [4.8]
GLR-ID	7 [3.5]	144 [72.3]	32 [16.1]	1 [0.5]	6 [3.0]	9 [4.5]

Table 6.30: Language of E-mail Account

28b. Is your e-mail account a Hotmail account? (cf. Table 4.60)

As in the Faroes, the vast majority of students at GU-Nuuk use a Hotmail account (Table 6.31).

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	207 [80.2]	40 [15.5]	3 [1.2]	8 [3.1]

Table 6.31: Hotmail Use

28c. If Hotmail was available in Greenlandic, would you use it instead? (cf. Table 4.61)

As shown in Table 6.32, the overwhelming majority of respondents at GU-Nuuk would not use a Greenlandic Hotmail account. This is unlike the Faroes, where opinions were much more evenly divided. Only one pupil at GU-Nuuk gave a reason for not answering

‘yes’: ‘Det ville være for langt. Altså sproget’ (‘It would be too long. The language, I mean’ [GSN001]). Presumably the respondent is referring to the length of many Greenlandic words, as another pupil did under Q.17.

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	34 [15.2]	168 [75.0]	8 [3.6]	14 [6.3]
Male	13 [14.9]	65 [74.7]	4 [4.6]	5 [5.7]
Female	21 [15.3]	103 [75.2]	4 [2.9]	9 [6.6]
b.GL	31 [15.1]	156 [76.1]	6 [2.9]	12 [5.9]
b.GL, NK <3yr	13 [20.0]	45 [69.2]	2 [3.1]	5 [7.7]
GL-bgd	5 [9.3]	41 [75.9]	3 [5.6]	5 [9.3]
GLR-ID	33 [18.9]	125 [71.4]	6 [3.4]	11 [6.3]

Table 6.32: Theoretical Use of a Hotmail Account in Greenlandic

29. Do you use Facebook? (cf. Table 4.62)

The vast majority of pupils at GU-Nuuk have Facebook accounts (Table 6.33).

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	255 [95.5]	8 [3.0]	4 [1.5]

Table 6.33: Facebook Use

30. In which language do you use Facebook? (cf. Table 4.63)³²¹

Unlike the situation for Faroese, there is no Greenlandic version of Facebook.³²² The vast majority of pupils at GU-Nuuk use the Danish site. English is much less popular at GU-Nuuk than in the Faroese schools (14.2% overall at GU-Nuuk, but between 26.1% [Handilsskúlin] and 35.6% [Suðuroy] in the Faroes).

	<i>Da.</i>	<i>En.</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	217 [83.5]	37 [14.2]	2 [0.8]	4 [1.5]
Male	82 [76.6]	21 [19.6]	1 [0.9]	3 [2.8]
Female	135 [88.2]	16 [10.5]	1 [0.7]	1 [0.7]
b.GL	206 [85.8]	29 [12.1]	2 [0.8]	3 [1.3]
b.GL, NK <3yr	62 [86.1]	8 [11.1]	1 [1.4]	1 [1.4]
GL-bgd	54 [85.7]	6 [9.5]	2 [3.2]	1 [1.6]
GLR-ID	174 [85.7]	24 [11.8]	1 [0.5]	4 [2.0]

Table 6.34: Language of Facebook Account

³²¹ No pupils selected ‘other’.

³²² As of July 2011.

6.5.7 Additional Comments

Although most did not, many pupils took the opportunity to complete the additional comments section. The comments are summarised in Table 6.35.

<i>Comment</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
Danes should learn Greenlandic	5
We need to promote Greenlandic more/ <i>grønlandisering</i>	5
More Danish is spoken in Nuuk	4
Danish is easier to read, because Greenlandic words are too long	2
People should be able to speak whichever language they want	2
It is good to know English/I prefer English	2
I want to speak better Greenlandic	2
It's good to preserve Greenlandic, but we should learn other languages	2
Language does not define identity	1
If you're born in Greenland, you're a Greenlander	1
We think more about language than about our future	1
Everyone should be able to speak/write Danish	1
Greenlandic is my main language, but I write/speak more Danish and English	1
If you don't know Danish you won't be able to study in Denmark	1
Young people want to speak Danish and English	1
Danish is easier for communication	1
Being a Greenlander isn't a choice, but something you're born with	1

Table 6.35: Summary of Additional Comments (cf. Table 4.65)

The responses to Q.9 hinted at the existence of a diglossic situation in Greenland: the overwhelming majority answered the questionnaire in Danish, even though some struggled with the language. One of the additional comments is telling in this regard, as the pupil clearly took it for granted that all pupils, even those with Greenlandic as a first language, would complete the Danish questionnaire:

Jeg svarede på det danske spørgeskema... hmm... er 100% sikker på at resten også gjorde det. [GSN205]³²³

Feedback on the survey itself was limited. This is summarised in Table 6.36.

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
Positive feedback	5
Negative feedback	(2)

Table 6.36: Positive and Negative Feedback (cf. Table 4.66)

³²³ "I answered the Danish questionnaire... hmm... [I] am 100% sure that the rest also did that."

Unlike in the Faroes, no comments were critical of the survey itself: the only ‘negative’ comments were the two that implied the respondents were tired of completing surveys (see 6.4.2). Whereas the positive comments in the Faroes were of the general type ‘good luck’, most of the positive feedback at GU-Nuuk related to the survey itself: ‘Det er en fin undersøgelse på sprog. Håber du/I får noget godt ud af hele undersøgelsen’ (“This is a fine language investigation. Hope you [sg./pl.] get something good out of the whole investigation” [GSN022]); ‘Interessant spørge-skema (*sic*)’ (“Interesting questionnaire” [GSN057]); ‘Good questions’ (in English [GSN111]) and, finally, some constructive criticism, ‘Jeg synes at det er et rigtig godt spørgeskema, men der mangler flere ‘bemærkning-felter’, hvis man er i tvivl, og bare vil skrive en bemærkning’ (“I think that this is a really good questionnaire, but it lacks more ‘comment fields’, for when you’re in doubt and just want to write a comment” [GSN224]).

6.6 Observations

During the Greenlandic field-work, I was able to observe several classes at GU-Nuuk. This enabled me to make a number of observations to compliment the questionnaire survey. On one occasion I observed a group of pupils speaking Danish, although some of them occasionally spoke to each other in Greenlandic. One pupil spoke only Danish – s/he explained that s/he was from East Greenland and that, as East Greenlandic is not understood in Nuuk, s/he was more comfortable using Danish than standard (West) Greenlandic. Here we have evidence of Greenlanders using Danish as a *lingua franca*, as defined in 2.3.2 (fn.78): a use of Danish that does not exist in the Faroes, but is common within a post-colonial context.

The use of Danish as an inter-Greenlander medium has obvious implications for the status of the language in Greenland: the methods of othering established in 5.3 cannot be used when Greenlandic-speaking Greenlanders use Danish amongst themselves. The extent of this phenomenon is difficult to determine: it does not feature in literature on the language situation. Indeed, in an interview with B. Jacobsen in 2004, Eva Møller Thomassen, a teacher of Greenlandic, observes that in her classes East Greenlandic pupils speak West Greenlandic, although they converse amongst themselves in East Greenlandic (B. Jacobsen 2004: 33). She adds that this is to be expected as West Greenlandic school books are used in East Greenland (*ibid.*). The implication is that East Greenlanders can speak West Greenlandic but choose not to.

The section on dialects in B. Jacobsen (ibid.: 32-8) indicates that in the past there has been intolerance of dialects: Nuka Møller, a language coordinator (*sprogkoordinator*) by profession, specifically mentions prejudice towards East Greenlanders in Nuuk (p.36), which could explain the pupil's selection of a third 'uncontentious' medium, Danish. It is also interesting that the other pupils in the group accepted this.

In a Greenlandic-language class for native speakers of Greenlandic, several other observations were made. These demonstrate considerable difference between the Greenlandic and Faroese contexts. In a Faroese class in the Faroes, it would be unusual to hear Danish, but this happened on several occasions in the Greenlandic class: sometimes pupils spoke to each other in Danish, and Danish code-switching was frequently heard. On several occasions, the teacher explained a Greenlandic word by writing its Danish translation on the board in parentheses, i.e. *ingerlarna* (*forløb*) ("course" [of a story, etc.]). 5.6 focused on the fact that Danish-influenced Faroese words are often used to explain neologisms to the Faroese population, but the central difference in Greenland is that, due to the distance between the languages involved, the words are given in Danish.

The previous section hinted at the existence of a limited diglossic language situation in Greenland, as even Greenlandic-speaking pupils who were more comfortable writing/reading Greenlandic chose to answer the Danish-language questionnaire. It appears that there are hints of this elsewhere in society. Although Greenlandic has always been the language of the Church in Greenland, I have witnessed the final benediction in a service being given in Danish.³²⁴ If the situation in Greenland were truly bilingual, one would expect the blessing to be in Greenlandic, as were the preceding hymns, readings, sermon and prayers. Danish is not used here for communication, but owing to tradition. The result is a one-sided yet nevertheless synergetic whole.

³²⁴ 'Herren velsigne dig og bevare dig. Herren lade sit ansigt lyse over dig og vare dig nådig. Herren løfte sit åsyn på dig og give dig fred' ("The Lord bless thee and keep thee. The Lord make his face shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace"). Translation from the King James Bible, Numbers 6: 24-6.

6.7 Language Othering in Greenland

5.3 identified four methods of language othering in the Faroes: reclassification, paratextuality, temporary translation and separation. Despite the vastly different relationship between the coloniser and the colonised in Greenland, three of these methods were also observed there during field-work.

Reclassification in the Faroes has functioned within two contexts: in relation to Danish words in Faroese and to the Danish language (5.3.1). Owing to the linguistic difference between Danish and Greenlandic, as opposed to the closeness of the Danish-Faroese relationship, reclassification in Greenland essentially relates to the Danish language. Indeed, there is no masking the origin of Danish loanwords: generally *-i* is added to the Danish noun, which otherwise remains in Danish form (K. Langgård 2001: 245). Examples include *liggestoli* (“deck chair”, Da. *liggestol*), *Frelsens Hæri* (“The Salvation Army”, Da. *Frelsens Hær*) and *grønkåli* (“kale”, Da. *grønkål*; Jones and Petersen 2005).³²⁵

In the Faroes, reclassification is principally the work of the academic elite: they have created the dictionaries with the ubiquitous *tlm.* designation, and through their articles have disseminated the description of Danish as an FL. As yet, no governmental policy has sought to render these reclassifications official. In Greenland, however, by neglecting to mention Danish in the *Lov om Selvstyre* of 2009, the Greenlandic government has officially made Danish ‘foreign’, or rather ‘not of Greenland’. In fn.84, it was noted that the ‘official language’ label is often of little use in linguistic terms. In Greenland too, it is clear that the official view of the language situation does not tally with the facts ‘on the ground’. As noted, some 15% of Greenland’s population speak only Danish (cf. 6.3.3), a percentage that is undoubtedly considerably higher in Nuuk. Moreover, Danish remains the medium of education at all three Greenlandic *gymnasier* and at the university. Unlike in the Faroes, the language landscape of Greenland (both *in vivo* and *in vitro*, see 5.6), is decidedly bilingual: road signs are generally in both languages, although some, such as *Ensrettet* (“One Way”) are in Danish only.³²⁶

³²⁵ The examples given include the Danish letters <æ>, <ø> and <å> which do not appear in Greenlandic. The second example demonstrates that loanwords can also retain Danish grammatical constructions: in *Frelsens Hæri* we find the Danish suffixed definite article and the Danish genitive.

³²⁶ While the two languages are generally given equal prominence, on occasion the length of some Greenlandic words means that Danish is written with larger letters. See, for example, Plate A2 in Appendix 3.

As stated in 6.5.5 (Q.26), reactions to the change in the legal status of Danish were mixed: one pupil, for example, commented ‘Grønlandsk skal være det officielle sprog når det nu er i Grønland’ (“Greenlandic must be the official language as we are in Greenland”; [GSN225]), whereas another wrote ‘Jeg syntes det var en desperart [*sic*] og barnlig beslutning’ (“I thought it was a desperate and childish decision”; [GSN125]). It must be emphasised, however, that just under two-thirds of those surveyed in the present study did approve of the side-lining of Danish in the Act: and this at the school where K. Langgård stated the ‘conditions for use of Greenlandic [...] must be considered among the worst to be found in Greenland’ (2001: 240).

For those such as myself, who have approached the linguistic climate of Greenland primarily through academic reading, the decision to eliminate from *Lov om Selvstyre* was somewhat unexpected. Academics had been stressing the importance of bilingualism in contemporary Greenlandic society, where Danish provides access to education and Greenlandic gives access to positions of authority (in the government, etc.). According to K. Langgård, for example, ‘it seems attractive to become a more or less bilingual Greenlandic mother tongue speaker, that is with Danish as a second language or as a good foreign language’ (2001: 256). She adds that pupils at GU-Nuuk ‘know quite well that a certain degree of bilingualism gives them the greatest access to the community in modern Greenland’ (p.261).

It is clear that Danish plays a smaller role in the Faroes than it does in Greenland, yet the Faroese have, for the time being, not considered it necessary to remove Danish from their Home Rule Act. In 5.4, I noted that for many Faroese the position of Danish on the islands seems to be *færdigdiskuteret*. This explains the attitude among several respondents that my survey was of little use. In the circumstances, the need for such a bold gesture on the part of the Greenlanders, however, perhaps demonstrates that for them the issue of Danish is still contentious. Unlike in the Faroes, it has not been possible to remove the language from domains as central as education, so other actions must be taken to demonstrate resistance towards the cultural hegemony of Danish.

In the analysis of reclassification on the Faroes, I discussed the fact that Danish has been portrayed there as ‘a variety of pan-Scandinavian’ (Wylie 1981: 82), a factor which could be seen as part of the post-colonial search to (re-)connect with ‘brethren’. In Greenland, however, this role of Danish as a medium which facilitates the formation of Scandinavian solidarity is not deemed important. As noted, the Greenlanders tend to

identify with other Inuit peoples in Canada, the United States and Russia (cf. 5.3.1 [2]), rather than with the Scandinavians. Indeed, Dorais (1996: 32) notes that a sense of ‘common Inuicity’ seems to be developing in Greenland. In the surveys, the ‘Scandinavian factor’ was considered much less a reason for learning Danish than in the Faroes, with only 4.5% of Greenlanders selecting this option, as opposed to between 7.7% (Suðuroy) and 19.9% (Hoydalar) in the Faroese school survey and, although it cannot be directly compared, 33.7% of respondents in the postal survey. Although no postal survey was undertaken in Nuuk, I would not expect the percentage of respondents who give the pan-Scandinavian nature of Danish as the main motivation for learning it to be as high as in Tórshavn.

One final type of reclassification from Greenland, and one that is not found in the Faroes, is based upon geography: Danish is only an issue in Nuuk. The additional comments on the survey questions in 6.5.5 often mentioned the special circumstances in Nuuk (cf. 6.4.3).³²⁷ P. Langgård, for example, comments:

In general [...] ‘foreign language teaching/learning’ implies a situation where a language is taught/learned in a country where the language in question is not formally/dominantly spoken – like English or German in Greenland, and, with the possible exception of Nuuk, Danish as well.

(Langgård 1996: 175)

By dividing Greenland into Nuuk and not-Nuuk, it is possible to downplay the general role of Danish in Greenlandic society. While Danish is much more evident in Nuuk than in the rest of Greenland – although unfortunately statistics from outside Nuuk are lacking – Danish does feature elsewhere. The other two grammar schools, for example, in Aasiat and Qaqortoq use Danish as a medium; any Greenlanders anywhere in Greenland wishing to read fiction, for instance, will need to do so in Danish; any Greenlanders watching an American film will probably find it has Danish subtitles, etc. By using Nuuk, however, Danish can be reclassified and portrayed as less central to society in the rest of Greenland.

³²⁷ Such as [GSN032]: ‘Uanga isumaqaraluarpunga kalaallisut oqaatsigut tammariartorpallaartut, ingammik maani Nuumi. Upernaviummiugama Nuummot nuukkama malunnartorjuuvog Nuumi qallunaatut oqaluttorjuusut’ (“Actually I think Greenlandic is disappearing, particularly here in Nuuk. I am from Upernavik myself, and it is very clear that people in Nuuk speak a lot of Danish”).

Temporary translation functions largely as it does in the Faroes: although the field-trip did not permit extensive analysis, there are examples from Greenlandic television listings of foreign titles being translated into Greenlandic. Instances from November 2010 include the Danish programmes *Vild med dans* (“Crazy about Dancing”), which was given the Greenlandic title of *Qitserituut* and *Lille Nørd* (“Little Nerd”), which became *Pikkorissuaraq*. There is also evidence of Danish film titles being translated into Greenlandic for Greenlandic news articles, such as to reflect an example from the Faroes (5.3.3) the title of the film based on Stieg Larsson’s first novel, *Angutit armanik ajorisallit* (“Men Who Hate Women”).³²⁸ In each case, an illusion is created of a Greenlandic product, although the product itself is only consumed in Danish without any adaptation for Greenlandic viewers. The amount of Danish that appears in articles, listings, etc. is nevertheless reduced.

Separation is not as evident in Greenland as in the Faroes: whereas bilingual books are very unusual in the Faroese context, they feature frequently in Greenland, particularly, but not exclusively, in children’s literature. Books such as *Kiammi nanaq nerisarpaa?/Hvem spiser isbjørne?* (“Who Eats Polar Bears?”; Kristín Steinsdóttir og Halla Sólveig Þórgeirsdóttir, Milik 2006) and *Tunissut ulorianartog/En farlig gave* (“A Dangerous Gift”; Felbo and Godtfredsen, Ilinnisiorkfik Undervisningsmiddelforlag 2008) have no Faroese equivalent. There are also examples of bilingual books aimed at adults, such as the afore-mentioned *De usynlige grønlandere/Kalaallit takussaannigisut* (“The Invisible Greenlanders”; Mondrup 2003). Furthermore, the two leading Greenlandic newspapers, *Atuagagdliutit/Grønlandsposten* and *Sermitsiaq*, are also bilingual. Consequently, post-colonial synergy is much more evident in Greenlandic publishing than in the Faroes.

As regards the fourth method of language othering identified in the Faroes, paratextuality, the situation in Greenland differs considerably. Whereas, in certain contexts, unglossed Danish does appear sporadically in Faroese, it is very common in Greenlandic: the Greenlandic counting system, for example, does not extend beyond *aqqaneq-marluk* (‘twelve’), after which Danish numbers are used (Janussen 2001: 68). Unlike in the Faroes, the use of Danish words in Greenland is effectively code-switching as these are used in their Danish forms, and, as demonstrated, sometimes include elements of Danish grammar.

³²⁸ <http://knr.gl/kl/nutaarsiasat/filmiliaritittartut-tusaamasat-islandiliassapput> (last accessed 11/08/11).

The question of loanwords and purism leads to an interesting point of comparison with the Faroes: the use of Danish words in Danish form (often with the additional *-i*) side-by-side with Greenlandic resembles the synergetic written code-switching seen in the Faroes during L. Joensen's 'Dano-Faroese moment' (3.5.1, point 3.). Plate 2 largely resembles Plate 1, which depicted the Salvation Army flag (see previous reference). In this case, the sign for the Greenlandic Red Cross combines Greenlandic ('Kalaallit', "Greenlandic") with Danish ('Røde Kors', "Red Cross"). While 'kors' has been (minimally) adapted to Greenlandic, 'røde' has not: it even contains the Danish definite adjective marker *-e* (from Da. *rød* "red"). As discussed in the Faroese analysis, this type of bilingual writing would not be acceptable in the Faroes today, yet it is still found in Greenland. Without greater analysis of the Greenlandic situation, firm conclusions on the situation there cannot be drawn, but on the evidence thus far, it could be argued that there is also a 'Dano-Greenlandic moment': unlike in the Faroes, however, this moment has not yet come to an end.



Plate 2: Greenlandic Red Cross Sign, Nuuk, 2010.

6.8 Conclusion

While this chapter was not intended to constitute a thorough presentation of the Greenlandic language climate, it was hoped that brief consideration of the position of Danish in Greenland would reveal more about the Faroese situation. Such comparative

analysis, which often forms part of post-colonial textual reading as described by Kossew (see 2.5), has proved fruitful. Moreover, Chapter 6 contributes towards a growing trend of contrasting the countries of the NAR with one another.

In Greenland we have an example of a traditional colony in the sense that the cultures of the coloniser and the colonised were about as far removed from each other as possible. Consequently, Greenland is frequently the focus of domestic contemporary post-colonial analysis. As already discussed, the Danish-Greenlandic relationship differs considerably from the Danish-Faroese. The difference is highly significant: as this chapter has demonstrated, it has resulted in vastly contrasting historical and contemporary linguistic situations in the two former colonies.

The Danish colonisers could not ignore Greenlandic: it was a very real obstacle that they needed to overcome if they were to be able to interact with the Greenlanders successfully. At first, the status Greenlandic enjoyed as an indisputably separate language worked in its favour: for example, passages of the Bible were translated into Greenlandic comparatively early. In the Faroes, in contrast, the very existence of the local language was denied.

The consequences of this difference are still felt in contemporary Greenlandic society in the national debate on language, ethnicity and identity, and in the fact that some individuals feel uncertain about their identity and are not accepted as part of either group. These issues have no equivalent in the Faroes. There Danes can learn (at the very least to understand) the local language with little effort. As the experience of 'traditional' Greenland suggests, this is unusual within a post-colonial society. The close relationship of the languages in the Faroes means that Faroese is able to function as the sole medium of education and that, consequently, all pupils were able to complete the questionnaires in Faroese.

On a practical level, the unrelatedness of the two languages means that the linguistic landscape has to remain bilingual and that the bilingual conversations discussed in 5.6 are impossible within the Greenlandic context. Synergy also functions differently in Greenland: whereas Greenland arguably enjoys a larger proportion of synergetic cultural products, these do not stem from cultural creativity, but are born of necessity. Here we see another difference between the Faroese and Greenlandic situations: the Faroese, it could be argued, have come so far that they are able to accept and embrace the historical role of Danish in Faroese society. The Greenlanders, on the other hand, are unable to do this as Danish is still part of the Greenlandic *zeitgeist*.

While the questionnaires revealed several points of similarity between the Faroese and Greenlandic language situations: the majority of all pupils in all schools bar Suðuroy consider themselves fluent in Danish; the vast majority have been to Denmark several times and had considerable exposure to metropolitan Danish; in both countries the pupils felt it was possible to lead a good life without knowing the local language, etc. However, the results from Greenland demonstrate that the role of Danish among pupils at GU-Nuuk is much more pronounced than among those at the Faroese school: the overwhelming majority chose to answer the questionnaire in Danish; the majority favour reading in Danish over Greenlandic both inside and outside school; the majority use the Danish setting on Facebook, etc. While Danish clearly maintains a significant presence in the Faroes, the data from Greenland puts this into perspective.

The chapter has also made the point that some Faroese want to preserve Danish because it enables them to experience solidarity with the rest of Scandinavia. Although younger Faroese tend to stress the fact that Danish is important for work/study, a large percentage of the respondents (in both surveys) felt that the Faroes' position in Scandinavia was culturally significant and a good reason for maintaining Danish. In Greenland, however, at least among the surveyed school pupils, the pan-Scandinavian nature of Danish seems to count for little: the Scandinavians are not the Greenlanders' 'brethren'.

One of the conclusions to Chapters 4 and 5 was that the subject of Danish in the Faroes is largely considered *færdigdiskuteret*. This is not the case in Greenland. The plethora of books and articles that discuss Greenlandic identity and the position of Danish in the territory and, I would argue, the fact that the pupils in Greenland were generally more positively disposed towards my research project are symptomatic of this. It cannot, therefore, be said that Greenland has achieved linguistic autonomy – neither is it likely to do so in the foreseeable future. Based on the evidence from this chapter, it could be argued that Greenland currently finds itself within a continued Dano-Greenlandic 'moment'. However, the evidence from Greenland hints at a tendency – among Danish-speakers – to adapt their Danish as a way of reinforcing their Greenlandic identity, either by inserting words such as 'kaffemik' or adapting pronunciation (cf. Nuuk-Danish in 6.3.3). As Table 6.11 demonstrates, unlike the Faroese, the Greenlanders are not as mindful of the 'need' to speak with a metropolitan accent. This adaptation recalls the 'new English' described by Achebe (cf. fn.92) and represents a very practical method of creating distance between the Greenlandic and

Danish cultures in a society where the prominence of Danish cannot easily be reduced. This situation is found in many post-colonial societies, but is unlike the situation in the Faroes. Whenever Danish adaptation, or abrogation, is used to show Faroese identity, it is generally only within a historical context.

This chapter has largely focused on the difference between the Faroese and Greenlandic colonial experience, but even here similarities have emerged. During the colonial period, for example, there is evidence that supports Althusser's theory that subjects accept the circumstances into which they are born and, within a colonial setting, adopt the ideology of the coloniser regarding their place in the world (6.3.2); on a practical level, Danish is still dominant in the media, and in both societies, due to the costs involved and the resources required, this is unlikely to change in the near future. Comparable strategies of language othering were also identified in both territories: through temporary translation, reclassification, and to a lesser extent, separation, the Greenlandic-speaking Greenlanders are able to limit the amount of Danish encountered and simultaneously reinforce their identity.

Finally, while the close relationship between Faroese and Danish and the unrelatedness of Greenlandic and Danish have clearly played significant roles in the linguistic paths the two territories have taken, there are other factors. The most important of these is geography. Firstly, due to the considerable distances in Greenland, Nuuk has emerged as a city that stands out from other Greenlandic towns. Tórshavn, on the other hand, is much too interconnected with other settlements for this to happen in the Faroes. Secondly, the distances in Greenland allowed for the emergence of strongly divergent dialects. This has created a situation that would be unthinkable in the Faroese context: the use of Danish as a *lingua franca* (albeit infrequently) between Greenlandic-speaking Greenlanders.

7. CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have sought to reassess the position of the Danish language in the Faroes, both as regards the role it plays in contemporary Faroese society and how it is viewed by the Faroese themselves. Despite the widely-accepted conclusion that Danish constitutes an FL in the Faroes, I have aimed to demonstrate that even analysis of the present-day position of Danish must be contextualised within its colonial history on the islands. Following During's observation that the post-colonial desire is the longing for an identity (see 5.5.4), the Danish language in its capacity as the medium of hegemony had to be resisted: it had effectively absorbed Faroese into itself. Today, however, Danish is increasingly accepted as part of the Faroes' *mentanararvur*, or cultural heritage – both in relation to the past, as in the use of Print Danish in performance of Faroese ballads or the singing of Kingo's hymns, and to the present, as exemplified by the recent *E elski Førrjar* television series. Nevertheless, it is a language that functions within a context of linguistic autonomy.

I believe my work is the first to challenge the FL designation of Danish, despite the fact that standard definitions of an FL (Richards *et al.* 1985: 108-9, see 1.7) simply do not apply to Danish in the Faroese context. Moreover, this 'foreign' label, which, from a Faroese perspective, serves to align Danish with Norwegian, German and any other language of the world, obscures the unique historical relationship between Faroese and Danish and negates contemporary use of the language on the islands. Proof that Danish merits the 'foreign' distinction is often drawn from the perceived passing of the *Gøtudanskt* (Print-Danish) variety. However, as I have demonstrated, this has not 'passed', but continues to exist, although within limited contexts. I have argued that the demise of Print-Danish cannot be used to substantiate a claim that the Faroese perceive Danish as foreign.

It is undeniable that the position of Danish on the islands has altered considerably over the past 150 years. The passing decades have seen Danish lose its status within various linguistic domains, the most significant being its position as the only acceptable medium of education and of the Church. Faroese, on the other hand, has become a viable written language and now serves as virtually the only medium of both written and spoken communication between the Faroese, as the language of the schools,

of the Church and of all children's literature. It is clearly the desire to summarise these developments, most often for a foreign audience unfamiliar with Faroese matters, that has led to the tendency to describe Danish as an FL.

In my work I have built upon previous research by Faroese literary analysts such as Malan Marnersdóttir and Leyvoy Joensen. The works of these scholars have drawn particular attention to the ways in which the Danish-language writings of William Heinesen and Jørgen-Frantz Jacobsen have successfully acquired a place within Faroese literary history. I have sought to ascertain whether similar acceptance of Danish can be found in other cultural and social spheres: and indeed, this is the case.

Having acknowledged the fact that Danish is no longer an SL in the Faroes and rejected the idea of it as an FL, I have argued that an approach based on post-colonial theory offers the best perspective for an analysis of the Faroese language situation. As discussed in 2.4.1, it is from this theoretical angle that the afore-mentioned Faroese scholars formed their own conclusions about increased acceptance of the Faroese bilingual past.

Application of post-colonial theory to the Faroes is not unproblematic or uncontroversial, due to the radically different context of Faroese colonialism in comparison with other, more 'traditional', colonies. Therefore I have needed to devote some space in the thesis to the substantiation of my claim that the Faroes qualify for analysis from this theoretical perspective. Much of the literature on 'the post-colonial' tends to generalise the colonised as non-European and the coloniser as British, or occasionally French. The Faroese situation fits neither generalisation. However, I have argued that many of the language developments which have taken place, from the Faroese striving for language purity to the desire to label Danish an FL, can convincingly be contextualised within a post-colonial analysis.³²⁹ My approach has been unconventional: traditionally post-colonial perspectives have only been applied to literary studies, whereas I have sought to relate these literary theories to society more generally. I have aimed to place my thesis within the field of the sociology of language, yet made no use of the mathematical formulae espoused by Fishman, considered the 'father of the sociology of language', or by his supporters. This is because I firmly believe that the way in which a language is used and perceived in a post-colonial society

³²⁹ The former as part of the traditional post-colonial striving for authenticity, the latter as a manifestation of Marnersdóttir's observation 'that colonies and former colonies often have to define their position in the world in order to attract the world's attention' (2007: 154; see 1.6).

does not necessarily merit a different methodological approach from an analysis of how it is used and perceived in post-colonial literature. Whereas Fishman's work is most often concerned with language planning and questions of status, I have attempted to carry out a post-colonial reading of society, following Kossew's model (1996: 11-12). This has allowed me to pursue issues of synergy, othering, resistance and the ways in which a language that cannot be eliminated from a society can be rendered more acceptable.

As discussed in the thesis (2.1), it could be argued that I have expanded use of the term 'post-colonial' in two distinct ways. Firstly, one could claim that I have done this by applying the term to a territory as unconventional as the Faroes. However, I consider and have sought to demonstrate, that the Faroes are fully deserving of their place within that analytical field: perhaps even more so than settler colonies in the New World, such as Canada and Australia. The geographical position of these latter countries removes one of the obvious hurdles to a post-colonial analysis – they are not located in Europe – but the historical context of their 'subordination' is quite different to the Faroes and most other post-colonial societies. I have stressed that the Faroes, while unique as regards the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, are more comparable to traditional colonies than it would at first appear. There are obvious differences: the violence that plagued many colonial situations elsewhere is fully absent from the former Danish colonies, but no two colonial experiences are exactly the same. In any case, Greenland, which was also colonised by the Danes and also violence-free, is generally accepted as a post-colonial nation.

Secondly, it could be argued that I have expanded the term post-colonial by including the period of colonisation itself in my analysis. This is, however, not a wholly novel approach: in it I have followed Ashcroft *et al.*'s argument that consideration of the 'post-colonial' must include 'the process and effects of, and reactions to European colonialism' (2007: 169), rather than merely what has come 'after colonialism'. This is a useful perspective for two reasons: firstly, as the thesis has shown, it can prove difficult to ascertain when colonialism in a given society has come to an end; secondly, if the processes of decolonisation are to be understood fully, surely the processes of colonisation must also be addressed. Therefore, I have sought to analyse both the spread of cultural and linguistic hegemony through various spheres of Faroese society (colonisation) *and* the ways in which this hegemony has been resisted and dismantled (decolonisation). I consider that many of my most significant results have been

facilitated by including both processes in my research. For example, the fact that the traditional dichotomy between ‘them’ and ‘us’ was largely absent in the Faroes has had an impact on both colonisation and decolonisation. Because of it, the Faroese lost much of their linguistic identity in the colonisation period, yet the closeness of the Danish and Faroese languages meant that Danish could simply be removed from various spheres during the decolonisation process.

The lack of binary difference in the Faroes meant that the coloniser was unable to behave in a conventional way. As discussed in 2.3.1, in Memmi’s experience the gap which generally exists between the colonised and the coloniser is one that cannot be filled. Consequently, the Faroese were, or one could argue had to be, considered the same as the Danes and the Faroese language was regarded as a derivative offshoot of Danish. The concept of *saming*, which can be seen as either the antithesis or the most extreme form of Spivak’s ‘othering’, is central here. It is in this regard that the Faroese colonial experience was truly unusual. Through othering, the identities of the coloniser and of the colonised are established simultaneously, as they were here – with *saming*, however, the created identities were the same. The Faroese-speaking Faroese were considered to be Danish-speaking Danes. This is a phenomenon fundamentally different from that experienced elsewhere in the colonial world. On the other hand, the islanders, who presumably had their own idea of their place in the world prior to Danish colonisation, were presented with another world-view which they were expected to accept (‘worlding’) – and that is standard within colonialism. It is this combination of the traditional and the unusual elements of colonialism that renders the Faroese situation so significant from a post-colonial perspective. The concept of ‘*saming*’ is one of the defining elements arising from this study: the idea that a nation’s identity could be dismissed in this way has, to my knowledge, not been conceptualised or analysed previously.

I consider one of the most important consequences of the *saming* phenomenon to be that it facilitated the perpetuation of colonial cultural hegemony through the colonised’s own cultural structures. In the thesis I have labelled this process ‘domino colonialism’. The example given in 3.5.2 was that of the Faroese chain dance: Danish did not enter the Faroese chain dance because of any impetus on the part of the coloniser.

Application of Althusser’s ideas to the Faroese language situation also enabled me to draw conclusions on the maintenance or even the spreading of the influence of the

coloniser's culture via the colonised. As mentioned in 2.2.2, Loomba acknowledged that Althusser's theories can prove useful 'in demystifying certain apparently innocent and apolitical institutions' (2005: 33). While I distance myself from any implication that the Church, the family and the other ISA areas as identified in the Faroes were not 'innocent', there is value in analysing how these 'institutions' perpetuated Danish. Analysis of Danish on the Faroes tends to focus on the school and the Church. This is understandable. Nevertheless, the ways in which, for example, Faroese families perpetuated the use of Danish (albeit within very limited spheres) have not been fully appreciated to my knowledge. Neither have the Faroese acceptance of the state of affairs at the time (*das Bestehende*) nor Faroese resistance to moves to reduce the position of Danish in society been sufficiently contextualised. There are, of course, the oft-quoted reactions to Schrøter's Faroese translation of St. Matthew's Gospel in 1823 and to Hammershaimb's use of Faroese at the Church in Kvívík in 1855 (see 3.6.1); and J.H.W. Poulsen points out that it was the Faroese *Løgting* which called for the insertion of the notorious §7 into the Education Act of 1912 (2004a: 411, see 3.6.3), but there is not much beyond this. In my research I have attempted to show the wider impact this phenomenon had across Faroese society.

One common and, in my opinion, largely deserved criticism which is levelled against post-colonial theory is that its overriding complexity and abstract nature alienates it from real examples and consideration of what is happening 'on the ground'. I have sought to address this criticism through the extensive collection of empirical data. While such field-work is unusual within a post-colonial study, I found it necessary for two main reasons. Firstly, to enable discussion of concrete facts within a post-colonial framework; and secondly, to address the complete lack of recent data on the position of Danish on the islands – some twenty years after their publication, the findings of Søndergaard (1987) and Holm (1992) are still treated as recent. However, considerable changes have taken place in Faroese society during the intervening years. Whereas both Søndergaard (1987: 72) and Holm (1992: 74) concluded that the Faroese have a practical attitude towards Danish – one which Holm describes as 'an instrumental view' (see 4.2.1) – I have found evidence that today the attitude towards Danish is not merely pragmatic. While the Faroese do not see the language as part of their identity, they appear to grasp its importance for and its undeniable contribution towards their cultural heritage. Furthermore, the thesis has provided numerous examples of how the Faroese have exploited the synergetic elements of that cultural heritage.

Another significant feature of the questionnaire research is that it enabled me to ask the respondents directly whether they considered Danish to be an FL within their society. This is the first time this has been done. The significance of the question and the answers it elicited as regards the premise of the thesis should not be underestimated. If we accept Anderson's argument, as espoused in *Imagined Communities* (2006; see 1.7) that the national community is a construct of the imagination, we can see the overarching importance of the mind in both the creation and maintenance of identity. As discussed in 1.7, one definition of 'foreign' reads 'belonging to, coming from, or characteristic of another country or nation'.³³⁰ if the imagination can determine what *may* be of the community, then surely it must also be capable of determining what *may not*. Consequently, I argue that those who constitute the community must be asked. The responses from the school survey and the postal survey show that the majority of those asked do not think of Danish as an FL. This accords with the basic premise of the thesis and, in my opinion, supports its focus on a rethinking of the Faroese language climate.

Popular perception aside, the surveys suggested a much more complex relationship between Faroese and Danish than is permitted by the FL designation. While the Faroese do not individually see Danish as part of their identity, there are numerous examples from the questionnaires of the Faroese preferring Danish in certain contexts. In literature on the Faroese language climate, this fact only emerges in articles by the most outspoken critics of purism, such as André Niclasen.

While the section on colonisation required new models of analysis, such as saming, as well as old ones, such as Althusser's ideas on ideology and interpellation, the section on decolonisation proved that traditional post-colonial trends, as identified elsewhere, were evident in the unusual Faroese cultural situation. In short, while Faroese colonisation was unusual, Faroese decolonisation was less so. Here, as in other former colonies, for example, part of the decolonisation process consisted of offering resistance through striving for pre-colonial authenticity. In terms of language, this phenomenon has largely manifested itself through language purism (in addition, of course, to removing Danish where possible). The purism policy, which, as the surveys showed, remains contentious, and the resulting diglossic situation between a high and a low form of Faroese, reveal the significance of taking the colonial history into

³³⁰ *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (2007).

consideration: these contemporary issues have arisen purely because of what happened in the past.

Although the process of decolonisation in the Faroes has revealed itself to be less 'unique', new ideas were nevertheless established in the course of the analysis, such as language othering. While this concept was developed with the Faroese situation in mind, I believe that it can be applied to a wide range of post-colonial territories where the colonial language cannot be removed. This was strongly implied through its application to Greenland. Extension of the concept to other societies would surely reveal both variations on those methods of language othering already identified, such as paratextuality, and new ones that have developed within specific post-colonial contexts.

Part of Kossew's methodology for undertaking a post-colonial reading of a text involved comparative analysis. In an unorthodox post-colonial society such as the Faroes, where the traditional dichotomies of race, language, etc., are wholly absent, comparative analysis is particularly important. It is only through study of the usual that the peculiarities of the unusual can be fully appreciated. Accordingly, Chapter 6 offered a comparison of the position of Danish in the Faroes with its position in Greenland. Naturally, as the focus for the thesis was on the Faroes, and the Greenlandic material was only ever intended to shed further light on the Faroese situation, there are limits to the Greenlandic analysis. It is unfortunate that the questionnaire survey, from which most conclusions were drawn, only focused on school pupils in Nuuk, due to circumstances beyond my control. It has not been possible to consider the Greenlandic experiences of colonisation and decolonisation in any great detail, but nevertheless I feel that Chapter 6 has made an important contribution to the study. Through it, attention has been drawn to the significance of the degree of difference within a post-colonial relationship. In both the Faroes and Greenland, unlike in Iceland, the Danes were met by unwritten languages: Faroese resembled theirs and Greenlandic did not. The difference between Greenlandic and Danish gave the former an immediate identity, and one that could ultimately have led to its demise: the colonisers had a distinct entity that could be rejected. In the Faroes, it could be argued, the colonisers encountered merely a different way of speaking Scandinavian. The effects of the difference between Greenlandic and Danish are still felt today: as P. Langgård notes (1996: 172), it has resulted in the 'myth' that Greenlandic simply cannot be learned by Danes (cf. 6.3.3).

Nevertheless, the impact of difference should not be overplayed. The close relationship between Danish and Faroese has certainly helped the Faroese in their bid to

remove Danish from as many spheres of life as possible. It has, for example, facilitated the disappearance of Danish from street signage as well as bilingual conversations between the Faroese and resident Danes. However, as the Greenlandic survey showed, other factors have to be taken into account: if the dialects on the Faroes had differed from one another to the same extent that East and West Greenlandic do, Danish could well have been required to fulfil the *lingua franca* role it appears to do in limited Greenlandic contexts.

I consider that the originality of my work primarily stems from its rejection of the FL label for Danish in the Faroes; from its application of post-colonial theories to Faroese society, as distinct from the islands' literature; from its creation and application of the ideas of saming, language othering (and its constituent methods) and linguistic autonomy; from its consideration of the unique position of the Suðuroy dialect within the post-colonial context (a dialect which has received little academic attention) and in the struggle for linguistic purity; from its comparison of the position of Danish in the Faroes with its position in Greenland; and through the survey data, particularly that concerning the use of Danish on social networks and in e-mail. Nevertheless, I have also striven to build on previous research and to contribute knowledge to two emerging trends in particular: analysis of the Faroes from a post-colonial perspective and comparative analysis of the NAR. In my attempt to locate my research within post-colonial studies, I have sought to combine the traditional with the new in the analyses of colonisation and decolonisation: for example, in the consideration of Faroese colonisation I combined the existing ideas of Spivak and Althusser with novel concepts such as saming and domino colonialism; in the analysis of decolonisation I brought together the traditional post-colonial idea of the striving for authenticity with my own ideas on language othering.

Looking ahead, I believe that this type of analysis is an area of the sociology of language that could be expanded considerably. Further comparative study could also prove insightful: it would, for example, be interesting to compare the Faroese experience with that of Europe's other forgotten post-colonial archipelago, Malta. In this post-colonial age, why does the Maltese language remain 'perceived essentially as a *dialect*, [...] a domestic and local idiosyncrasy socially subordinate to English' (Hull 1993: 363; see 6.2), while Faroese has become the national language of the Faroes in all but name? Moreover, Malta, regardless of its British connection, has also slipped through the net of post-colonial analysis. Despite their size – or rather, because of it –

these two island nations merit further research. As their smallness precludes full exorcism of the colonial language, they cannot resist colonial influence in the same way as larger countries. Nevertheless, the thesis has demonstrated that smallness does not necessarily entail that a nation must forever bear the yoke of the coloniser's culture.

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Appendix 1: Translations

1. “Bilingualism exists today in the Faroes to a higher degree than in perhaps any other country, as almost all adult Faroese (with the exception of the very oldest generation to a certain extent) master the two official languages, Faroese and Danish, both orally and in writing” (Hagström 1987: 119).
2. “I sometimes jokingly say, and it is certainly not completely incorrect, that spoken Faroese is so tolerant of adopting foreign, particularly Danish lexical material that one can take every word in *Ordbog over det danske sprog* (*‘Dictionary of the Danish Language’*) and fit it to Faroese pronunciation and grammar” (J.H.W. Poulsen 1977: 100).
3. “The regular formula in Danish treaties from that time was, as had in fact been the case earlier, ‘including the Danish colonies of Greenland, Iceland and the Faroes’, occasionally appearing as: ‘the Danish colonies beyond the sea, including the Faroes, Iceland and Greenland’, or, on a single occasion, ‘the northern possessions of the King of Denmark, that is, Iceland, the Faroes and Greenland’” (Berlin 1932: 132).
4. “(p.245) In general, the Faroese are handsome and well-shaped, with fairly good posture. [...] The islanders from the south are shorter in stature, with round faces, their speech is quick [...] on the other hand, the inhabitants north of the fjord are generally taller in stature, their faces are somewhat longer, their speech slower and their whole conduct more sedate. The women are, for the most part, quite handsome and well-proportioned. As for the intellectual capabilities of the inhabitants, they are much brighter than one would expect of such isolated islanders [...]

(246) The raising of children does not merit praise exactly; for, on account of the parents’ slightly overzealous love for their children, these are raised with much too much wilfulness; and one cannot but be surprised that the children, raised with such slackness and excessive affection, manage to become, when they are older, very capable, fit, indeed, even decent young people.

(251) In a country such as the Faroes, where there is not a single village school or schoolmaster, one would not expect anything other than that awful barbarity and ignorance would prevail, particularly in religious matters, but I can verily assure you that in the Faroes, that is not the case.

(252) The inhabitants are also very eager to read, which gives the priests a wonderful opportunity to disseminate useful knowledge in their parishes by loaning out good popular books. A considerable number of them do not only apply themselves to reading, but also writing, and I know a good many people, who, having received a reader and, at most, a few short directions, have taught themselves to write in a very good and legible hand” (Landt 1800: 245-52).

5. "He read in the light, brisk manner that he had acquired, and could hear immediately that his tone was false. It was not the heartfelt clumsy and simple Danish that he had just heard Samuel Mikkelsen sing, it was a profane and affected type of speech" (J.F. Jacobsen [2004]: 218).
6. "As it has now turned out in connection with the empirical investigation that Faroese as a school subject and the subject's status as the mother tongue has been evaluated to a large extent in a national discourse and explicitly compared with Danish as a school subject, it would be natural to use postcolonial theories" (Ólavstovu 2007: 29).
7. "There are 17 islands / which according to their size have many or few churches / their priests preach Danish / which the inhabitants understand just as well as the Norwegians / they read from Danish books / from which the young are also taught / but / when they want to / they speak amongst themselves a language / which no-one can understand / apart from those who have spent some time with them" (Wolff 1651: 202).
8. "To begin with the Faroese language seems highly incomprehensible to a stranger, but one learns to understand it before one expects it, because a great number of the words are old Danish ones or rather Norwegian which, because of a distorted pronunciation, have acquired a foreign appearance; [...]" (Landt 1800: 248).
9. "Otherwise, it deserves to be noted that although the inhabitants of the Faroes always speak their own language, the accent of which tends towards Norwegian, almost everyone understands Danish very well, through which Christianity is learned and church services are conducted, indeed, many of them in fact speak very good Danish, and this language is then far clearer and more agreeable in their mouths than among commoners in the other Danish provinces" (Landt 1800: 249).
10. "First and foremost, I want, on behalf of myself and of others, to object to the idea that the illustrious and noble Nordic people, the Faroese, are in any way comparable to the Greenlanders [...] We cannot consider the Greenlanders to be our brothers as is the case with the Faroese, who, of course, are also represented here at the *Rigsdag*" (In Marquardt 2005: 177).
11. "Regarding the language, the last speaker stated that particular consideration ought to be given to the Faroese language; but on the point in question I must draw attention to the fact that this surely *cannot be called a language, as it is only a dialect, which consists of a blend of Icelandic and Danish*" (Grundtvig 1845: 36; Grundtvig's emphasis).
12. "that it is undeniable that the Faroese dialect relates to Danish in the same way as Low German relates to High German in Holstein, and I do not believe that anyone in Holstein has ever demanded that where the common language is Low German, education should also be in this dialect. Danish is also the language of the Church in the Faroes" (Grundtvig 1845: 39).

13. “*To the Founders of the ‘Faroese Society’*. [...] We are from Amager. But what has become of our language? Consider what an injustice you Danes have committed against us and our children! Where we used to hear our mother tongue, Dutch, we now hear Danish – and only Danish! Danish resounds from the pulpit, Danish is the language of our schools, our courts, our children are commanded by Danish officers in Danish. Indeed, the extermination of our language has gone so far that not a single person knows how to say cabbage or carrots in Dutch. Please help us! Set up a society for the people of Amager! And when one day our literature blossoms gloriously, you, as its celebrated founders, will have your names at the front of our dictionary of authors. We do not address you in our own name alone. We are expressing the wishes of all the people of Amager. The eyes of all the people of Amager are on you. We send you the brotherly greetings of all the people of Amager. Several people from Amager” (In Matras 1951: 106).

14. “medieval ballads, more recent ballads in the same style, Danish medieval folk songs relating to chivalry and the supernatural, Faroese satirical songs, as well as Danish and Faroese broadsheet ballads, Faroese political songs and a number of newer and lighter folk songs” (Andreassen 1992: 127).

15. “The teacher should strive to teach the children to understand and speak the Danish language thoroughly, but during the lesson [should] *also* use Faroese, *insofar as it is considered necessary for the development of the child’s ideas*, and put them in a position fully to understand what is being presented to them” (Grundtvig 1845: 26; Grundtvig’s emphasis).

16. “In each school teaching will cover the following subjects: religious instruction, Danish, Faroese, handwriting, Danish spelling, arithmetic, history, geography and singing. – In addition, according to the teaching timetable, instruction can be given in Faroese spelling, gymnastics, swimming, needlework, drawing, nature study, hygiene and social studies. In the teaching, emphasis should be placed on the children learning to understand and speak the Danish language, in addition to acquiring knowledge of the subject-matter, so that they can explain orally what they have learned in each subject in both Danish and Faroese. – The learning of the material can and should, particularly for the younger children, be eased by the use of the children’s usual spoken language, Faroese, while it is necessary for the teaching in the individual subjects for the older children to take place chiefly in Danish, so that they may reach the required proficiency in the Danish language.” (*Hitt föroyska Studentafelagið* 1937: 9-10).

17. “It is the aim of this investigation, by means of a so-called attitude test, to try to reveal the attitudes of young Faroese primarily towards Danish, secondarily towards Faroese, as there [...] is sometimes a relationship between them. It is however not the ultimate goal merely to find these attitudes, but – if possible – to determine the relationship between attitudes to the language and the motivation for learning it, because this relationship is of fundamental importance” (Søndergaard 1987: 5).

18. “Purism is a normative ideology within which the aim is to keep the language free of foreign elements that are considered ‘impure’. This aim is often

combined with efforts to replace foreign elements with domestic ones, or to adapt them so they come to have a domestic form. Purism can be applied to all linguistic levels, but is most often focused on lexical items” (Brunstad 2001: 27).

19. “It appears as though much of *Barbara* was originally thought out in Faroese. The material seems to have been so tied to the Faroese language that the Faroese author was unable to free himself from it when he wrote Danish” (Hagström 1991c: 150).

Appendix 2: Additional Tables

1. Which language do/did you speak with your mother? (cf. Table A4)

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Fa. + Da.</i>	<i>Fa. + Other</i>	<i>Da. + Other</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Fa./Da. + Other</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar								
All	176 [97.2]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	3 [3.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	55 [96.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	121 [97.6]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
In TH	143 [96.6]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	3 [2.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy								
All	156 [95.1]	1 [0.6]	5 [3.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]
Male	54 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	102 [92.7]	1 [0.9]	5 [4.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.9]	1 [0.9]
Suðuroy								
All	86 [94.5]	1 [1.1]	2 [2.2]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]
Male	29 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	57 [91.9]	1 [1.6]	2 [3.2]	1 [1.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.6]
Suð.	81 [95.3]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.4]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]
Handilsskúlin								
All	169 [96.6]	1 [0.6]	3 [1.7]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	92 [97.9]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	77 [95.1]	1 [1.2]	2 [2.5]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
In TH	128 [96.2]	1 [0.8]	3 [2.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Table A1: (FSS) Language Spoken with Mother

2. Which language do/did you speak with your father? (cf. Table A5)

	<i>Fa.</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Fa. + Da.</i>	<i>Fa. + Other</i>	<i>Da. + Other</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar							
All	168 [92.8]	2 [1.1]	5 [2.8]	4 [2.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]
Male	54 [94.7]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.5]	1 [1.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	114 [91.9]	2 [1.6]	3 [2.4]	3 [2.4]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]	1 [0.8]
In TH	138 [93.2]	1 [0.7]	4 [2.7]	3 [2.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.7]	1 [0.7]
Eysturoy							
All	156 [95.1]	3 [1.8]	2 [1.2]	1 [0.6]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.2]	0 [0.0]
Male	52 [96.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	2 [3.7]	0 [0.0]
Female	104 [94.5]	3 [2.7]	2 [1.8]	1 [0.9]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Suðuroy							
All	86 [94.5]	3 [3.3]	2 [2.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Male	29 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	57 [91.9]	3 [4.8]	2 [3.2]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]

Suð.	81 [95.3]	2 [2.4]	2 [2.4]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin							
All	168 [96.0]	2 [1.1]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.1]	1 [0.6]
Male	92 [97.9]	1 [1.1]	1 [1.1]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Female	76 [93.8]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.2]	0 [0.0]	2 [2.5]	1 [1.2]
In TH	130 [97.7]	1 [0.8]	1 [0.8]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.8]

Table A2: (FSS) Language Spoken with Father

3. Did you know that Facebook exists in Faroese?

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>N/R</i>
Hoydalar	80 [86.0]	9 [9.7]	4 [4.3]	0 [0.0]
Eysturoy	51 [83.6]	5 [8.2]	0 [0.0]	5 [8.2]
Suðuroy	69 [100.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
Handilsskúlin	96 [93.2]	2 [1.9]	4 [3.9]	1 [1.0]

Table A3: (FSS) Awareness of Facebook in Faroese

4. Which language do/did you speak with your mother? (cf. Table A1)

<i>Pupils</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Gr.</i>	<i>Da. + Gr.</i>	<i>Da. + Other</i>	<i>Gr. + Other</i>	<i>Da., Gr. + Other</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	35 [13.1]	150 [56.2]	75 [28.1]	1 [0.4]	1 [0.4]	4 [1.5]	1 [0.4]
b. GL	25 [10.2]	147 [60.0]	67 [27.3]	1 [0.4]	1 [0.4]	3 [1.2]	1 [1.2]
<3yr in NK, b. GL	2 [2.7]	58 [77.3]	13 [17.3]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	1 [1.3]	1 [1.3]
GLR-ID	11 [5.3]	137 [65.9]	56 [26.9]	1 [0.5]	1 [0.5]	1 [0.5]	1 [0.5]
>1yr in DK	10 [5.5]	121 [66.9]	46 [25.4]	1 [0.6]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.1]	1 [0.6]

Table A4: (GSS) Language Spoken with Mother

5. Which language do/did you speak with your father? (cf. Table A2)

<i>Pupils</i>	<i>Da.</i>	<i>Gr.</i>	<i>Da. + Gr.</i>	<i>Da. + Other</i>	<i>Gr. + Other</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>N/R</i>
All	58 [21.7]	142 [53.2]	57 [21.3]	6 [2.2]	0 [0.0]	3 [1.1]	1 [0.4]
b. GL	46 [18.8]	139 [56.7]	52 [21.2]	4 [1.6]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
<3yr in NK, b. GL	10 [13.3]	53 [70.7]	12 [16.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]	0 [0.0]
GLR-ID	28 [13.5]	129 [62.0]	44 [21.2]	4 [1.9]	0 [0.0]	2 [1.0]	1 [0.5]
>1yr in DK	22 [12.2]	122 [67.4]	31 [17.1]	4 [2.2]	0 [0.0]	1 [0.6]	1 [0.6]

Table A5: (GSS) Language Spoken with Father

Appendix 3: Additional Plates

Plate A1 shows a Danish loanword (in Faroese *sprogdragt*) side-by-side with the recommended term. This example demonstrates how, with little effort, the Faroese are able to utilise Danish loanwords and reduce the amount of Danish that needs to be read. Here, the recommended term *litblýantar* (“colouring pencils”) is depicted next to a Danish-based form, *farvublýantar* (Da. *farveblyanter*).



Plate A1: Shelf-edge Labelling

While most signs give the two languages equal prominence, on this one the Greenlandic words are considerably smaller than the Danish equivalent.



Plate A2: Bilingual Signpost in Greenland

Appendix 4: The Questionnaires

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The numbers of the questions on the questionnaires do not correspond to their numbers in the analysis.

1. The Postal Survey Questionnaire (Faroese)

*Spurnablaðið hevur 27 spurningar.
Set kross við bara eitt svar.*

1. Set kross við tín aldursból:

- ☐ 20 ára og yngri.
- ☐ 21-30 ára.
- ☐ 31-40 ára.
- ☐ 41-50 ára.
- ☐ 51-60 ára.
- ☐ 61-70 ára.
- ☐ 71-80 ára.
- ☐ 81 ára og eldri.

2. Kyn:

- ☐ Kallkyn
- ☐ Kvennkyn

3. Hvat mál er høvuðsmál títt?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Føroyskt og danskt
- ☐ Føroyskt og eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna málið*)
- ☐ Danskt og eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna málið*)
- ☐ Eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna tað*)

4. Hvussu nógv ferðir hevur tú verið í Danmark?

- ☐ Ongantið
- ☐ Einaferð
- ☐ Tvær ferðir
- ☐ Fleiri ferðir
- ☐ Eg komi úr Danmark.

5. Hevur tú búð í Danmark?

- ☐ Nei
- ☐ Ja, millum 1 og 3 mánaðir

- ☐ Ja, millum 3 og 6 mánaðir
- ☐ Ja, millum 6 mánaðir og 1 ár
- ☐ Ja, millum 1 og 2 ár
- ☐ Ja, millum 2 og 5 ár
- ☐ Ja, meiri enn 5 ár

6. Hevur tú búð í einum øðrum landi meiri enn eitt ár?

- ☐ Ja (*Landið/londini*
- ☐ Nei

7. Hvussu væl dugir tú danskt?

- ☐ Flótandi, danskt er mítt høvuðsmál.
- ☐ Flótandi, føroyskt er mítt høvuðsmál, men eg kenni meg tryggari við danskt.
- ☐ Flótandi, men føroyskt er mítt høvuðsmál og eg kenni meg tryggari við føroyskt.
- ☐ Flótandi, mítt danska og mítt føroyska eru eins góð.
- ☐ Væl
- ☐ Nøkulunda væl
- ☐ Ikki væl

8. Tá ið tú tosar danskt, roynir tú at:

- ☐ Tosa við føroyskum tónalagi?
- ☐ Tosa við danskum tónalagi?
- ☐ Eg hugsar ikki um tónalagið, eg tosi bara.

9. Heldur tú, at tú tosar danskt við:

- ☐ Sterkum føroyskum tónalagi?
- ☐ Tónalagi, sum er nakað føroyskt?
- ☐ Tónalagi, sum er meiri danskt enn føroyskt?
- ☐ Góðum danskum tónalagi?
- ☐ Tónalagi, sum er ávirkað av einum øðrum máli? (*Málið*

10. Kennir tú teg tryggari við at lesa føroyskt ella danskt?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Tað broytist eftir evni.
- ☐ Tað ger ikki mun.

11. Kennir tú teg tryggari við at skriva føroyskt ella danskt?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Tað broytist eftir evni.
- ☐ Tað ger ikki mun.

12. Dugði tú danskt, áðrenn tú byrjaði at læra tað í skúlanum?

- ☐ Ja, flótandi
- ☐ Ja, væl
- ☐ Ja, eitt sindur
- ☐ Nei

13. Eiga børn at læra tann føroyska framburðin av danskum í skúlanum?

- ☐ Ja, bæði tann føroyska og tann danska framburðin
- ☐ Ja, í staðin fyri tann danska framburðin
- ☐ Nei

14. Heldur tú, at bókur, sum eru skrivaðar á danskum av føroyskum høvundum (sum, t.d. William Heinesen) eiga at vera umsettastil føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nei

15. Kann ein vera roknað(ur) sum føroyingur uttan at kunna tosa føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

16. Heldur tú, at danskarar, sum búgva í Føroyum, eiga at læra seg føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

17. Ber til at liva eitt gott lív í Føroyum, uttan at kunna tosa føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

18. Ber til at liva eitt gott lív í Føroyum, uttan at kunna tosa danskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

19. Um tú tosar føroyskt við onkran, og ein danskari kemur inn, skiftir tú til danskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Viðhvørt
☐ Nei

20. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum?

Danskt er eitt fremmant mál í Føroyum.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
☐ Samd(ur)
☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
☐ Ikki samd(ur)
☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

21. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum?

Tað danska málið hóttir tað føroyska málið.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
☐ Samd(ur)
☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
☐ Ikki samd(ur)
☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

22. Hvør er tann týðningarmesta grundin til at læra danskt?

(Set kross við bara eitt svar.)

- ☐ Fyri at kunna arbeiða/studera
☐ Tí Føroyar hoyra saman við Danmark
☐ Fyri at kunna tosa við danskarar
☐ Fyri at kunna búgva í Danmark
☐ Tí eg vil vera roknað(ur) sum danskari
☐ Tí Føroyar eru í Skandinaviu
☐ Fyri at kunna lesa tekstir, sum ikki eru á føroyskum
☐ Ein onnur grund (*Ger so væl at nevna grundina.....*)

23. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum?

Orð sum snakka og forstanda eru líka føroysk sum orð sum tosa og skilja.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
☐ Samd(ur)
☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
☐ Ikki samd(ur)
☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

24. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum?

Vit eiga at sleppa undan orðum sum t.d. snakka og forstanda tá ið vit tosa.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
- ☐ Samd(ur)
- ☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

25. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum?

Vit eiga at sleppa undan orðum sum snakka og forstanda tá ið vit skriva.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
- ☐ Samd(ur)
- ☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

26. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum?

Tað er lættari at lesa danskar undirtekstir enn føroyskar undirtekstir í sjónvarpinum.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
- ☐ Samd(ur)
- ☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

27. Aðrar viðmerkingar?

ENDI

STÓRA TØKK FYRI TÍÐINA OG HJÁLPINA.

2. The Postal Survey Questionnaire (English)

The questionnaire contains 27 questions.

*Please put a cross by only **one** answer.*

1. Put a cross next to your age-group:

- ☐ 20 years old and younger.
- ☐ 21-30 years old
- ☐ 31-40 years old
- ☐ 41-50 years old
- ☐ 51-60 years old
- ☐ 61-70 years old
- ☐ 71-80 years old
- ☐ 81 years old and older

2. Gender:

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

3. What language is your main language?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ Faroese and Danish
- ☐ Faroese and another language (*Please name the language*)
- ☐ Danish and another language (*Please name the language*)
- ☐ Another language (*Please name the language*)

4. How many times have you been to Denmark?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Once
- ☐ Twice
- ☐ Several times
- ☐ I come from Denmark.

5. Have you lived in Denmark?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, between 1 and 3 months
- ☐ Yes, between 3 and 6 months
- ☐ Yes, between 6 months and 1 year
- ☐ Yes, between 1 and 2 years
- ☐ Yes, between 2 and 5 years
- ☐ Yes, over 5 years

6. Have you lived in another country for over a year?

- ☐ Yes (*Country/countries*)
- ☐ No

7. How well do you know Danish?

- ☐ Fluently, Danish is my main language.
- ☐ Fluently, Faroese is my main language, but I feel more comfortable with Danish.
- ☐ Fluently, but Faroese is my main language and I feel more comfortable with Faroese.
- ☐ Fluently, my Danish and my Faroese are equally good.
- ☐ Well
- ☐ Quite well
- ☐ Not well

8. When you speak Danish, do you try to:

- ☐ Speak with a Faroese accent?
- ☐ Speak with a Danish accent?
- ☐ I don't think about the accent, I just speak.

9. Do you think that you speak Danish with:

- ☐ A strong Faroese accent?
- ☐ An accent which is somewhat Faroese?
- ☐ An accent which is more Danish than Faroese?
- ☐ A good Danish accent?
- ☐ An accent which is influenced by another language? (*Language*)

10. Do you feel more comfortable reading Faroese or Danish?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ It depends on the subject.
- ☐ It makes no difference.

11. Do you feel more comfortable writing Faroese or Danish?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ It depends on the subject.
- ☐ It makes no difference.

12. Did you know Danish before you started to learn it at school?

- ☐ Yes, fluently
- ☐ Yes, well
- ☐ Yes, a little
- ☐ No

13. Should children learn the Faroese pronunciation of Danish at school?

- ☐ Yes, both the Faroese and the Danish pronunciations
- ☐ Yes, instead of the Danish pronunciation
- ☐ No

14. Do you think that books which are written in Danish by Faroese authors (such as William Heinesen) should be translated to Faroese?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

15. Can one be considered Faroese without being able to speak Faroese?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

16. Do you think that Danes who live in the Faroes should learn Faroese?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

17. Is it possible to live a good life in the Faroese without being able to speak Faroese?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

18. Is it possible to live a good life in the Faroese without being able to speak Danish?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

19. If you are speaking Faroese with someone and a Dane enters, do you shift to Danish?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ No

20. To what extent do you agree with the following?

Danish is a foreign language in the Faroes.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

21. To what extent do you agree with the following?

The Danish language threatens the Faroese language.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

22. Which is the most important reason for learning Danish?

(Put a cross by only one answer.)

- ☐ To be able to work/study
- ☐ Because the Faroes belong together with Denmark
- ☐ To be able to speak to Danes
- ☐ To be able to live in Denmark
- ☐ Because I want to be considered a Dane
- ☐ Because the Faroes are in Scandinavia
- ☐ To be able to read texts that do not exist in Faroese
- ☐ Another reason *(Please give the reason.....)*

23. To what extent do you agree with the following?

Words such as snakka and forstanda are just as Faroese as words such as tosa and skilja.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

24. To what extent do you agree with the following?

We should avoid words such as snakka and forstanda when we speak.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

25. To what extent do you agree with the following?

We should avoid words such as snakka and forstanda when we write.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

26. To what extent do you agree with the following?

It is easier to read Danish subtitles than Faroese subtitles on the television.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

27. Other comments?

END

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND HELP.

3. The School Survey Questionnaire (Faroese)

BYRJAN

Spurnablaðið hevur 35 spurningar.

Set kross við bara eitt svar.

1. Hvussu gamal/gomul ert tú?

..... ára gamal/gomul

2. Kyn:

- ☐ Kallkyn
- ☐ Kvennkyn

3. Býrt tú

- ☐ Í býnum Tórshavn*?
- ☐ Uttanfyrir býin Tórshavn?

*Tórshavn merkir: Tórshavn, Argir, og Hoyvík.

(Alternative Q.3 for Suðuroy)

3. Hvussu leingi hevur tú búð í Suðuroy?

- ☐ Minni enn 1 ár
- ☐ Millum 1 og 5 ár
- ☐ Millum 5 og 10 ár
- ☐ Meiri enn 10 ár

4. Hvat mál er høvuðsmál títt?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Føroyskt og danskt
- ☐ Føroyskt og eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna málið*)
- ☐ Danskt og eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna málið*)
- ☐ Eitt annað mál (*málið.....*)

5. Hvat mál tosar/tosaði tú við móður tína?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Føroyskt og danskt
- ☐ Føroyskt og eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna málið*)
- ☐ Danskt og eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna málið*)
- ☐ Eitt annað mál (*málið.....*)
- Viðmerkingar?

6. Hvat mál tosar/tosaði tú við faðir tín?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Føroyskt og danskt
- ☐ Føroyskt og eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna málið*)
- ☐ Danskt og eitt annað mál (*Ger so væl at nevna málið*)
- ☐ Eitt annað mál (*málið.....*)
- Viðmerkingar?

7. Hvussu nógv ferðir hevur tú verið í Danmark?

- ☐ Ongantið
- ☐ Einaferð
- ☐ Tvær ferðir
- ☐ Fleiri ferðir
- ☐ Eg komi úr Danmark.

8. Hevur tú búð í Danmark?

- ☐ Nei
- ☐ Ja, millum 1 og 3 mánaðir
- ☐ Ja, millum 3 og 6 mánaðir
- ☐ Ja, millum 6 mánaðir og 1 ár
- ☐ Ja, millum 1 og 2 ár
- ☐ Ja, millum 2 og 5 ár
- ☐ Ja, meiri enn 5 ár

9. Hevur tú búð í einum øðrum landi (ikki Danmark ella Føroyum) meiri enn eitt ár?

- ☐ Ja (*landið/londini*)
- ☐ Nei

FØRLEIKI Í DONSKUM

10. Hvussu væl dugir tú danskt?

- ☐ Flótandi, danskt er mítt høvuðsmál.
- ☐ Flótandi, føroyskt er mítt høvuðsmál, men eg kenni meg tryggari við danskt.
- ☐ Flótandi, men føroyskt er mítt høvuðsmál og eg kenni meg tryggari við føroyskt.
- ☐ Flótandi, mítt danska og mítt føroyska eru eins góð.
- ☐ Væl
- ☐ Nøkulunda væl
- ☐ Ikki væl

11. Tá ið tú tosar danskt, roynir tú at:

- ☐ Tosa við føroyskum tónalagi?
- ☐ Tosa við donskum tónalagi?
- ☐ Eg hugsar ikki um tónalagið, eg tosi bara.

12. Heldur tú, at tú tosar danskt við:

- ☐ Sterkum føroyskum tónalagi?
- ☐ Tónalagi, sum er nakað føroyskt?
- ☐ Tónalagi, sum er meiri danskt enn føroyskt?
- ☐ Góðum donskum tónalagi?
- ☐ Tónalagi, sum er ávirkað av einum øðrum máli? (*málið*)

DANSKT Í SKÚLANUM

13. Kennir tú teg tryggari við at lesa føroyskt ella danskt í skúla (í lærubókum, o.s.fr.)?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Tað broytist eftir lærugrein.
- ☐ Tað ger ikki mun.

14. Kennir tú teg tryggari við at lesa føroyskt ella danskt uttanfyri skúla?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Tað ger ikki mun.

15. Kennir tú teg tryggari við at skriva føroyskt ella danskt í skúla (í stílum, o.s.fr.)?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Tað broytist eftir lærugrein.
- ☐ Tað ger ikki mun.

16. Kennir tú teg tryggari við at skriva føroyskt ella danskt uttanfyri skúla?

- ☐ Føroyskt
- ☐ Danskt
- ☐ Tað ger ikki mun.

17. Dugdi tú danskt, áðrenn tú byrjaði at læra tað í skúlanum?

- ☐ Ja, flótandi
- ☐ Ja, væl
- ☐ Ja, eitt sindur
- ☐ Nei

18. Eiga børn at læra tann føroyska framburðin av donskum í skúlanum?

- ☐ Ja, bæði tann føroyska og tann danska framburðin
- ☐ Ja, í staðin fyri tann danska framburðin
- ☐ Nei

DANSKT Í SAMFELAGNUM

19. Heldur tú, at bókur, sum eru skrivaðar á donskum av føroyskum høvundum (sum, t.d. William Heinesen og Jørgen-Frantz Jacobsen) eiga at vera umsettar til føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

20. Kann ein vera roknað(ur) sum føroyingur uttan at kunna tosa føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

21. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum setninginum?

Danskt er eitt fremmant mál í Føroyum.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
☐ Samd(ur)
☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
☐ Ikki samd(ur)
☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

22. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum setninginum?

Tað danska málið hóttir tað føroyska málið.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
☐ Samd(ur)
☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
☐ Ikki samd(ur)
☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

23. Hvør er tann týðningarmesta grundin til at læra danskt?

(Set kross við bara eitt svar.)

- ☐ Fyri at kunna arbeiða/studera
☐ Tí Føroyar hoyra saman við Danmark
☐ Fyri at kunna tosa við danskarar
☐ Fyri at kunna búgva í Danmark
☐ Tí eg vil vera roknað(ur) sum danskari
☐ Tí Føroyar eru í Skandinavia
☐ Fyri at kunna lesa tekstir, sum ikki eru á føroyskum
☐ Ein onnur grund (*Ger so væl at nevna grundina*)

24. Heldur tú, at danskarar, sum búgva í Føroyum, eiga at læra seg føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

25. Ber til at liva eitt gott lív í Føroyum, uttan at kunna tosa føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

26. Ber til at liva eitt gott lív í Føroyum, uttan at kunna tosa danskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei

27. Um tú tosar føroyskt við onkran, og ein danskari kemur inn, skiftir tú til danskt?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Viðhvørt
☐ Nei

28. Eru støður, har danskt riggar betur enn føroyskt?

- ☐ Ja (um 'ja', ger so væl at nevna støðurnar.....)
- ☐ Nei

DANSKT OG FØROYSKT

29. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum setninginum?

Orð sum snakka og forstanda eru líka føroysk sum orð sum tosa og skilja.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
- ☐ Samd(ur)
- ☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

30. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum setninginum?

Vit eiga at sleppa undan orðum sum t.d. snakka og forstanda tá ið vit tosa.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
- ☐ Samd(ur)
- ☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

31. Í hvønn mun ert tú samd(ur) í hesum setninginum?

Vit eiga at sleppa undan orðum sum snakka og forstanda tá ið vit skriva.

- ☐ Púra samd(ur)
- ☐ Samd(ur)
- ☐ Hvørki samd(ur) ella ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Ikki samd(ur)
- ☐ Als ikki samd(ur)

DANSKT OG INTERNETID

32. Brúkar tú teldupost?

- ☐ Ja (um 'ja', svara spurningum 32.1 og 33)
- ☐ Nei (um 'nei', far til spurning 34)

32.1. Á hvørjum máli er t-post-kontan hjá tær?

- ☐ Føroyskum
- ☐ Donskum
- ☐ Enskum
- ☐ Einum øðrum máli (málið)

33. Er tín t-post-konta ein Hotmail-konta?

- ☐ Ja (um 'ja', svara spurningi 33.1)
- ☐ Nei (um 'nei', far til spurning 34)

33.1. Var Hotmail á føroyskum, hevði tú brúkt hatta í staðin?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nei

34. Brúkar tú Facebook?

- ☐ Ja (um 'ja', svara spurningum 34.1 og 34.2)
- ☐ Nei (um 'nei', far til spurning 35)

34.1. Á hvørjum máli brúkar tú Facebook?

- ☐ Føroyskum
- ☐ Donskum

- ☐ Enskum
☐ Einum øðrum máli (*málið*)

34.2. Visti tú at Facebook er til á føroyskum?

- ☐ Ja (*um 'ja', far til spurning 35*)
☐ Nei (*um 'nei', svara spurningi 34.3*)

34.3. Ætlar tú nú at brúka Facebook á føroyskum?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nei (*Hví ikki?*.....)

35. Aðrar viðmerkingar?

ENDI

TAKK FYRI HJÁLPINA

4. The School Survey Questionnaire (English)

BEGINNING

*The questionnaire contains 35 questions.
 Please put a cross by only **one** answer.*

1. How old are you?

..... years old

2. Gender:

- ☐ Male
☐ Female

3. Do you live ...?

- ☐ In the city of Tórshavn?
☐ Outside the city of Tórshavn?

**Tórshavn means: Tórshavn, Argir and Hoyvík.*

(Alternative Q.3 for Suðuroy)

3. How long have you lived in Suðuroy?

- ☐ Less than one year
☐ Between 1 and 5 years
☐ Between 5 and 10 years
☐ Over 10 years

4. What language is your main language?

- ☐ Faroese
☐ Danish
☐ Faroese and Danish
☐ Faroese and another language (*Please name the language*)
☐ Danish and another language (*Please name the language*)
☐ Another language (*Please name the language*)

5. What language do/did you speak with your mother?

- ☐ Faroese

- ☐ Danish
- ☐ Faroese and Danish
- ☐ Faroese and another language (*Please name the language*)
- ☐ Danish and another language (*Please name the language*)
- ☐ Another language (*Please name the language*)
- Comments?

6. What language do/did you speak with your father?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ Faroese and Danish
- ☐ Faroese and another language (*Please name the language*)
- ☐ Danish and another language (*Please name the language*)
- ☐ Another language (*Please name the language*)
- Comments?

7. How many times have you been to Denmark?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Once
- ☐ Twice
- ☐ Several times
- ☐ I come from Denmark.

8. Have you lived in Denmark?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, between 1 and 3 months
- ☐ Yes, between 3 and 6 months
- ☐ Yes, between 6 months and 1 year
- ☐ Yes, between 1 and 2 years
- ☐ Yes, between 2 and 5 years
- ☐ Yes, over 5 years

9. Have you lived in another country for over a year?

- ☐ Yes (*Country/countries*)
- ☐ No

DANISH SKILLS

10. How well do you know Danish?

- ☐ Fluently, Danish is my main language.
- ☐ Fluently, Faroese is my main language, but I feel more comfortable with Danish.
- ☐ Fluently, but Faroese is my main language and I feel more comfortable with Faroese.
- ☐ Fluently, my Danish and my Faroese are equally good.
- ☐ Well
- ☐ Quite well
- ☐ Not well

11. When you speak Danish, do you try to:

- ☐ Speak with a Faroese accent?
- ☐ Speak with a Danish accent?
- ☐ I don't think about the accent, I just speak.

12. Do you think that you speak Danish with:

- ☐ A strong Faroese accent?
- ☐ An accent which is somewhat Faroese?
- ☐ An accent which is more Danish than Faroese?
- ☐ A good Danish accent?

☐ An accent which is influenced by another language? (*Language*)

DANISH AT SCHOOL

13. Do you feel more comfortable reading Faroese or Danish at school (in textbooks, etc.)?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ It depends on the subject.
- ☐ It makes no difference.

14. Do you feel more comfortable reading Faroese or Danish outside school?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ It makes no difference.

15. Do you feel more comfortable writing Faroese or Danish at school (in essays, etc.)?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ It depends on the subject.
- ☐ It makes no difference.

16. Do you feel more comfortable writing Faroese or Danish outside school?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ It makes no difference.

17. Did you know Danish before you started to learn it at school?

- ☐ Yes, fluently
- ☐ Yes, well
- ☐ Yes, a little
- ☐ No

18. Should children learn the Faroese pronunciation of Danish at school?

- ☐ Yes, both the Danish and the Faroese pronunciations
- ☐ Yes, instead of the Danish pronunciation
- ☐ No

DANISH IN SOCIETY

19. Do you think that books which are written in Danish by Faroese authors (such as William Heinesen) should be translated to Faroese?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

20. Can one be considered Faroese without being able to speak Faroese?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

21. To what extent do you agree with the following?

Danish is a foreign language in the Faroes.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

22. To what extent do you agree with the following?

The Danish language threatens the Faroese language.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

23. Which is the most important reason for learning Danish?

(Put a cross by only one answer.)

- ☐ To be able to work/study
- ☐ Because the Faroes belong together with Denmark
- ☐ To be able to speak to Danes
- ☐ To be able to live in Denmark
- ☐ Because I want to be considered a Dane
- ☐ Because the Faroes are in Scandinavia
- ☐ To be able to read texts that do not exist in Faroese
- ☐ Another reason *(Please give the reason.....)*

24. Do you think that Danes who live in the Faroes should learn Faroese?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

25. Is it possible to live a good life in the Faroes without being able to speak Faroese?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

26. Is it possible to live a good life in the Faroes without being able to speak Danish?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

27. If you are speaking Faroese with someone and a Dane enters, do you shift to Danish?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ No

28. Are the situations in which Danish works better than Faroese?

- ☐ Yes *(if 'yes', please name the situations.....)*
- ☐ No

DANISH AND FAROESE

29. To what extent do you agree with the following?

Words such as snakka and forstanda are just as Faroese as words such as tosa and skilja.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

30. To what extent do you agree with the following?

We should avoid words such as snakka and forstanda when we speak.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

31. To what extent do you agree with the following?

We should avoid words such as snakka and forstanda when we write.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

DANISH AND THE INTERNET

32. Do you use e-mail?

- ☐ Yes (if 'yes', answer questions 32.1 and 33)
- ☐ No (if 'no', go to question 34)

32.1. In which language is your e-mail account?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ English
- ☐ Another language (language.....)

33. Is your e-mail account a Hotmail account?

- ☐ Yes (if 'yes', answer question 33.1)
- ☐ No (if 'no', go to question 34)

33.1. If Hotmail was available in Faroese, would you use that instead?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

34. Do you use Facebook?

- ☐ Yes (if 'yes', answer questions 34.1 and 34.2)
- ☐ No (if 'no', go to question 35)

34.1. In which language is your Facebook account?

- ☐ Faroese
- ☐ Danish
- ☐ English
- ☐ Another language (language.....)

34.2. Did you know that there is a Faroese translation of Facebook?

- ☐ Yes (if 'yes', go to question 35)
- ☐ No (if 'no', answer question 34.3)

34.3. Do you plan to use Facebook in Faroese now?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (Why not?.....)

35. Other comments?

END

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

5. The Greenland Survey Questionnaire (Danish)

Du kan svare ENTEN på dansk eller på grønlandsk. Det blå spørgeskema er på dansk og det gule er på grønlandsk.

BEGYNDELSEN
Spørgeskemaet har 36 spørgsmål.
Sæt mærke ved kun et svar.

BAGGRUND

1. Hvor gammel er du?

..... år gammel.

2. Køn:

- ☐ Mand
☐ Kvinde

3. Hvor længe har du boet i Nuuk?

..... år.

4. Er du født i Grønland?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Nej

5. Hvilket sprog er dit hovedsprog?

- ☐ Dansk
☐ Grønlandsk
☐ Dansk og grønlandsk
☐ Dansk og et andet sprog (*sproget*)
☐ Grønlandsk og et andet sprog (*sproget*)
☐ Et andet sprog (*sproget*)

6. Hvilket sprog taler/talte du med din mor?

- ☐ Dansk
☐ Grønlandsk
☐ Dansk og grønlandsk
☐ Dansk og et andet sprog (*sproget*)
☐ Grønlandsk og et andet sprog (*sproget*)
☐ Et andet sprog (*sproget*)
☐ Ikke relevant

7. Hvilket sprog taler/talte du med din far?

- ☐ Dansk
☐ Grønlandsk
☐ Dansk og grønlandsk
☐ Dansk og et andet sprog (*sproget*)
☐ Grønlandsk og et andet sprog (*sproget*)
☐ Et andet sprog (*sproget*)
☐ Ikke relevant

8. Føler du dig som grønlænder?

- ☐ Ja
☐ Til dels
☐ Nej
Bemærkninger

9. Hvor mange gange har du været i Danmark?

- ☐ Aldrig
- ☐ En gang
- ☐ To gange
- ☐ Flere gange
- ☐ Jeg kommer fra Danmark.

10. Har du boet i Danmark?

- ☐ Nej
- ☐ Ja, mellem 1 og 3 måneder
- ☐ Ja, mellem 3 og 6 måneder
- ☐ Ja, mellem 6 måneder og 1 år
- ☐ Ja, mellem 1 og 2 år
- ☐ Ja, mellem 2 og 5 år
- ☐ Ja, mere end 5 år

11. Har du boet i et andet land (ikke Danmark eller Grønland) mere end 1 år?

- ☐ Ja (land/lande)
- ☐ Nej

12. Hvor godt taler du dansk?

- ☐ Flydende, dansker mit hovedsprog.
- ☐ Flydende, dansker ikke mit hovedsprog, men jeg føler mig tryggere med dansk end med mit hovedsprog.
- ☐ Flydende, men jeg er tryggere med mit hovedsprog end med mit dansk.
- ☐ Flydende, jeg taler dansk og mit hovedsprog lige godt.
- ☐ Godt
- ☐ Temmelig godt
- ☐ Ikke godt

13. Hvor godt taler du grønlandsk?

- ☐ Flydende, grønlandsker mit hovedsprog.
- ☐ Flydende, grønlandsker ikke mit hovedsprog, men jeg føler mig tryggere med grønlandsk end med mit hovedsprog.
- ☐ Flydende, men jeg er tryggere med mit hovedsprog end med mit grønlandsk.
- ☐ Flydende, jeg taler grønlandsk og mit hovedsprog lige godt.
- ☐ Godt
- ☐ Temmelig godt
- ☐ Ikke godt
- ☐ Jeg taler ikke grønlandsk.

14. Når du taler dansk, forsøger du at:

- ☐ Tale med en dansk accent?
- ☐ Tale med en grønlandsk accent?
- ☐ Jeg tænker ikke på accent, jeg taler bare.

15. Synes du, at du taler dansk med:

- ☐ En stærk grønlandsk accent?
- ☐ En accent, der er lidt grønlandsk?
- ☐ En accent, der er mere dansk end grønlandsk?
- ☐ En god dansk accent?
- ☐ En accent, der er påvirket af et andet sprog? (sproget)

DANSK I SKOLEN

16. Føler du dig tryggere med at læse dansk eller grønlandsk i skolen (i lærebøger, o.s.v.)?

- ☐ Grønlandsk
- ☐ Dansk
- ☐ Det kommer an på faget.
- ☐ Det gør ingen forskel.

17. Føler du dig tryggere med at læse dansk eller grønlandsk udenfor skolen?

- ☐ Grønlandsk
- ☐ Dansk
- ☐ Det gør ingen forskel.

18. Føler du dig tryggere med at skrive dansk eller grønlandsk i skolen (i stile, o.s.v.)?

- ☐ Grønlandsk
- ☐ Dansk
- ☐ Det kommer an på faget.
- ☐ Det gør ingen forskel.

19. Føler du dig tryggere med at skrive dansk eller grønlandsk udenfor skolen?

- ☐ Grønlandsk
- ☐ Dansk
- ☐ Det gør ingen forskel.

20. Talte du dansk før du begyndte at lære det i skolen?

- ☐ Ikke relevant, dansker mit hovedsprog
- ☐ Ja, flydende
- ☐ Ja, godt
- ☐ Ja, lidt
- ☐ Nej

DANSK I SAMFUNDET

21. Er det vigtigt at tale dansk som danskerne taler det?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej
- ☐ Det gør ikke noget.

22. Kan man være grønlænder uden at kunne tale grønlandsk?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej

23. Hvor vidt er du enig i denne sætning?

Dansk er et fremmedsprog i Grønland.

- ☐ Meget enig
- ☐ Enig
- ☐ Hverken enig eller uenig
- ☐ Uenig
- ☐ Meget uenig

24. Hvor vidt er du enig i denne sætning?

Det danske sprog truer det grønlandske sprog.

- ☐ Meget enig
- ☐ Enig
- ☐ Hverken enig eller uenig
- ☐ Uenig
- ☐ Meget uenig

25. Hvilken er den vigtigste grund til at lære dansk i Grønland?

(Sæt mærke ved kun et svar.)

- ☐ For at kunne arbejde/studere
- ☐ Fordi Grønland hører sammen med Danmark
- ☐ For at kunne tale med danskere
- ☐ For at kunne bo i Danmark
- ☐ For at kunne blive betragtet som en dansker
- ☐ Fordi Grønland samarbejder med nordiske lande
- ☐ For at kunne læse tekster, der ikke findes på grønlandsk
- ☐ En anden grund (.....)

26. Synes du, at danskere der bor i Grønland bør lære grønlandsk?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej

27. Er det muligt at have et godt liv i Grønland uden at kunne tale grønlandsk?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej

28. Er det muligt at have et godt liv i Grønland uden at kunne tale dansk?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej

29. Siden juni 2009 er grønlandsk det eneste officielle sprog i Grønland. Synes du, at det var en rigtig afgørelse?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej

Bemærkninger

DANSK OG INTERNETTET

30. Bruger du e-mail?

- ☐ Ja (hvis 'ja', svar på spørgsmål 31 og 32)
- ☐ Nej (hvis 'nej', gå til spørgsmål 34)

31. På hvilket sprog er din e-mail konto?

- ☐ Grønlandsk
- ☐ Dansk
- ☐ Engelsk
- ☐ Et andet sprog (sproget.....)

32. Er din e-mail konto en Hotmail-konto?

- ☐ Ja (hvis 'ja', svar på spørgsmål 33)
- ☐ Nej (hvis 'nej', gå til spørgsmål 34)

33. Hvis det var muligt at have Hotmail på grønlandsk, ville du have valgt det i stedet?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej

34. Bruger du Facebook?

- ☐ Ja (hvis 'ja', svar på spørgsmål 35)
- ☐ Nej (hvis 'nej', gå til spørgsmål 36)

35. På hvilket sprog er din Facebook-konto?

- ☐ Dansk
- ☐ Engelsk
- ☐ Et andet sprog (sproget

36. Andre bemærkninger?

SLUT

TAK FOR DIN HJÆLP

6. The Greenland Survey Questionnaire (Greenlandic)

PERIARFISSAQARPUTIT danskisut kalaallisulluunniit akinissarnut. Akissutininik immersuiffissaq tungujortoq danskit oqaasiinik akiunermi immersungassaavoq, sungaartorlu kalaallit oqaasiinik atuilluni immersungassaalluni.

OQAASERISANI AALLAQQAASIUT

*Akissutininik immersuiffissaq 36-nik apeqquteqarpoq
Malungiuk ataasiinnarmik akissuteqarnissat.*

TUNULIAQUTAQ

1. Qassinik ukioqarpit?

..... -nik ukioqarpunga.

2. Suiassuseq:

- ☐ Angut
☐ Armaq

3. Nuummi qanoq sivilizingisumik najungaqarpit?

Ukiut -t.

4. Kalaallit Nunaanni inunngorsimavit?

- ☐ Aap
☐ Naamik

5. Kalaaliullutit misingisimavit?

- ☐ Aap
☐ Ilaatingut
☐ Naamik
Malunneqqusaq.....

6. Oqaatsit sorliit pingaarnertut atorpingit?

- ☐ Danskisut
☐ Kalaallisut
☐ Danskisut kalaallisullu
☐ Danskisut aamma oqaatsit allatuut (oqaatsit)
☐ Kalaallisut aamma oqaatsit allatuut (oqaatsit)
☐ Oqaatsit allatuut (oqaatsit)

7. Oqaatsit sorliit atorlungit anaanat oqaluuttarpiuk ?

- ☐ Danskisut
☐ Kalaallisut
☐ Danskisut kalaallisullu
☐ Danskisut aamma oqaatsit allatuut (oqaatsit)
☐ Kalaallisut aamma oqaatsit allatuut (oqaatsit)
☐ Oqaatsit allatuut (oqaatsit)
☐ Attuumassuteqanngilaq

8. Oqaatsit sorliitatorlungit ataatat oqaluuttarpiuk?

- ☐ Danskisut
- ☐ Kalaallisut
- ☐ Danskisut kalaallisullu
- ☐ Danskisut aamma oqaatsit allatuut (*oqaatsit*
- ☐ Kalaallisut aamma oqaatsit allatuut (*oqaatsit*
- ☐ Oqaatsit allatuut (*oqaatsit*
- ☐ Attuumassuteqanngilaq

9. Qasseriartut Danmarkimiinnikuuvit?

- ☐ Danmarkimiinngisaannarpunga
- ☐ Ataasiarlunga
- ☐ Marlóriarlunga
- ☐ Arlaleriarlunga
- ☐ Danmarkimeersuuvunga.

10. Danmarkimi najungaqarnikuuvit?

- ☐ Naamik
- ☐ Aap, qaammatip ataatsip pingasullu akornanni
- ☐ Aap, qaammatit pingasut arfinillilu akornanni
- ☐ Aap, qaammatit arfinillit ukiullu ataatsip akornanni
- ☐ Aap ukiup ataatsip ukiullu marluk akornanni
- ☐ Aap ukiut marluk ukiullu tallimat akornanni
- ☐ Aap ukiut tallimat sinnerlungit

11. Nunani allani (Danmarkimiunngitsoq imaluunniit Kalaallit Nunaanniunngitsoq) ukioq ataaseq sinnerlungu najungaqarnikuuvit?

- ☐ Aap (*Nunami uani/nunani ukunani*.....)
- ☐ Naamik

12. Danskisut qanoq oqalloritsingaat?

- ☐ Kukkuneqanngitsumik, danskisut oqalunneq oqaasiveraakka
- ☐ Kukkuneqanngitsumik, danskisut oqalunneq oqaasiverinngikkaluarlungit, toqqissisimanamerusumik atortarakkit danskisut oqaluttarpunga.
- ☐ Kukkuneqanngitsumik, oqaasivikkali danskit oqaasianiik toqqissisimanamerummata atorneruakka.
- ☐ Kukkuneqanngitsumik, danskisut aamma oqaasivinnik oqaluttarnikka assingiipput.
- ☐ Ajunngitsumik
- ☐ Ajunngilluinnartumik
- ☐ Pitsaavallaanngilaq

13. Kalaallisut qanoq oqalloritsingaat?

- ☐ Kukkuneqanngitsumik, kalaallisut oqalunneq oqaasiveraakka
- ☐ Kukkuneqanngitsumik, kalaallisut oqalunneq oqaasiverinngikkaluarlungit, toqqissisimanamerusumik atortarakkit kalaallisut oqaluttarpunga.
- ☐ Kukkuneqanngitsumik, oqaasivikkali kalaallit oqaasianiik toqqissisimanamerummata atorneruakka.
- ☐ Kukkuneqanngitsumik, kalaallisut aamma oqaasivinnik oqaluttarnikka assingiipput.
- ☐ Ajunngitsumik
- ☐ Ajunngilluinnartumik
- ☐ Pitsaavallaanngilaq

14. Danskit oqaasiinik oqalukkaangavit uku misilittarpiingit:

- ☐ Danskerpallanniartarlutit?
- ☐ Kalaalerpallanniartarlutit?
- ☐ Sumiorpallanneq eqqarsaatingineq ajorpara, oqaluinnartarpunga.

15. Isumaqarpit danskisut oqaluleraangavit:

- ☐ Assut kalaalerpallattarlutit?
- ☐ Immannuaq kalaalerpallattarlutit?
- ☐ Kalaalerpallannermiik qallunaatoorpallannerusarlutit?
- ☐ qallunaatoorpallunnitaallutit?
- ☐ Sumiorpalussuseq oqaatsinik allaniik sunnerneqarsimasog?
(soqaatsit sorliit)

ATUARFIMMI QALLUNAATOORNEQ

16. Toqqisisimanartinneruviuk atuarfimmi danskisut imaluunniit kalaallisut atuarlutit (soorlu atuakkani ilinniutiniik il.il.)?

- ☐ Kalaallisut
- ☐ Danskisut
- ☐ Fag-i sorleq apeqqutaavoq.
- ☐ Assingiinnarpaa

17. Toqqisisimanartinneruviuk atuarfiup avataani danskisut imaluunniit kalaallisut atuarlutit?

- ☐ Kalaallisut
- ☐ Danskisut
- ☐ Assingiinnarpaa

18. Toqqisisimanartinneruviuk atuarfimmi danskisut imaluunniit kalaallisut allallutit (soorlu allakkiani (stil) il.il.)?

- ☐ Kalaallisut
- ☐ Danskisut
- ☐ Fag-i sorleq apeqqutaavoq.
- ☐ Assingiinnarpaa

19. Toqqisisimanartinneruviuk atuarfiup avataani danskisut imaluunniit kalaallisut allallutit?

- ☐ Kalaallisut
- ☐ Danskisut
- ☐ Assingiinnarpaa

20. Atuarfimmi aallartinnnginnerni danskisut oqaluttarpit?

- ☐ Apeqqutaanngilaq, danskisut oqaasii oqaasiveraakka
- ☐ Aap, kukkuneqaangitsumik
- ☐ Aap pitsaasumik
- ☐ Aap immannuaq
- ☐ Naamik

INUIAQATINGIINNI DANSKISUT

21. Danskisut ilaarlungit danskisut oqalunneq pingaaruteqarpa?

- ☐ Aap
- ☐ Naamik
- ☐ Ajoquteqanngilaq.

22. Kalaallisut oqalussinnaanani kalaaliusinnaasoqarpa?

- ☐ Aap
- ☐ Naamik

**23. Qanoq annertutingsumik oqaatsimut uunga isumaqataavit?
Danskisut oqaasii Kalaallit Nunaanni takornartat oqaaserai.**

- ☐ Isumaqataalluinnarpunga
- ☐ Isumaqataavunga

- ☐ Isumaqataanangalu akerliunngilanga
- ☐ Isumaqataanngilanga
- ☐ Isumaqataanngilluinnarpunga

24. Qanoq annertutingsumik oqaatsimut uunga isumaqataavit?

Danskit oqaasii kalaallit oqaasiisa tammarnissaannut ulorianartorsiortitsipput.

- ☐ Isumaqataalluinnarpunga
- ☐ Isumaqataavunga
- ☐ Isumaqataanangalu akerliunngilanga
- ☐ Isumaqataanngilanga
- ☐ Isumaqataanngilluinnarpunga

25. Danskit oqaasiinik ilinniarnissami peqqutini ukunani suna pingaarnersaava?

(Akissut ataasiinnaq nalunaqutseruk.)

- ☐ Sulisinnaaniassangaanni/ Ilinniarsinnaaniassangaanni
- ☐ Kalaalliat Nunaat Danmarkimut atammat
- ☐ Danskit oqaloqatingisarniassangaanni
- ☐ Danmarkimi najungaqarniassangaanni
- ☐ Danskisut isingineqarniassangaanni
- ☐ Kalaallit Nunaata nunat avannarliit Suleqatingimmangit
- ☐ Oqaatsit kalaallisuujuunngitsut atuarniassangaanni
- ☐ Peqqut alla (.....)

26. Isumaqarpit danskit Kalaallit Nunaanniittut kalaallisut ilinniartariaqarluartut?

- ☐ Aap
- ☐ Naamik

27. Kalaallit Nunaanni kalaallisut oqalussinnaangikkaluarluni inuunerittoqarsinnaava?

- ☐ Aap
- ☐ Naamik

28. Kalaallit Nunaanni danskit oqaasiinik oqalussinnaangikkaluarluni inuunerittoqarsinnaava?

- ☐ Aap
- ☐ Naamik

29. Juni 2009-miik kalaallit oqaasii kisiartaallutik pisortatingoortumik oqaasiulerput. Isumaqarpit eqqortumik aalajangiinnerusimasoq?

- ☐ Aap
- ☐ Naamik
- ☐ Oqaaseqaatit

DANSKISUT INTERNET-ILU

30. E-mail-i atortarpiuk?

- ☐ Aap (*angeruit apequtit 31 aamma 32 akissavatit*)
- ☐ Naamik (*'naameeruit' apeqqummut 33-mut ingerlaannarit*)

31. E-mail konto-t oqaatsit sorliit atorlungit ingerlava?

- ☐ Kalaallisut
- ☐ Danskisut
- ☐ Tuluttut
- ☐ Oqaatsit allat (*sorliit?*)

32. E-mail konto-t Hotmail-konto atorpaa?

- ☐ Aap (*angeruit apequt 33 akiuk*)
- ☐ Naamik (*'naameeruit apeqqummut 34-mut ingerlaannarit*)

33. Kalaallisut Hotmail-eqaraluarpat toqqarsimassangaluarpiuk?

- ☐ Aap
☐ Naamik

34. Facebook-i atortarpiuk?

- ☐ Aap (*angeruit apequt 35 akiuk*)
☐ Naamik (*naameeruit apeqqummut 36-mut ingerlaannarit*)

35. Facebook konto-t oqaatsit sorliitatorlungit ingerlava?

- ☐ Danskisut
☐ Tuluttut
☐ Oqaatsit allat (*sorliit?*)

36. Oqaaseqaatit allat?

NAAVOQ

QUJANAQ AKISSUTERNUT

7. The Greenland Survey Questionnaire (English)

You can answer in EITHER Danish or Greenlandic. The blue questionnaire is in Danish and the yellow one is in Greenlandic.

BEGINNING

*The questionnaire has 36 questions.
Put a cross by only **one** answer.*

BACKGROUND

1. How old are you?

..... years old

2. Gender:

- ☐ Male
☐ Female

3. For how long have you lived in Nuuk?

..... years

4. Were you born in Greenland?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

5. What language is your main language?

- ☐ Danish
☐ Greenlandic
☐ Danish and Greenlandic
☐ Danish and another language (*language*)
☐ Greenlandic and another language (*langauge*)
☐ Another language (*language*)

6. Which language do/did you speak with your mother?

- ☐ Danish
☐ Greenlandic

- ☐ Danish and Greenlandic
- ☐ Danish and another language (*language*
- ☐ Greenlandic and another language (*language*
- ☐ Another language (*language*
- ☐ Not relevant

7. Which language do/did you speak with your father?

- ☐ Danish
- ☐ Greenlandic
- ☐ Danish and Greenlandic
- ☐ Danish and another language (*language*
- ☐ Greenlandic and another language (*language*
- ☐ Another language (*language*
- ☐ Not relevant

8. Do you consider yourself to be a Greenlander?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Partly
- ☐ No
- Comments

9. How many times have you been to Denmark?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Once
- ☐ Twice
- ☐ Several times
- ☐ I come from Denmark.

10. Have you lived in Denmark?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, between 1 and 3 months
- ☐ Yes, between 3 and 6 months
- ☐ Yes, between 6 months and 1 year
- ☐ Yes, between 1 and 2 years
- ☐ Yes, between 2 and 5 years
- ☐ Yes, over 5 years

11. Have you lived in another country for over a year?

- ☐ Yes (*Country/countries*
- ☐ No

12. How well do you speak Danish?

- ☐ Fluently, Danish is my main language.
- ☐ Fluently, Danish is not my main language, but I feel more comfortable with Danish than with my main language.
- ☐ Fluently, but I am more comfortable with my main language than with Danish.
- ☐ Fluently, I speak Danish and my main language equally well.
- ☐ Well
- ☐ Quite well
- ☐ Not well

13. How well do you speak Greenlandic?

- ☐ Fluently, Greenlandic is my main language.
- ☐ Fluently, Greenlandic is not my main language, but I feel more comfortable with Greenlandic than with my main language.
- ☐ Fluently, but I am more comfortable with my main language than with Greenlandic.
- ☐ Fluently, I speak Greenlandic and my main language equally well.
- ☐ Well

- ☐ Quite well
☐ Not well
☐ I don't speak Greenlandic. (NB: Only on the Danish questionnaire)

14. When you speak Danish, do you try to:

- ☐ speak with a Greenlandic accent?
☐ speak with a Danish accent?
☐ I don't think about the accent, I just speak.

15. Do you think that you speak Danish with:

- ☐ a strong Greenlandic accent?
☐ an accent which is somewhat Greenlandic?
☐ an accent which is more Danish than Greenlandic?
☐ a good Danish accent?
☐ an accent which is influenced by another language? (*Language*)

DANISH AT SCHOOL

16. Do you feel more comfortable reading Greenlandic or Danish at school (in textbooks, etc.)?

- ☐ Greenlandic
☐ Danish
☐ It depends on the subject.
☐ It makes no difference.

17. Do you feel more comfortable reading Greenlandic or Danish outside school?

- ☐ Greenlandic
☐ Danish
☐ It makes no difference.

18. Do you feel more comfortable writing Greenlandic or Danish at school (in essays, etc.)?

- ☐ Greenlandic
☐ Danish
☐ It depends on the subject.
☐ It makes no difference.

19. Do you feel more comfortable writing Greenlandic or Danish outside school?

- ☐ Greenlandic
☐ Danish
☐ It makes no difference.

20. Did you speak Danish before you started to learn it at school?

- ☐ Not relevant, Danish is my main language
☐ Yes, fluently
☐ Yes, well
☐ Yes, a little
☐ No

DANISH IN SOCIETY

21. Is it important to speak Danish like the Danes speak it?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ It doesn't matter.

22. Can one be considered Greenlandic without being able to speak Greenlandic?

- ☐ Yes

☐ No

23. To what extent do you agree with the following?

Danish is a foreign language in Greenland.

- ☐ Strongly agree
☐ Agree
☐ Neither agree nor disagree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly disagree

24. To what extent do you agree with the following?

The Danish language threatens the Greenlandic language.

- ☐ Strongly agree
☐ Agree
☐ Neither agree nor disagree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly disagree

25. Which is the most important reason for learning Danish?

*(Put a cross by **one** answer.)*

- ☐ To be able to work/study
☐ Because Greenland belongs together with Denmark
☐ To be able to speak to Danes
☐ To be able to live in Denmark
☐ To be able to be considered a Dane
☐ Because Greenland co-operates with the Nordic countries
☐ To be able to read texts that do not exist in Greenlandic
☐ Another reason (.....)

26. Do you think that Danes who live in Greenland should learn Greenlandic?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

27. Is it possible to live a good life in Greenland without being able to speak Greenlandic?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

28. Is it possible to live a good life in Greenland without being able to speak Danish?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

29. Since June 2009 Greenlandic has been the only official language in Greenland. Do you think that was the correct decision?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No
Comments

DANISH AND THE INTERNET

30. Do you use e-mail?

- ☐ Yes (if 'yes', answer questions 31 and 32)
☐ No (if 'no', go to question 34)

31. In which language is your e-mail account?

- ☐ Greenlandic
☐ Danish
☐ English

☐ Another language (*language.....*)

32. Is your e-mail account a Hotmail account?

☐ Yes (*if 'yes', answer question 33*)

☐ No (*if 'no', go to question 34*)

33. If it was possible to have Hotmail in Greenlandic, would you have chosen that instead?

☐ Yes

☐ No

34. Do you use Facebook?

☐ Yes (*if 'yes', answer question 35*)

☐ No (*if 'no', go to question 36*)

35. In which language is your Facebook account?

☐ Danish

☐ English

☐ Another language (*language*)

36. Other comments?

END

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP