

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON
FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES
School of Humanities

**The Impact of Global English on Language Policy: the Situations of Iceland and
Denmark**

by

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ABSTRACT

**FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES**

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**THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL ENGLISH ON LANGUAGE POLICY: THE
SITUATIONS OF ICELAND AND DENMARK**

by Amanda Mary Hilmarsson-Dunn

This thesis explores the tensions between national language policies and the ideologies underpinning them, and globalisation. In contributing to the current debates on this theme (for example, Mar-Molinero and Stevenson, 2006), I investigate the two case studies of Iceland and Denmark and their less well known European languages: Icelandic and Danish. I examine how global factors, specifically the impact of English, affect language policy in these two nations.

The policy areas under investigation are those of education, cultural products and information technology. The impact of English in these areas has resulted in an infiltration of English words and structures into the corpus of both languages. This has led to the formulation of language policies in both countries in order to endeavour to counteract English. My findings indicate, however, that the effectiveness of language policies is dependent upon the strength of nationalist ideologies underpinning the national languages, and upon institutional and public support for them.

My research is carried out within the context of the supranational entities of Europe, and the Nordic region, to determine whether the language policies of these regions affect the national language policies of Iceland and Denmark, specifically whether they can assist these small nations in counteracting English.

In order to carry out the study, visits were made to Iceland and Denmark, firstly to interview key professionals in language planning and policy, and secondly to do a survey of secondary school students to get an idea of their language practices.

Reference

Mar-Molinero, C. and P. Stevenson (eds). (2006). *Language ideologies, policies and practices: language and the future of Europe*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Amanda Hilmarsson-Dunn.....

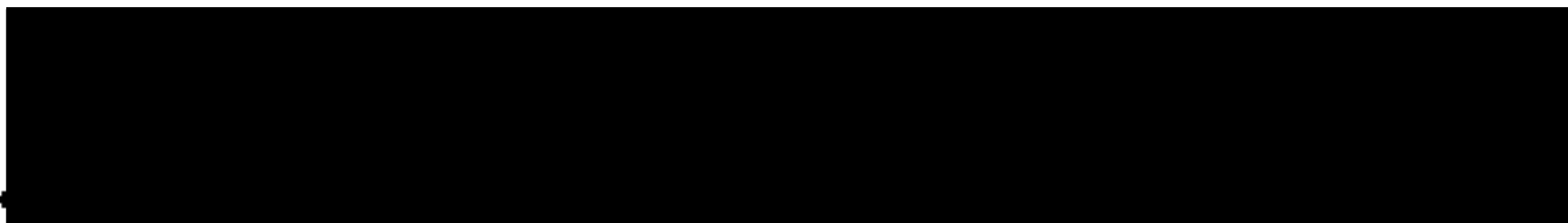
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- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
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Signed: ........

Date:.....26th April 2008.....

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Definitions and abbreviations

ASCII.....American Standard Code for Information Interchange
CEFR.....Common European Framework of Reference
CLARIN..... Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure
CLT.....Centre for Language Technology
COE.....Council of Europe
CLIL..... Content and Language Integrated Learning
DGfEC.....Directorate General for Education and Culture
DLC.....Danish Language Council
DNS..... Domain Name System
ECRML..... European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages
EEA.....European Economic Area
EFTA.....European Free Trade Area
EHEA.....European Higher Education Area
EU.....European Union
GCSE.....General Certificate of Secondary Education
HE.....Higher Education
HEI.....Higher Education Instituion
ICT.....Information and Communications Technology
IT.....Information Technology
ILI.....Icelandic Language Institute
ISO.....International Standards Organisation
KU.....University of Copenhagen
Lingua franca.....a common language used by speakers of different mother tongues
LT.....Language Technology
LWUTL.....Less Widely Used and Taught Languages
MEP..... Member of the European Parliament
MESDC.....Major English Speaking Destination Countries
MS.....Microsoft
MSN.....Microsoft Network
MT.....Machine Translation
OS.....Open Source
PHARE.....Poland-Hungary Assistance for Reconstruction of the Economy
SMS.....Short Messaging Service
TTFL.....Training Teachers of a Foreign Language
UNESCO.....United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WTO.....World Trade Organisation
XML.....Extensible Markup Language

THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL ENGLISH ON LANGUAGE POLICY: THE SITUATIONS OF ICELAND AND DENMARK.

English as a global language is now a factor that needs to be taken account in its language policy by any nation state (Spolsky, 2004: 91)

Introduction

I Context for the thesis

Globalisation is a process whereby flows of goods, labour, finance and ideas cross national borders. The process has been accelerated by advanced forms of communication and fast transportation, resulting in a shrinking world, which Coupland (2003: 467) refers to as a 'compression of time and space.' Organisations and corporations, once the province of nations, are being formed at the international level, as well as laws, economies and social movements (Global Policy Forum, 2006). The process results in an interdependence between nations and, therefore, more mixing of cultures and languages.

Globalisation has brought about the spread of consumerism and commodification including, Coupland (2003: 470) asserts, the commodification of language itself. This 'can disenfranchise people and undermine their sense of authentic membership in longstanding communities' (ibid). Although for many people globalisation is welcome, as they wish to reap the benefits of being part of the modern world, most also wish to maintain their identity. As Edwards (1985: 42) notes, they 'want the solace of the past *without* sacrificing the rewards of progress.' The problem with globalisation according to Finnbogadóttir (1998) is that its 'common denominator is the economic and the financial, while the culture and values that make our lives rich in a different sense tend to be ignored.'

Thus globalisation has also had the effect of stimulating nationalism (Giddens (1999: 6). Rather than being more receptive to such global flows of ideas and people therefore, some nation-states are becoming more protectionist due to globalisation (Ralston Saul, 2007). On the other hand, others feel that the era of the nation state is almost over (for example, Ohmae, cited in Giddens, 1999: 3-4). It is therefore important to understand that 'globalisation is a complex set of partly contradictory forces,' 'not a single force pulling in a single direction' (Giddens (1999: 6).

The consequences of globalisation for language policies include the following:

1) The traditional autonomous nation-state is often forced to formulate its policies in respect to policies of supranational institutions. Fairclough (2001: 203) states that 'the national and the local are set within an international frame which shapes them'. Canagarajah (2005: xx) reminds us that states cannot make policy in isolation: 'our policies have to be mindful of the porous borders that open up each country to people, goods and ideas that shuttle across communities.' What is certain, according to Hüppauf (2004: 11), is that no country can manage its language in complete isolation because globalisation, by shrinking space and linking places with each other, makes nation states interdependent.

2) Worldwide migration has brought with it multiple languages and identities. Although immigrants have been broadly welcomed in the West in the past, for example during the waves of the 1950s, due to their contribution to national economies, problems have developed since then as so many decided to stay in their adopted countries (Oakes, 2001: 85).

3) Groups are being excluded from access to knowledge, power and wealth because of lack of knowledge of the global language, English. Kachru (1986: 8) points out that in South Asia the important prestigious domains have always been controlled by the 3% of the literate population who know English. Thus, not everyone is part of the active globalisation process (Blommaert, 2003: 609).

4) The spread of English as a global *lingua franca* has an impact upon languages and identities. I define a *lingua franca* as a language that is widely used by people other than its native speakers as a common language of international communication.

The last point provides the main focus for this thesis and takes as its example the spread of English into the small Nordic countries of Iceland and Denmark. My research is motivated by the concern that Icelandic and Danish, being small national languages, might lose out to English because of globalisation. There exists a conflict between the necessity of having educated English-as-a-second-language (ESL) speaking populations, who can communicate in the wider world, and the desire to keep their own languages intact and fully functioning. The first foreign language taught in all the Nordic countries is now English, Danish having been finally usurped by English in Iceland in 1999. Young Icelanders and Danes see little point in learning any language but English.

The summary of the Nordic Council of Ministers commissioned report (Höglin, 2002) translated as 'The English language as a threat and an asset in the Nordic countries,' emphasises the positive benefits of English as a *lingua franca* with the ability it gives to work, do business and research 'across linguistic, racial and national borders', but also worries about the impact of English on the Nordic languages and culture and how much English has taken over so far:

Have we already become so swamped by the English language in our Nordic world that there is a risk that our national languages will disappear in the future? How much of the Nordic languages has the English language managed to conquer thus far? Are there areas where we are not able to express ourselves using our own words because the English language has taken over? (Höglin, 2002).

This is not the first time that there have been worries about an English takeover. Haugen (1987: 84) quotes a Norwegian critic and publisher, Groth, writing in the *Dagbladet*, August 3, 1960, who predicted that

the small language groups are today in danger of being absorbed by the great. In ten years English may have won hegemony in Iceland, in thirty years in Norway, in fifty years in Sweden.

That the demise of these languages did not happen at the times predicted is due, I believe, in part to language policies and the nationalist ideologies underpinning them; in part to demographic and social economic factors.

Since then, English has spread very quickly into new and existing domains of education, the media and information technology (IT) presenting a greater worry to many professionals and the general public in some of the Nordic countries than in the 1960s.

The Nordic countries are small (in terms of population) and may not possess the resources to put into their own national languages against the huge resources put into the spread of English worldwide. Furthermore, globalisation has resulted in the Nordic countries themselves seeking more agreements and partnerships with supranational organisations where the language of communication is invariably English. English has acquired what Phillipson (2003: 16) refers to as ‘a narcotic power’, in the form of professional and commercial interests and popular culture.

II Aim of this research

This thesis explores the tensions between national language policies and the ideologies underpinning them, and globalisation. In contributing to the current debates on this theme (for example, Mar-Molinero and Stevenson, 2006b, 2006c), I investigate the two case studies of Iceland and Denmark and their less well known European languages: Icelandic and Danish. I examine how global factors, specifically the impact of English, affect language policy in these two nations.

Although Iceland is often cited as a monolingual nation-state with purist language policies, there has been no in depth study on Icelandic language policy that I am aware of since Vikør’s (1995) work and my own research (Hilmarsson-Dunn,

2003). In the case of Denmark, the Danes only adopted a language policy in 2004. Therefore, the success or otherwise of its implementation requires examination.

The thesis builds upon the findings of my MA paper (ibid) in which I examined the changes that had taken place in the Icelandic language in the last fifty years due to the role of global English. The paper showed that the robust purist language policies in Iceland have helped to maintain Icelandic, but that the Icelandic language may be less secure in the future. In this thesis, I argue that, in Iceland's case, globalisation and global English have had the effect of stimulating nationalist tendencies, exerting pressure on policy makers towards protection of their language.

In Denmark's case, however, the population has been more receptive towards global English and has not seen the need to protect its language. The Danish language has already suffered attrition in some domains to English, due to the Danes' generally 'laissez faire' attitude to language and to there being no tradition of language policy in Denmark.

In this thesis, I argue that there has to be an active will rather than a passive desire to maintain one's own language in the face of global English because English has become so prevalent and acquired so much status. However, language policies can only be effective, provided that they are underpinned by strong nationalist ideologies and sufficient resources.

My research on Iceland and Denmark is carried out within the context of all the Nordic countries and policies of the EU as well as the global situation. Analysis of the data collected from these case studies enables me to:

- 1) examine the changing role of the nation state in the context of the supranational and the global;
- 2) examine the relationship between language and national identity;
- 3) determine whether language policies can be successful within specific contexts.

Wright (2004: 251), in her conclusion, calls for more case studies of what people are doing linguistically in order to ‘aggregate the particular to get a clear view of the general.’ She specifically invites investigation into the relations between the global, national and local so that we can see ‘if there is a leaking away from the national in language practice.’ My investigations into the policies and practices of the two contrasting case studies will therefore provide a relevant contribution to this field of study.

III Research questions

Hypothesis

My hypothesis for this research is that language policies underpinned by nationalist ideologies can counteract English.

However, factors that will influence whether or not this hypothesis is correct are the effects of 1) supranational policies and 2) supranational and national resources.

Main research questions

To fulfil the aim of the research, the following main research questions need to be addressed.

- 1) Is there a role for national language policies in the framework of globalisation?
- 2) What influence do national ideologies have on language policies?
- 3) How do supranational language policies affect national ones?

Overarching question

In order to answer these research questions the thesis focuses on the two illustrative and contrasting case studies, about which I will ask the following overarching question:

What impact is the globalisation of English having on the language policies of Iceland and Denmark?

Secondary research questions

As secondary questions to this overarching one I will investigate the following:

- a) How does globalisation affect the language policies of the EU/EEA countries and the Nordic countries? How do language policies in EU/EEA institutions affect language policies in the Nordic countries? Do they assist in protecting the less widely used and taught Nordic languages from global English?
- b) Does cooperation and policy within the Nordic area assist in protecting the languages of Iceland and Denmark? Does Nordic cooperation offset the power and influence of global English?
- c) What, if anything, is being done to resist global English in Iceland and Denmark? What language policies are they implementing?
- d) Do national language policies have any affect on practice in Iceland and Denmark?
- e) What is the link between ideologies/national identity, policies and practices in Iceland and Denmark? Are their language policies successful? Why have/haven't they succeeded?

IV Methodology

This section consists of the description of the methodological approach taken. It sets out to explain the reasons for choosing the particular case studies and domains, and the methods of data collection.

i Countries chosen

Iceland was my first choice of country to study because Iceland is a unique case in Europe: it represents possibly the only country within Europe which is monolingual. In other words, it has no indigenous minorities, nor sizeable immigrant communities, although these are increasing (about 3%, according to Gunnlaugsdóttir, 2005a). However, there is a great emphasis on foreign language learning, which means that most, especially young Icelanders, can communicate in more than one language. Iceland has a small population of about 300,000. It is isolated geographically, a factor which has assured its language more protection from outside influence in its past history, relative to the other Nordic countries.

Today, Iceland is a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the European Economic Area (EEA) as well as being a member of the Nordic community. It has a strong literary tradition, and a conservative and protectionist language policy, which is supported by the majority of the population.

Another reason for choosing Iceland is because I have lived in Iceland and learned the language.

Denmark was chosen because it represents the opposite to Iceland in many features: it has a German speaking minority community, borders with Germany and easy geographical communication with the rest of Europe and the other Nordic countries, except Iceland. It is a member of the European Union (EU) and the EEA, and the Nordic community. It is multicultural and multilingual and had its own Nordic multilingual empire until the mid nineteenth century, which

included dominance over Iceland for over five hundred years. Both the Faroe Islands and Greenland have home rule within the Kingdom of Denmark and still keep Danish as an official language. There are now large immigrant groups of Turks along with other smaller groups from elsewhere, such as Somalis and Tamils. Together these groups make up about 8% of its population, which is about 5.4 million. Danish is also the mother tongue of over ten thousand Danes in South Schleswig, Germany (Lund, 2004).

Denmark has a much less purist attitude than Iceland. Vikør (1995: 179) cites the Danish linguist Jørn Lund (1986: 35) who says that the Danish community is the least linguistically conscious of the Nordic countries, whereas Iceland is at the other end of the scale. Where there are regional differences in standard pronunciation in Denmark (Lund, 2004) there are none in Iceland (Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2003: 4 – 6). Denmark is ‘extremely receptive to foreign words’ (Vikør 1995: 186) whereas Iceland is not. Danish has undergone the greatest amount of change from the original Scandinavian, in contrast to Icelandic, which has undergone the least change.

As these two countries are representative of the two extreme situations within the Nordic countries, I decided that a comparative study between them would provide a significant contribution to the debate on the viability of language policies in the face of English: on the one hand, I will show that Iceland, through its policies, is trying to maintain its language against market forces, and on the other that Denmark has left its language, until recently, to market forces and is trying, belatedly, to slow down a shift to English.

It was considered too wide a topic for the thesis to study the language policies of all the Nordic countries. Several authors have written about Norway, Einar Haugen (1966, 1987) in particular. Much also has been written about Finland (Latomaa and Nuolijarvi, 2005: 135-232) and its Finno-Ugric language is less accessible to me. Sweden also has a well documented language policy (Oakes, 2001 and 2005; Winsa, 2005: 233 - 330). The Faroe Islands were considered too small, the language is closer to Icelandic linguistically than the other Nordic countries and in many ways the Faroese are following the policies of Iceland, my

first choice of study, so there would not be sufficient comparison to make an interesting thesis.

ii Domains chosen

Firstly, I will be examining the impact of English on the linguistic systems of both languages, that is, the written and spoken language, and the role that English can play in undermining the use of the standard national language in both countries. An examination of both countries' corpus planning will therefore be undertaken.

Corpus planning, and the ideologies behind it, influences many aspects of status planning, including the domains I have selected, those of education, cultural products, and information technology (IT). I have selected these domains because I consider them to have caused the increased spread of English and thus to have had the greatest impact upon standard national languages.

It is in the domain of education, in particular through schools, that the standard language and foreign languages are taught. It is in this domain that children are most influenced by language planning, whether overt or covert. Education is a major factor in the spread of any language and gives that language status. For example English has been chosen by the policy makers in all the Nordic countries as the first foreign language taught in schools.

The domains of cultural products and IT have had the greatest impact on traditional ideologies in recent years and have added to the range of uses of English, often to the detriment of national languages. Cultural products play a significant role in spreading English today by propagating, for example, pop culture with linguistic features from English.

IT is a major modernising force in the Nordic countries where statistics show some of the highest numbers of Internet use per capita in the world. The Internet is responsible for introducing new linguistic features, such as words with the *e*-prefix, from English, for increased communication in English in many language

groups and, therefore, may reinforce the status of English and undermine the status of the national standard language.

It is in these three domains where, for example, the Nordic Council of Ministers is more worried about the impact on the Nordic languages from English than in the past (Höglin, 2002). They are also the domains which have the greatest influence upon the younger generation, whose attitudes towards the impact of English may affect the policy making of the future. The revolution of the Internet together with the mass media has enabled the grassroots bilingualism amongst school children described by Vikør (1995: 144). Young people are often the leaders in change, adopting, adapting or rejecting aspects of language (Berns, 2007). Furthermore, youth are the most catered for group, according to Berns (2007a) in terms of services and programmes of the European Union (EU). Education, cultural products and information technology are also three of the domains that may exclude those not competent in English.

These three domains will be analysed at the different levels: national, regional, and supranational, and the impact of English upon the corpora of Icelandic and Danish assessed.

iii Methods of data collection chosen

A combination of data collection methods was employed in order for me to give a qualitative evaluation of the effects of English in the two countries:

- 1) document based research;
- 2) a series of semi structured interviews with makers of language policy and other professionals in Iceland and Denmark;
- 3) two surveys carried out with upper secondary school pupils, aged sixteen to twenty.

1) Document based research

The primary sources of data used were a range of texts specific to Iceland and Denmark. These were mainly obtained through official websites, papers and publications generated by the relevant Ministries of Education, Culture and IT and those from the language councils; papers of conference proceedings, as well as research papers in academic journals. I also consulted the websites of the Nordic Council of Ministers and Nordic research organisations; along with university websites and the international offices of the University of Copenhagen and University of Iceland.

I was able to obtain most of the information that I required in English. A limiting factor, however, was that there is very little written about Danish language policy in English. However, I acquired some papers and official figures in English from the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation in Denmark along with publications from the EU Policy Group and Nordic Policy group in Denmark. Any gaps were filled in with information gathered through the interviews.

2) Semi structured interviews

Interviewing professionals in the two countries was an essential element of the data gathering process. Semi structured interviews were chosen as, according to Wengraf (2001: 5), they may yield far more than fully structured interviews: they are 'high-preparation, high-risk, high-gain, and high-analysis operations.' This is because they allow the informant to expand the questions and give the information they want to give, as well as the information they are asked for.

Most interviews were with individuals, but some were with two informants. Each informant/s was asked a number of open questions. I tended to ask specific questions first, which I needed answers to, and then went on to more general questions. Some interviews lasted an hour, but some carried on for over two hours depending on the informant's time commitment and/or interest. All the interviews were held at the informants' place of work.

Each interview was recorded using a digital recorder, and I also took notes in case of failure of technology. I followed the advice of Wengraf (2001: 5) by preparing well before each interview. Each interview was designed based on the relevant section of the theoretical background to be discussed with specific informants with specific aims in mind. I hoped thereby to relate the answers I received to the theory, and to compare the two case studies in the light of the theory. I also prepared a list of general questions, primarily about future trends, which I asked several informants.

These informants were targeted in advance by looking at websites, for example of the Ministries of Education and culture and IT, and the language councils. I then sent emails to those most likely to be the relevant people. Further contacts, who were identified as being relevant to my research, were established once I had arrived in the countries concerned, for example, some informants were recommended to me by Professor Robert Phillipson from Copenhagen Business School. Verification and/or clarification was often sought after the interviews, usually through email correspondence.

Iceland

Specific informants were from the following institutions in Iceland:

- a) **Icelandic Language Institute** - I conducted one interview with the Director.
- b) **Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Iceland.** Three interviews were conducted: one with the Director of the Office for ICT Development, the second with an adviser to the Division of Evaluation and Supervision in the Department of Education, the third with the Head of Division of Arts and Museums in the Department of Culture. Email correspondence was carried out with an adviser at the Department of Education.
- c) **The University of Iceland.** Three interviews were conducted: one with the Rector of the University of Iceland, the second with a Professor of Computer Science in the Department of Engineering, and the third with a teacher of

Icelandic to foreign students. Email correspondence was carried out with the Director for Socrates in Iceland.

Interviews were also carried out with two professional individuals:

d) a language technologist

e) an international businessman.

Denmark

Specific informants were from the following institutions in Denmark:

a) Danish Language Council. Two interviews were conducted with the Chairman and the Director.

b) The University of Copenhagen. Three interviews were carried out: with a professor of Danish, with a teacher of Danish to foreign students, and with a senior researcher at the Centre for Language Technology. Email correspondence was carried out with the Director of International Affairs at the International Office.

c) The University of Roskilde. One interview was carried out with a professor of English.

d) The Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Two interviews were carried out: with two representatives of the EU Policy Group, and one representative of the Nordic Policy Group.

e) The Media Secretariat. One interview was carried out with the Director.

f) The Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation. One interview was carried out with the Head of International ICT Policy and a special adviser.

The interviews were carried out in English in both countries, although in Iceland there was a lot of informal chat in Icelandic, and occasionally Icelandic was used if the informant was unsure of a phrase or word in English.

3) The surveys

The surveys in each country were carried out by means of a questionnaire in English (see appendices: 1 and 2). The questionnaire was designed to collect information on young people's use of English in the three selected domains. It was *not* designed to be the main information gathering tool, but as a monitoring tool. Its purpose was to find out how important English is becoming in daily use amongst the young people in Iceland and Denmark and to identify any significant trends. This monitoring would also give an idea as to whether any language policies implemented were effective. I used a representative sample to make inferences about the student population as a whole.

The questionnaire was pre-tested on a small sample of UK teenagers. This was done to ensure that native English speaking teenagers would understand the questions and point out any ambiguities. The questionnaire was then piloted with a small sample of Icelandic teenagers. Finally, it was checked for appropriateness by the Head of the English department, Fjölbrautaskóli Suðurlands, Iceland.

After the first survey had been carried out with the Icelandic students, the questionnaire was readjusted for the Danish students with some minor changes. It was intended to be distributed to upper secondary school students at the end of each week of interviews with policy makers and professionals.

In both Iceland and Denmark, the surveys were carried out in several English classes across the sixteen to twenty years age range in the presence of the class teachers. I chose to do the surveys in English classes in order that I could contribute to the students' English lessons in all the four key areas of listening, reading, writing and speaking. The students listened as I spoke about my research, read the questionnaire, wrote their answers in English and asked questions in

English. The teachers were happy to hand over their lessons to a native speaker, and assisted in answering any questions relevant to the questionnaire.

My presence ensured that there was less chance for the students to make the wrong interpretation and a greater likelihood of receiving all the questionnaires completed. As Openheim points out (1966: 36) this type of data collection with myself and the classroom teacher seeing to the administration of the questionnaires ensures a high response rate and the possibility to provide necessary explanations as well as the benefit of a degree of personal contact.

In Iceland it was a major bonus to be able to speak Icelandic as I could pick up extra information through listening to the students chat amongst themselves. I was unable to do this in Denmark, as I had insufficient command of the language.

In Iceland the survey was carried out with students from a large college of further education, Fjölbrautaskóli Suðurlands, in the south of Iceland, which serves the town of Selfoss and the wider rural community, an area with about seventeen thousand inhabitants. The college offers both academic and vocational subjects and there is a particular emphasis on ICT in the school environment. English is compulsory for all students, though the language stream studies English for more hours. Here, a questionnaire was distributed to four classes in the sixteen to twenty age years range.

I was fortunate to have a contact in this school, a teacher of English. This made it easy for me to establish what I wanted to do well in advance, and to be introduced to several other teachers in the school, whom I could also talk to on an informal basis.

In Denmark, the survey was carried out with students from Ørestad Gymnasium next door to the University of Copenhagen, Amager site. A gymnasium is an upper secondary school for students studying academic rather than vocational subjects. This one serves the young people from the surrounding schools and others in the city, who are interested in the profile of the gymnasium, cited on their website as media, communications and culture (Ørestad Gymnasium, 2006).

The Gymnasium recently opened with one hundred and seventy students. The questionnaire was distributed to two classes in the sixteen to twenty age years range.

I sent emails to several school head teachers or deputy head teachers in Denmark before my research trip requesting that I could carry out research in their schools. Because I received no replies, I found it necessary to visit the above school unannounced. Fortunately I was able to speak to the deputy head directly. After outlining the research I wanted to carry out, I was able to make the necessary arrangements.

V Thesis structure

Chapter one provides the theoretical framework for the thesis based on the literature. The theoretical framework examines:

- 1) models of globalisation and theories of the value of English;
- 2) the consequences of global English upon languages and identities;
- 3) a framework for language policy;
- 4) the ideologies behind language policy;
- 5) a model of language planning;
- 6) factors affecting language practices.

Chapter two provides the context for the thesis in terms of the global, European and Nordic supranational situations. This context is primarily based on findings from the literature but also on some interviews, for example, with the EU policy group and Nordic policy group of the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The chapter investigates:

- 1) the language used in the domains of education, cultural products and IT globally;

- 2) the language policy of the EU, and policies relating to the same three domains;
- 3) the current linguistic situation in the Nordic countries and policies for Nordic cooperation.

Chapter three gives the historical linguistic background to the two countries, and investigates the ideologies underpinning their languages. It compares and analyses each country's corpus planning in the light of the impact of English.

Chapters four and five and six provide an analysis and comparison of the data collected in the selected domains of status planning: education, cultural products and IT. The relevant parts of the theoretical underpinnings are integrated into each chapter, along with the effects of supranational policies. In these chapters I show how these countries have reacted to the presence of English in terms of language policies for these domains.

Chapter 7 contains the conclusions to the thesis, which consists of the key findings which can be generally applied to small countries with similar linguistic and socio-economic conditions.

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

This chapter aims to discuss the theoretical framework upon which my research is based. The framework is drawn from a combination of:

- 1) theories of the market value of English and the position of English in models of language hierarchies;
- 2) theories of language maintenance and shift;
- 3) language policies research.

Firstly, I discuss models of language hierarchies developed by de Swann (2001) and Kachru (1986). These models show the relationship between language and globalisation, specifically the position of English as a global language vis-à-vis other languages and, in consequence therefore, individual/group attitudes towards it. I look at theories, which aim to show how English has become a commodity with a market value and how this value is reflected in its position in the hierarchy.

I continue by examining the cycle of language contact as a result of a dominant language impinging on a national language. I look at theories and examples from Myers-Scotton (2002), Crystal (2000, 2003c) and other researchers, showing how loss of terminology and loss of domains can lead to language shift and death. This is followed by an examination of the consequences of English for national identities.

Finally, I look at the field of language policy, the main theoretical framework for the thesis. Ricento (2006b: 12) argues, as does Cooper (1989: 182), that there is no theory of language policy because of the complexity of the issues involving language in society. Therefore, Ricento (ibid: chapter 1) prefers to approach the field as a 'domain of enquiry' since, he suggests, researchers like to ask questions about particular issues or domains involving language. In order to investigate this domain of enquiry, I use Spolsky's (2004) model, which shows that language policy can be divided into three separate components:

- a) language planning, for which I use a model developed by Haugen (1987) and others, showing the features of corpus planning and status planning;
- b) language ideologies, for which I include theories behind the ideologies of nationalism and standardisation;
- c) language practices, for which I examine choices made by individuals or groups in terms of young and old generations and how these different groups may have different values and therefore different language practices.

The chapter begins with an examination of the models of language hierarchies and a discussion which aims to show how English has come to be ranked top of the hierarchy. This is followed by an examination of the main consequences of global English upon languages. I then move on to an examination of the field of language policy.

1.1 Language and global English

1.1.1 Models of language hierarchies

Several models have been devised to show the position of English worldwide. There are two models that I am going to consider here: 1) a model developed by de Swaan (2001), which shows how languages are learnt according to their position in the hierarchy; and 2) a model developed by Kachru (1986), which shows the position of English and numbers of speakers in the world twenty years ago. Both these models are relevant to the rise of English in the Nordic countries, as well as elsewhere in the world, and they demonstrate the value and empowerment given to English.

De Swaan's (2001) model is of a global language system in which he views languages as being part of a language constellation. In this model, languages of international and long distance communication, 'supracentral' languages, such as

French, Arabic, English, Spanish and Chinese are at the centre, that is, at the highest level.

‘Central languages,’ or national languages, such as Icelandic or Norwegian orbit the supracentral languages, like moons orbiting planets. Then periphery languages, for example Saami, orbit the central languages. However, the ‘pivot’ of this world language system is what de Swaan calls (2001: 5) the ‘hypercentral’ language, English, which ‘holds the entire world language system together’ (de Swaan, 2001: 17).

De Swaan (2001:20 -21) argues that the likelihood of a language gaining or losing speakers depends on its position in this language constellation, which ‘determines the communication value of the language and decides whether outsiders will choose to learn it.’ If speakers of periphery or central languages acquire another language it is usually a more widely spread language and one level up in the hierarchy. The model shows therefore that learning English is demand-driven, a demand that has increased due to globalisation, and that people will choose to learn it if it can bring them positive benefits.

There are a number of regional constellations served by a supracentral language, such as the constellation of the European Union, increasingly linked, de Swaan (2001: 5) notes, by English.

As Bruthiaux (2003: 11 – 12) states:

English now so overwhelmingly connects all linguistic constellations in a network of communicative interdependence that the major underpinning of this privileged position may at this stage be simply critical mass, at which point the number and wide distribution of English-speakers and the socioeconomic opportunities accruing to them make it too costly for competitors to enter the linguistic market. (Bruthiaux, 2003: 12)

Currently, the French language also links several constellations, such as that of West Africa, and Spanish most of South America. However, even within these constellations, English is increasing in use.

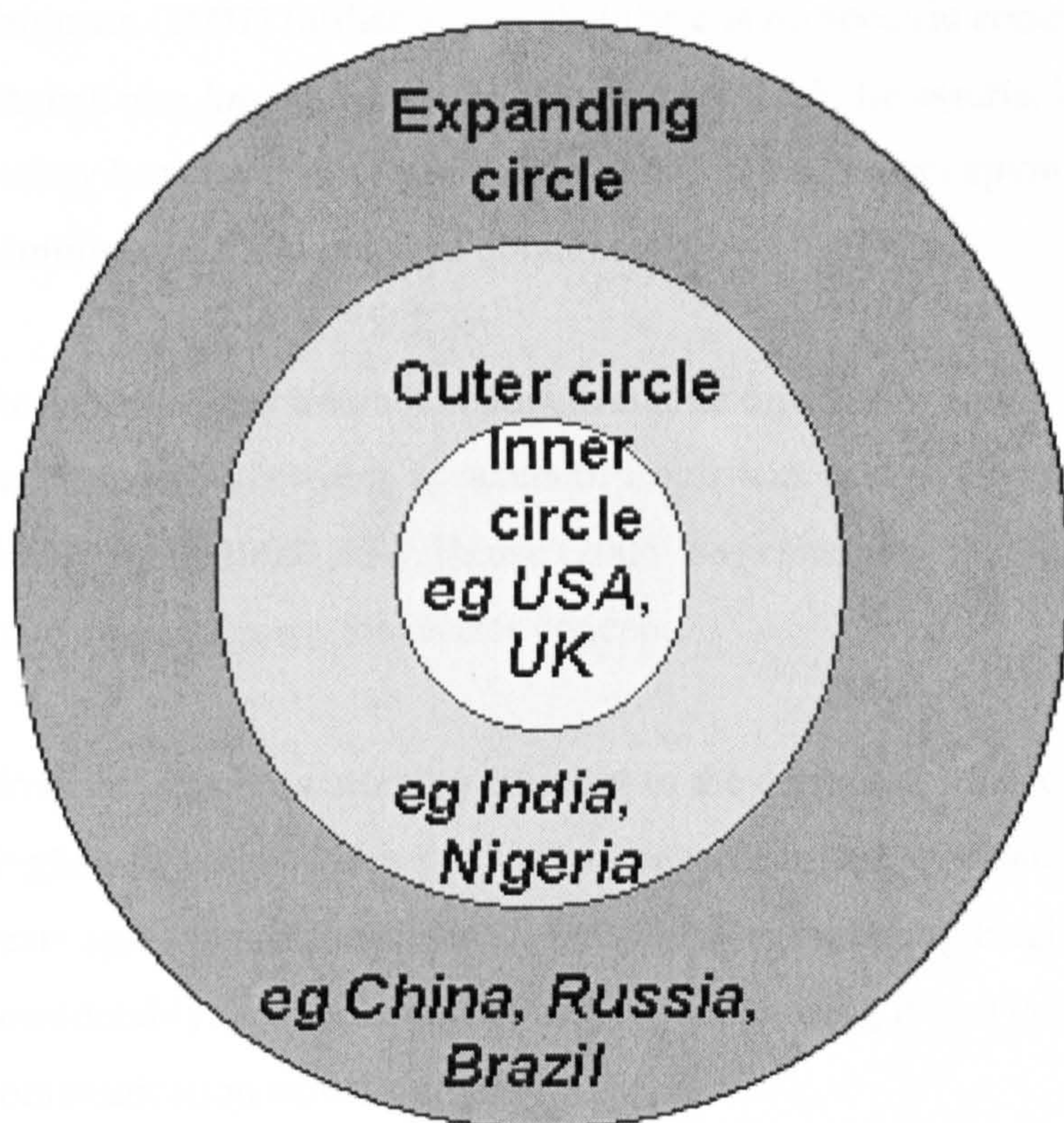
A limitation of de Swaan's model, according to Ferguson (2006: 124), is that it analyses the spread of English through individual preferences, but does not take into account the higher levels of decision making, which are done by national institutions. Ferguson (ibid) reminds us that nation-states have the power to inhibit the individual's freedom to choose the languages they want to learn by protecting the national languages. My thesis demonstrates this conflict between the individual and the nation.

Ferguson (2006: 124-125) further points out that de Swaan's model is better adapted to explain how English has spread as a language of communication rather than explaining the condition of small national languages, such as Icelandic, where identity considerations and the forces of nationalism and protectionism may be more important than the benefits of English as a *lingua franca*. Nonetheless, I would agree with Ferguson (2006: 121) that the model is a 'useful conceptualisation' of the hierarchy of the world's languages.

Another model, showing the importance of English in the world, is Kachru's (1986) model, which is in the form of a three circle typology. This model shows the power of English through its demographic distribution and 'its native and non-native users across cultures' (Kachru, 1986: 4). Kachru's 'inner circle' represents countries where English is the first or native language, such as the UK and USA, the 'outer circle' represents those countries where English is a second language in a multilingual country such as India and Nigeria; the 'expanding circle' represents countries where English is widely learned as a foreign language, such as China and Brazil, and is the circle where there is the greatest potential for its continued spread (Mckay, 2002: 11). These countries have no history of colonisation by the inner circle countries, nor does English have any special status (Crystal, 2003: 107).

Diagram 1

Kachru's Concentric (=Overlapping) Circles of English (from Kachru 1997: 213)



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However, Kachru's three circle typography has some limitations. Ferguson (2006: 151) points out that it 'portrays a highly idealised dominant national pattern of English use'. For example, the circles do not take adequate account of social differences within them, such as the immigrant category, who may be excluded from English (Holborow, 1999: 59 – 60). Other members of the inner circle may be bilingual second language users (Ferguson, 2006: 151).

Some countries in the expanding circle, for example, Denmark and the other Nordic countries, have more English speaking bi-linguals than in those countries where English has official status as a second language in the outer circle countries (Mckay, 2002: 9). In such cases, 'English ceases to be a foreign language as it acquires a social and sometimes official role across more and more communities' (Coleman, 2004). In other words more people are speaking English amongst

themselves within their countries, not only as a *lingua franca* with non-native speakers from other countries.

Ferguson (2007) further argues that there is no specific community or location for English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) speakers. ELF, he asserts, is a deterritorialised variety because it is a formulation of globalisation, occupying academic, administrative and political domains.

Furthermore, the Internet is now available throughout much of the world, crossing the boundaries between speakers of English as first/second or foreign language (McConnell, 2003: 304). House (2006: 88) concludes that the English language today has outgrown the circles concept.

However, Kachu’s model is relevant to the current debates on the impact of English on nation-states precisely because it is less applicable today than twenty years ago when it was devised. The situation regarding English has changed considerably, and more and more people are using it as a language of communication across cultures.

According to Crystal (2003: 107), the model is indicative of trends in the growth of English. To show these trends, Crystal (2003c) has estimated the difference in numbers in the outer and expanding circles between his first edition of ‘English as a global language’ (1997) and the second edition (2003):

Table 1: To show the trends in the growth of English
Reproduced from Leech (2004) based on Crystal (2003: 67 – 69)

<i>English as a global lan- guage</i>	<i>First edition (1997)</i>	<i>Second edition (2003)</i>
Inner circle (mainly ENL)	320–380 million	320–380 million
Outer circle (mainly ESL)	150–300 million	300–500 million
Expanding circle (mainly EFL)	100–1000 million	500–1000 million

ENL = English as a native language; ESL = English as a second language, EFL = English as a foreign language.

<i>Global estimates</i>	<i>First edition</i>	<i>Second edition</i>
L1 speakers of English	337 million	329 million
L2 speakers of English	235 million	431 million

L1 = first language; L2 = second language

Crystal's figures show that numbers of L2 speakers of English – in the outer and expanding circles - has significantly increased in this period, exceeding numbers of first language speakers – a situation, which is 'without precedent' for an international language (Crystal, 2004b: 29).

What both models demonstrate is that globalisation results in the need for many people to communicate outside their 'primary language group', (or 'own' language, central language, national language) where their language of group identity is not necessarily the language they need most to communicate with (Wright, 2004: 7). These models of language hierarchies lead me to a discussion of why English is the language at the top of the system and, consequently, why many people want to learn it.

1.1.2 Why English?

Many researchers have contributed to the debate about the value of English and why it is more often learnt than any other language. These include Phillipson (1992, 2003), whose theory of linguistic imperialism has aroused much debate; and Crystal (2003c), who has written extensively about how English has spread as a global language and its consequences for other languages. Wright (2000, 2004) has looked at the rise of English within Europe and the problems faced by language planners and policy makers. Tonkin and Reagan (2003) have edited an important work on language in the 21st century, which contains many chapters, for example by Bruthiaux, about globalisation and the value of English.

According to Holborow (1999: 56 - 57) the dominance of English today is a continuation of the process of capitalism, which was deepened by the British Empire and 'given further impetus by the commanding position of American

capitalism' in the twentieth century. Thus English was and is the language of the dominant powers and prevailed well before the present 'onslaught of economic globalisation' (ibid: 57).

Crystal (2003c: xii) argues that it is since 1950 that there has been a 'dramatic linguistic shift' whereby English (as of early 2000s) is spoken either as mother tongue, official language or foreign language by about 1.5 billion people (Crystal, 2003c: 6). Crystal (2003c: 71) argues that there are no historical precedents for the present phenomenon of this global spread of a language because it has happened so quickly. The last fifty years have seen the development of certain aspects of globalisation, in particular information technology and the media, which have speeded up the spread of English.

Phillipson (1992: 6 – 7), in his influential and thought provoking book, 'Linguistic Imperialism,' has claimed that the spread of English has not been left to chance, nor choice, rather it has been promoted successfully by the core English-speaking nations for their own benefit and imposed top-down on unwilling subjects. That English has been promoted by agencies such as the British Council is not contested, but other nations too export their languages (Ferguson, 2006: 116). The foreign policy of many nation-states is to try to extend their influence and gain a competitive advantage economically, motivated principally by self-interest, for example Germany and Japan (ibid).

The greatest weakness of Phillipson's linguistic imperialism hypothesis, according to Ferguson (2006: 117) is that those who were supposed to have had English forced upon them, actually wished to use English for their own purposes, as a resource, among other things to mobilise resistance against their colonial rulers. Phillipson's hypothesis about the spread of English is considered unsatisfactory today (for example, Brutt-Griffler, 2002: 65, Ferguson, 2006: 117-119). The situation regarding English is better illustrated by de Swaan's model, which suggests that groups and individuals rather choose the language they want to learn, than have it thrust upon them.

Because English is at the top of the world system, many researchers (for example, Haugen, 1987, Coulmas, 1992, Grin, 1999a, de Swaan, 2001) attribute a high market value to English. This is because people are prepared to invest in English more than other languages, despite the fact that some argue (for example, Skuttnab-Kangas, 1981: 4) that all languages are as good as each other in terms of functioning as instruments of communication. Haugen (1987: 144) asserts that any language has a market value: this 'language market' as he calls it, determines the values that an individual or a society attaches to each language' An individual learner 'will resist paying the price' (of learning a language) 'unless the benefits it brings are commensurate with the cost' (Haugen, 1987: 144).

Coulmas (1992: 85) argues that, as English is learnt as a foreign language by more individuals than any other language, 'it occupies a special position on the world market of languages.' Therefore, 'its balance on current account is much better than any of its competitors.' A language's value is an 'index[es] of [its] appreciation by a relevant community of people' (Coulmas, 1992: 86). In economic terms, according to Grin (1999a: 16) 'the higher the number of people who speak language Y, the more interesting it becomes for additional people to learn Y as well, creating what could be called a snowball effect'.

While English has a high market value, other languages may have a low market value. Coulmas (1992: 87) points out that some languages are not even considered valuable enough by parents to be passed on to their offspring and that therefore 'it is a delusion to assume that as mother tongues languages are of equal value.' 'If English is the language of the powers that be,' says de Swaan (2001: 193), 'it is also the language of empowerment.' Speaking English gives the user what Bourdieu (1991: 55) refers to as 'linguistic capital'.

English is thus the choice of those who wish to benefit from the opportunities presented by globalisation. As Tonkin (2003: 322) states:

The adoption of English is, as always with languages, primarily a manifestation of a set of non-linguistic factors having to do with global economic integration and with significant changes in the way of life of a

highly influential and increasingly numerous global elite, but the fact that this elite uses English gives the English-speaking countries, and particularly the USA, a certain competitive edge....English is the operating system on which the global economic network is based, and the owners of the system have a market advantage.

The chief owner of this system is the USA and, as English is the sole means of communication with this super power, the only 'natural' (inevitable) language of choice in global networks is English. According to Maurais (2003: 24), most US Americans 'seem to consider it as an accomplished fact that English will be the universal language of communication'. Wright (2004: 168) believes that 'the acceptance of English in its lingua franca role is consensual', there is 'little actual direction or compulsion, except for the dominant groups' refusal to communicate in any other medium.' Thus, in important global organisations such as the World Bank, the language used is English. Similarly, although there are six official languages of the United Nations, there is 'an overwhelming tendency to adopt English unofficially' as the *lingua franca* (Wright, 2000: 204).

The trend to English can also be seen in large corporations, particularly at managerial level (Phillipson, 2003: 73). The English language teaching industry provides for the British, for example, 'a major economic bonus' (Phillipson, 2003: 148).' 'It is ironical', he continues to say (ibid: 148 – 149) that a country that has such a poor record in learning languages, that is, the UK, should be the 'global leader' in teaching English as a foreign language. According to the British Council statistics, the British benefit by 16-17 billion Euros per year in the teaching of English as an international language (cited by Phillipson, 2005). The UK invests considerably less in foreign language teaching than its partners in the EU (Phillipson, 2003: 148) and has invested in promoting English globally since the mid 1950s (ibid, 2003: 64, table 1).

Bruthiaux (2003: 11) argues that because English is 'the code of choice for encoding information in science and technology,' the use of English on the Internet may also strengthen its role in the global economy. There are important implications for international trade if English is used by non-native speakers on

the Internet because this is the sector with the most potential for trade growth (Gandal, 2003: 13 - 14). Internet technology, Gandal argues, 'may provide the framework for substantially increasing international trade in services, especially if trade via the Internet uses a common language.' The report by the UNESCO Institute for statistics (2005: 12) confirms that the digital environment and the Internet 'have been central to the expanding trade system of cultural products.' The report continues: 'ICTs have allowed the emergence of new tools of creation, new means of distribution and new formats, such as e-books and downloadable music.'

English is therefore the 'chief instrument of modernization' in the west (Haugen, 1987: 85), and a 'key pre-condition' for the globalisation of any language, according to Bruthiaux, 2003: 17), is that it must appeal to potential users as a 'modernizing force.' Kachru (1986: 1) summarises what English means to many:

Knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science and travel.

The more powerful a language, therefore, is reflected in non-native speakers' attitudes towards it (Kachru, 1986: 2). Those who do not have access to English lose out through their inability to participate in the global knowledge society, and therefore are denied access to jobs and wealth.

Therefore, Bruthiaux (2003: 12) argues, 'participants in global communication have less and less incentive to make the effort to learn a language other than English' due to the wide distribution of English speakers and 'the socioeconomic opportunities accruing to them'. A language that does not provide such benefits is less likely to be learnt by anyone other than native speakers and special interest individuals/groups, and even a native language may lose speakers to a dominant language. The perceived value of English therefore results in an increase in its use as a second language while, correspondingly, other languages decrease in use:

Globalization manifests itself in the increased use of a second language world-wide, in the corresponding decrease of importance of other languages in second language acquisition and in the increasing presence of English in everyday life in non-English speaking societies (Gardt and Hüppauf, 2004: x)

Nations such as the USA, with more power, 'are able to impose their language on those with less power' and those with less power may use a majority language either by compulsion or 'as regularly, by a sense of demoralization about their native languages and cultures' (McColl Millar, 2005: 27). Globalisation may even lead to 'contempt for one's own language,' 'the prime source for linguistic deterioration' Hüppauf (2004: 10).

Although the prime reason for the current dominance of English may be economic, for many nations and individuals the English language is associated with the free world, it is a symbol of democracy, freedom of choice and human rights. The global language is 'the idiom of hopes and promises, of emancipation from feudal and autocratic powers, of liberating women, of consumption and unrestricted movement' (Hüppauf, 2004: 17). An example of this is that of the Germans in the post Nazi era who wished to disassociate themselves from their past by speaking English.

This discussion shows that globalisation has had important affects on how people view English, both in national and individual terms. The paradox is that many nations and individuals recognise the need to know English but at the same time are worried about its dominance and continued spread. The problem is that English is not only being used as a *lingua franca* but also in domains within countries, such as Denmark, between speakers of the same native language.

Many are also very resentful of the high ranking position of English and the advantages accruing to native speakers. For example, Grin (2005: 456) describes the privileges that native speakers of English have over non-native speakers, for example, 'the privileged market effect,' and the 'language learning savings effect,' and that this situation is unfair. Grin (2005: 458) recommends some form

of compensation to English language learner countries for the fact that English native speakers 'are the chief beneficiaries of linguistic inequality.'

Hence, while some welcome English, some do not. Some consider English to be beneficial as a means of international communication but others would say it is not beneficial if it is a means of 'expanding cultural and economic hegemony' (Gardt and Hüppauf, 2004: xi). While some would say that English has come to be the natural language to acquire due to the inevitable forces of globalisation, others would say it is not a natural process but a political and cultural one, for example, Phillipson, (2005), Bull, (2005). I would argue that acquiring English is natural because it is a result of choice of use of a dominant language to increase the prestige and economic benefits of the person who uses it. In the final analysis, use of English is due to choice, either collective or individual.

The main consequence of English is its impact upon national languages and identities, which will now be examined.

1.2 The consequences of global English on languages and identities

1.2.1 The impact of English upon national languages

Many researchers have written about the effects of a dominant language on small or minority languages: Crystal (2000) and Nettle and Romaine (2000), on language death, and Myers-Scotton (2002) and Mesthrie and Leap (2000), on what happens to languages when they come into contact. Three researchers in particular have looked at the impact of English on the Nordic country's languages: Oakes (2001) on Sweden; and Preisler (2005) and Phillipson (2001) on Danish.

The phenomenon of global English can result in one of three outcomes: language maintenance, bilingualism or language shift (Paulston, 1994: 3).

The first outcome is that of language maintenance, where nations and groups accentuate the differences between their languages and the dominant language in order to prevent change. This is also known as 'divergence' (Oakes, 2001: 42).

The second outcome is of bilingualism. Crystal (2000: 79) asserts that the very fact that a dominant language is present means that there is pressure on people to speak that dominant language, which results in 'a period of emerging bilingualism.' According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 52), whenever bilingualism exists 'there is always a power differential between the languages involved,' as the more powerful language is used for high level functions. Early researchers, for example, Ferguson, (1959) used the term diglossia, to refer to this kind of bilingualism where one set of functions is appropriate to the high prestigious variety (English) and another to the low (the mother tongue). However, as long as English (L2) and the mother tongue (L1) have distinct roles, according to Myers-Scotton (2002: 49), a stable diglossia will contribute to the maintenance of the lower prestige language and will preclude language shift.

The term diglossia is a confusing one because many countries use more than one language for all functions. Therefore, it cannot be said that one language is the low, and the other the high variety. I prefer to use the term 'bilingualism.'

The third outcome is of language shift. The danger to a language comes when stable bilingualism becomes unstable through English usurping the domains of the other language. I have used the term 'domain' in this thesis to encompass macro and micro fields, for example, the domain of education can be divided into several smaller components, such as primary and secondary education. Preisler (2005: 244) defines 'domain' more specifically as

An area of social practice that can be identified on the basis of the nature and special characteristics of the practice, its localization in time and place, and its domain-specific role relationships.

Loss of a domain, whatever its nature, begins with borrowings and code switching from the dominant language. Rather than an insistence on divergence, that is,

distancing the native language from the dominant language, many nations/groups borrow forms from the dominant language, to the extent that the traditional standard language undergoes changes to its linguistic systems. Oakes (2001: 42) refers to this outcome as 'convergence'. There are intermediate states of convergence, the final stage being the replacement of one language by another (Mesthrie and Leap, 2000: 253).

Borrowings may be in the form of lexical items, for example, loan words from English; grammatical structures from the dominant language, such as adopting the English plural, 's', or code switching between the two languages (more than one lexical item) (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 30). A speaker of his L1 may gradually adopt more English, either duplicating or replacing his L1. The L1 may be maintained but may not be spoken with an equal proficiency (ibid), resulting in the loss of terminology of the L1. This leads to code switching from the national language to English whenever words cannot be found. Myers-Scotton (2002: 30) points out that wherever code switching exists, especially with the younger generation, the 'neat division' of diglossia collapses and with it possibly the maintenance of the L1 because participants may then find it simpler to switch entirely to English.

It has to be pointed out that code switching is also a feature of stable bilingual communities and does not always imply language shift. However, a cycle that begins with bilingualism *may* end in language shift to the dominant language (Myers-Scotton: 52). Some of the chief perpetrators of this cycle are those of English cultural products, IT and education, which are responsible for contributing to just such domain loss in many nations. It is these domains that I will be examining in the case studies.

Many researchers (for example, Oakes, 2001, Preisler, 2005) consider that it is the loss of domains to English which is critical to the viability of a language. Oakes argues (2005: 161) that 'it is not the amount of loan words that needs to be considered when evaluating if language shift from one language to another is underway, but rather the loss of domains.' It is only here, he argues, where 'claims of a potential threat from English [can] be accorded any real credence.'

According to Preisler (2005: 242), domain loss 'leads to a qualitative, not just a quantitative, reduction of the language.' Furthermore, it leads to a reduction in linguistic competence of users if the language is not used on a regular basis.

Crystal (2000: 21) warns that if English is allowed to take over in too many domains there is little left for people to talk about in their native language. Some languages, he asserts, 'suffer discourse attrition so much that they end up surviving in just one domain,' for example, Latin which has survived for centuries as the language of the Catholic Church, but is not used in any other domain.

Furthermore, if people believe that their language brings no social advancement they are less likely to want to use and maintain it. Crystal (2000: 79) points to the young people - who are usually the first to adopt new words and fashions - who may see their old language as irrelevant and associated with ignorance. Younger people identify more with the new language, the old language becomes a curiosity with little prestige, and in the end its status may be 'gradually eroded' until no one wants to use it (Crystal, 2000: 84). Thus, in some cases globalisation may lead to language death.

Most languages have become extinct already and, Crystal (2004: 47) reports, of the world's six thousand languages or so, an average of one language dies out every two weeks. For example, Cornish died out in the eighteenth century because the language shifted to English¹. It is important therefore to emphasise that a language needs to be used in order to be maintained. If it is not used, the language will be lost and another one will replace it. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 13) emphasise, 'where majority languages or languages of wider communication replace smaller languages in important registers, no amount of educationist intervention is likely to save them.'

To summarise, global English may be seen as a threat to small languages.

According to Hüppauf (2004: 11), no nation is safe from the reach of English:

'there are no absolute political, social or cultural boundaries unbreached by global

¹ Cornish began a revival in the early twentieth century and now has several thousand speakers

flows,' Even high income developed countries, for example France, 'feel they are being pushed to the periphery of world affairs by English and Anglo-American culture for which language is the main vehicle' (Hüppauf, 2004: 4).

1.2.2 The impact of English upon national identities

The second, but interrelated, consequence of global English is that some nations fear losing their cultural as well as their linguistic identities. This is due to pressure of market forces in the form of quantities of cultural products, such as the mass media, from the global power, the USA. The speed of English language spread - together with this modernising force into new and existing domains of use, such as IT and the media, along with sheer numbers of speakers - is worrying to those nations whose identities may be largely defined by their languages, whose history and literary traditions and knowledge are encased in their languages. It is also worrying to many who hold the view that loss of languages reduces access to traditional knowledge – especially about the natural world – and the diversity and richness of our planet (Patten and Kymlicka, 2003: 44 – 45), for example the Saami language (Magga, 2005).

There are conflicting ideas in the debate about the effects of English on languages and identities, however. Some (e.g. House, 2003, 2006) believe that English as a *lingua franca* may be kept separate from national languages and identities, others (e.g. Phillipson, 2003, 2006) believe that English has negative effects upon both the language and the culture. Phillipson (2003: 92) for example, argues that 'the forces behind globalization and Americanization are challenging all national cultures and languages' and 'Europe is experiencing cultural homogenization through countless processes in the media, advertising, patterns of consumption, and trends in commerce, science, education and defence.' Rice-Oxley (2004) is in agreement: 'today's technology flings culture to every corner of the globe with blinding speed,' and threatens cultural diversity and local cultural industries. This cultural homogeneity may make traditional cultures, as well as languages, less relevant.

House (2003: 561) on the other hand states that English as a *lingua franca* does not need to be a threat if the distinction is made between languages of communication and those of identification, in which case English 'can be seen as strengthening the complementary need for local native languages that are rooted in their speakers' shared history, cultural tradition.' English as a *lingua franca*, she states, is a 'mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital.' Although paradoxical, House (2003: 561) continues, the spread of English as a *lingua franca* stimulates the strengthening of local cultures.

Hjarvard (2004: 91 – 92), a Danish researcher who has adopted the term 'medialects' for the use of English in subcultures such as world music and advertising, argues that English is 'both the language of status and a source of identity and meaning for individual adherents to the subculture.' Changes to languages and cultures, Hjarvard (ibid) asserts, can take place through bottom up processes from the subcultures, as well as from top down. These influences from subcultures 'filter slowly but surely upwards into mainstream usage, so that mainstream culture is 'inexorably changed.' Hjarvard's research is particularly relevant to this thesis, as I will be examining the practices of the young people, who are usually the first to adopt new forms of culture and language, for example in the domains of popular world music and films (chapter 5).

Wright (2004: 158) argues that the bonds between language and identity are loosening as we may be constructing our identities 'in relation to the transnational networks which we belong to as we cross former boundaries for our information, contacts and exchanges.' 'The affective hold of the state over its citizens,' she continues (2004: 162), 'has loosened where radio, satellite television, telephone and Internet contact do not halt at the state boundaries.'

We can see that there are conflicting opinions over the impact of English on identities. Some nations believe English to be a threat, others do not. Those that do worry about the negative impact of English, endeavour to formulate policies to influence language behaviour, in order that a nation may be able to protect its language against shift and loss to English. As Fasold (1984: 260) argues, some groups will try to resist language shift where others will not: 'the same social and

economic conditions that produce shift in one group will not budge another group from their determination to maintain a traditional language'. Differences in ideologies, therefore, influence all aspects of a nation's language policies and planning.

1.3 Language policy

The results of contact with a dominant language, as we have seen, generally lead to one of three outcomes: language maintenance, bilingualism or language shift (Paulston, 1994: 3). Understanding these outcomes and how they come about helps us to understand the language policies within nation states.

For my analysis of language policy I am going to use Spolsky's (2004) framework, as this framework shows that language ideologies are integral to policy making. Spolsky (2004) sees language policy as being made up of three components:

- a) language practices, (the language we use in various domains and in certain sociolinguistic settings, often conflicting with policies and beliefs);
- b) language beliefs (ideologies of the community about the language, for example, nation equals language). Language ideology, according to Spolsky (2004: 14) is language policy with the manager left out, that is, what people think should be done;
- c) language management (the planners who try to change the practices or beliefs of others or maintain them). Language management or planning incorporates setting the functions (status planning), cultivation (corpus planning) and adding speakers such as through language education (Cooper (1989: 33) calls this acquisition planning). It consists of the actual proposals that make up the implementation of the ideologies (Bakmand, 2000).

Some researchers define *language policy* as being the expression of the ideology itself, for example, Bakmand (2000), states that language policy may be viewed as the expression of the ideological orientations and views.

Ricento (2006b: 9) makes the following point:

Ideologies about language generally and specific languages in particular have real effects on language policies and practices, and delimit to a large extent what is and is not possible in the realm of language planning and policy.

Likewise, Schiffman (2006: 112) argues that language policy is 'inextricably linked' to what he prefers to call 'linguistic culture'. He believes that if language policy is 'not deeply rooted in the linguistic culture of a language group, it is not going to *fit* the needs of its speakers very well.' It is 'in tune' with the linguistic culture (ideology) or it is 'in trouble' (Schiffman, 1996: 59).

If ideologies of the community are the expression of language policy, it is implicit that language planners inform their proposals for policy on these underlying ideologies, which are 'historically deep rooted and thoroughly naturalised' (Milroy, 2004: 166). According to Spolsky (2004: 222), 'without a strong ideological urge to maintain identity even at the cost of social and economic isolation, most small weak languages will not have the power to encourage their speakers not to shift to the nearest available stronger language.'

The form that policies take is usually by means of statements in official documents, such as a statement proclaiming the official language of a state (Spolsky, 2004: 13). However, sometimes such policies are not written – they are accepted by the population as being obvious. Spolsky (2004: 14) refers to this as a 'consensual ideology.' Spolsky (ibid: 8) argues that, because many countries do not have formal or written language policies, the nature of the policy has to be derived from observing the practices or beliefs. Shohamy (2006: 53) points out that often, official documents become no more than 'declarations of intent that can easily be manipulated and contradicted.' She (2006: 52) argues that various

‘mechanisms’ or policy devices are employed as a ‘means through which policies are introduced and incorporate the hidden agendas of language policy.’ These devices include laws, standardisation, ideology and propaganda, as well as language education policies.

Policy exists at all levels, for example, at the EU supranational level, the nation state level, regional level, social and community levels, including religious and ethnic organisations and the family (Spolsky, 2006). Policy ‘may refer to all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity’ (Spolsky, 2004: 9). An examination of each of these components now follows.

1.4 Language ideologies

Language ideologies may be defined as a set of shared beliefs and values about language, for example, Silverstein (1979: 193) defines them as ‘sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use.’ When children acquire language, they don’t acquire the code alone, but the ideas behind the language, that is, the meanings, values, beliefs, attitudes, and myths. Children acquire those values etc. which make up their identity, the background ‘against which our tastes and desires and opinions and aspirations make sense’ (Taylor, 1992: 33 – 34). Therefore, speaking a particular language may have great significance for a particular group and mean a lot more than mere communication. This leads me on to a discussion of the ideology of nationalism.

1.4.1 *The ideology of nationalism*

The nationalist view of language is that ‘the language of a people is inseparable from its nationality’ (Cooper, 1989: 12). People who speak the same language are drawn together by a common bond, a shared ancestry and shared values; language

is seen as the link with a nation's glorious past; the soul is reflected in one's mother tongue (Fishman (1996: 158 - 163).

The nationalist ideology is based on the philosophy of linguistic nationalism put forward by Herder in the 1770s, linking the nation-state with its language. Herder encouraged his fellow Germans to be proud of their own language rather than with foreignisms and asked: 'Has a nation anything more precious than the language of its fathers?' (cited in Edwards, 1985: 24). He argued that even the smallest of nations cherishes the history, poetry and songs about the great deeds of its forefathers through its language. The language is its collective treasure' (ibid).

Fichte went beyond Herder by declaring that German was superior because it was original and had not been polluted by other elements. The adoption of foreignisms, according to him, weakened the language (Edwards, 1985: 23).

Fishman (1996: 164) cites the Nordic sagas as examples of a language's collective treasure: 'nationalism glorifies the vernacular....by honouring and experiencing as symbols of collective greatness and authenticity the most pervasive products of verbal versatility.' Fishman continues to say that these stories inspire and unify: 'Both the context and form of vernacular oral and written literature are pointed to by elites and laymen alike, as inspiring, unifying, and activating nationalist stimuli.' This shared heritage leads to 'a desire for political autonomy' (Edwards, 1994: 129), for example, the founding of the Jewish nation whereby the Hebrew language 'symbolised the unity of those who spoke it' (Cooper, 1989: 12).

According to Chambers (2003: 274) the underlying cause of sociolinguistic differences is 'the human instinct to establish and maintain social identity.' Therefore, although the maintenance of a language is not necessary for nationalism it is perceived by many as being '*the* pillar of groupness' (Edwards, 1994: 129). For many people, language is only one symbol of their identity, for example, religion may be considered more important than language (Shohamy, 2006: 143).

Wright (2004: 225) argues that groups have a right to link identity with language:

If a group views membership of their language group as essential to their identity and believes their society would be fundamentally altered in ways that they do not want by language shift, then it seems their perfect right to couple identity and language.

According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 275) with the emergence of most of the nation-states in Europe there is 'an equation of the nation-state with a dominant monolingualism.' Similarly, Mar-Molinero (2006: 9 - 10) observes, that it is often the case that 'when examining the relationship between language and globalisation we discover that the ideologies underpinning language contact and language spread are still fundamentally rooted in the nation-state paradigm.'

To summarise, language 'is a very powerful social glue in the constitution of groups' (Wright, 2004: 101), a 'robust marker of group membership' (Wright, 2004: 225) and 'the symbol of people's identity as citizens of that nation' (Fasold, 1984: 247).

Nationalism is thought by some to pose a danger to individual freedom because individual freedom to use a language of one's choice may be inhibited by a state controlled maintenance of a particular language (Wright, 2004: 184). This is because the right to use a language of choice 'is only meaningful if accorded to the group as a whole.' A collective goal therefore, may be 'inhospitable to difference' (Taylor, 1992: 61) and contrasts the ideology of liberalism.

Laissez faire liberalism is an ideology that favours 'a market-driven "freedom-of-choice" approach in interpreting human behaviour' (Ricento, 2000: 5). It is a policy of non-interference by the government, usually applied to the economy, but applicable to language. The language shifts and changes in a natural process of variation, and is influenced by whatever other languages it happens to mix with. However, because of the increase in mixing of national languages with the global language, the laissez faire approach may be allowing the take over or intrusion by English into the standard language. According to Phillipson, (2004: 54), the

laissez faire approach of leaving language policy to market forces nationally and in the supranational institutions is, 'a recipe for more English and less of the other languages'.

Nationalism thus contrasts the ideology of liberalism in that liberalism implies freedom from Government restraints and, as such, is against any form of protectionism, which raises barriers. Equally, liberalism includes beliefs in the social values of freedom, human rights, and equal opportunities and the support of social programmes such as the welfare state, which may underlie the policies of a nation.

Nationalism may also lead to a group being prejudiced towards others, it is regressive and inward looking, can lead to feelings of superiority and racism and shows 'an inability to come to grips with present realities' (Edwards, 1985: 43). Nationalism, Edwards (ibid) states, is also 'a force which attempts to counter the inevitable' (that is, in the context of globalisation). Edwards (1985: 44) admits, however, that nationalism has been a 'positive force' 'particularly in the lives of those who have felt threatened by larger or more influential neighbours.'

Nationalist ideologies, therefore, may have a direct effect on whether or how much English ascends to dominance, as well as whether immigrants are assimilated in terms of language. This brings me to a brief discussion of the impact of immigration on nationalism.

1.4.2 Nationalism and immigration

The presence of immigrant groups with different languages and cultures may alter the distinct identity of a nation, even though their languages may not be dominant languages. It is difficult to reconcile the Herderian notion of one language equals one nation when there is a mix of peoples with different roots within national borders. As Shohamy (2006: 35) points out, the nation state is going through major changes in that the reality of immigrants and diverse groups with different identities 'challenge the ideology of the homogeneous nationalistic state.'

Global English and immigration are two main issues contributing to the ongoing debates about whether efforts to maintain identity through language are possible within the framework of globalisation. Immigration may have two contrasting results on the dominant group of the host country: 1) an enhanced linguistic consciousness and nationalism, as people become aware of the danger to their language and identity. Edwards (1994: 134), citing Smith, argues that nationalist sentiments usually surface when groups are fearful of 'cultural, linguistic or other forms of assimilation;' 2) a decreased linguistic consciousness and nationalism as people adopt multiple identities. Wright (2004: 183) argues that, as nationalism is weakening, there is space for 'new patterns of identity' to develop, that individuals may see themselves as 'multilayered' as they participate in their own communities as well as global networks. According to Castles (2002: 1164) 'there is no return to the neat idea of closed off nation-states with homogenous national communities.'

In terms of language policy, there are basically two main ways for authorities to deal with immigrants:

a) Assimilation policies. These policies ensure that minorities adopt the national language, to try to prevent such shifts in national identity. Shohamy ((2006: 43) argues that language is used in this case as 'a symbol and as an ideological tool whose purpose is to create and consolidate group membership.' Assimilation policies, according to Bourhis (2001: 13), often accelerate the process of language shift and loss of the minority groups versus the native population. Alternatively such policies will lead to bilingualism.

b) Pluralist language policies. These policies encourage the new languages to coexist alongside the national language. Bourhis (2001:11), citing Bibby (1990), states that the detractors of the pluralism ideology 'claim that it has the potential of undermining the maintenance of a core majority language and culture needed to justify the continued existence of the nation as a unified country'. This is because the pluralism ideology implies that the dominant majority has to accommodate the specific requirements of the minorities, such as religious, linguistic and cultural practices (Bourhis, 2001: 11).

Nationalists therefore are likely to favour assimilation policies and liberals to favour pluralist policies.

In order to maintain identity, one of the most effective things a nation can do is to educate young people in the standard language, history and culture of the nation. According to Joseph (2006: 49), 'it is through education that language and national identity are created, performed and above all reproduced'. He adds that

who controls the schools controls the past, through the teaching of history; structures the present, through the powerful hierarchisation of individuals and communities entailed by language choice and the enforcement of language standards; and shapes the future, by shaping, or even by failing to shape, those who will inhabit it. (Joseph, 2006: 49).

A high standard of education and, fundamentally, a high level of literacy are prerequisites to maintaining identity through language because through the written word a nation can take control.

Literacy, according to Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 65) is 'culturally organised, ideologically grounded, and historically contingent, shaped by political, social, and economic forces.' Literacy strategies, they continue, are affected significantly by considerations of power (ibid: 66). Literacy, naturally, implies knowledge of the standard written language. This leads me on to an examination of the ideology of standardisation.

1.4.3 The ideology of standardisation

Standardisation is a stage in language development, which constitutes the development of a norm (Ferguson, 1996: chapter 2). Standardising a language involves writing down the 'correct' forms of grammar and orthography in such publications as dictionaries and grammars and taking decisions as to what words to include. Those who write the language down therefore become the prescribers of language, imposing their views of the correct forms on the public, while their

dictionaries and grammars become the authoritative works on standard usage. Standardisation thus aims at uniformity and is intolerant to variation (Milroy and Milroy, 1991: 22 - 23).

The Milroys, J and/or L, (1991, 1992, 2004), Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity (1998), Lippi-Green (1997), and Cameron (1995) are some of the key researchers into the ideology of standardisation and standard languages.

Milroy and Milroy (1991: 1) argue that prescription depends on the ideology behind the language 'which requires that in language use, as in other matters, things shall be done in the 'right' way'. The standard language acquires prestige and its speakers 'attach values to particular words, grammatical structures and speech-sounds' (ibid: 11). Those who do not speak or write the standard are often judged by those who do to be less successful and lower class etc., for example, immigrants. This stigmatisation of non standard forms 'derives from ideological associations of the standard with the qualities valued within the culture' (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994: 64).

Responsibility for standardising a language is often assigned to national language academies, the first of which was established in Florence in 1582. The Academie française was later established in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu, who realised the advantages that linguistic control could bring to the government (Ager, 1997: 13). Since then these examples have been followed by others, for example Sweden in 1739 (Haugen, 1966: 9-10). These academies started off by compiling dictionaries of what Haugen (1966: 11) calls 'permitted words' and were often purist, that is, not permitting 'wrong' spelling or words from lower class speech.

In England in the eighteenth century there was much talk from writers and scholars on the deficiencies present in English grammar and spelling and how they ought to be improved (England never established an academy despite calls by eminent writers to do so). Hogg (2000) quotes from Jonathan Swift's 'Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue' written in the eighteenth century:

Besides the grammar-part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, th[ose persons] will observe many gross improprieties, which however authorized, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded

Samuel Johnson produced the first English dictionary in 1755, which ‘prescribed’ the spelling he viewed to be correct. His Dictionary ‘remained the authoritative work in its field for a century after its publication’ (Galloway, 1996). In his preface Johnson tells us which words he has excluded, which include technical terms, foreign words, and slang. He also comments that words have been written down by the less able, according to their own ‘vulgar’ pronunciation:

[There exist many defects in spelling due to oral traditions]...but many words have likewise been altered by accident, or depraved by ignorance, as the pronunciation of the vulgar has been weakly followed; and some still continue to be variously written, as authors differ in their care or skill (cited in Galloway, 1996).

Johnson also included words in his dictionary that he wished to *become* part of standard usage, for example, ‘obsolete words are admitted, when they are found in authors not obsolete, or when they have any force or beauty that may deserve revival’ (cited in Galloway, 1996).

The written form has a fundamental influence on the uniformity of a language because this variety tends to be more conservative than the spoken variety, and tends to be slower to change. Debates often arise about how best to teach it. There was a big debate in the early 1990s about improving English grammar in schools, as Cameron’s chapter (1995: 85 – 93) on the great grammar crusade shows. In this chapter she relates that, at that time, the conservatives favoured teaching standard English by means of grammar. The liberals, including linguists and teachers, preferred not to, claiming that formal grammar teaching had little effect on language practices. The teachers, however, were blamed by the media for falling standards in schools and for widespread illiteracy. As shown above, education in the standard language and a high level of literacy are necessary so

that a nation may maintain a collective identity. Furthermore, those less able to communicate in the standard written form are less likely to get prestigious jobs.

Standard English is, according to Fishman (1972: 25), 'that variety that stands for the nation as a whole and for its most exalted institutions of government, education, and high culture in general.' Standard English is also the variety that is taught to students of English as a Foreign language (EFL) or English as a Second language (ESL) (Jenkins: 2003: 31).

Standard languages become the selected dialects historically due to their being associated with power, prestige and wealth. One of the views of the standard variety is that it is 'a conspiracy of the elite establishment to maintain power' (Spolsky, 2004: 27). As Widdowson (2003: 164) puts it, 'Standard English is an entry condition and the custodians of it the gatekeepers.' Lippi-Green (1997: 64) similarly argues that standard language is a myth, which persists because it is used to serve the interests and needs of the dominant group at the expense of marginalised groups.

In regard to the spoken language, Williams (1992: 142) points out that an early objective of the media was to propagate high culture and with it the standard language. For example Britain's upper middle class speech – upper received pronunciation - was used for BBC radio broadcasts to set a 'good' example to the general populace (BBC Radio 4, accessed 2004):

In the 1920's, Lord Reith, director general of the BBC, believed that there was a right way to speak and insisted that his announcers should all speak properly and all sound the same. He saw it as his duty to ensure that the public knew the right way to speak.

This same dialect was used on early television broadcasts. Thus, Williams continues (ibid), the mass media 'simultaneously operate as an ideological force and play an important role in language standardisation.' Today, many varieties are heard on the BBC, so as not to discriminate against non standard speakers.

Milroy and Milroy (1991: 23) believe that 'absolute standardisation of a spoken language is never achieved.' They prefer to think of standardisation as an 'ideology' and a standard language as 'an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent.' As Hogg (2000) points out, standard English, like any other variety, is 'subject not only to internal linguistic change but social change,' and has been constantly changing, despite the efforts of the prescriptivists.

We have seen that those people who select the standard forms are likely to be influential individuals, who then spread this standard form across the country by various means such as education, the writing system, religion, and the media through 'discrimination of various kinds, both direct and indirect, against non-standard speakers' (Milroy and Milroy, 1991: 27). The same applies to any nation with a standard language, where dialects and incorrect use of grammar etc. are often stigmatised. Thus standardisation often results in a reduction of dialect differences by dialect levelling, that is, the avoidance of stigmatised forms (Ferguson, 1996: 190). Denmark, for example, has lost many of its dialects, and Iceland has none at all (see chapter 3).

As Joseph (2006: 33) asserts 'multilingualism, language change and non-standard usage all feel like threats to the very foundation of culture, since the language itself is the principal text in which the culture's mental past and its present coherence are grounded.'

However, it may be too difficult today for national standard languages to resist the threat from English. Wright (2004: 59 – 60) argues that there is less likelihood of nationalism being successful in preventing linguistic borrowings from English because the influence of the media and the Internet are so extensive. The general consensus, she asserts, is 'that the hegemony of one standard language on one territory will be less successful than in former times' (Wright, 2004: 60).

1.4.4 The value of a written tradition and linguistic purism

I have argued that education is considered essential for a nation to maintain identity. Feelings of national identity may be further increased where there is extensive written language. Works of literature, according to Mazrui (2003: 105), 'are invaluable in promoting linguistic pride among the speakers of the language in question.' Furthermore, 'without a substantial written tradition, linguistic nationalism is slow to emerge' (ibid). In Norway, where the writing tradition was interrupted and post Reformation writers used Danish, 'a thorn in the flesh to all good patriots' as Haugen (1981: 110) asserts, it was more difficult to codify the language. Nynorsk was a reconstructed language based on many dialects, 'nobody's dialect and everybody's language'. Nynorsk failed therefore 'to become the unique symbol of the nation.' The other Norwegian language, Bokmal, was closer to the Danish written form and was the language of the urban elite. This is now spoken by a majority of Norwegians (Haugen, 1981: 110).

National identity may become stronger still if the written language is then fixed by printing. Anderson (1991: 44) has written a very influential book in which he argues, that 'print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation.' The new printing presses had the impact of fixing a standard language, as the printers had to make decisions on how to spell words.

Thomas (1991: 140) argues that literary traditions are united by 'their retrospection and aesthetic conservatism' and have an impact on purist attitudes. Thomas (1991) is one of the key researchers into linguistic purism, whose work I will be referring to in my discussion of corpus planning in Iceland and Denmark (chapter 3). According to Thomas (1991: 43) national consciousness is strongly associated with purist language tendencies and 'purism is an inalienable element of an overall cultural paradigm' (ibid: 144). Purists believe that, if the character of the language changes through foreign influence, identity may also be changed. Therefore purism can be motivated by the need to preserve national identity. As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 64) state, while 'purist doctrines of linguistic

correctness close off non-native sources of innovation', this is 'usually selectively, targeting only languages construed as threats.'

One of the most obvious effects of the impact of a dominant language is the influx of foreign words, for example, *le weekend* is now commonly used in France. The mixing of languages is 'anathema to Herderian ideology' (Gal, 2006: 20).

According to this ideology (see 1.4.1), a standard language becomes impure or non-standard when citizens adopt words, sounds and grammatical structures from other languages, in this instance, English or 'anglicisms'. Gottlieb (2004) defines an anglicism as

any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English.

Anglicisms may change the corpus of the language and, according to Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 65), the orthographic systems, the 'symbols that carry historical, cultural, and political meanings' will become less symbolic. Some nations, however, welcome these words, for example Denmark, while others reject them, for example France and Iceland, according to their ideologies about language. No country, however, according to Crystal (2004b: 43), has succeeded in halting the process.

The primary rationale for purism, according to Thomas (1991: 59), is in terms of three functions: 1) the solidarity function, 2) the separating function and 3) the prestige function.

1) The solidarity function justifies the opposition to foreign words in that foreign words divide a community whereas native ones unite it (Thomas, 1991: 53). The solidarity function also maintains the link to a literary tradition. It is 'guided by the principle that a speech community should retain maximal solidarity with the previous speakers of a language as represented by a corpus of literary tradition' (Thomas, 1991: 53).

Spolsky (2004: 22) points out that as a general rule 'the past is believed to be pure and innovation is often suspected of corruption.' Avoiding obscene language or 'lower-class indigenous borrowings marks a speaker as urbane or gentle' and therefore 'the eschewing of foreignisms proclaims linguistic and ethnic purity' (Spolsky, 2004: 23).

2) The separating function is that of differentiating and distancing the language from others (Thomas, 1991: 54). There are examples in the Nordic countries of Icelandic, Faroese, Swedish and Nynorsk all distancing themselves from their old colonial ruler, Denmark, by ridding their languages of Danish elements (see chapter 3). As Fishman says, particularly where languages are similar to each other:

it may be of great concern to establish their autonomy from each other....Were such autonomy not to be established, it might occur to some that one was "no more than" a dialect (a regional variety) of the other, a subservience which may become part of a rationale for political subservience as well (Fishman: (1972: 19 – 20).

Dictionaries and grammars then become necessary as representing that autonomy but they also stress the differences between a native language and similar ones. They 'cultivate(s) and increase(s) it by introducing new vocabulary and stressing those phonological and grammatical alternatives that are most different from those of any autonomy-threatening contrast language' (Fishman, 1972: 20).

Wright (2004: 60) points out that in their desire for purism, nations often consciously promote words from an earlier golden age of culture, such as Iceland when it returned to the classical Icelandic to rewrite its Bible (see chapter 3: 3.2). Language planners can manipulate this 'symbol of a glorious past, or of the unique genius of a people ... to maintain or acquire legitimacy in the name of authenticity and tradition' (Cooper, 1989: 87).

3) The prestige function refers to the ability of a language to gain or lose prestige by borrowing words, for example from English. As Thomas puts it (1991: 56)

Purism...serves as an antidote to loss not only of autonomy and identity but also prestige. Once a language loses prestige, its socio-communicative functions are likely to be usurped by a more prestigious idiom.

New words, according to Kristinsson (2007, personal communication), are a prerequisite for enhanced status, that is, in new or specialised domains, and make it possible to enhance the literary standard further. There is a difference, however, between the views of generations. The older conservative purists are more likely to reject English borrowings and insist on standard speech, while the young may consider it prestigious to speak cool loan words.

Other purist arguments for keeping out foreign loan words have included those of intelligibility and structure, that is, that native words are more comprehensible than foreign words, and that those words with a recognisable native-formed structure are more intelligible than structures borrowed from other languages (Thomas, 1991: 50). Thomas is dubious about the worth of these arguments, asserting that there is no 'proven hypothesis' to show whether or not it is easier to learn or understand foreign words whose meanings are derived from their structure. These arguments of intelligibility are more ideologically than pragmatically founded (ibid: 52).

Crystal (2004b: 43) maintains that foreign words may change the character of a language but that it certainly will not be 'a disaster' for that language, that new words do not replace old words but supplement them. It takes about a generation for loan words to be integrated, although the Internet may be speeding up the process. Even if new words do replace the old, Crystal (2004b: 43) continues, there is nothing anyone can do about it. Crystal (2004: 47) values every loan word that he has in his 'linguistic repertoire' and believes that instead of attacking loan words 'it makes much more sense to develop creative strategies to foster their integration, in literature, school and society at large.'

Crystal (2004: 99) points out that in a rapidly changing linguistic world 'there is an understandable tendency...to take up extreme positions.' He argues that, where

there are millions of speakers, purist attitudes cause no harm because they are 'swallowed up' but that purism becomes 'harmful' when dealing with minority or endangered languages and that 'any speech community which allows the purist mentality to dominate its linguistic policy is signing the death warrant for its language.'

Spolsky (2004: 38) argues that the only way to defend oneself against 'the diffusion of innovation' is to protect oneself in a 'physically or ideologically closed community'. This would be a community closed to other sorts of innovation too and, he points out, 'with growing forces of globalization, very few societies have not been forced to accept technological, cultural and, consequently, linguistic innovation.'

According to Crowley (1996: 59) linguistic purism 'is a fiction' as is cultural purism. History shows how much cultures and languages have borrowed from each other within and beyond the borders of Europe. He quotes from Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* (1959: 165-6) where it is asked: 'What race, or what language (if we accept the few whom a playful will seems to have preserved in ice, like the people of Iceland) can boast of being pure today?' Chapter 3 shows how loan words have altered the character of Danish over the centuries, whereas the character of Icelandic has changed little.

Purism has not taken hold over English, Thomas (1991: 48) maintains, because there is no threat. English itself has gone to the opposite extreme. Pennycook (1998: 149-152) shows how English has borrowed extensively from many other languages resulting in an enrichment and enlargement of its vocabulary. He points out that some believe that English has an ability to express subtle distinctions of meaning better than other languages. Due to this flexibility and openness to absorbing words and ideas from other cultures, it is perceived, by some, as deserving of being the global *lingua franca* (Pennycook, 1998: 149-152).

In contrast French, after the extensive codification/purification undertaken by the Academie française, became at that time a 'disciplined, even stark language,

eschewing the creativity which had characterised earlier periods of its history' (Ager, 1997: 14).

This discussion of language and ideologies suggests that a nation's literary tradition and linguistic consciousness are reflected in the strength of nationalist feeling. The strength of this feeling may help to counteract the influence of a dominant language and save a weaker language from the slippery slope to obsolescence. Edwards (2003: 45) emphasises that language has a 'deep psychological importance' in particular the 'association with group identity and its continuity'. Language planners need to remind themselves, he warns, that their work takes them into 'heavily mined territories of emotion' (Edwards, 2003: 45). In contrast, however, a lack of nationalist feeling and a laissez faire approach to language may lead to the decline of a language. This leads me into a discussion of Spolsky's next component of language policy, that is, the role of the language planners.

1.5 Language planning (management)

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: xi) define language planning as 'an activity, most visibly undertaken by government....intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers'. Planning may also aim to stop change in favour of continuity. Preventing change, as we have seen, is perceived as important to many nation states today in efforts to preserve their minority - or less widely used and taught language (LWUTL) – status, for example, Iceland, and to protect them against the spread of dominant languages, such as English.

This section discusses how language planners go about planning and what factors they have to take into account. The main researchers whom I will be referring to are: Haugen (1966, 1987), who wrote an important early work in the recent history of language planning, on Norway in 1966; Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), who have produced a comprehensive work for the field; Cooper (1989), who attempted in his book to relate language planning to social change (among other

things), showing the relation of this field to that of sociolinguistics; and more recently, Spolsky (2004), who has provided the main framework for the discussion of policy.

Some work has been done in producing a useful model for language planning based on Haugen’s first language planning model and recent additions. Haugen’s model is useful in that it provides a framework within which to analyse what language planners do when making their proposals. His model, produced at the time that developing countries were emerging from colonialism in the sixties, shows the process of planning. Haugen’s revised model is reproduced below (1987: 64).

Table 2: Haugen’s language planning model

Form (policy planning)		Function (cultivation)
Society (Status planning)	1) Selection (decision procedures)	3) Implementation (educational spread)
	a) identification of problem	a) correction procedures
	b) allocation of norms	b) evaluation
Language (Corpus planning)	2) Codification (standardisation procedures)	4) Elaboration (functional development)
	a) graphisation	a) terminological modernisation
	b) grammatication	b) stylistic development
	c) lexication	

Haugen's model consists of four categories, which include the selection of the standard, the codification of the standard, and two follow-up categories of implementation and further elaboration of the standard. Kloss later renamed 'selection' as *status planning* and 'codification' as *corpus planning* (Spolsky, 2004: 6).

According to this model, decisions have first to be made about the language selection. This is known as '*Status planning*' and such decisions are primarily taken at governmental level, for example, governments may choose to make one language the official or national language. This selection may ensure the status of that language and may be the means to unite an emerging nation and give it an identity. At the same time, this selection becomes a means of oppression of other languages within its national borders (Coulmas, 1991: 19 - 21).

Other decisions may revolve around education, for example, which languages will be taught in the curriculum (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 8 - 9). Another choice might be which language should be used as a medium of school instruction. Cooper (1989: 120 -121) points out that the planners may be slow to propose a language change here if the language that is to be demoted 'is the bearer of an ancient literary tradition and is viewed as an expression of the community's collective memory.' The same may be applied to choice of first foreign language over another one, such as the fact that English was chosen to take over from Danish as the first foreign language in Iceland (chapter 4: 4.1).

Governments may also legislate on the rights of minority groups to use their languages in certain domains, such as education, and on which languages should be used in the media (Phillipson, 2003: 14). More recently Governments have been involved with planning for the language of information technology which, together with the media, has a great influence on the grassroots.

According to Williams (1992: 134) the most effective ways of increasing the status of a language are legislation and domain extension. A well known example of government legislation is the *Loi Toubon* in France, a law which was passed in 1994 to make the use of French compulsory in several domains, including

consumer information such as ‘advertising, work contracts and information etc., education at all levels and the language use of politicians and anyone who officially represents the Republic’ (Bakmand, 2000). A more recent example of domain extension is French legislation that all pages on the Internet in France should be in French (see chapter 2: 2.1.4).

Codification or Corpus planning ‘consists of linguistic decisions, which need to be made to codify and elaborate a language’ (Kaplan and Baldauf: 1997: 29).

Nations may choose quite different lexical planning processes depending on their commitment to language planning, socio-political organisation and traditions (Ferguson, 1996: 291). Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 65) point out that ‘in countries where identity and nationhood are under negotiation, every aspect of language, including its phonological description and forms of graphic representation can be contested.’

It is evident from the preceding section (1.4.3) that the standardisation of a language is part of language corpus planning and is an ongoing process. Haugen’s model (above) refers to the three areas of standardisation as follows:

- 1) graphisation, which refers to the standardisation of the written language;
- 2) grammatication, which refers to the structure of the language;
- 3) lexication, which refers to the selection of a lexicon. Lexication is often characterised by purism.

Where language change is most obvious is in changes in the lexicon or to spelling conventions. Hence many nations are concerned to preserve their lexicon. Some, such as Iceland, as we will see (chapter 3: 3.6.3) go to great lengths to prevent changes to their lexicon from the influence of English and produce word lists of new terms. Other nations, such as Denmark, are less concerned.

Once the language has been selected and codified the Government has to implement it, that is, to ‘adopt and attempt to spread the language form’ (Haugen: 1987: 61). The *implementation* part of language planning is the ‘most menacing’ according to Haugen (1987: 65) because some part of the population is always

going to lose out against a more advantaged group, for example, education in the standard language may discourage the use of dialects (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 36) which can lead to their demise: 'Dialect death,' according to Crystal (2000: 38), is 'language death, albeit on a more localized scale.'

Schiffman (2006: 119) states that implementation is 'almost always the weakest link in language policies'. For example, a policy to teach a less widely used language cannot be implemented without the teachers to teach the language or the resources put into text books and teacher training.

Usually some effort is required to get the target population to adopt the innovations that have been planned for it, which may involve marketing techniques (Cooper, 1989: 75). For example, in order to promote Welsh, the Welsh Arts Council awarded grants and scholarships to writers and grants to the BBC in Wales to broadcast programmes in Welsh (ibid). State legislation may enforce innovations but even then these agencies, says Cooper (1989: 78), 'like all marketers, must consider ways and means to create a climate of opinion favourable to the adoption of the planned innovation.' Such methods cost money, and as Phillipson (2003: 49) points out, planning will not succeed without resources.

Elaboration (sometimes referred to as 'modernisation') focuses on enrichment of the language and is a 'complex and ongoing process' (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 44). If a language does not modernise, as we have seen above (1.2.1), and therefore lacks the terminology in the native language for new scientific or technical words, it may lose out in specific domains of use leading to a need to use a language of wider communication, for example, English. Terminological modernisation therefore is seen as a 'major preoccupation' of language agencies (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 44). It is a process that is only likely to succeed with an understanding of the social context behind the new terms.

It is not enough, as Spolsky (2004: 35) points out, purely to invent a word, - the word has to be accepted and liked and used by the community. As Haugen (1966: 23) says, 'the planner proposes, but the community disposes.' Planners can

choose to borrow a word from another language or make up their own. If the former, they need to decide 'how far to indigenize the loan' by modifying its spelling, pronunciation and fitting it in to the structure of their language (Cooper, 1989: 151). Planners have the choice of taking either 'a *puristic* or *pragmatic* attitude towards such innovations' Haugen (1987: 87). For example, Icelandic corpus planners make any borrowed words from English as unrecognisable from the original as possible, such as 'chance' which has become *sjans*. Thus the decision making process about what terms to use occurs

in a sociocultural context where modernization contrasts with tradition, each bearing its own particular ideological weighting, and where there is tension between the imported concept and terms and the indigenous. (Spolsky, 2004: 36).

Stylistic development refers to the need for a language to have 'its own discourses appropriate for each of the domains in which it is used' (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 45). According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 46) there must be a programme of language development in order to use a language in high status domains, such as technology and culture. If not, English may be used.

Successful corpus planning, as I have outlined, 'is a delicate balancing act' between the old and the new (Fishman in Cooper, 1989: 154). As Kaplan and Baldauf, (1997: 48) advise, corpus planners need to 'keep attuned to their public.'

According to Williams (1992: 147) status and corpus planning should not be examined in isolation because of the relationship between them. Williams (1992: 147) argues that corpus planning cannot be examined without reference to status planning, nor status planning without reference to the corpus. This is because changes in the corpus may derive from changes in status. Corpus planning itself is a form of status planning, for example it can serve to retain the relative status of one dialect over another (Williams, 1992: 143).

In the context of globalisation the use of English may be accepted and legitimised and those users of English may increase their status. Equally, if the native

language extends and enhances its domains by increasing the amount of new vocabulary, then that language gains status (Hilmarsson-Dunn and Kristinsson, 2007).

Cooper later added 'acquisition planning' to Haugen's model. Acquisition planning is a formal mechanism of language spread. According to Cooper (1989: 33) when planning is directed to increasing a language's uses, this falls within status planning but 'when it is directed toward increasing the number of users', for example, as a *lingua franca*, acquisition planning is a useful term. It covers the policies that are implemented for education purposes, that is, language teaching and learning of national, second and foreign languages (Bakmand, 2000).

Typically acquisition planning is supervised by a ministry of education. The British Council promotes study of English abroad, as does the Alliance française for French, the Goethe Institute for German and the Instituto Cervantes for Spanish. Cooper points out (1989: 185) that acquisition planning is not likely to be successful unless the language in question serves a useful function for the target population.

Haugen's model is still applicable to emergent nation-states today although it has some limitations. It only caters for the written language, for example, and not the spoken. Milroy and Milroy (1991: 22) observe that the recommendations of planners generally fail to consider spoken language versus the written language. Language planners in Iceland, however, have had some success in planning for the spoken language (see chapter 3: 3.6.7).

Currently, language planners have to take many more factors into account than Haugen's model caters for, in order for implementation to be successful. Language planning today reflects the sociolinguistic approach defined by Deumert, (2000: 399), as being 'dependent on the understanding of the relevant social, cultural, political and historical variables, knowledge of language attitudes and the direction of social change in a given society.' These factors include age, gender, level of education, and geographic location as well as beliefs about the

power, beauty or utility of the language, and its role in national, ethnic, or religious identity (Phillipson, 2003: 15).

Furthermore, the decisions each country makes in its language planning are very much dependent on economic issues as well as the sociolinguistic profile of the country. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 167) point out that the planners need to consider what gains are likely to occur upon the implementation of a particular policy. 'No language plan' they say, 'no matter how sound is likely to proceed unless the decision makers are convinced of its economic and political value.'

Grin (2006: 83) points out that the cost of planning for the corpus, such as inventing new words, or carrying out spelling reform is 'relatively modest' compared to planning for status issues, such as introducing another language as a medium of instruction. For example, if universities wish to attract foreign students to enrol on their courses they are more likely to do this if the language of instruction is English (see chapter 2: 2.1.1 and chapter 4: 4.2). Such a policy is likely to involve a large outlay in terms of resources to train teachers. The result is that English achieves status, the language of the country loses status, (and possibly the domain) but the economic benefits of the policy outweigh the costs (see 1.1.2 above).

Despite concern for the economic situation, however, it is important to remember that for some countries 'the cultural value of their mother tongue may be more important than its economic potential' (Coulmas, 1992: 88). Policies may be implemented with significant output in monetary terms knowing there will be no economic gain from the policy but rather a cultural gain.

Language planning today also tends toward the protectionist (at least within Europe, stimulated by the language policies of the EU (see chapter 2, 2.2)). A language is seen as a right as well as a resource (Kontra et al (1999): Introduction, Phillipson (1999, 2003), Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Rannut (1994a), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 2006)). Furthermore, language choices are not supposed to lead to exclusion of some groups from access to power and resources. In other words there should be equity for all people and all languages and prevention of

linguistic discrimination (Kontra et al, 1999: 9 – 10). Whether or not this ideal happens in practice will be discussed in chapter 2 (2.2).

However, it is not enough for the planners merely to formulate a policy to counteract English. If there is to be a reversal of language shift (Fishman, 1991) and the survival of small languages, ‘support for them must be active, not merely *laissez-faire*’ (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994, cited in Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 275). Active support implies support for the language at the highest levels, so that the population accepts the standard language as having high prestige and passes it on to their children. As Cooper points out (1989: 120) ‘while promotion by elites or counterelites does not ensure the success of status planning, such planning is unlikely to succeed without it.’

Even *with* support from governments, language policies may not be able to preserve small languages nor prevent their speakers from adopting a more prestigious world language, English, which the discussion of the market value of English shows (1.1.2 above).

Marsh (2002: 49) argues that ‘language policies, rhetoric or good intent do not sustain and enrich language because the core conditions for any language to thrive and grow are need and use.’ This leads me to an examination of the third component in Spolsky’s framework, that is, language practices.

1.6 Language practices

This section examines whether the planners can ensure that the policies they implement and standards that they lay down are reflected in language practices within their communities in the face of globalisation. Spolsky (2004: 222) points out that ‘the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in its management.’ Furthermore, in cases where there are no formal language policies, the only way to find out is by observing the practices or beliefs (ibid: 2004: 8, (see 1.3 above). Shohamy (2006: 68 – 69) notes that very

few studies have been made as to whether actual language practices are directly the result of policies. Furthermore, language policies and planning are often ‘totally ignored’ due to bottom-up forces with different ideologies (Shohamy, 2006: 51).

Evaluation of the success of any language planning is difficult and not always carried out by nations in a methodical way, if at all. The problem in monitoring the results of planning is the need to monitor all the different groups as the make-up of society is not homogenous. In the real world, ‘there are only the *users* of a language’, who are diverse in terms of their linguistic competence and attitudes towards their own and other languages, and ‘the actual *use* of the language in concrete situations’, that is, the written and spoken *texts* of the language, which are equally multitudinous and diverse (Preisler, 2005: 242 - 243). Language practices depend on many factors such as age, gender, education and class of the user (Spolsky, 2004: 9). Where planners may judge their policies to be effective with one group, they may be ineffective with another.

Nettle and Romaine (2000: 8) emphasise that ‘the pulse of a language clearly lies in the youngest generation’. It follows therefore, that language policies should take account of young people’s beliefs, attitudes and values, otherwise such policies are likely to fail. As Spolsky points out (2006) the problems with language management are whether the rules written by management (often older, traditional and reactionary members of a community) affect the practices. Young people may speak the same language as the old but they may ‘value quite different things’ (Martin, 2004: 24). ‘The perspectives people develop’ Martin continues, or ‘the content of subcultural belief systems, are a consequence of their location in social space and their experience of it’, and therefore the make up of society is heterogeneous:

if people’s ideas and values, perhaps even their sense of identity, are dependent on their experience of different social contexts – class, community, occupation, religion, ethnicity and so on- it follows that there will be a considerable heterogeneity in the ‘culture’ of a modern (or post-modern) society (Martin, 2004: 24).

In the context of globalisation, these differences in values may be exaggerated and lead to a bigger gulf between groups now, for example, the young and old generations, than ever before. The risk that planners face is that their resulting language policies may be expressions of a traditional ideology but may not reflect new competing and/or changing ideologies shown in the practices of these different groups.

According to Murphie and Potts (2003: 7) traditional culture is perceived to be spiritually uplifting and ennobling (high culture), such as traditional literature, folk music and folk tales, but has been supplanted for many young people today by a global youth or popular culture. According to Pachter and Landry (2001: 23) youth or 'pop culture', (defined in the Compact Oxford English dictionary as: 'commercial culture based on popular taste') 'ignores or rejects an exalted notion of culture,' and does not share traditional ideologies: 'the presumed bedrock of shared values as embodied in cultural institutions and expression is simply no longer there' (Pachter and Landry 2001: 28).

These traditional values and patriotic feelings have been overtaken by other ideologies rooted in popular culture: 'Patriotic passion,' say Edmunds and Turner (2002: 38) is eroded by the sexual foundations of popular and commercial culture.' Popular culture they say (2002: 42) 'has undermined the inherent superiority of high culture.' This is because youth today receive so much of their linguistic input from 'picture media' at the expense of written texts (Vikør, 1993: 213). These media include advertising, Hollywood films via television, DVD, video or computer, popular music and, particularly, the Internet, which are available worldwide and in English and do not respect the boundaries of the traditional nation state (see 1.2.2).

Global English, as we have seen above (1.1.2), is prestigious, eagerly acquired and valuable, and its speakers acquire 'capital.' Thus attitudes towards English, especially from the younger generation, are generally positive. Huebner, editor of a collection of papers written by Ferguson (1996: 263), describes how Ferguson showed that change in a range of language uses 'typically precedes change in the community's evaluative attitudes toward language'. In other words, if English is

chosen for high status use such as pop music, the attitudes of some people toward their language may also change. Attitudes may include feelings about their language as being inferior, lacking in beauty or expressiveness and inappropriate (Ferguson, 1996: 275). An example of this is the Eurovision song contest, which, according to Berns et al (2007: 30), in 2001 was conducted exclusively in English except for the French entrant.

Choice of language, therefore, may have little to do with the underlying collective traditional ideologies, but rather with a different collectivity, governed by different ideologies. This includes the desire of individuals or communities to empower themselves. According to Djité (2006: 2),

language choice and use in multilingual contexts show individuals and communities to be very active agents, whose language practices reveal an incredible capacity to empower themselves where and when it matters most.

Thus, as well as sociolinguistic factors such as age and gender, the language we use is determined by individual or group aspirations, which is well illustrated by de Swaan's model (1.1.1).

An age related choice may be determined, for example, by fashion, the perception that speaking a variety of a particular language is 'cool'. Use of English, as we have seen, may give that speaker prestige. It may also be the default choice because vocabulary does not exist in the native language. On the other hand individuals may code switch between their mother tongue and English for all sorts of reasons, such as wishing to project two identities, a portrayal of themselves as knowledgeable, educated, and a person of high status in front of their peers.

Immigrants will almost certainly make individual language choices according to their own particular ideologies, although assimilationist language policies may lead to loss of their language in important domains such as education. Conflicting ideologies, as Bourhis (2002: 15) points out, may lead to political tensions and the

formation of political parties whose aims are to change state policies on language and integration issues.

Choice is also determined by which language is most likely to give value to an individual or community, as we have seen above (1.1.2). In higher education, for example, micro language choices may have to be made on which language to use in the publication of academic texts. The choice of English would reach a wider readership, and result in more profit and prestige for the writer. Language choice, of course, may be determined by feelings of national identity, and this latter may often counteract all the rest, but again choice is dependent on the group and the domain.

Choice is also dependent on the topic of conversation (Preisler, 2005: 244). In reference to Denmark, Preisler points out that if the topic of conversation is research the language will be English, while if it is an administrative matter relating to a Danish university the language will be Danish, unless there is a non-speaker of Danish present, in which case it would be English. If all members of the network have Danish as the mother tongue, then they will speak or write to each other in Danish.

As I have emphasised before, the goals of policy makers may work with some groups but not others; for some domains but not others.

While the compulsory education domain may be seen to be a domain that is influencing languages top down (see 1.4.3), and therefore endeavouring to promote traditional ideologies, the media and Internet are often influencing languages from the bottom up, a process that is less easy for language planners to control. Phillipson (2003: 88 – 89) puts this in a broader context:

While a lot of the uptake of English occurs as a result of top-down pressures in professional life, education, and the workplace, sub-cultural use of English in such fields as popular music, dance, sport, or computers reflects bottom-up processes of identification with particular activities, and shared interests

This subcultural use of English consolidates the language at the grassroots. Phillipson (ibid) goes on to say that ‘the promotion of other languages can only rarely tap into these psychological needs and wishes.’ Without support from the grassroots, language planning and language policies are unlikely to be successful.

To summarise, this discussion of language practices has highlighted that language policies may be difficult to implement. As Wright (2004: 96) asserts, language policy and planning have had some success when ‘in sympathy with prevailing nationalist ideology,’ but with changing political and economic contexts along with new ideological frameworks it is ‘increasingly out of favour.’ Individual rights, multilingualism and globalisation, she states, go against the nationalist ethos.

1.7 Conclusion

This theoretical framework has demonstrated the following:

1) The impact that globalisation is having on languages and cultures.

I have discussed why English has become a dominant language and an attractive language to acquire, but also how the adoption of English may lead to a decline in use of the national language and loss of identity.

2) The differences in ideologies underpinning language policies.

I have argued that policy is a reflection of the ideologies of a nation and, possibly, groups within the nation. I have argued that standardisation of a language is essential to maintain its prestige and therefore its use.

3) The role of the language planners.

In order to protect their languages from a shift to English, I have argued that language planners *can* do certain things to select and codify a language to ensure its status and, thus, its use, and that the alternative laissez-faire approach is unlikely to help an ailing language. However, formal written policies are not enough on their own unless they are strongly supported and can be implemented and spread.

4) The differences in individual practices.

I have shown that younger people may have different ideologies to the old due to globalisation.

5) The impact that immigration has on national identities.

As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 269) point out, planners need to consider the ‘interaction of multiple languages in a community and multiple non-linguistic factors – that is, the total *ecology* of the linguistic environment’.

Policy is also a reflection of external factors such as economics and politics outside the nation. These factors include the international political environment, for example, the policies and practices of the European Union, which I will be examining in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: The Global, European and Nordic context

I have outlined in chapter 1: 1.1 why English is dominant and why the value of English continues to increase vis-à-vis other languages by providing knowledge, power and wealth for those who use it. Using models relating language to globalisation, I was able to show that English was at the top of the world system for languages, and increasingly used to link what de Swaan (2001) refers to as 'regional constellations' and thus the most sought after language to learn.

I also pointed out in chapter 1 that one of the consequences of globalisation is that national language policies may have to bow to supranational policies.

Globalisation, according to Blommaert (2003: 612), 'implies that developments at the 'top' or the core of the world system have a wide variety of effects at the 'bottom' or the periphery of that system'. What occurs in one state can not only be explained by state dynamics but is 'set simultaneously against the background of substate and superstate dynamics' (Blommaert, 2003: 612).

If Blommaert is right, it follows that if English is used in domains at the top of the system, that is, globally, it will permeate domains elsewhere in the system.

Therefore, when we examine the language of supranational organisations, we should find that English prevails. However, my research suggests that other things are happening within regional and state dynamics which make the situation regarding the adoption of English more complex. As we have seen in the chapter 1: 1.4, traditions and values that communities hold about language may be in conflict with global English, and such values underlie policies. For example, the major constellation of the EU has a policy of multilingualism, by which it promotes linguistic and cultural diversity. The Nordic constellation similarly endeavours to promote use of a Nordic language. Regional constellations may become a means of assisting in the protection of small nation states against global English.

My hypothesis, therefore, is that supranational policies reinforce policies in smaller regional constellations in strengthening resistance to global English. The

aim of this chapter is to investigate this hypothesis. First I examine the role of English in the domains of education, cultural products and information technology (IT) at the global level with a view to understanding how the developments at this top level affect developments at lower levels. Then I examine how developments in the next level in the hierarchy, the large constellation of the EU, affect developments in the smaller regional constellation of the Nordic countries.

The results of this investigation will enable me to answer one of the main research questions (3) (Introduction: III) as to whether supranational language policies can affect national ones.

2.1 The global context

The following outline of the global context reveals the strength of the position of English in higher education, cultural products and IT. It shows that there is an awareness globally of the necessity to protect and promote small languages and cultures but that these efforts may go against the laws of the market.

2.1.1 Education and global English

Coleman (2004: 23) asserts that higher education (HE) today is a major cause of language shift:

Higher education, itself now a marketized and globalized commodity, is a prime driver of language shift, embracing as it does the young, mobile, educated élite, the leaders of social change.

This shift is occurring because more people wish to reap the benefits of learning English, causing an increase in English teaching round the world (chapter 1: 1.1.2). In the HE sector English is being used more and more as a language of

instruction in non-native English speaking higher education institutions (HEIs) in order to attract international students.

Graddol (2006: 76) reports that the numbers of international students seeking education in the major English speaking destination countries (MESDCs) account for 46% of the total and that the USA and UK account for over a third of all international students in the world. This, he explains, is because these countries 'dominate the international league tables,' their universities market their courses to overseas students and 'English is seen as a key educational investment.'

However, Graddol (2006: 76 – 80) points out, the MESDCs attracting foreign students are now facing competition from other areas. The most important of these, from the point of view of this thesis, involves countries in Europe and Asia which are attracting students by offering courses taught through English. Because of this, the MESDC countries are likely to receive a declining market share (Graddol, 2006: 80). This development shows clearly that other states are aspiring to position themselves as providers of English in order to benefit from the market for students.

However, although other countries, even in Kachu's expanding circle, offer courses through English, and may now benefit financially, native speakers are more sought after as teachers. Employers of scientists in Japan, for example, prefer to employ those who have worked or studied in native English speaking nations (La Madeleine, 2007). However, the cost of being taught through English may be a lot lower in a non MESDC country, for example, in Asia, and therefore be a viable option for some less wealthy students.

The incentive to teach through English to gain market share increases because 'once a medium obtains a dominant market share, it becomes less and less practical to opt for another medium, and the dominance is thus enhanced' (Coleman, 2004). Thus, the adoption of English in HE 'further advances its global influence'. Higher education, Phillipson (2005) emphasises, is being seen more and more as a commodity and the market for fee paying students is a growing one.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2005) believes that universities should play a role in increasing knowledge of one's mother tongue by *resisting* a shift to English in HE institutions. To be able to freely choose your language of instruction, she argues, 'is an important factor for successful study.' Universities are contributing to linguistic genocide if the mother tongue is not available, and students can be dispossessed of linguistic capital if education at university does not increase knowledge of one's own language (ibid). She questions whether or not universities are guilty of 'spreading killer languages' if they use them as media of instruction.

As well as the language of instruction being in English, the language of academic texts is also increasingly in English because English texts reach a wider audience. Hylland-Eriksen (2005) reports that about 90% of academic publishing is in English, because otherwise publications are not taken seriously. He points out that it often makes no sense to publish in English, for example, if the content is of interest nationally, such as history or social science.

Ammon (2003b: 23) bemoans the fact that scientists generally have to use English to publish their results and are judged by the quality of that English. This puts non-native English speaking scientists at a disadvantage because different text structures or discourse features may be 'evaluated negatively' by British or American native English speakers (ibid: 26).

Some German scientists, Ammon reports, believe that their English is not good enough to participate in international communication. He cites figures from a survey he carried out on a small sample of German scientists in 1990 that show that 19% were reluctant to participate in international conferences where the language was English and that 33% would not publish in English (Ammon, 1990, cited in Ammon 2003b). He concludes that it may be the case therefore, that scholars from non-native speaking English countries are under-represented in international conferences and research projects (Ammon, 2003b: 28).

There is also an issue of cost, in terms of money as well as time. To survive economically, Ammon (ibid) reports, some German journals have had to switch to

English, which makes it difficult to compete with their American or British counterparts in terms of prices. Oakes (2005: 162) reports similarly that the last journal publishing original medical research in Swedish has recently adopted an all-English policy. Likewise Japanese 'is slowly being eliminated from Japan's primary scientific content' and Japanese journals are switching to English to make their research accessible to other scientists. This leads to the necessity for more proficiency in English and/or high costs in translation (La Madeleine, 2007). Doctoral students likewise are expected to produce their theses in English, especially in the science fields. One can conclude that there is little incentive to would-be academics to study a language other than English.

According to Ammon (2003: 30), German students have to study English for nine years, but this length of time is insufficient to acquire a high enough level of English language skills to publish in academic journals. The only way, he believes, for scientists and scholars to acquire such high level skills is extensive study in a native speaking English country doing academic work. Again this is very profitable for those countries included in the inner circle English speaking countries but costly for those going to the receiving country (see Kachru's model, chapter 1: 1.1.1).

Furthermore, many academic journals are now online. If these journals are in English they reach a wider audience than if published in other languages. The Internet is another form of global education and Gandal (2003: 4 – 5) believes that as English content on web sites increases, more people will learn English in order to access these websites, which in turn will lead to an increase in their number.

The fact that English is increasing as a medium of instruction at HE level, as well as being the language of most academic publications, results in the need to teach English to a high level in schools. Many countries, particularly in Europe, have made it policy to teach English as the first and compulsory foreign language. There is also a great demand to bring English to students in their home countries, shown by the presence of English language schools world wide.

2.1.2 Cultural products and global English

One of the most important aspects of globalisation in the last twenty years has been the increase in trade in cultural products (Wright, 2004: 152). The film world is dominated by Hollywood, and films contain expensive special effects and feature highly paid celebrities. Many of the world's television programmes are made in the USA. Wright (2004: 154) reports that the export of language borne cultural products is most important to the US economy in financial terms even beyond that of burgers and fizzy drinks. Products such as films, music, television programmes, books, journals and computer software, became the largest US export sector in 1996. This 'has inevitable consequences for the spread of English' as 'the consumer experiences the cultural product in the original language' (ibid). For example, Van den Bossche (2007: 7) reports that of the one hundred best selling titles in the Netherlands in 2005 only ten of these were written in Dutch. Similarly, in 2006, although 117/278 films were European, American films achieved 79% of market share, versus 20% market share for European films (ibid).

There is a possibility therefore that young people, in particular, will adopt the values of the USA, as well as the English language. Wright (2004: 154) points out that even a dubbed English language film, 'can still promote the ideologies and attitudes of its makers.' Hjarvard (2004: 75) agrees: the media are 'more than a neutral channel through which Anglo-American culture spreads.' Speaking the language of popular culture may be associated with prestige, and be valued by younger people, as we have seen (chapter 1: 1.6). In this way traditional values are submerged by popular ideologies associated with English.

Hjarvard (2004: 91) argues that 'the media actively contribute to changes in the structure, spread and status of languages.' In television advertisements in non English speaking countries, for instance, the use of English words and expressions 'reflects the prestige Anglo-American culture already enjoys' but also the media contribute actively to reinforcing this status by extending it to new fields (ibid). The media, of course, also spread English at the expense of other languages. Spending on global advertising, Phillipson (2003: 73) informs us, went up seven

fold between 1950 and 1996 and, he reports, more money is spent on advertising in the USA than on the entire education system.

As a result of globalisation and the liberalisation of trade rules, it is claimed that the trade in US American cultural products threatens other cultures (for example Phillipson, 2003, 2006, see chapter 1: 1.2.2). That this threat is taken seriously is shown by the backlash against the trade, which has stimulated calls for protection of cultural heritage. Gutmann (1992: 5) for example, states that small group cultures should be protected against large cultures: 'liberal democratic states are obligated to help disadvantaged groups preserve their culture against intrusions by majoritarian or "mass" cultures'.

There have been moves at the global level to protect nations from homogenising cultures, as a result of these calls for protection of small group cultures. In 2003, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which aims 'to safeguard intangible cultural heritage', to ensure respect for it, raise awareness of its importance to communities, and to provide 'international cooperation and assistance' (UNESCO Culture Sector, 2006). Intangible cultural heritage includes 'oral traditions and expressions including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage' (ibid). As at 14th September 2006, this convention had been ratified by sixty three states. The convention should protect films, music and other cultural heritage from foreign competition and help small nations 'to promote and distribute their cultural products on the world market' (Moore, 2005).

Proponents of the convention, according to Moore (2005) however, 'are uncertain how the convention would be enforced or how potential conflicts with the free-trade rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) would be resolved.' This is because WTO members are not allowed to discriminate against foreign products (Van den Bossche, 2007: 24). The USA abstained from the agreement, believing that cultural products should be open to free trade.

Further to the convention of 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions on 20th October 2005, which seeks to defend cultural wealth. One of the aims of this Convention is to

reaffirm the sovereign rights of States to maintain, adopt and implement policies and measures that they deem appropriate for the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions on their territory, while ensuring the free flow of ideas and works (UNESCO, 2005b)

This new Convention ‘constitutes one of the three pillars of the preservation and promotion of creative diversity’ (UNESCO, 2005b). The Convention entered into force in March 2007. UNESCO’s conventions filter down to EU and national levels, as we will see in the sections below. Many nations have also adopted measures unilaterally to protect their own cultural products, for example, France, through direct subsidies, price fixing and import restrictions (Van den Bossche, 2007: 7).

In theory, cultural policy at global level should help counteract the spread of English. However, as we have seen (chapter 1: 1.6) policies are unlikely to prevent individuals from participating in American culture if they want to. Furthermore, resources need to be found for promoting traditional culture versus popular culture, and small nations may not possess such resources. As Van den Bossche (2007: 12 - 13) points out, ‘many forms of cultural expression, including classical music, opera, ballet and theatre, benefit from, and would not survive without, financial support from the government’.

2.1.3 Information technology and global English

Like cultural products, information technology (IT) is in great demand worldwide. IT encompasses computers, their software, and the Internet, among other things. Once again we find that this domain is dominated by English, in the first place because the Internet was created by the US military and was set up with English

programming languages. The English speaking elite was also the class that first had access to computers (Block, 2004: 10). Thus English can be seen as being at the top of the world system and affecting developments elsewhere in the system.

The norms of the Internet were established in ASCII texts (American Standard Code for Information Interchange). ASCII texts include all the characters in the English alphabet, numbers 0-9, and other symbols on our keyboards such as % and & (McCarthy, 2006). Therefore, 'speaking' over the Internet is 'difficult in languages other than English' (Leiper, 1998). Furthermore, the existing domain name system (DNS), the Internet's global directory, only works in western languages. The DNS is coordinated by Iann, a company controlled by the US government (McCarthy, 2006).

Advances in technology, however, are now making it easier for languages with other scripts to come on line. The relatively recent Extensible Markup Language (XML) processors understand many common character sets (the default is the UTF-8 encoding of Unicode), the dominant one of which is the character set International Standards Organisation (ISO)-8859-1 which includes all the Nordic languages.

Unicode is progressively replacing ASCII, but even Unicode cannot solve all language problems simply because of the number and variety of characters (Khan, 2003: 26 – 27). Also, although XML can be written in any language, for many applications tried and tested XML code libraries have already been written, and it is rare that someone would start from scratch today. The bulk of these code libraries are English based (Jennings, 2005). Furthermore, if international portability is required 'the programmer should consider the use of English' (ibid).

Despite the difficulties, many nations believe that it is vital to invest in their languages in order to be able to use them in this important domain. Policies for language technology are therefore high on their agendas. Coulmas (1992: 69) outlines what he considers 'the most important investments contributing to an improved utility of a language' as follows:

- The compilation of dictionaries for common use as well as terminologies for specific purposes;
- Word processing equipment;
- Automatic translation;
- Artificial intelligence, specially the creation of knowledge systems and data banks;
- The improvement of man-machine communication, that is, the adjustment of computer languages to human languages.

Without such investments many languages have to resort to English. For example, Maegaard (2001: 36) emphasises that translation tools 'are incredibly important for the less widespread languages'. If people want to access texts written in a language foreign to them then machine translation is necessary. Currently, of the twenty six pairs of languages available for translation on Google, for example, twenty three pairs include English. Babel fish (Altavista, 2006) translates twelve pairs of languages, which do not include English, out of thirty six. The Nordic languages are not represented on either translation site.

Similarly, good speech synthesis programmes and speech recognition programmes need to be available, otherwise non-native English speakers will have to make do with English for entertainment, such as, computer games, and teaching programmes etc. (Maegaard, 2001: 36). Such investments are costly in terms of time and money and the process is an ongoing one in view of constantly improving technologies. Language technology planners in small nations, therefore, have to balance cost against ideology.

2.1.4 Language of Internet use

Some people have expressed fears about the dominance of English on the Internet. This is because the Internet is perceived as being particularly threatening to languages and cultures. Murphie and Potts (2003: 8) refer to the Internet as being an 'explosion of unrestricted cultural expression across a network.' The

Internet they say, (2003: 9) 'is at once a technological, a cultural, a political and an economic phenomenon.' As such, it spreads across every domain of language use. Such a new medium of communication, a revolution affecting the whole of society, says Crystal (2004: 65) 'has not appeared in 10,000 years.' US American domination of the Internet along with satellite television means, according to Rice-Oxley (2004) that increasingly 'America monopolizes the view people get of the world'. Thirteen of the top Internet firms, he reports, are American and the fourteenth is British. According to Ricento (2006b), the Internet has profoundly affected language choice and changes in patterns of communication. The Internet is also a medium whose dynamics are driven by the younger generation (Gandal, 2003: 3).

The dominance of English in this domain has led to increasing protectionist and purist language policies in individual nations. According to Nunberg (2000), the former French President, Jacques Chirac, described the prevalence of English on the Internet as 'a major risk to humanity,' a perception, Nunberg reports, 'that led the French government to mandate that all web sites in France must provide their content in French' (see chapter 1: 1.1.5).

This impact of English has also prompted moves at the global level to promote linguistic diversity. UNESCO, in its Universal Declaration recognizes that 'globalization, together with rapid advances in information and communication technologies, present a threat to cultural diversity' (Khan, 2003: 18). The action plan deriving from this declaration aims to reduce the digital divide and promote linguistic diversity in cyber space for member states:

The draft Recommendation on the Promotion and Use of Multilingualism and Universal Access to Cyberspace reflects the conviction that people must be able to use their language on the Internet if they are to access and generate content that is relevant to them and their community. (UNESCO, 2003)

Research shows that use of the Internet in other languages is increasing (Crystal, 2004). However, the Internet World Stats (2007), which provides usage and

population statistics for the Internet in the world, still shows English in a commanding position, that is, top of the top ten languages. Together, the top ten languages account for 85% of Internet use. This figure was 86.4 % in 2005. Percentage of internet users of English is 31.2% in 2007, but was recorded as 34.7% in 2005, which shows a small decrease (see appendix 5: tables 1 & 2).

The rest of the languages in the table are grouped as a single figure at the bottom of the table but the number is high – another 175 million Internet users who are *not* using the top ten languages. There is a significant difference between this figure and the figure for 2005, which was 111 million. At the same time, however, numbers of English users of the Internet has risen even more, from about 283 million in 2005 to about 366 million in 2007 (appendix 5: tables 1 & 2).

Wright (2005) has carried out a study to show whether the Internet is encouraging language shift to English. To do this, she examined how much English was used on the Internet by university students of English, from ten countries. She found that those students from high income countries with ‘big’ national languages, such as French, Arabic or Italian (all among the top ten languages used in the Web) did less of their research using English than countries with fewer people and/or resources, such as Macedonia and Indonesia (Wright, 2005: 6).

The former countries, according to Wright (*ibid*), need less skills in English as there are plenty of Internet resources available in their own languages and therefore do not seem to be ‘shifting massively to English’. However, those countries which have few speakers ‘or where the language community does not have the economic resources to fund sites in the language’ may contribute to a language shift (*ibid*, 2005: 8). Wright (2005: 7) concludes, therefore, that those nations most at risk from English are those with few speakers or who are lacking the necessary resources. Otherwise, ‘it is only in a minority of groups and in a minority of situations that non-native speakers of English decide to use English rather than their national languages.’

The arrival of open source ‘free’ software as a competitor to the American commercial software company, Microsoft, may serve to increase the presence of

other languages on the Internet relative to English, because it is cheaper. Open source is defined as ‘any program whose *source code* is made available free of charge for use or modification by users and developers’ (Leuthner, 2005).

Therefore, as Leuthner (2005) points out, it provides significant savings in, for example, licence fees and hardware costs.

Furthermore, open source software and operating systems can be more easily adapted for a range of scripts and languages than commercial systems (Amelan, 2004). Moodle, for example, is a course management system to create online learning communities which, currently, has seventy two language packs (Moodle, 2007). This means that those smaller nations and/or those with fewer resources, as in Wright’s study, may find it more beneficial to use open source software.

Opinions differ as to whether English will retain its dominant position on the Internet. Some argue that English will continue to dominate because the Web ‘turns every document into a potentially "international" publication’ (Nunberg, 2000). Thus, in the same way as many academics prefer/are obliged to publish their works in English in order to reach a wider audience, so do many authors of web pages.

Others argue, for example, Block (2004: 14), that the Internet may actually be strengthening identities and bringing small language groups together. He asserts that the Internet has made it possible for both big and small languages ‘not only to survive but to increase their numbers of users.’ Block (2004: 20) cites an extensive study carried out by Warschauer on the revival of the Hawaiian language, which was in danger of becoming extinct, showing that the Internet has become a means of constructing their identity:

With the Internet, it has been possible to set up websites, chat lines and an Hawaiian language e-mail system, all of which have made Hawaiian both a practical tool to get things done and most important, a medium of identity construction as a growing number of Hawaiians subscribe to this initiative.

Canagarajah (2005: 11) also points to many exile communities, such as Tamils and Tibetans who 'enjoy a stronger sense of identity and richer knowledge base on the Internet' as well as many other special interest groups who are developing 'their "virtual neighbourhoods" and shared knowledge in cyberspace'.

An important fact remains, however, that many governments, organisations, companies and individuals wish their websites to be accessible to the wider world, in which case, despite the increasing ability of nations to use their own languages and reconstruct their identities, English is likely to be used. Hjarvard (2004 :86 – 87) believes that English will continue to be the global *lingua franca* on the world wide web, that other languages will be used locally among people in the same linguistic culture but that English will be used 'whenever we cross linguistic frontiers'.

Therefore, although there may be huge potential for the enrichment of other languages on the Internet and an increase in their shared percentage of Internet usage in relation to English, at the same time the status of English as the global language of the Internet may continue to be unchallenged.

2.2 The European context

The EU exists to provide member states with access to a free market for people, goods, services and capital. It is a large and expanding multilingual trading block with headquarters in Brussels. As such it is a competitor to the economic power of the USA, and may play a role in counteracting globalisation and global English (Wright, 2000: 108). However, many decisions, which used to be taken by nation-states, are now taken by the EU decision makers in Brussels, which limits the sovereignty of the nation-state. Oakes (2001: 128) makes the point that sovereignty is undermined, not just from above but from below, as the EU supports regional minorities, for example, through the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML).

The EU now has a membership of twenty seven, with twenty three official languages, and includes three of the Nordic countries: Finland, Sweden and Denmark as member states. Iceland and Norway are not members of the EU, but of the European Economic Area (EEA) and European Free Trade Association (EFTA). However, they are also able to participate in the EU's internal market.

The EEA agreement allows member states to participate in a range of EU activities. These include cultural and education programmes and research and technological development (European Commission EEA website, 2004).

Although national legal powers are not transferred to the EU, the price these small countries pay is that they do not have a voice in the decision making process.

They are policy takers, but not policy makers (Andersen, 2000). That they are able to make their own decisions in their own sovereign nations on matters they consider vital, such as the fisheries policy, may, however, far outweigh their lack of voting rights on other matters.

This section seeks to investigate how the strength of global English outlined in 2.1 affects policy and practice at the lower level of the EU/EEA regional constellation. The section begins with an examination of the ideologies behind language policy within the EU/EEA versus the practices. Within this context, I examine policies and practices in secondary and higher education, followed by policies for cultural products and IT in Europe.

My data show that there is a conflict between the EU policy of plurilingualism, on the one hand, and global English on the other; that idealistic policies to promote linguistic and cultural diversity are in place, but that practices do not necessarily follow policies.

2.2.1 EU language policy and practice

The language policy of the EU is that of plurilingualism, of treating all official national languages of its twenty seven member states as equal. This policy ensures the status of each official national language both within the EU itself and

within each nation. Each official language has access to all documents produced by the EU in its own language and to simultaneous interpreting facilities between each and every language at top level meetings.

The EU's point of departure, according to van Els (2006: 230) is that 'no one should be at a disadvantage as a result of having a different language background.' A language handicap, van Els elaborates, can have serious economic and political consequences for member states. People back home should also be able to identify with their representatives when they speak in the European parliament. This requires that they speak their own language (van Els, 2006: 218). It is clear that pro-Europeans and policy makers consider that the unification of Europe at a political level depends upon maintaining and respecting linguistic and cultural diversity (Grenfell, Kelly and Jones, 2003: 18).

However, within Europe a conflict exists whereby more and more Europeans find it necessary to speak English while, at the same time, wishing to retain their policy of diversity and to use their national languages in political meetings at European level. The evidence for this use of English is shown by the increase in its use since 1973 when UK and Ireland joined the EU. In a table (reproduced below), Truchot (2003: 104) demonstrates how the use of English in its written form in the EU grew in importance relative to French in a thirteen year period from 1986 to 1999. Truchot argues that globalisation and the teaching and learning of English were important factors in this process.

Another factor involved was the accession of countries using English as a second language in 1995, which strengthened the position of English, for example, Sweden and Finland (Wright, 2000: 168 - 169).

Table 3: Languages used in primary texts of the European Commission, (1986-99)

Year	French (%)	English (%)	German (%)	Other languages
1986	58	26	11	5
1989	49	30	9	12
1991	48	35	6	11
1996	39	45	5	12
1997	40	45	5	9
1998	37	48	5	10
1999	35	52	5	8

Source: after Labrie 1993; Benda-Peter 1999; DGLF 2000

The table shows that English has also replaced German to a large extent (Truchot, 2003: 105). The use of German might have been expected to increase in that some central and East European countries teach German formally in schools (ibid). However, Truchot argues that this is not the case because English has been the language used in enlargement negotiations. He points out that programmes, such as PHARE (Poland-Hungary Assistance for Reconstruction of the Economy), originally set up to help the transition of Poland and Hungary to democracy and market economies (Nicholsonová, 2001), ‘are exclusively monitored in English’ (Truchot, 2003: 105). Moreover, even the European Central Bank, located in Frankfurt and using nine official languages, uses English in its decision making processes, despite the fact that the UK is not a member (ibid). This is a ‘bad omen for the future’ in terms of using languages other than English (ibid).

Other countries, which joined the EU in 2004, have made an effort to increase their English language skills. For example, money allocated from the PHARE programme was used in Slovakia to provide lessons in English to MPs in order to ‘to raise the abilities of legislators in countries applying for EU membership to work with other European countries’ (Reynolds, 2001). He quotes the MP Dušan Jariabek as saying that ‘learning English is a must - it's the world's Esperanto.’

English is also rising in countries where historically it has not been present. In the case of Latvia, for example, Russian was once the official language. Russian is now declining, not only because of the new official language, Latvian, but also ‘because of the new *lingua franca* in the EU – English’ (Muiznieks, 2002). There

are two things going on here: Latvian is achieving higher status as it is the official language of Latvia and therefore one of the official languages of the EU.

However, the recently downgraded ‘minority’ language, Russian, which many speak either as a first or second language is losing status - and may decline further - *because* of membership of the EU.

The rise of English may be playing a part, therefore, in the decline of minority languages. This is a great paradox in view of the EU policy of protecting minority languages and is again evidence of the value of English (see chapter 1: 1.1.2).

As Phillipson states (2003: 11), the EU is a ‘test case for the maintenance of linguistic diversity’ and one of the main unresolved paradoxes is that of:

The onward thrust of Americanisation, cultural homogenization (‘McDonaldization’), and the hegemony of English, BUT the celebration of European linguistic diversity, multilingualism, cultural and linguistic hybridity, and support for minority and national language rights (Phillipson (2003: 12).

One of the problems with the ideology of equity for all languages in the EU is in the time it takes to translate documents into all the languages. Truchot (2003: 108) reports that delays in translation mean that information is available in the source language, English, long before being available in the other official languages. Melander (2000) also points out that MEPs may be obliged to use English documents when the translations or interpretations are not of sufficient quality. According to Tosi (2006: 14), sometimes the text given to translators may not even be in the original English version but itself a translation. Good quality translations are crucial because EU citizens must be able to read documents and legislation in their own languages, according to the 1958 language charter, which is the legal basis for EU multilingual policy (Tosi, 2006: 13-14).

According to two of my interviewees, Melchior and Jacobsen (2006 (representatives of the EU policy group in Denmark)), for all meetings other than top level meetings, interpretation is now demand-driven. Each nation receives a

sum of two million euros per year and applies six months in advance for which meetings interpretation is required. This means that nations may not use up all the money for interpretation if they do not consider it necessary (because they use English). Before enlargement of the EU in May 2004, a list of working groups or meetings was published showing when interpretation would be provided.

Projects to develop machine translation for the official languages of the EU, such as the Eurotra project (see chapter 6: 6.2.2), have been funded by the EU. There have been some successes, but perfect translations are a long way off. There have also been advances made in developing speech technology, where, according to van Els (2006: 228) it is 'possible to render automatically an utterance in one language into an utterance in another language, but only in 'controlled language.''' As with machine translation, van Els (2006: 228) points out that 'there is still a long way to go before workable procedures have been developed for this in each EU language.' Furthermore, it is unlikely that speech technology would ever completely replace the current system of simultaneous translation (ibid).

Although the plurilingual EU language policy is firmly entrenched legally and ideologically, the practices are not always very consistent. As pointed out (chapter 1: 1.3.3), choice of language may have little to do with underlying ideologies. In the EU's case, although 'pious lip service is paid to the ideal of multilingualism,' in practice often one of the major working languages is used, that is, English or French, especially in less formal meetings with lower ranking participants (de Swaan, 2001: 184 - 185).

Because policy for education in a large number of the member states is to teach English as the first foreign language, most Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) know English better than other languages. Furthermore, Harris (2003: 7 - 8) points out that some EU officials 'have a tendency to insist on using their inadequate English language skills even when interpreters are available.'

This is not the case with the French, however. According to Phillipson, (2003: 133 - 134) those who identify with French are worried about losing out to English and are trying to strengthen the position of French within the EU institutions by

such means as 'French language training for diplomats and civil servants from applicant states.' The purpose behind this is to attempt to 'resist market forces.' However, the data indicate that French is the real loser in Europe, as Truchot's table above also demonstrates.

In view of the problems, it is obvious that to designate one language as a *lingua franca* in Europe would have huge practical benefits, not least that of reducing cost of interpretation. National sensibilities, though, are likely to be offended at any suggestion of using English in this role. As we have seen in chapter 1 (1.4.1), national identity is an emotive issue and is often linked strongly to national languages, especially within Europe. Linguistic nationalism, according to van Els (2006: 219), continues to affect the EU, and may prevent any sense of European identity amongst its citizens.

Mautner (2001: 3) points out that national identity is a big obstacle to progress towards European integration, although the EU has done a few things to try to promote a regional identity, such as, producing a flag, an anthem and a European currency. Such symbols as these, however, may serve to challenge national identities, already under threat through losing aspects of their sovereignty (Mautner, 2001: 5). Thus, while some nations do feel more European, some feel more nationalist, particularly those who resent the increased use of English.

A Eurobarometer survey carried out in 2000, found that, in Europe as a whole, 86% of Europeans saw themselves as national first and European second (Vink, 2005: 7). These nationalist tendencies manifest themselves frequently through the desire to strengthen national borders (for example, France), to highlight differences and downplay similarities with neighbours (Mautner, 2001: 6). 'Unless government structures reflect the many types of diversity within Europe', Kilday (1996: 266) warns, 'conflicts of different types will be increasingly difficult to avoid.'

Therefore, the idea of using one *lingua franca*, or even a restricted number of working languages, has been rejected several times 'in favour of the commitment

to the absolute equality of all the official national languages of the member states' (Wright, 2000: 174).

One can conclude from this discussion that the use of English within Europe is rising despite the EU policy of plurilingualism. It is rising because it is the language common to all and, in that the value of a language is an index of its appreciation by a relevant community, has more value than other languages (Coulmas, 1992: 86, see chapter 1: 1.1.2). One of the delicate questions still to be answered is, therefore, 'how or whether the EU's commitment to the equality of the official languages 'is to be reconciled with their actual inequality' (Coulmas, 1991: 17).

De Swaan (2001: 185) believes that as more countries join the EU² and the 'full round of interpretation becomes increasingly burdensome' that MEPs are more likely to waive their right to use their own language and use English or French, even though, by so doing, they are at a disadvantage compared to native speakers. One of the recurrent questions in the context of globalisation is how successful the EU will be in maintaining its official policy of linguistic and cultural diversity in the face of global English. Willingness amongst politicians to reconsider language policy is not very great, according to van Els (2006: 224). If an active policy is not pursued 'it seems inevitable' that the result of a 'linguistic laissez-faire will be the absolute dominance of the English language' (van Els, 2006: 225).

The tension between policy and the use of English as a *lingua franca*, as well as demands of non-official minority linguistic communities and increased and increasing number of languages, have, as Mar-Molinero and Stevenson (2006b: 240) point out, 'made the need to review and re-think the EU's language policies inevitable.' They continue to state, therefore, that 'it is no surprise that European language policy is developing at different speeds and even in different directions, the inevitable gainer in such a situation being international English' (ibid).

² Another eight official languages have been added since May 2004

2.2.2 Education in Europe: policy versus practice

I have argued in 2.1.1 that more and more countries are endeavouring to market themselves as providers of English higher education (HE) courses because English is seen as a key educational investment. This situation has resulted in English becoming the dominant language of academic texts as well as stimulating provision of compulsory English in schools. Europe's commitment to plurilingualism is in conflict with the global situation. While, on the one hand Europe's language education programmes exist to promote the learning of less widely used and taught languages (LWUTLs) and linguistic diversity, on the other hand, language learners in most nations want to learn English. This is despite the fact that lack of language skills, other than English, can result in European businesses losing out on many contracts, according to a recent study by CILT (2006). Furthermore, research in the UK has shown that foreign language skills improve many people's chances of getting work (Gallagher-Brett, 2004).

Ideologically, foreign language learning 'is seen as an essential element of the construction of greater European unity' (Coulmas, 1991: 9). Pragmatically, language skills are seen as 'essential if people are to benefit from opportunities for employment and mobility but also to participate in the social and political processes in the multilingual societies of member states' (Council of Europe, accessed 2006). These points are reasonable and logical, but still English is the favoured language to learn, for all the reasons given in chapter one (1.1.2). The conflict between policies and practices for education in Europe is illustrated below.

In accordance with EU policy, the Action Plan for Europe for 2004 – 2006 includes the following principal messages:

- 1) that learning a *lingua franca* is not enough;
- 2) that every citizen should learn two languages besides their mother tongue – not necessarily at native speaker level but at a level of meaningful communicative competence;
- 3) that linguistic diversity should be promoted;

- 4) that lifelong language learning be promoted (Commission of the European Communities, 2003: 4 - 7; Delmoly, 2005).

There should also be provision of good quality CLIL (content and language integrated learning) in a variety of languages (Commission of the European Communities, 2003: 8). Furthermore, every state should have an action plan and every university a coherent language policy (Delmoly, 2005).

Support for foreign language learning within Europe comes primarily from the Council of Europe (COE), which commits member states to promote the reciprocal teaching and learning of their languages, and to encourage students and staff to learn a variety of languages including LWUTLs. One of the COE's main objectives is to raise awareness of the value of being plurilingual in a multilingual European society (Council of Europe, accessed 2006b). The COE declared a European day of Languages (in 2001) to be celebrated every year on September 26th, with this aim in mind.

Other strategies include promotion of mobility, such as, exchanges between nation states for teachers, students and researchers; and the attraction and integrating of international students (Martyniuk, 2005). Language proficiency can be assessed by the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for languages, devised by the COE, which facilitates the mutual recognition of language qualifications learned in different countries.

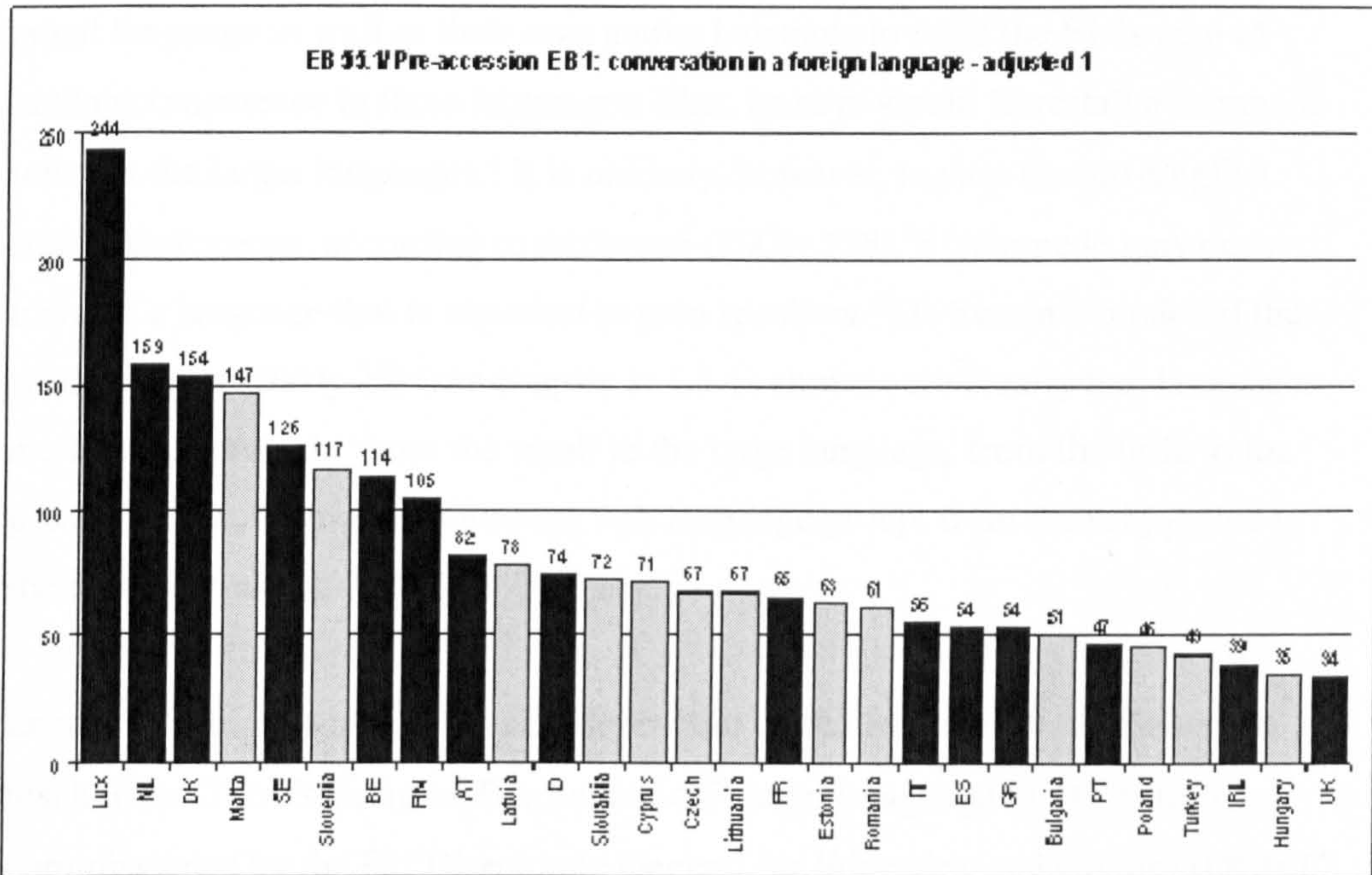
It is important to mention policies for the immigrant population here as they form a significant percentage in many nations, for example, about 8% in Denmark. Language training in the host country's language forms part of EU policy for integrating immigrants as quickly as possible. The level of language proficiency required by the host country before granting citizenship, residence or work permits is usually based on the CEFR for Languages (Council of Europe, 2006).

Mother tongue instruction in EU languages is now available to the families of migrant workers, for example, Polish. There has also been a recommendation that member states should 'strive to make available mother tongue instruction to the

citizens of non-EU countries’ (Jakobsen, 2000). Bilingual pupils would normally be expected to learn another foreign language in line with the Action Plan for Europe, but this depends on individual countries’ particular circumstances. Policies for language are very often both of assimilation and pluralism (see chapter 1: 1.4.2).

Immigrants aside, despite COE strategies to promote linguistic diversity and the learning of a variety of foreign languages, the main foreign language learnt in Europe is English. The table below from the European Commission website (2006) shows the aggregate of non mother tongue skills for each EU country, which includes those countries that have recently joined such as Bulgaria, along with Turkey, which is due to join. Notably but predictably, the country with the least non mother tongue skills is the UK, while Denmark and Sweden are both in the top five.

Table 4: Table showing non mother tongue skills in the EU and pre-accession countries, 2006.



However, according to the Special Eurobarometer report (2006), only one out of five EU citizens can be described as active language learners and their motivation to learn languages is ‘moderate.’ This situation, the report states, ‘poses

considerable challenges for the future in relation to the targets set for a European multilingual society'. The report shows that 56% of citizens in the EU member states before January 1st 2007 were 'able to hold a conversation in one language apart from their mother tongue.' This is nine points more than the figure in 2001 among the fifteen member states at the time. 28% of respondents stated they could speak two foreign languages well enough to hold a conversation. However, English remains the most widely spoken foreign language in Europe with 38% of respondents stating they can hold a conversation in English. That figure rises to 51% when combined with mother tongue speakers within the EU.

Considering the amount of effort made to promote other languages, these results are poor. They show very clearly that despite policy, practice is that most people, if they want to learn any foreign language at all, want to learn English. The report states that 77% of EU citizens consider that English should be the first foreign language taught in schools.

Fettes (2003: 39) suggests that students could be 'required' to select a large and a small language as well as their own native language to fulfil the EU's goal of having competence in three languages. This, he says would 'forestall a stampede towards the larger languages.' It is unlikely, however, to stop the pro-English stampede because, according to de Swaan (2001: 178), a 'stampede may occur towards a language that is *expected* to gain speakers.' De Swaan's model of the world system (2001: 25) (see chapter 1: 1.1.1) shows very clearly that languages are learned upwards 'from the small to the large language, from the little to the great tradition, from the poor to the rich language group, from the subjugated to the dominant nation.'

Learning foreign languages is also dependent on the availability of teachers to teach them. The Training of Teachers of a Foreign Language (TTFL) study, commissioned by the EU Directorate General for Education and Culture (DGfEC) in 2002, included the compilation of thirty two national reports on present EU, EEA and pre-accession countries, looking at the provision for language teacher training in each country (Kelly et al, 2002). This study shows that, although there is provision in some countries for other languages, most concentrate on the big

three: English, French and German, and, of these, English is most often the first foreign language taught. Only about half the countries surveyed provided training in at least one LWUTL (Grenfell, Kelly and Jones, 2003: 58). For the smaller countries speaking LWUTLs themselves, resources are less likely to be put into learning another LWULT unless that language is considered valuable in some way, for example Danish in Iceland.

The fact that the British are generally less able to communicate in a language other than English contributes to the fact that their counterparts in Europe are likely to use English, or as the Nuffield report states, 'exclusive reliance on English leaves the UK vulnerable and dependent on the linguistic competence and the goodwill of others' (Nuffield Languages Inquiry (2000: 6).

According to Dearing (2007), only 51% of pupils in the UK continued studying a foreign language up to GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) level in 2006. However, the recent Dearing (2007) report indicates that the notion of a foreign language as being useful is beginning to register with British policy makers. However, the report emphasises that educators and employers also need to stress the usefulness of languages to encourage their uptake. As Cooper points out (1989: 161), no matter how good schools are at teaching foreign languages 'they are unlikely to lead to the language's *use* outside the classroom unless there are practical reasons for such use.' Many of the British have no practical reasons to use another language.

To summarise, this discussion shows that individual member states have made, and are making, decisions to teach more English, despite encouragement from the COE/EU to provide for other foreign languages. The UK, until now at least, has reduced its teaching of foreign languages. It would appear that

[t]he EU policy to promote diversity seems not to have been able to withstand market pressures from parents and pupils who see the acquisition of English as necessary for the realisation of their educational and professional ambitions (Wright, 2000: 214).

Wright observes that even French, the second foreign language of choice, has been supplanted by English in countries that traditionally learnt French - in Spain for example. As Gardt and Hüppauf point out (2004: x), as one language rises another correspondingly falls.

2.2.3 Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and market forces

Universities play a major role in promoting the learning of languages and the Action Plan for Europe advocates that each university should have a coherent language policy and maintain a wider range of languages than just English. An accepted language qualification should be part of the student's degree course (Commission of the European Communities (2003). However, as shown in 2.1.1, HE is becoming a commodity whereby nations are competing for students, particularly in the USA and UK, and the learning of foreign languages is inevitably influenced by market forces. These global trends have been exacerbated by the Bologna process, which is 'an intergovernmental initiative which aims to create a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by 2010 and to promote the European system of higher education worldwide' (The Europe Unit, 2007). This process, with its emphasis on increasing mobility and exchanges, has resulted in a demand for more English in Europe, although that was not the stated intention.

The five major Nordic countries (Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland) signed the Bologna Declaration on 19 June 1999, along with another thirty five signatories. The idea behind this declaration is 'to create a borderless and democratic European Higher Education Area' (Coleman, 2004) where 'national identities and common interests can interact and strengthen each other for the benefit of Europe, of its students, and more generally, of its citizens' (from The Sorbonne Declaration, cited in McKenna, 2004).

However, together with this Utopian ideal, it is evident that the main idea behind the EHEA is to have a big enough regional constellation to compete with the USA, as is borne out by the Lisbon European Council (cited in McKenna, 2004)

that, by 2010 the EU should become 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world.' Reichert and Tauch, (2003: 52) believe the same:

the fact that governments have initiated the Bologna Process clearly has to do with a sense of threatened competitiveness vis-à-vis prime competitors like the US, rather than from sheer enthusiasm for the increasing intensity of cooperation within European higher education.

This competition takes the form of offering English taught courses in non-MESDC countries, as discussed in 2.1.1. The market for students within Europe is huge and many HEIs offer courses taught through English, and sometimes entire degree programmes, in order to attract international students, for example, some German HEIs (Gardt and Hüppauf, 2004: xi). According to Coleman (2004),

national self-interest in attracting fee-paying international students seems certain to overtake any altruistic implementation of the Bologna Process (which 'guarantees proper provision for linguistic diversity'), leaving the way free for market forces.

Once again we have this struggle between nationalist ideologies and global market forces in Europe. This struggle can be illustrated by the Erasmus programme, one of the major successes of the Bologna Process, according to Delmoly (2005).

The Erasmus programme promotes mobility and exchanges between HEIs in Europe whereby students can carry out a period of study in another country. In this way, the programme is supposed to promote linguistic diversity. However, there is no explicit policy on what the language of mobility should be, a 'curious omission', according to Erling and Hilgendorf (2006: 4). This omission, they continue (ibid: 5), paves the way 'for the default use of the language that is already by far the most widely taught and used on the continent,' that is, English. Mobility of students provided by these exchanges is often providing one way learning only. For those countries speaking LWUTLs, the Erasmus exchange

programme is only possible if an international language is used, that is, English. Reniu I Tresserras pointed out (1996: 61) that at that time 'Greek, Danish and even Dutch are languages that hamper the transfer of students under the Erasmus programme.'

Because of the emphasis on teaching courses through English elsewhere in Europe, there is no necessity for British students to learn foreign languages, a point worth noting in trying to understand government policy for cutting the age of compulsory language learning in schools from sixteen to fourteen. British students therefore participate less in the Erasmus exchange scheme than their European counterparts. Phillipson (2003: 93) reports that French University students' participation in these schemes rose from ten thousand to about seventeen thousand from 1994/1995 to 1999/2000 compared with British students whose numbers fell from twelve thousand to ten thousand in the same period. Germany and Spain's figures are comparable with that of France, he reports.

According to Reichert and Tauch (2003) a majority of higher education institutions in Europe report a similar imbalance of outgoing over incoming exchange students. They report that net importers of students are 'most often located in France, Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and, most strongly, in Ireland or the UK where 80% of the institutions report an imbalance of incoming over outgoing students'. Coleman (2005) reports that the ratio of incomers to out-goers is over 2:1 in UK and Ireland.

The evidence from this data for the value of English is clear. Once again the EU's policy for equity between languages shows that some languages are, in fact, more equal than others. Furthermore, countries other than core English speaking nations are themselves promoting the spread of English in HE.

2.2.4 Policy for cultural products in Europe

Global cultural products are ubiquitous in the EU, especially within Western Europe, and, as I have outlined in 2.1.2, such products are thought by some to

spread American values as well as language, which may threaten traditional cultures of nation states. As with UNESCO therefore, the EU is making efforts to promote cultural diversity because of global English. At present the EU are considering a cultural agenda, or even a policy, as well as discussing the implementation of the UNESCO convention (see 2.1.2 above) (European Commission Culture, 2007). The EU does not legislate directly on culture, but collaboration takes place through various cooperative programmes and joint agreements (Ministry of Culture, Sweden, 2007). All such programmes have to be consistent with obligations under international law and particularly the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Van den Bossche, 2007: 16).

In order to promote cultural cooperation and diversity, EU Culture 2000, a programme that lasted six years, provided grants to cultural cooperation projects in all fields, such as music, literature and cultural heritage (European Commission Culture, 2006). For example, Smith (2004) reports that, because of the predominance of English as the publishing language (not just of academia), EU Culture 2000 grants were allocated to many of the smaller languages to encourage publishing in their own language - especially for translations to and from their languages. For example, grants went to two publishers for twelve titles in Denmark and three publishers for twenty one titles in Iceland. 'European policy' Smith (2004: 10) writes 'can thus be seen as encouraging publishing vitality in diversity'. Culture 2007 is a new funding programme for cultural cooperation which replaces the Culture 2000 project and has similar objectives.

Rice-Oxley (2004) reports that, in 2000 'the European Union handed out one billion euros to subsidize Europe's film industry' because local film industries are 'at risk of extinction' from the huge output of films from the USA. Moreover, most EU countries were experiencing a downturn in attendance, especially of domestic cinema production. According to Moore (2005), the foreign box office take for American films was sixteen billion dollars in 2004.

The EU Media Programme was introduced as a direct result of the loss of market share for EU films and provides support for the European audiovisual industry in order to reinforce its competitiveness and increase the circulation of European

works within and outside the EU (European Commission Media pages, 2007). The programme has supported the development of thousands of films as well as promotion projects and festivals in over thirty countries within Europe over the past sixteen years. The objectives of Media 2007 are similar but will take into account the consequences of the digital revolution and the enlargement of the EU and preserve and enhance cultural diversity (ibid).

The Eurimages programme run by the Council of Europe is another programme to promote the production and distribution of European films. It supports film co-productions with the condition for funding being that there are at least two different co-producers from different member states (Council of Europe Eurimages, 2007).

To safeguard cultural diversity on European television, the EU Television Directive 'Television without Frontiers' was launched in 1989 and aims to promote the movement of television programmes within the internal market and to strengthen Europe's competitiveness. According to the European Commission Audiovisual and Media Policies (2007), the European audiovisual industry 'suffers from a trade deficit with the US industry of six to seven billion Euros every year'. Hence, member states should ensure, according to article four of this directive, that broadcasters reserve a 'majority proportion' of their transmission time for European works (ibid). According to Van den Bossche (2007: 15) France goes further and 'requires that 60% of all programmes broadcasted during prime time (between 6 pm and 11 pm) be of Community origin'.

Another project, launched in order to make the citizens of Europe aware of the wealth and diversity of its cultures, is the European City of Culture project. From 1985, each year a city or cities are voted as cities of culture (nine in the year 2000) and run a cultural month of musical, theatrical events, displays of art, sculpture etc. (European Commission Culture, 2007).

I shall examine the effectiveness of the EU policies in promoting national cultural products versus Anglo-American products in Iceland and Denmark in chapter 5.

2.2.5 *Policy for information technology in Europe*

As with cultural products, the EU policy for IT is to assist in the development of IT projects. For example, the EU provides funds for language technology projects. Clarin (Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure, 2007) is one project initiated to create a pan European research infrastructure of language resources and its technology. It aims 'to create a comprehensive and free to use archive of language resources and technologies covering not only the languages of all member states', but also minority languages (Krauwer, accessed 2007). In this way it is hoped to unify the current fragmentation and offer a stable and accessible infrastructure (Clarin, 2007). Past projects have included the Eurotra project, a cooperative EU project for developing machine translation (see chapter 6: 6.2.2).

The European Commission is also encouraging development in the area of language technologies to preserve and safeguard cultural heritage. The Minerva project was set up with this in mind and to make European cultural heritage available to the public through the Internet.

Language technologies ...will be a boon to Europe's cultural industries, helping to unlock the vast resource that is European culture, art and history. Language technologies in short are essential to ensuring that all European languages – and the culture, art and history with which they are inextricably entwined - maintain their place in tomorrow's globalized, interconnected world' (Conrad et al, 2006: 102).

However, from a survey carried out by Minerva Plus between 2004-5, Conrad et al (2006: 103) conclude that the number of languages on the websites for individual nations' digital cultural heritage 'seem not to reflect the number of languages spoken Europe wide'. The survey involved twenty four European countries, plus Russia and Israel, and 676 websites. These were sites of museums, libraries, archives and other cultural institutions. The results of the survey showed that 68% of the sites were available in English (Conrad et al, 2006: 103). It is

clear from these results that the use of English makes other nations' heritage available to the largest audience.

The Minerva project and others do show that the European Commission is trying to promote linguistic and cultural diversity and to use all technologies at its disposal for so doing. It is clear, however, that to attract a wider audience, English will be the language used. The problem with any form of cooperative projects is that convergence is the outcome, and often the language of such collaboration is English, despite the end products being projects to promote linguistic and cultural diversity.

2.2.6 Summary

The discussion of EU policy versus practice highlights several points:

- 1) how difficult it is to implement a policy of linguistic diversity when a global *lingua franca* exists to surmount the impracticalities concerned with translating and interpreting into many languages;
- 2) that English is the first foreign language to be chosen by most national education systems due, among other things, to grassroots demand. Market forces and the value of English compared to other languages mean that English is increasing as a medium of instruction within European schools and HEIs;
- 3) that the EU is funding projects to promote cultural diversity to endeavour to counteract the quantity of US American cultural products. At the same time, without this funding, individual nations may find it hard to pay for exposure of their own cultural products.

2.3 The Nordic context

The outline of policy versus practice in Europe has demonstrated that the very fact that EU institutions collaborate to counteract homogenising language and culture is the means of English becoming more widely used as a *lingua franca*. My hypothesis at the beginning of this chapter, that supranational policies reinforce regional ones in strengthening resistance to global English is unlikely to be correct when the supranational policy of the EU itself is failing to resist English.

This section examines the current situation in the Nordic community, and how its language policies are affected by globalisation and EU supranational policies. It shows that, although Nordic policy currently is to encourage the use of a Scandinavian language as the language of communication, the expanding EU, increased use of English within this community, along with decreased inter-comprehension of Scandinavian languages, means that English is often necessary. Language use within the Nordic area in the domains chosen reflects the situation within the EU whereby the English actually used in practice has spread to the Nordic region. Since Sweden and Finland joined the EU in 1995, the pressure to use English in this region has been very strong.

The first point to note is that, politically, the Nordic countries do not make a homogenous unit. As Bergman (2003: 18) points out, each of the Nordic states: Norway, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, belongs to a Nordic, European as well as global community, all 'denoting different spheres of solidarity'. 'Each of these spheres', Bergman continues, 'requires a certain transfer of loyalty and duty as well as a sustained dialogue between the members'. Therefore, there are many differences in policies between the individual Nordic nations and different affiliations, for example, some countries are members of the EU and others not. Denmark, Norway and Iceland are members of NATO, but Finland and Sweden are neutral. Out of the three EU members, Finland is the only country that has adopted the Euro as its national currency (Halonen, 2005). Moreover, the Nordic countries have differences in attitudes and ideologies about language. As Battail (2000) observes

The Nordic countries form a complex system of differences, especially because each of them occupies a highly specific geopolitical position, with the consequences this has not only for foreign policy but also for forms of cultural expression.

Furthermore, Bergman (2003: 2) reports that a new Baltic dimension has been added to the Nordic states' spheres of community since the break up of the USSR in 1991, whereby the Nordic and Baltic States have entered into political dialogue. Thus the concept of being Nordic is moving beyond its previous boundaries (ibid: 18). Nordic-Baltic relations, Bergman (2003: 23) continues, concern not only foreign policy elites but they also enjoy a great deal of public commitment and support. This recent intensity of cooperation with the Baltic countries is significant in terms of the increased use of English as a *lingua franca* in the area, as we will see below.

2.3.1 Consequences of globalisation

The main consequence of globalisation in the Nordic countries has been cooperation in projects to promote Nordic unity, the view being that, as a single unit, the Nordic countries have more influence in Europe and the world. Nordic movements existed before the globalisation phenomenon, however. In 1951 the Helsinki agreement began efforts to unify the Nordic countries so that people could move freely from one country to another. Actions that have contributed to closer Nordic ties include a passport union, a common labour market and the right to live in any other Nordic country. There is also extensive trade between the countries and a high level of investments from one country to another (Halonen, 2005).

As far as language is concerned, this cooperation may be the means of encouraging the use of a regional Nordic *lingua franca* rather than English. This will be examined in detail below. The Nordic Council (founded in 1952) and Nordic Council of Ministers (founded in 1971) have launched several campaigns to strengthen Nordic unity culturally and linguistically, including an official

Nordic language year in 1980 and an Action plan for Nordic language cooperation in 1991. The latter aimed to promote inter Nordic exchanges for school pupils, research on the 'mutual comprehensibility of the Scandinavian languages' and the promoting and teaching of other Nordic languages, among other things. The programme was funded by the five governments (Vikør, 1995: 133 - 134).

The Nordic language convention, which was ratified in 1987, states that citizens have the right to use their own language with government or official institutions in the other Nordic countries. Through this convention, the secondary Nordic language community, that is, the Icelanders and Finns 'can be more efficiently integrated into the language community without having to resort to a second language in which they are less fluent' (Vikør, 1995: 136). The other countries are also likely to benefit (see discussion on inter-Nordic communication below). The convention implies that interpretation and translation facilities have to be provided, if needed, for example, to Finns and Icelanders in the central Nordic countries and vice versa (Vikør, 1995: 136 – 37). Ideally, use of a Nordic language implies that citizens should not have to resort to English.

I am now going to examine in greater detail how globalisation has affected inter-Nordic communication, its consequences and implications.

2.3.2 Inter-Nordic communication, policy and practice

One of the main preoccupations of the Nordic Council of Ministers is the impact of global English upon Nordic culture and languages (Introduction: I). In a summary of the main priorities for cooperation between the Nordic countries, the Norwegian Presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers (2005: 8) draws attention to the impact of globalisation on Nordic language matters and the importance of understanding neighbouring Nordic languages:

Globalisation has an increasing impact on the Nordic language and cultural community. The Presidency will draw attention to this issue, particularly when following up on the proposal for a Nordic declaration

on language policy. Improving understanding of neighbouring languages in the Nordic Region will be a priority. Work on language and language policy will also be evaluated to define how best to organise it within the Nordic Council of Ministers.

The Nordic languages comprise Swedish, Danish, Norwegian Bokmal and Norwegian Nynorsk, Finnish, Icelandic and Faroese.

Plans for improving understanding of neighbouring languages are not new. In 1978, the Nordic Council set up a Nordic Language Secretariat, its purpose being to 'strive for the preservation and strengthening of the Nordic linguistic community and promote inter-Nordic language comprehension' (Vikør, 1995: 175).

The problem is that the Nordic languages have diversified so much over the centuries that they are not always mutually intelligible. Reports in the literature usually refer to Swedish, Norwegian and Danish as 'dialects' of the same language linguistically but separate languages politically (Crystal, 2000: 8). Haugen (1987: 71) refers to the four central languages, that is, the two Norwegians (Nynorsk and Bokmal), Danish and Swedish, as mutually intelligible 'with a little goodwill' but prefers to refer to the communication between them as 'semicommunication' (Haugen, 1987: chapter 12).

Various studies of mutual intelligibility among the central Nordic languages of Danish, Swedish and Norwegian have been carried out: the first by Maurud in 1976, cited in Haugen (1987: chapter 12), another by Uhlmann in 1989. The results of Uhlmann's study found that the most difficult language for all, except the Icelanders and Faroese, was spoken (rather than written) Danish. Sweden was the nation with the 'lowest comprehension rate' and Norwegians scored highest (Vikør, 1995: 122-123).

As a result of the priorities set out by the Norwegian presidency, another investigation has recently been carried out by Delsing (2006), following Maurud's study. The study was funded by the Nordic Cultural Fund and instigated because

‘the Nordic countries and their interaction have changed considerably in the last thirty years’ (ibid).

Delsing cites six main factors responsible for the changes in interaction since 1976:

- 1) the numbers of immigrants and refugees, in the central Nordic countries in particular;
- 2) the dominance of English in the media;
- 3) the change in the education systems, mainly in the teaching of English;
- 4) membership of the EU, EEA and Schengen so that Europe is now more of a focus;
- 5) economic globalisation, which has resulted in the formation of many Scandinavian companies, who tend to use English officially, for example at board meetings, and Scandinavian for informal occasions;
- 6) patterns of commuting, migration and exchange of labour, particularly again between the central Nordic countries.

Delsing tested the inter-comprehension of the central Nordic languages, that is, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, as well as investigating how well Icelanders, Greenlanders and the Faroe Islanders comprehended these languages. However, unlike Maurud’s study, he also tested his sample of young people using English comprehension tests. The table of results is reproduced below and shows the results for comprehension of neighbouring languages and English in the Nordic countries. Scores are out of ten.

Table 5: Comprehension of neighbouring languages and English in the Nordic countries, 2006, after Delsing (2006)

	Danish	Swedish	Norwegian	English
Denmark		3,67	4,35	6,08
Sweden	4,26		5,24	7,55
Norway	6,55	6,76		7,22
Finland (Sw.)	3,64		4,76	7,66
Finland (Fi.)	1,54	3,24	1,63	6,02
Faeroe Isl.	8,28	5,75	7,00	7,60
Iceland	5,36	3,34	3,40	7,17
Greenland	6,61	2,23	3,73	

Delsing’s (2006: 8) tests showed that ‘parents are unambiguously better at understanding the neighbouring Scandinavian languages than their children,’ which indicates that there has been ‘a decline in comprehension over time’ since Maurud’s study thirty years before. This decline, Delsing reports ‘seems especially significant in Denmark’.

Delsing (ibid) concludes that ‘the comprehension of neighbouring languages has deteriorated in Denmark, but that ‘a very clear result is that the Swedish–Norwegian inter-comprehension is similar to the situation 30 years ago’. The Norwegians are best overall, followed by the Swedes. The Danes have overtaken the Swedes in comprehending the other languages the least since Uhlmann’s study in 1989. Delsing is uncertain why the Danes do badly in comparison with Sweden and Norway. I would argue that they do badly because they are less concerned about the Nordic ideal. Danish students’ responses to my questionnaire show that only nine Danes out of fifty one considered themselves to be Danish and Scandinavian, whereas twenty three considered themselves to be Danish and European (appendix 4: question 43).

What stands out as a result of the study is that comprehension of English is higher across the board (except by the Faroese) than inter-comprehension of the Scandinavian languages. Even the Norwegians and Swedes, whose inter-comprehension has been shown by Delsing to be the same as thirty years ago, have a greater understanding of English. These results are in line with the increased comprehension of English in Europe shown in 2.2.2 above. It is evident

that, despite there being opportunities for more interaction of Nordic peoples due to all the factors pointed out above, 'some are clearly favouring English as an alternative to the Scandinavian linguistic fellowship' (Delsing, 2006).

The language practices of the elite, such as those in politics, are that they try to stick to the ideal of speaking a Nordic language but in practice often have to use English. I had several discussions with interviewees in Denmark in 2006 about the languages spoken in Nordic meetings, (that is Andersen, Davidsen-Nielsen, Gregersen, and Melchior and Jacobsen). Andersen (representative of Nordic Policy Group in Denmark) stated that there is an unwritten law in the Foreign Office that it is not acceptable to speak English to a Nordic colleague. The regime in Nordic meetings is for the central Nordic nations to speak their own languages, for the Finns to speak Swedish and the Icelanders to speak Danish or 'Scandinavisk,' which is Danish with an Icelandic accent. This variety is understood in the other Nordic countries better than with the Danish accent because they speak it according to how it is spelt, that is, 'in a more orthographic way' (Davidsen-Nielsen, Chairman of the Danish Language Council).

Other strategies for mutual intelligibility include slowing down natural speech and speaking more distinctly, or relying on interpreters. Unlike the policy of the EU, however, there is a policy in the Nordic office to try to avoid the expense of having interpreters. This leads to problems, for example if the Finns cannot understand the spoken Danish. In such cases 'it is so very easy to switch to English' (Gregersen, Professor in the Danish language). Likewise, Melchior and Jacobsen (representatives of the EU Policy Group) indicated that, although they would expect to speak a Nordic language with their Nordic colleagues, sometimes it is easier to speak English than Danish or Swedish if the subject is technical. As Preisler (2005: 244) asserts, choice of language is also dependent on topic of conversation (chapter 1: 1.6). This necessity to resort to English poses a threat to the regime.

However, a recent report from the Nordic Council of Ministers (Norden, 2007a) comments that a growing number of official documents have been either first or solely published in Danish. These linguistic practices, they report, are

unfavourable to the Finns, and have resulted in weakened Finnish participation in Nordic cooperation. The outcome of this is a recommendation that Nordic language policy needs to be more flexible, that interpretation could be used for the Finns instead of switching to English. This recommendation should lead to a reform of Nordic language policy and consequently may strengthen the current regime.

During our discussions in Denmark, Gregersen (2006) stated his belief that the effort to strive for mutual intelligibility is a distant goal and that, as Delsing's results show, young people in the Nordic countries do not understand each other's languages very well and will switch to English without even trying to use a Nordic language. Furthermore, according to Vikør (1995: 134 – 135), many do not believe that a Nordic language policy is 'necessary or even desirable' and argue that 'inter-Nordic communication can very well take care of itself.' If the Nordic area chooses English in the future as its language of communication, Gregersen (2006) believes that a knock-on effect will be the end of Danish in Iceland.

Many others, however, consider the use of Scandinavian to be 'a substantial part of the *raison d'être* of the Nordic community' (Vikør, 1995: 132). A single Scandinavian language would have over twice the number of speakers that Swedish – the largest language - now has, about twenty million, and it might slow down the use of English in Scandinavia in the technical and academic fields (Barbour, 1996: 44, note 10). Gregersen (2006) agrees that this might be the case but pointed out that the average Dane would much rather speak very good English than speak Swedish. As Vikør (1995: 134) points out 'numerous proposals' have been made for a standard Scandinavian but 'with very limited success.' There is an 'inevitable conflict of values': egalitarianism on the one hand when all the Nordic countries are served by a foreign language, that is, English, and on the other hand 'idealistic Nordism' (Vikør, 1993: 132).

There is likely to be a further threat to the maintenance of a Scandinavian language from the impending cooperation with the Baltic States because, as Gregersen explained during our interview, if the Baltic countries are included, this

will weigh even more against the use of a Nordic language and result in English as the language of cooperation. As it is, the Icelanders and Finns already speak a language that is not their own (the Icelanders speak Danish, and the Finns, Swedish).

This discussion indicates that, despite there being some resistance to English, a change to English as a *lingua franca* in the Nordic community may be inevitable unless there are determined moves from all countries to continue with a Scandinavian language. Nationalist ideologies and attitudes of each country will play a large part in this outcome. It also appears that language practices of the elite may be based more on the Nordic ideal than that of young people, who are influenced more by what a language can do for them in terms of use or value. The elite, however, are also likely to be fully conversant in English as well as other languages.

2.3.3 The consequences of Europe

According to Häikiö (2004), the fact that the Nordic countries belong to the wider European community, the EU and the EEA, has 'contributed to the 'europeanisation' of the Nordic agenda'. Häikiö reports that despite different approaches, the Nordic countries have never been as close in their cooperation with Europe as they are today. According to Wilén (2004) 'the old concept of the Nordic countries as a frame of reference no longer exists'. The new Nordic concept is a part of integrated Europe. Halonen (2005), on the other hand, believes that Nordic cooperation is strong regardless of EU membership.

According to Hult and Zachrisson Nilsson (2006), it is important that Nordic issues are discussed in relation to the greater world context:

Since Finland and Sweden joined the EU Nordic co-operation has changed. In the work of all the Nordic countries the focus of international work has taken on a definite EU slant. ...When Nordic issues are discussed they are often considered in relation to the EU. We

believe this is positive. Colleagues will show greater interest in Nordic matters if the issues are looked at in a wider international context. If Nordic co-operation is to survive on a political level we must broaden our mindset and take Europe and the rest of the world into the picture.

Being part of Europe has had consequences for the Nordic languages, for example, the EU language policy of equity between languages has meant that small languages including the Nordic languages have been boosted, or as Wright puts it, (2000: 186) 'language revitalisation has profited from the protective umbrella of the EU institutions.' The report written by the Nordic Council of Ministers (2002) affirms:

joining the EEA and EU membership have ... resulted in a boost to the national languages. Membership of the European Union has meant that Danish, Swedish and Finnish have never been heard or read as often in Brussels as they are today.

However, although conventions within the EU offer greater exposure of the three Nordic languages in new settings, this does not mean that the languages are necessarily used for every day work. For example, Melander (2000) reports in the case of Swedish that 'while spoken Swedish among members of the European parliament (MEPs) predominates at the official top level it decreases in less formal situations.' Melander makes the point, however, that the use of Swedish in the language use situations described did not even exist prior to EU membership.

A further consequence of EU policy is that, although the Nordic languages may have been boosted in one way, they have lost out in another. This is because issues that before were dealt with on a national level have now been transferred to institutions in Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg, which will have consequences for Swedish (and Danish and Finnish) in the language of politics and administration (Melander, 2000). Furthermore, Melander's report shows that since Sweden joined the EU Swedish has had greater exposure, but the lower level Swedish representatives, such as civil servants, have increased their use of

other languages, primarily English – in speech and writing - followed by French. Oakes (2005: 164) comments that

considering that Swedish has for the first time been elevated to official status within an international organisation, it is somewhat ironic that one should be talking about the potential for domain loss as opposed to domain gain.

Norwegian and Icelandic are not included amongst the official languages of the EU because Norway and Iceland are EEA members only. This means that for Icelanders and Norwegians to communicate at European meetings they are obliged to use another language, most likely English, which therefore increases their necessity to have a strong command of both written and spoken English. For example, Kristinsson explained, during our interview in Iceland in 2005, that documents from the EU that are relevant to Icelandic legislation have to be translated by the Icelandic Foreign Ministry.

The Nordic Council of Ministers (2002) fears that as more countries join the EU English will be spoken more resulting in ‘a serious threat of a domain loss for the Nordic languages’ in the international politics arena. Representatives of the EU Policy Group (Melchior and Jacobsen, 2006) in Denmark, however, told me of their belief that no nation would be willing to give up their language.

2.3.4 The consequences of globalisation and supranational policies for education on the Nordic countries

As with the situation in Europe as a whole, the consequences of globalisation on the Nordic countries’ education policies are that the teaching of English is increasing at primary and secondary levels and HE is being internationalised. In all the Nordic countries English is now the first compulsory foreign language learnt at school. Supranational EU policy, in particular the Bologna process, has further encouraged teaching through the medium of English at HE level.

The table at appendix 6 shows the language training offered in the Nordic countries for language teachers along with those countries' participation in European programmes. (Based on table 1 in Grenfell, Kelly and Jones (2003: 48 – 49), information gleaned from national reports for each country (Kelly et al (2002), and Eurydice (2006) and personal communication).

The table shows that English, French and German are consistently offered at either both levels or only secondary level in the Nordic countries. The bigger countries, that is, Finland and Sweden, offer a greater range of languages. They all offer access to other Nordic languages though various departments of Nordic studies at HE level. However, the individual national reports compiled by the TTFL project (Kelly et al, 2002) show that English remains the compulsory language throughout whereas the other languages are usually optional.

The only Nordic language offered in the Nordic countries at both primary and secondary level is Danish in Iceland. The other countries do not offer access to Nordic languages and their literatures until HE level. The reasons for not teaching the central Nordic languages in the central Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) is because they are supposed to be mutually comprehensible (see 2.3.2 above). However, Delsing's (2006) study shows clearly that this is not the case. Vikør (1995: 113) reports that pupils are merely given an impression of the other languages, and that no attempt is made to train them to pronounce or write them, rather the 'stress is placed on a passive understanding.' The closeness of the languages, he says, 'makes language learning in the conventional sense superfluous.'

Regarding Nordic school exchanges there is a programme (Nordplus Junior), which encourages exchanges between compulsory and upper secondary school students in which students may spend a year wherever they like in the Nordic region (Nordic Schoolnet, 2007).

The main consequence of European policy upon education in the Nordic countries is that of the promotion of mobility and exchanges through the Bologna process, the most important programme of which – as far as the impact of English is

concerned - is the Erasmus exchange programme (see 2.2.3 above). Although the Erasmus programme has resulted in more and more HE courses being taught through the medium of English, in fact, teaching through English started well before the Bologna process. Coleman (2004: 9) reports that HEIs in Sweden were teaching through English in the 1950s, in Finland and Norway by the 1980s and the rest of Europe by the 1990s. This indicates that globalisation is primarily responsible for influencing teaching through English.

Bull (2005) fears that English may replace the two languages of Norway in higher education. According to Ljosland (2005), the provision of English courses has contributed to a language shift from Norwegian to English in higher education, despite the fact that making the HE sector English speaking was not a stated goal of the Bologna process. Furthermore, Ljosland (2005) reports that while exchange students from Norway are obliged to learn the language of their host country 'exchange students coming into Norway are not expected to learn any Norwegian'. By offering more courses through the medium of English for both Norwegian and foreign students 'the Ministry wished to attract more exchange students to Norway' (ibid).

Other universities such as the University of Helsinki are also developing teaching in English to attract foreign students. The University has developed courses in English in all departments and faculties because, according to Wilhelmsson (2005), Finnish is a difficult language and foreign students are not expected to learn it. Because Finland is a bilingual country (Finnish and Swedish), with a minority Swedish speaking population, the law guarantees a minimum amount of teaching in Swedish. It may be that it will become unproductive to continue teaching in a language that is a small minority because the university is under constant pressure to cut costs. Thus a further consequence of the Bologna process may be to discontinue teaching through languages other than the dominant language of the nation and English, even where two languages are equal under the law.

The Nordic countries have their own exchange programme, Nordplus, which was established by the Nordic Council in 1988 to promote cooperation between

Nordic HE institutions. The Nordplus programme has three specific goals: to support co-operation, encourage students to go on exchanges and to assist Nordic teachers in the development of their careers (University of Helsinki accessed 2005). As so many of the Nordic countries offer courses taught through English, participants in Nordplus are as likely to find themselves on these courses as those taught through the national languages.

The Nordic Council of Ministers has decided to open up the Nordplus education programme to the Baltic states as from 2008 (Norden 2007c).

2.3.5 Inter-Nordic culture

As I have shown (2.2.4) above, all the Nordic countries benefit from the cultural programmes of the EU by receiving grants for film making, television programmes, translation of national literature, among other things. Such funding assists in national cultures and languages being kept alive and in circulation beyond national borders.

The Nordic countries also benefit from similar programmes operating within the Nordic region itself. Cultural cooperation 'mainly takes the form of networking and initiatives for projects with a Nordic profile' (Ministry of Culture, Sweden, 2007). The Ministry reports that there are two major funds for Nordic cultural cooperation run under the Nordic Council of Ministers: the Nordic Cultural Fund and the Nordic Film and Television Fund. The goal is to 'further the Nordic region as a home market and ensure that Nordic films are shown in cinemas and on television throughout the region' (Svedberg, 2002: 13).

As with the EU Media Plan and the EU Television Directive, among others, the Nordic Film and Television fund promotes the production of audiovisual projects by assisting in the top up financing of films, television series, documentaries etc within the Nordic region (Nordic film and TV fund, 2007). The proviso is that the films have a 'satisfactory marketing/audience potential within the Nordic

countries'. The fund will also create other Nordic language versions, primarily by dubbing, if the film has been well received in the country of origin.

A further alliance between the five Nordic countries' public service broadcasters is Northvision (Nordicom, accessed 2007), whereby the countries benefit from an exchange of Nordic programmes.

National television broadcasting in the central Nordic countries makes an effort to show television series and films from the neighbouring countries (Delsing, 2006). Radio and television, according to Vikør (1995: 117) are 'probably more effective agents facilitating comprehension of the neighbor languages.' Vikør reports that Norway, Denmark and Finland have been able to watch Swedish television and vice versa for many years (see chapter 5: 5.3.2). However, most of these programmes are subtitled in the national language of the country unless deliberately aimed at an inter-Scandinavian market, such as quiz programmes (Vikør, 1995: 117).

While some effort is made to promote interest in each other's cultures, Delsing (2006) points out that there is a 'clear difference between the attitudes to, and the interest for, the neighbouring countries'. He states that interest is higher amongst Norwegians for Swedish and Danish culture than the other way round: 'Norwegians sometimes consult Swedish and Danish journals, magazines, television etc. for their special interests'. It is easier, he states, 'to find a book in Danish or Swedish in a Norwegian book store than vice versa,' and 'Norwegians normally know what is going on in Swedish popular culture in a way that is unheard of in Sweden. Swedish singers and musicians may be popular in Norway in a way that Norwegian singers and musicians are not in Sweden.'

2.3.6 Information technology in the Nordic countries

Possibly the greatest impact of globalisation in recent years has been that of information technology. The Nordic countries are prolific in their use of the Internet. As they are countries with small populations and large land masses,

which make communication difficult; a climate conducive to staying indoors; and populations which enjoy adopting the latest technology as soon as it becomes available, the Internet has really taken off. The figures from the Internet World Stats (2007) show Internet usage within Europe. I have reproduced these figures showing usage for the Nordic countries only (appendix 5: tables 3 & 4). These statistics show that a significant proportion of the Nordic populations use the Internet, and that these figures have increased significantly in the last two years.

Internet penetration is also increasing and is affecting all age groups and socio-economic categories, although it is less for older people and those in rural areas. The tables show the difference in Internet penetration between 2005 and 2007. According to the Commission of the European communities (2005: 9) generally, Internet access seems to be related to 'higher education level and occupational status.'

As we have seen, a major consequence of the Internet is the increasing presence of English. For example, Nunberg (2000) reports that in Scandinavia English web pages run as high as 30% of the total. This is due, Nunberg (2000) argues, to the fact that competence in English is high in these countries and the local languages have a relatively small number of speakers. Nunberg's findings corroborate Wright's (2005) research (2.1.4).

As in other domains, the effect of globalisation on the Nordic countries as a whole has been to stimulate cooperation on research and development projects, particularly in the area of language technology. A Nordic network of language technology has been created involving a consortium of five universities and five business associations from the main Nordic countries. Their mission is to 'to promote research results in the area of language technology with the purpose of promoting market take-up and commercial exploitation in the Nordic area' (NLTNet, 2005). The mission has led to researcher/business collaboration and, among other things, will 'ensure/boost the application and usage of Nordic languages within the area of language technology' and 'make Nordic languages more visible in Europe and more resistant towards "erosion"' (NLTNet, 2005).

Rögnvaldsson, a Professor of Language Technology in Iceland confirmed, during email correspondence in 2007, that the Nordic Language Technology Research Programme enables all sorts of relationships to be formed between representatives in the Nordic countries. Cooperation with other Nordic countries consists in exchanging ideas and working together in order to solve certain problems. It is, for example, often possible to develop software for Danish or Norwegian or Swedish and adjust it for the other two languages, because they are so alike. It is of course more difficult for Icelandic and Finnish, because they differ much more. However, Rögnvaldsson pointed out that various things are still possible and there is cooperation on, for example, multilingual search engines, translation programmes, electronic dictionaries and other things.

As I have noted elsewhere (2.3.1), it makes sense for the Nordic countries to work together as they are stronger cooperating as a unit in competition for European research funds than they would be individually. However, Nordic cooperation in this, as other cases, also exists to promote each country's own national interests. It is considered essential to develop language technology for each Nordic language to fulfil their own purposes, both those of ideology and for the sake of inclusion of all citizens.

2.4 Conclusion

The main points emerging from this chapter are as follows:

- 1) The EU policy of linguistic diversity is being challenged by globalisation because the need and/or desire to use English means that practices do not always follow policy.
- 2) EU policy has given the three Nordic languages of Danish, Swedish and Finnish more exposure on the elite European arena, which increases their status. At the same time, English is being used more and more as a *lingua franca* in low

level meetings, where interpretation is not always provided, resulting in an increase in spoken and written English.

3) English is also increasing in inter Nordic communications, while the use of a Nordic language is decreasing.

4) In practice, cooperation between the Nordic countries serves to protect the national interests of each country rather than to engender any sense of Nordic identity. This situation is similar to that of the EU where membership may stimulate nationalist tendencies rather than a common European identity.

5) Policy for education in Europe is of multilingualism, but practice favours English. Globalisation and global English have provided the impetus for teaching English as the first foreign language in all the Nordic countries.

6) Organisations such as UNESCO may assist in preserving languages and cultures through recommendations and guidelines and even legislation, but global cultural products are prevalent and individual Nordic cultures do not appear to be of much interest to their neighbours.

7) It is likely that English will maintain its dominant role in IT. The impact of IT in the Nordic region has stimulated research cooperation in the field of language technology. One of the stated goals of this cooperation is to provide a boost to the Nordic languages but a main objective seems to be to forge a large enough unit to be more competitive in the market for language technologies. This cooperation, however, can lead to language technology products in each nation's own language.

8) My hypothesis that policies in large regional constellations reinforce policies in smaller constellations to strengthen resistance to English is false. The ideologies underpinning the policies of linguistic diversity in both constellations do not reflect the practices. What is occurring in the EU, regarding the influence of English, is also occurring in the Nordic area. I conclude that global factors have a more significant impact upon policies and practices of smaller regional

constellations than supranational policies. Therefore, Blommaert (2003: 612) is right when he states that globalisation implies that developments at the top of the world system have effects elsewhere in the system.

Chapters four, five and six will relate this information to data collected in Iceland and Denmark and show whether their national policies are influenced by these supranational factors and whether policies of supranational organisations may help the two nations in the protection of their languages. The chapters will show where the two countries themselves are situated in the world system for languages, their attitudes towards the threat of English and necessity for policy.

Chapter 3: Iceland and Denmark: history, ideologies and language corpus planning

The argument being put forward in this thesis is that language policies may, to a certain extent, counteract the spread of English, but that a strong linguistic consciousness needs to be behind these policies, representing strongly held ideological beliefs. As Ricento (2006: 9) points out, ideologies about language and specific languages in particular ‘delimit to a large extent what is and is not possible in the realm of language planning and policy’. The aim of this chapter therefore is to examine the linguistic history and ideologies of the countries involved with a view to understanding their current language attitudes and corpus planning

The first part of the chapter contains an examination of the ideologies underpinning language policies in each country, that is, their linguistic history, literary tradition, the value placed on their languages and strength of national identity, along with their attitudes towards the rise of English. An examination of language corpus planning in the two countries follows, to ascertain whether the nature of this corpus planning stems from the ideologies.

I shall also refer to the responses from a survey of secondary school students in Iceland and Denmark to ascertain their practices and language attitudes. The results of these examinations will enable me to answer the secondary research questions, that is, 1) what is being done to resist global English in Iceland and Denmark? 2) Do national policies have any effect on practice? 3) What is the link between policies, practices and ideologies?

3.1 Shared history

Around about 1000 AD the whole of Scandinavia (excluding Finland) spoke a common language, which was referred to as the ‘Danish tongue’ by the Icelandic

historian, Snorri Sturluson (1178-1241) (Vikør, 1995: 32). There were three dialects: Old Norse was spoken in West Norway and Iceland, a dialect of Old Norse was spoken in Denmark, Sweden and East Norway and Old Gutnish was spoken in the Isle of Gotland off Sweden. The first history of the region was written down by Snorri Sturluson, in the Prose Edda. These were texts on old lore, mythology and legends, compiled around 1200 AD and were written in Old Norse.

After that time the linguistic situation gradually changed because of various forms of contact with other countries, particularly dominance of one country over another, as well as trade and the spread of Christianity. Latin, up to the Reformation and for some time afterwards, was the prestige language of the region influencing all the languages with loan words. French and German have also had their periods of prestige and influence, as well as Danish, which was a major power in the region for several hundred years.

Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, are now substantially different from Old Norse, having undergone many morphological simplifications (Vikør, 1995: 38). As Nettle and Romaine (2000: 11 – 12) explain, ‘there is a tendency for languages to simplify upon expansion and contact with other languages.’ The same is not the case with Icelandic, however, as I will discuss below.

In the last fifty years English has been the invader into the Nordic region. There has been no military conquest by English speakers, nor significant migration of English speaking peoples to the region, but the Nordic countries have been subject to what Mar-Molinero (2006: 14) refers to as ‘a different, more subtle, form of imposition and dominance, but nonetheless.....a kind of imperialism in a postcolonial world,’ where the previous ‘agents of imperialism’ in the area, that is, armies and national governments, have been replaced by ‘multinational companies, transnational cultural and leisure organisations, global media corporations, or international political elites’.

3.2 Iceland: history and literary tradition

The settlement of Iceland, between about 870 AD to 930, came about due to wars, conflicts and the politics of the Norwegian King, Harald the Fairhair, who was responsible for driving many land hungry Norwegians out of Norway. The settlers took the language of the Western Norwegians, Old Norse, with them. Slaves picked up from Ireland and Britain and the later Irish missionaries were responsible for introducing literacy to Iceland and enabled the Icelanders to write down their early history. A great literary tradition was established, for example, the famous 'Book of Settlements' *Landnámabók*; was written in the twelfth century and records the origins and descendants of the first settlers and their landholdings. The Icelandic sagas, which are early examples of historical novels, are the most famous examples of prose literature which was developed at that time.

All these works were written in the original Icelandic (Old Norse) and modern Icelandic remains very close to it today. Icelandic literature reached its zenith in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the 'Golden Age.' Icelandic writers achieved fame far and wide and were considered the experts in writing history, prose and poetry. Many were employed as bards in the courts of England and Norway. For example, Barrow (1835), writes that Gunnlaugr *skáld*, (poet) was Ethelred's bard in about 1004.

Iceland was subject to Norwegian rule from 1262 after which it passed to Danish rule under the Kalmar Union of 1397 whereby Denmark, Norway and Sweden were all united under the Danish crown. Haugen (1981: 104) believes that, prior to the Reformation, Danish 'had a fleeting chance' of becoming the standard language of Scandinavia. Iceland remained a colony of Denmark for over five hundred years until 1944. That Danish did not become the language of Iceland is probably because the country was settled by large extended families, who all knew each other. Although Danish was associated with high social status being the language used in running the country (Vikør, 1995: 57), the rural Icelander resisted it, identifying instead with his own community, what Holmes (2001: 237)

refers to as 'covert prestige.' Strong kinship ties and a strong literary tradition suppressed change.

Until the twentieth century Iceland was sparsely populated and mostly rural, the farm and the family being the basic units. Children were educated by their parents or guardians at home and this education was supervised by local priests visiting each farm. Barrow (1835: 237), in his travels around Iceland, observed that 'by the almost universality of this system of domestic education, there is not probably, in any part of the world, an agricultural or rather pastoral peasantry so well informed and enlightened as those of Iceland'. He continued that 'it is no uncommon thing to meet with men labouring in the fields, mowing hay, digging turf...performing every kind of menial labour, who will write Latin, not merely with grammatical accuracy, but even with elegance', as well as their own language.

It is thought that Icelanders were generally literate in the 18th century despite the absence of a public school system. Until the home education act of 1790, there was no legislation that children should learn to read (Ólafsson (2001: 4). Similarly it was not until the act of 1880 that children should learn to write (Ólafsson (2001: 7). Reading aloud poetry and stories from the sagas provided a much needed form of entertainment after the harsh hard days working on the farms. This was known as the *kvöldvaka* (evening watch), and a love of literature became part of the culture.

Many farmers and servants were lay scholars who were responsible for copying out and/or collecting many of the ancient manuscripts from the Golden Age so that they would remain in the community (Ólafsson, 2001: 12). According to Ólafsson (2001: 2), 'their knowledge and skill made them an important part of the cultural landscape. They were poets, historians, storytellers and teachers, and they served both as "printing press" and libraries.' This manuscript culture began in medieval times and flourished in Iceland long after the advent of printing technology. It was the grassroots means of distributing historical and literary knowledge until the end of the nineteenth century because printed books were too expensive for the common man to buy.

Iceland had only one printing press for three hundred years from the mid sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, which was under control of the church. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that cheap and accessible publications ‘seem finally to have made handwriting of the sagas obsolete in Icelandic culture’ (Ólafsson, 2004: 9). In Iceland’s case I would argue that it was the copiers of manuscripts, who ‘gave a new fixity to the language’, rather than ‘print-capitalism’, (Anderson (1991: 44) cited in chapter 1: 1.4.4) because the copiers created that fixity without the benefit of printing.

Many professional people also collected and copied manuscripts, especially Árni Magnússon, whose collection, built up in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, now bears his name. This collection of manuscripts forms the core of Icelandic national heritage. The Golden Age of Icelandic literature, of the settlements of the warrior heroes brought to life in the sagas, defined the identity of the Icelandic nation-state, which the Icelanders created on achieving independence from Denmark in 1944 (Hermannsson, 2005).

In view of its literary tradition, it is not hard to understand that one of the consequences of five hundred years of Danish domination over Iceland was the rise of linguistic nationalism, in the form of the pure language movement (*hreintungustefnan*) to purify the language and rid it of Danish influence. The Icelanders made up their own words for modern terms rather than use Danish ones; they recodified the language after the ‘half-Danicised Icelandic of the 1584 Bible’, going back to the classic models of Old Icelandic (Haugen, 1981: 108). Icelandic’s complicated grammatical system, with declensional endings and weak and strong masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, was preserved, whilst Danish, and the other Nordic languages, lost most of their inflections over the centuries. Out of all the Nordic countries, it is only in Iceland, reports Haugen (1997: 73) that ‘the old structure and much of the old lexicon [has] survived.’ The purist movement gained momentum in the fight for independence from Denmark (1800 – 1944) (Svenonius, 2002).

3.3 Iceland: the emergence of the nation and the rise of English

In an interview in 2005, Kristinsson, Director of the Icelandic Language Institute, stated that in the first half of the twentieth century Danish influence was still prominent in Iceland and the fight for independence was connected to their language as well as political aims. The case of Iceland fits well with the Herderian ideology, which was very strong in the nineteenth century, of one nation equals one language (Edwards, 1985: 24). As I have argued in chapter 1: 1.4.1, the ideology of nationalism is a potent force, the background to language policies. Iceland's nationalism was non-aggressive and moderate, attained 'through a sober dialogue and with legal means, but not with open confrontation with or a revolt against the Danish authorities' (Hálfðanarson (accessed 2007)). Iceland became self governing in 1918 and gained its full independence as a republic in 1944. Icelanders, according to Kristinsson, then became more at ease with Danish than before as they could then look upon the Danes as friends rather than the oppressor.

English started to take over after the invasion by Britain in 1940 (to prevent its occupation by Germany) and the subsequent handing over to the Americans in 1941. These actions became an impetus to get rid of English words. Kristinsson stated that the official reaction from the Icelandic Government was to give financial support towards the creation of Icelandic neologisms from 1950 onwards. The establishment of an American NATO base gave a further impetus to those against American imperialism to react against American culture (Kristinsson, 2005). During the Cold War in the 1960s and 70s, there were further backlashes against English due to the impact of American culture, which Icelandic intellectuals saw as a bad influence.

In the last twenty years in particular, globalisation has been responsible for the spread of English into many domains in Iceland. Twenty years ago, according to Kristinsson, Icelanders could argue that English was not necessary, that everything could be done in Icelandic. However, today English is the 'cool' language of the media, the language on many school computers, and the first

compulsory foreign language learnt in schools from the age of ten. Furthermore, membership of the EEA and EFTA brings Iceland into contact with other European countries where English is necessary for cooperation. English may also take over as the language of inter-Nordic communication in the future (chapter 2: 2.3.2).

Although no political party in Iceland has EU membership on the agenda³, Iceland benefits very much from cooperation with other EU member states in terms of cultural and education programmes without the necessity for membership (see chapter 2: 2.2). The price Icelanders pay for not joining the EU is that Icelandic is not given the exposure that Danish, Swedish and Finnish currently have within Europe (albeit with a concomitant rise of English, as we have seen in chapter 2: 2.2.1).

Icelanders, however, are pragmatic about using English in communication with the other European states. They have always known that they have to master other languages in order to communicate with the outside world. This same pragmatism towards other languages is shown by their attitude to using a standard Scandinavian language for communication within the Nordic countries. Most Icelanders, such as, Haraldsson, a businessman, whom I interviewed, think it would be pointless, firstly because the Icelanders manage to communicate quite well already (as shown in the table of comprehension of Nordic languages and English by Delsing, 2006 (chapter 2: 2.3.2, table 5) and secondly, because a standard Scandinavian would not offset the influence of English. In the same way the Icelanders do not use the Nordic language convention to the letter, because they can communicate quite well either in English or Scandinavian in the other Nordic countries.

In terms of status, Icelandic is the worst off of all the main Nordic languages, as it loses out in both the European and the Nordic arenas through the necessity to use English and English/Danish respectively (see chapter 2). What this means,

³ The main reason for this is the EU fisheries policy. Iceland needs to retain its 200 mile zone for fisheries, for which it fought three cod wars with Britain. Bjarnason (2005) points out that all EFTA's free trade agreements contain a clause ensuring free trade in fish products which the EU agreements generally do not.

Kristinsson believes, is that there is a threat of a diglossic situation (see chapter 1: 1.2.1). However, English is now almost at the point of being an unofficial second language (positioned within Kachru's expanding circle, chapter 1: 1.1.1), that is, not just for the elite but the grassroots also. In other words bilingualism is a better term to use to describe what is going on. Some entrepreneurs, Kristinsson stated, have even argued for bilingualism as the policy in Iceland, that both English and Icelandic should be the official languages of companies for example. They received much criticism in the papers.

Although Icelandic is not at present written into the constitution as the official language, it is an unwritten rule, according to Kristinsson, too obvious to mention, a consensual ideology in Spolsky's terms (2004: 14), see chapter 1: 1.3).

However, the Minister of Education, Science and Culture, Þorgerður Katrín Gunnarsdóttir, announced on 10th October, 2007 that she would be fighting for Icelandic to be made the official language of the constitution (Kristinsson, 2007, email correspondence).

This latest debate over whether to give Icelandic official status is because many Icelanders see the rise of English as a threat to their language and national identity. Despite being pragmatic towards English, they wish to keep their language free from English. According to the Nordic Council of Ministers (Norden, 2005), a survey of loan words in the Nordic languages showed that 'Iceland has been best at keeping its language free from the impact of English, despite the fact that it is the country that uses English most.' In an interview with the national newspaper, (Morgunblaðið, 2005), Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, former president of Iceland, states that Icelanders have to remain watchful over their language:

We have to be on guard, because if Icelandic disappears we cease to be a nation. Our literature and our attitude to the language through the centuries is the cornerstone of our existence.

Those professionals, whom I interviewed in Iceland in 2005, are very much in agreement: 'the language is necessary for us to maintain our identity;' 'it is part of

us being a nation' and 'our history and uniqueness is tied to our language and preserved in our language' (Haraldsson); 'we feel we have roots closely connected to the language' (Ólafsson); 'a large part of our identity today as a nation is that we speak this particular language' and 'we preserve our language and take pride in it' (Kristinsson). The speed of the spread of English thus calls for greater efforts to resist.

At the same time, however, the Icelanders wish to benefit from the economic opportunities offered through cooperation and agreements within the modern world. They 'want the solace of the past *without* sacrificing the rewards of progress' (Edwards, 1985: 42) (see Introduction: I). In order to have both, Icelanders feel the need to protect and manage their language. Language planning is carried out with the full support of the Government and by all sectors of the community and thus accords with Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997: 14) assertion that 'language policy formulation is everybody's business.'

3.4 Denmark: linguistic history

Unlike Iceland, Denmark has been in a position of dominance as well as dominated during its history, for example, Danish Vikings conquered much of the UK, Northern France and parts of Russia as well as the other Nordic countries. Similarly it was a superpower in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. It later had many wars with Sweden as well as with Great Britain and Prussia, all of which it lost. Denmark's present national boundaries have been established since 1864 (since the defeat by Prussia whereby Denmark lost 40% of its land) (Bjørn, 2002).

A major influence on the Danish language, as well as the other Central Nordic countries, was the trading network with the Hanseatic League during the late Middle Ages. The Hanseatic league was an alliance of trading guilds in the cities surrounding the Baltic. During this period the central Nordic languages suffered a vast influx of low German words from the Hanseatic towns which, according to

Lund (2003), 'came to dominate the entire Nordic and Baltic area commercially and economically for several hundred years.' Denmark, at one time, 'embraced so many native speakers of German that they constituted one-third of its entire population' (Brems 1979: 428 cited in Haugen, 1981: 104). The most intense period of Hanseatic domination was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Vikør, 1995: 39).

Danish has not always been the prestige language on its own territory, having been dominated by Latin, low and High German, and French at one time or other. The Reformation, as in the other Nordic countries, encouraged the Danes to oust Latin, and the Danish Bible translation appeared in 1550. After Latin came French, which exerted considerable influence upon Danish, both in vocabulary and syntax, particularly in the seventeenth century under the France of Louis XIV, which was the leading nation of Europe at that time. These French words were introduced by the nobility, giving French the highest status. Some French influence filtered through to Icelandic through the Danish language (Bandle, 2005: 2074). French became even stronger in the eighteenth century with the age of the Enlightenment.

A purist language movement developed at this time, mainly against French and Latin, according to Vikør (1993: 45), but this movement gradually faded after a few decades. Standardisation of Danish began in the sixteenth century and the first grammars of Danish appeared in the seventeenth century, which gave rules for 'good Danish' based on upper class Copenhagen speech (Vikør, 1995: 44). Modern standard Danish has existed since about 1800 (Vikør, 1995: 45).

A Nordic purist movement also arose during and after World War II, inspired according to Vikør (1995: 183) by the feeling that Nordic unity could be a 'defense against German expansionism' linguistically as well as politically. The Association for Nordic Language Cultivation was founded in 1941 (Vikør, 1995: 184). Reforms to the language were intended to bring Danish more in line with Swedish and Norwegian. The reforms brought a further simplification of the orthography, which had already been much simplified since about 1100, and sparked off much controversy and opposition to further language reforms.

As regards a literary tradition, although Denmark has had some outstanding poets and writers, according to my informants, such as Gregersen (Professor of Danish), Sandford-Pedersen (Language technologist), there is no great feeling that literature has any impact on feelings of Danishness. Ludwig Holberg was famous for producing a series of comedies for the Danish theatre in the 1720s. Other principal figures in Danish literature were N.F.S. Grundtvig, Søren Kierkegaard and Hans Christian Andersen in the 1800s. Hans Christian Andersen is probably the most widely read Danish author according to Mylius (2007), his fairy tales holding wide appeal to both adults and children alike.

3.5 Denmark: the rise of English

Since World War II, as with the other Nordic countries, the influence of English has much increased in Denmark and, according to Gottlieb (2004: 18) successful anglicisms 'tend to compete with and often replace established Germanisms'. For a long time German was the first foreign language taught at schools in the Central Nordic region until events of the Second World War caused nations to drop German in favour of English.

It is only very recently that some Danes have begun to worry about the changes in their language due to the influence of English into the region, although, according to my informants in Denmark, e.g. Gregersen, and Davidsen-Nielsen (Chairman of the Danish Language Council), the Danes do not like the word 'threat'. There has been no purist movement against a dominant language. According to Østergård (1992: 24) concepts such as purism conjure up negative images of nationalism for many Danes. There is no statutory document stating that Danish is the official language, but Danish is spoken by most of the 5.4 million inhabitants and is the language of all official documents (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2007).

Another significant result of globalisation in Denmark has been the increase in immigration. The large numbers of different immigrant cultures in Denmark today, about 8% of the population, according to Andersen (2007), is forcing a

change in Danish identity. For these immigrant groups Danish is a second language, because most believe they should acquire Danish as a means of being part of the community.

For the Danish dominant group, there is a dilemma. According to Berdichevsky (2004: 1), they 'like to see themselves as ultraliberal and multicultural in all matters pertaining to new immigrants,' but at the same time immigration has resulted in a heightened national consciousness. According to Hedetoft (2003) the issue of immigration dominated the election campaign of 2001, in which immigration was seen as a serious threat to Denmark's history, culture and homogeneity. The far right party in particular is influencing politics in trying to stave off immigration and globalisation. Problems of national identity have become closely linked therefore with immigration, exacerbated by negative reporting in the media (ibid). The cartoons furore of 2005, in which twelve cartoons published in the newspaper, Jyllands-Posten, depicted the prophet Mohammed, has also served to stimulate xenophobia and nationalism.

At the same time, for many Danes, globalisation has meant a decline in feelings of national identity. Official essays on Danish identity (Rifbjerg, 2007, Battail, 2000) portray a rather negative attitude to being Danish. Rifberg (accessed 2007), asserts that Danes are a little self effacing and apologetic, that 'we've lost all the wars we've fought', that 'most Danish kings have consistently managed to support the losing side'. Denmark's humiliating surrender in 1940 and its subsequent occupation by the Germans also dented its reputation (Berdichevsky, 2004: 10). Rifbjerg continues to say that 'even today some people are actually ashamed of being Danish' which, he says 'is not very constructive in the long run when trying to build up a national spirit'. Danes, he asserts, have a significant inferiority complex despite obvious successes with their welfare state, social equality and equal opportunities.

According to Davidsen-Nielsen (Chairman of the Danish Language Council), whom I interviewed in 2006, some Danes look down on their own language; some think Danish is an ugly language, a small language and not very 'mellifluous'. This negative attitude is dangerous for a language. As Hüppauf (2004: 10) points

out (chapter 1: 1.1.2), it is 'the prime source for linguistic deterioration'. Furthermore, there is no general consensus that one has to speak the Danish language in order to be Danish, nor that the language is related to national identity (Pedersen, 2001: 48). Most Danes, emphasise that 'respect for others, tolerance, linguistic and cultural diversity and a Scandinavian conception of democracy' are values that are part of Danishness (Pedersen, 2001: 51).

Others, however, firmly believe that the language is integral to national identity, that the nation is defined by the language and is a prerequisite for being Danish (Pedersen, 2001: 46, Davidsen-Nielsen, 2006). It is not possible, according to Pedersen (2001: 48), to get to the top in Danish political or cultural life without Danish: 'national monolingualism with Danish is still decisive'.

Danes' ambivalence towards their language and identity is reflected in their attitudes towards English in the European Union (EU), as well as nationally. Denmark joined the EU in 1973 and was one of the first six members. The policy of plurilingualism ensures that Danish is on an equal footing with other languages in regard to interpretation. However, even here, the Danes' attitude towards their language filters through. Phillipson (2001: 11) reports that the Danes do not always insist on Danish being used (unlike the French insistence on French) and are 'curiously passive when it comes to insisting on the rights of Danish in the EU.'

Today, as outlined in chapter 2 (2.2.1), for all meetings other than top level meetings, interpretation is demand-driven. Melchior and Jacobsen reported, during our discussion in 2006, that although there is plenty of money for Danish interpretation, it is not all used. Just after enlargement in May 2004, they stated, interpretation was down to 60%, which they attributed to the fact that the new demand-driven system was introduced at the same time. Although the level of interpretation is now moving up again, they admitted that some people would think that this level is too low.

There are good reasons for the lack of interpretation (see chapter 2: 2.2.1): sometimes delegates are not comfortable with the interpreters and it is often easier

when discussing a specific formulation of text in English to use English. Melchior and Jacobsen also believe, however, that because informal discussions have totally shifted to English, it is more of an advantage for the Danes because 'English is a second language to Danes.' They pointed out that in this globalised world, many opportunities may be lost if people insist on speaking their own language and, while believing that it is important to learn and teach Danish, they do not believe English is any threat, rather that it is a neutral language.

The Danes are pragmatic in their attitude towards English in the same way as the Icelanders are. The difference is that the Icelanders are watchful and protective towards Icelandic but the Danes do not have the same attitude towards Danish.

As regards the language of inter-Nordic communication, there is some concern in Denmark – mostly among the elite - about keeping a Nordic language within the Nordic community. The Nordic council wishes to continue with a Nordic language but privately, according to Andersen, J., representative of the Nordic Policy Group, whom I interviewed in 2006, most people believe they are fighting a losing battle with English. This is despite the Nordic language convention allowing members of the Nordic countries to use their own languages in official institutions in each other's countries (rather than resort to English due to lack of knowledge of the host language).

A major consequence of English is the reduction of the lexicon and/or the replacement of words with English. Because the Danish language has always absorbed new words, Denmark has shown less concern than Iceland and the other Nordic countries about the influx of loan words from English. Loan words are not perceived to be threatening the language, indeed quite the contrary. Lund (2004) cites Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) as writing: 'Just as a nation sometimes needs the goods of another, so a language also needs the words of another language'. The prevailing attitude, according to Preisler (2005: 242), is that the vitality of a language 'depends precisely on its ability to integrate and absorb input from other languages.' Fear of English affecting the Danish linguistic code is, according to Preisler (*ibid*), 'as persistent as it is absurd.'

The Danes have never been as sensitive about their language as the other Nordic countries, although it has had its periods of linguistic purism as we have seen above. Nordahl-Svendsen, Director of the Media Secretariat, whom I interviewed in 2006, pointed out that there was a significant influence from German in the days of the Hanseatic League, for example, with all words connected to ships and trade, but that, nonetheless, the Danish language did not disappear. He believes that, despite borrowings from English, the language will still be essentially Danish.

Thus, neologisms (new words) are not invented, as they are in Iceland, because the Danes have neither the resources, nor are they driven by a nationalist language ideology. Furthermore, there is no tradition of language policy in Denmark (Herslund, 2001). Most Danes think that many of the invented words are ridiculous. For example, Davidsen-Nielsen pointed out that in English classes in Norway the English word is spelt one way and in the Norwegian classes the same word is spelt differently, for example, *gaid* (guide). However, English words are more valued in Denmark than rejected.

Danish linguists became worried about the language, according to Haberland (2005: 228) around 1990 but not about loan words, (which is the case in Iceland), rather about the increased use of English in specific domains. However, the quantity of English words through all domains is increasing more rapidly than ever before, and, as I have shown in chapter 1 (1.2.1), the loss of vocabulary may lead to the loss of domains as people gradually lose the ability to express themselves in their own language.

While Iceland's language planning has the support of all sections of the community, this is not unanimous in Denmark. In the Danish language debate, Preisler (2005: 239) divides Danes into 1) the 'followers' and 2) the 'concerned'. The followers represent the majority, whose attitude towards English is that it is a useful language of communication, that is, a *lingua franca*, and do not see the increase in the use of English as in any way problematic. The most 'vulnerable' of these, he reports, are representatives of big business. The concerned are the small

but influential elite made up, for example, of teachers of Danish, writers and others with a purist attitude towards Danish.

When English intrudes, as we have seen in chapter 1: 1.2.1, nations may react either by a language policy of convergence or of divergence. In Iceland's case, in keeping with the language ideologies underpinning its policies, a policy of divergence exists across all areas of corpus planning, a separating or distancing of its language from others. In Denmark's case, in keeping with the majority attitudes, a policy of convergence towards the dominant language exists. This convergence results in a mixing of languages, with the danger that one is selected over the other. These differences will be revealed in the following comparison between Iceland's and Denmark's corpus planning and practice.

3.6. Corpus planning and practice

As discussed above, the ideologies behind the Icelandic and Danish languages are somewhat different, for example, the Herderian ideology of nation equals language is strong in Iceland, but weaker in Denmark. When children acquire language they do not merely acquire the code, but also the ideologies, in other words the meanings, attitudes and myths and values behind the language. Each nation's corpus planning reflects these differences in ideologies. Corpus planning generally involves the standardisation of the national language. The standard language is the status variety in the nation, to which speakers attach value. It is normally supported by governments and spread through mechanisms such as education and the media. Corpus planning also involves the ongoing elaboration or modernisation of a language (see chapter 1: 1.4.3).

3.6.1 Iceland: corpus planning and practice

There are two main cornerstones of Iceland's language planning, which reflect the nationalist ideologies behind the language and underlie not only their corpus planning but their status planning too:

- 1) the preservation of the Icelandic language
- 2) the enhancement of the Icelandic language

Kristinsson explained in our interview in 2005 that the aim behind the preservation is to retain Iceland's unbroken literary tradition, while the aim of enhancement is to make the everyday contemporary language as useful for communications as possible, that is, by standardising and modernising it. The most prominent feature is the creation of new vocabulary which, following Icelandic tradition, is to create it from existing roots (Kristinsson, 2005). These cornerstones of language planning in Iceland reflect the views expressed in chapter 1: 1.4.1, that nationalism glorifies the past and seeks to use the past to maintain the sense of belonging to a community and a shared identity in the present. Iceland's language planning therefore aims to stop change in favour of continuity, at the same time to protect Icelandic against the spread of English.

The Icelandic Language Institute (ILI) (secretariat of the Icelandic Language Council) was the official body responsible for language management in Iceland until September, 2006. As my research was carried out using documents and interviews with personnel from the ILI, I shall refer to the ILI throughout this thesis.⁴

The ILI was formed in 1964 but had been active long before that in the form of the purist language movement (see 3.1.2 above). The ILI seeks to ensure that Icelandic contains the necessary terminology to function in the modern world. It

⁴ The ILI along with the Icelandic Dictionary of the University of Iceland, the Árni Magnússon Institute in Iceland, the Sigurður Nordal Institute, and the Place-Name Institute of Iceland have been amalgamated into the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, a university institution. At the same time as this amalgamation the law on the Icelandic Language Council was changed giving the Council a more decisive role in proposing language policy to the Government.

produces dictionaries and makes pronouncements about the official use of language. It acts in an advisory capacity to about fifty committees that produce word lists, such as for computer terminology, as well as to the Government, businesses, educational institutions and private individuals (The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, 2006).

There is some legislation on the use of Icelandic in certain domains, mostly on names. This legislation is not as strict as that of, for example, the French *Loi Toubon*, which makes French compulsory in several domains (see chapter 1: 1.5). According to the current law about use of Icelandic place names, the names of Icelandic companies should be Icelandic. Nevertheless, there is some flexibility, for example, Icelandair, the national airline, can now use its English name rather than the Icelandic *Flugleiðir*. According to my informants, for example, Briem (2005), many shops and firms have English names, although some of these are brand names, such as 'Topshop'. However, the companies behind the shops are likely to be registered with an Icelandic name (Kristinsson, 2007: email correspondence).

Icelanders use patronymics rather than surnames: thus four members of one family may have different 'family names', for example Gunnar Hilmarsson, father, Haraldur Gunnarsson, (son of Gunnar), Tanja Gunnarsdóttir (daughter of Gunnar). Wives keep their own patronymics. Names in telephone directories are listed in alphabetical order by forename. There was a heated debate in Iceland a hundred years ago about whether Icelanders should adopt surnames, as the other Nordic countries were doing (Willson, 2002: 135). Those who wanted this change argued that surnames were necessary if Iceland was to be recognised as a civilised nation. However, the advocates of maintenance appealed to traditionalists and won the day with their argument that adopting surnames would be a risk to the Icelandic language. (Willson, 2002: 136). The law of 1925 forbade the adoption of new surnames and lasted until 1991. The personal name policy of 1996 allows for the use of a middle name.

3.6.2 Denmark: corpus planning and practice

Although the Danish Language Council (DLC) was formed in 1955, Denmark only adopted an official language policy in January 2004 after a parliamentary debate in 2003. It was the influential elite (Preisler's 'concerned'), who have a disproportionate amount of space in the media, who were able to draw the attention of the politicians to demand a language policy, which Denmark has never had before (Preisler, 2005: 242).

The overall goal of the language policy is 'to secure Danish as a complete and society-bearing language' to be used for all purposes in parallel with English (Davidsen-Nielsen, 2004). Therefore it is acknowledged that English is so prevalent that the national language is to be used in parallel. Until recently the view about language planning had been, according to Davidsen-Nielsen (2004), that language could look after itself and that no amount of planning could counteract market forces. This once laissez-faire view has radically changed since the Government has been forced to realise that this approach is no longer an option if Danish is to be a fully functioning language. Despite language being 'difficult to control,' the development of Danish is no longer seen to be 'governed by fate,' in other words by market forces (Davidsen-Nielsen, 2004).

There were three factors which contributed to this decision to adopt a language policy, according to Davidsen-Nielsen (2003: 1) the spread of English, 2) an increase in the number of languages in Denmark itself (due to immigration) and 3) increased demands for the language to function in new domains, for example information technology.

The aim behind the language policy is not based on preservation, but rather to develop the language for use in all domains. As Williams (1992: 134) points out (see chapter 1: 1.5) one of the most effective ways to increase the status of a language is domain extension. Davidsen-Nielsen (Chairman of the DLC) explained, during an interview in Denmark in 2006, that the Danish language policy makers do not resist change, as they do not believe in freezing the language. Languages, they believe, are ever-developing means of communication,

which is demonstrated by their willingness to borrow foreign words. Generally, Davidsen-Nielsen continued, the population resists change only in regard to orthography (hence the heated debates about language reform after World War II).

The Danish Language Council (DLC) is the state institute operating under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture that monitors and researches developments in the Danish language. Legislation has not been recommended as the way forward in language policy, rather there is provision of guidelines or, as Davidsen-Nielsen explained in our interview, a ‘declaration of intent’, which Shohamy (2006: 53) points out, can be easily manipulated and contradicted (see chapter 1: 1.3).

However, by law the Danish orthographic dictionary laid down by the DLC has to be used by official institutions such as in schools and universities. The DLC collects its new words from the media and other sources, for example, excerpts from the newspapers. According to the law of 1997 the other main tasks of the DLC are to answer questions from the Danish population, give advice and monitor the development of the Danish language (Davidsen-Nielsen, 2006).

3.6.3 Iceland: policy for new words

Purism in Icelandic in the past, as we have seen, came about in an effort to preserve the language from Danish, now it is from English. In both cases purism has been motivated by a need to preserve Icelandic national identity because of the dominance of these languages (Thomas, 1991, see chapter 1: 1.4.4). Corpus planning is in line with the attitudes and theories of purism, which justify keeping out foreign words in order that:

- a) the link with the past literary tradition is maintained (Thomas’ solidarity function);
- b) the language is distanced from others, such as, the old colonial ruler, Denmark (the separating function); and

- c) new borrowings are kept out to assure the prestige of Iceland's own neologisms (the prestige function). Iceland's attitudes are that foreign words are low status, that the culture is unique and must not be corrupted.

Another argument used against foreign words or anglicisms is that it must be possible to write and inflect the words in order to use them in Icelandic. There are many examples, Kristinsson explained, where the adoption of anglicisms would be 'problematic', that is, they would not fit into the structure of Icelandic, and thus be less intelligible to native speakers (see chapter 1: 1.4.4).

Iceland's preferred way of coping with anglicisms is to invent neologisms (*nýyrði*). The tradition is to make new Icelandic words from older Icelandic words using the stem. The use of Icelandic stems supports the two cornerstones of Icelandic language policy of preservation and enhancement. Kristinsson described how they go about this: the ILI starts by trying to find words to explain the concept, for example, the word for computer is derived from a combination of the plural of the noun, *tölur* (number) and the noun *völva*, (prophetess) to make *tölva*. Many words are formed by joining existing words or parts of words together in new ways, what Haugen (1966: 23) calls 'native replicas' of new words. Hence the meanings of the words are 'transparent.' Sometimes a foreign stem is used, for example, *form* and new words are created from that, such as *formaður* (chairman) or *formgerð* (structure).

The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (2001) states that it is this invention of neologisms that enables Icelandic to be used in all domains:

Many language communities in Europe, and indeed throughout the world, are facing the fact that the use of English has increased in various fields. This is also perceptible in Iceland. On the other hand, constant innovation in the Icelandic vocabulary and diverse cultural activities in Icelandic conduce [sic] to the ability of Icelanders to continue using Icelandic under all circumstances, just as before.

The implication is that other countries are not being as successful in modernising their languages as Iceland.

There are about fifty scientific societies which invent words for new terms in their fields, for example, Briem told me during an interview that his committee produced a computer word list which was published in 2005. The ILI offer linguistic help to these committees and has produced publications on word formation and terminology. All these words have been put onto the Icelandic word bank (produced by the ILI) in the form of searchable glossaries (Icelandic Language Institute, 1997).

The purist paradigm, represented by Thomas' three functions outlined above, can only be maintained if Iceland invents its own neologisms for computer software and hardware and technical terms. The Internet has a large number of idioms and new words, especially words with the *e*-prefix and is becoming part of 'popular linguistic consciousness' (Crystal, 2001: 21 - 22). New domains therefore, have implications for corpus planning.

Briem reported that all the committees working on word lists do so without payment, a fact which demonstrates just how important this issue is in Iceland. Such activity complemented by policy should ensure the prestige (the 'prestige function' described by Thomas (1991: 56) of Icelandic neologisms, provided they are adopted by the general public. There is a conflict here as to whether or not it is more prestigious to use English terms or invented neologisms. This conflict is shown by the responses of students to their use of neologisms (appendix 3: question 45), which will be discussed below.

Another way of dealing with anglicisms is to assimilate them into Icelandic morphology, for example, *tékki*, (cheque). This borrowed word, however, has now been mostly displaced by the neologism, *ávísun* (see appendix 3: question 45). Other anglicisms adopted by young Icelanders in the spoken language, reported by Vikør (1995: 212) include: *smókur*, (a smoke), *prittí*, (pretty), and *reddy* (ready) alongside the Icelandic words: *reykur*, *falleg*, and *tilbúin(n)*. The survey with Icelandic students (appendix 3: question 45) which took place twelve years

later than Vikør's findings reveal that these every day Icelandic words have regained popularity over the borrowed English words among this age group.

However, some technical terms connected with computer use are found to be more popular in English. The word *vista* for example, is a recent Icelandic neologism for *save* (a file). Haraldsson stated, during his interview, that *vista* has not been in general use long enough for people to be used to hearing it because computer technology is relatively recent. When asked (question 19) whether they understood the English words 'file', 'save' etc, all respondents answered in the affirmative and comments included 'I prefer the English words because I am used to them.'

The data indicate, therefore, that people have to get used to hearing and seeing the new words before they use them regularly. Then, some of the borrowed English words decline in use. It may be that after a few years, the Icelandic words will be the favourites. A striking example is the use of the word *tölva*, the Icelandic word for computer, which every student except one claimed to use (appendix 3: question 45). In contrast, all but five students prefer to use the loan word *emeil* (email) than the Icelandic neologism, *tölvupostur*.

Although one should treat this data with caution (because of the small sample), one can tentatively conclude that there is no significant trend by youngsters to use English words and that therefore the ILI is being successful in introducing Icelandic neologisms.

None of the anglicisms above have found their way into the Icelandic word bank because policy is not to put them there. My data support Holmes' argument (2001: chapter 9) that young people everywhere are prone to adopting slang or cool words, which later fall out of use. For example, the American troops brought many English words with them such as *jeppi* (jeep), still used for any 4x4 vehicle. Other words are now obsolete, such as *krol* (crawl – the swimming stroke) replaced by the neologism, *skriðsund* (Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir, 2002: 103).

Equally, however, some new words are not always accepted by the community. The Icelanders do not like the neologism *vindlingur* for ‘cigarette,’ and prefer to use *sígaretta* instead (Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2003: 13). As Haugen (1966: 23) says, ‘the planner proposes, but the community disposes’ (see chapter 1: 1.5). However, the responses to question 46 show that most students look upon neologisms favourably, even though responses to question 44 reveal that a small majority prefer borrowed words from English to new Icelandic words. To these young people there may be some prestige associated with using English words but these are frowned upon by the older generation who will use the Icelandic neologism if possible.

3.6.4 Denmark: policy for new words

Denmark rejects the purist ideology. Purism is a negative word in Danish whereas it is positive in Iceland. The Danes do make up some neologisms but borrow many loan words from English. Davidsen-Nielsen, during our interview, described the system for dealing with loan words. The loan words are valued and they are taken over as they are, that is with the English spelling. Danish neologisms will only be made up if the DLC is asked to do so. However, the DLC does not have a systematic unit that comes up with proposals for neologisms because there are no resources for it, nor, as stated above, are policies driven by a nationalist language ideology.

However, there are several problems with taking over too many loan words, as Davidsen-Nielsen admitted. Firstly, although over 90% of the population speak Danish as the mother tongue and English as a second language, the remainder of the population, such as immigrants, as well as some of the older generation, does not speak English. Therefore loan words, while not believed to constitute a threat, may ‘impede communications’. There is much debate over the language in schools and society for this group who are excluded by not knowing the global language.

Another good example of loan words impeding communications was given by Sandford-Pedersen (a language technologist), who stated, in an interview, that she receives many reports that are ‘unreadable’ because they are so full of English words and constructions, which she referred to as ‘bad English and not Danish’. This is an example of code switching in the written form and may arise from lack of terminology in Danish plus the desire to use prestigious forms from English (see chapter 1: 1.2.1).

Another problem is that English words become Danish words but that sometimes the meaning is different, for example the word ‘wire’ only means a steel wire in Danish, so false friends can be created in this way (Kirchmeier-Andersen, Director of the DLC). Many Danes, Sandford-Pedersen stated, are not very interested in using ‘correct’ Danish and do not see an issue, although, she observed that some Danes are beginning to be more conscious that it is important to maintain the Danish language and culture.

There is an obvious need to find new words in Danish but, because there is no official mechanism for this, many people make up different words for the same thing. The DLC endeavours to keep track of new inventions, which are put into their new dictionary every few years, if they have become part of accepted usage, for example if they appear in the newspapers. However, Aegidius (Head of International ICT Policy in Denmark) pointed out, during an interview, that the DLC do not communicate to the Ministry if they invent a word in their area. Therefore, the Ministry will continue to use the words that they have always used. If ministers want a Danish word and cannot find one, Aegidius explained, their practice is to use a word that they have seen in a text from the EU, which has been made up by an interpreter.

In the comments to question 28 and 30 on the questionnaire to Danish students (appendix 4), the students also highlight the problems of lack of terminology. They point out that if they cannot find words in Danish they use the English words. Similarly, when the Danish students were asked whether they understood the English words ‘file’, ‘save’ etc, comments included ‘I understand them because we use some of them in the Danish language’ (appendix 4: question 19).

3.6.5 Iceland: policy for written language

As shown in chapter 1: 1.4.4, written traditions promote pride amongst the speakers of that language and have an impact on purist attitudes. Attempts have even been made by the ILI and its predecessors to reintroduce features from the “Golden Age”. For example, what used to be spelt with *je* is now spelt using *é*, as in *ég* instead of *jeg* for ‘I’ and *hér* instead of *hjer* for ‘here’. This spelling was changed in 1929 and codified in spelling rules (Hilmarsson-Dunn: 2003:13).

The change represents the need to retain purity in the language and the policy here accords with the solidarity function described by Thomas, whereby Icelandic maintains the link to its literary tradition (Thomas, 1991: 53). However, in loan-words, the *j+e* was not changed, for example, *jeppi* (Kristinsson, 2007: email correspondence). Otherwise Icelandic spelling has remained constant. As the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (2001) points out:

most common words in the language look exactly the same today as they did 1100 years ago, i.e., words, such as *höfuð* (head), *auga* (eye), *himinn* (sky), *haf* (ocean), *þú* (you), *kýr* (cow)...

The two most unusual letters in the Icelandic alphabet are Þ(þ) (thorn) and Ð(ð) (eth) pronounced the unvoiced and voiced *th* respectively, common to Icelandic and English. According to the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (2001), the Þ has been used in Icelandic since the beginning and was known in the runic alphabet, as well as English, before the Nordic people adopted the Latin alphabet. The Ð was found in Old English and Old Saxon and is found in Icelandic manuscripts from the 13th century. These letters are no longer used by the other Nordic countries and are unique. Continued use of these letters, along with resistance to change in the written form allows Icelanders to read their ancient texts easily.

The ILI’s new orthographic dictionary contains about 70,000 words. The ILI does a similar thing today as Samuel Johnson did with his dictionary in 1755 (chapter

1: 1.4.3), that is, it leaves out slang and foreign words and includes obsolete words which deserve 'revival', the latter being new words formed from old ones. Some part of the ILI's editing work has been to lay down rules about how to write foreign words, which has never been done before. Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir (2002: 87) explain that anglicisms that do find their way into the written language have been used for some time and have 'undergone considerable phonological and morphological adaptation'. When they finally get into the written form, they 'usually follow the normal rules of spelling with respect to the pronunciation valid for Icelandic.' Consequently, anglicisms often become quite unrecognisable from the English original.

Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir (2002: 87) report that many anglicisms are 'not considered acceptable in more formal registers', that is, they are not used in writing outside specialised magazines on the subject, for example, computing, even if the words are quite common in colloquial speech. Students may make up their own words e.g. *dílíta* (delete) and *seiva* (save) and inflect them themselves but they do not get in the dictionaries. Jonsdóttir (teacher of Icelandic to foreign students) reported, during an interview, that some written registers have been influenced heavily by speech in the last ten years, that they are more varied now, and much more spoken language discourse gets into the fields of technology, for example, SMS, email and blog sites. This assertion is supported by the students' responses in 3.6.3 above.

The Icelandic language has preserved its complex morphology. Some vowel mutations, for example, *bók* (book) in the singular changes to *bækur* in the plural. Danish, Swedish and Norwegian lost most of their inflections. Icelandic has eighteen forms for present, present subjunctive and past indicative / past subjunctive as opposed to two forms in Danish. Danish has lost its case system while Icelandic has retained four cases. Kristinsson asserted, during our interview, that, although one might have expected Icelandic to have lost much more of its morphology than it has, Icelandic has so much written material that this strengthens the language rather than weakens it. One hundred percent literacy in Iceland has also helped consolidate this.

3.6.6 Denmark: *policy for written language*

The main difference between Danish and Icelandic is that Icelandic has so many inflections and Danish very few. Gregersen explained, during our discussions in 2006, that English words do not adapt so easily to inflectional languages, a factor in Icelandic's favour, whereas the difference between English and Danish in a syntactical sense is not significant. Therefore it is very easy to develop Danish in a direction which converges with English. This explanation is backed up by Andersson (1993), who states that similarities between pairs of languages are more likely to lead to code switching or borrowings than between languages which are dissimilar. However, Preston (teacher of Danish to foreign students) stated in an interview that the English words are adapted in pronunciation to some extent, for example, 'computer' is pronounced the Danish way and has the Danish plural.

There are only two genders in Danish. Davidsen-Nielsen explained that the DLC provides every loan word with either common gender, for example '*en* airbag, or neuter, for example '*et* cover' and enters them into the orthographic dictionary, which also shows any inflections. Inflections for number are usually 'e' or 'en'. However, Danish is also being influenced morphologically by borrowing the English plural ending 's.' Davidsen-Nielsen pointed out that changes in the morphology and syntax of a language demonstrates a greater influence of a foreign language than changes to the lexicon. Other English suffixes have not been imported, but other English structures are seeping in, for example, 'hav en god dag' (have a good day) rather than 'har en god dag.'

The Danes are very conservative about their written language (apart from allowing the influx of loan words). Threat of reforms of the written language to move closer to the spoken have resulted in vigorous debate, as we have seen above and, according to Vikør, (1995: 185), if spelling were to be phonological it would be 'unreadable for the entire Danish population' and Danes would 'exclude themselves from their own literary heritage as well as from inter-Nordic written communication.'

3.6.7 Iceland: policy for spoken language

According to Joseph (2006: 46), written language ‘has the ongoing effect of effacing many of the levels at which variation in spoken language is manifested – accent in particular.’ Icelandic has very little variation in dialects, with only slight differences in pronunciation between the north and south of the country. Dialects are not tolerated and Iceland has made efforts in the past to preserve the spoken language in terms of an agreed standard form.

Real and apparent time studies of spoken Icelandic, first in 1940 – 1946, and then a follow up in 1980 – 1986 (*Rannsókn á íslensku nútímamáli* (RÍN) - which translates as “Research on the Modern Icelandic Language”), showed that pronunciation among primary school children was deviating from this standard. As a result, the Government produced directives on pronunciation which were issued to teachers across the nation. This social engineering through education ensured the adoption of the prestige pronunciation and the almost complete eradication of a ‘lower class’ dialect, only spoken today by a few old people (Gíslason and Þráinsson, 2002, cited in Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2003: 5- 7).

According to Vikør (1995: 209) this campaign was ‘a rare example of a language-planning initiative which really succeeded in changing people’s speech habits’.

Chapter 1: 1.4.3 showed how a standard language is selected by the elite resulting in discrimination against non-standard speakers. Haugen (1987: 61) points out that so long as ‘a small elite group has a monopoly on education, it is relatively simple to implement a given norm.’ The case of Iceland is ‘simple’ compared to that of a ‘complex Nigeria’, he says. Furthermore, the success cited above was helped by the fact that Iceland has such a small population. According to Crystal (2004: 46), language usage is beyond planners to control but where the number of speakers is only a few ‘usage can be planned by a central body.’ Thus, Haugen’s model (1987: 64, chapter 1: 1.5) is successful in its application to spoken language in this case because Iceland’s population is so small. The fact that Iceland has been able to influence the spoken language is in contrast to Milroy and Milroy’s (1991: 22) statement that ‘absolute standardisation of a spoken language is never achieved’.

However, language is constantly changing and similar variations are occurring in Iceland today, not only in the spoken form but the written form. These changes, however, are due to a natural process of variation rather than to the influence of English. For example there is some evidence of changes to the syntactical structures. According to Friðriksson (2002) many teachers of Icelandic have claimed that 'an instability in their students' case-inflectional system....is emerging.' One part of the RÍN study, covering eleven year olds at primary schools in Iceland, has shown that 'dative sickness' occurs amongst the children whose parents are less well educated. 'Dative sickness' is defined by Friðriksson, as 'a tendency for impersonal verbs that normally take accusative-case subjects to take dative-case subjects instead.'

Friðriksson cites other linguistic variables that are spreading, which include "new passive", that is, a change in how passive sentences are constructed; and "genitive avoidance", the merging of genitive case or genitive case endings with accusative/dative case. Such changes are a threat to the standard language, as demonstrated in chapter 1 (1.4.3). Kristinsson, during our discussions, reported that this new 'sloppy speech' by younger people has been tolerated. Furthermore, the ILI is less protectionist than it once was and directives on pronunciation would be unlikely to produce a popular reaction today.

It is still the case that most Icelanders, particularly the older generation, want to speak standard Icelandic. It is the loan words from English, which they consider to be so threatening to their language. However, Haraldsson explained during our discussions that, although many dislike using English words, they do not always know the Icelandic words through lack of exposure to them. The problem is that the younger generation, in particular, often know the English words before the Icelandic neologisms. Jonsdóttir reinforced this when she stated that young Icelanders today speak Icelandic with many more foreign words and their attitude towards language is very different.

The data from the questionnaires to students (appendix 3: questions 28 – 30) contained responses to a series of questions about verbal communication with the students' peers, family and teachers. It aimed to discover how often English terms

were used. A majority of students were found to use some English words with their friends. The majority used only Icelandic with their teachers (excluding foreign language teachers), although some used one or two or a few English words. A majority also used only Icelandic with their parents and other adults, although more English words were spoken with this group than with the teachers group. Some claimed to use more English in clubs but only if American or English people were there. Some said they used more English according to the subject they were talking about, such as pop music. Some said that would use English only if they had to.

These responses indicate that it is with their peers that English is spoken most, but that parents and other adults are passing on standard Icelandic to their offspring. One response to the questionnaire (appendix 3: question 31) came from a young mother in the 17+ age group, who wrote 'I just want to speak Icelandic. I want my son to learn good Icelandic.'

3.6.8 Denmark: policy for spoken language

According to Vikør (1995: 46) most of the traditional Danish dialects have disappeared and are only spoken by older people. Standard Danish is perceived as the superior norm, meaning that non-standard dialects are regarded as inferior (Ladegaard, 2001) (see chapter 1: 1.4.3). Dialects are not stigmatised in Denmark as they are in Iceland, according to Gregersen, but are often associated with poorer education etc. The standard variety is spoken in Copenhagen. However, the more popular casual speech of youth is the most widely spoken in Copenhagen, more so than the upper class form, according to Vikør, (1995: 187) and is resented by many, particularly, he points out, because this colloquial variety is used quite often in broadcasting.

There are significant differences between the spoken and written language. According to Lund (2004) 'today, Danish is the Nordic language with the most rapid pronunciation changes from generation to generation and during the last century'. This feature has also meant that speech has become very different from

the written language and the intelligibility of spoken Danish for other Scandinavians is being reduced ⁵ (Vikør, 1995: 187). Gregersen pointed out during our discussions in 2006 that it is not easy to teach immigrants Danish via the written language because the immigrants do not all read well. They are taught standard speech instead.

The same questions were put to Danish students as to the Icelandic students about their verbal communication with their peers, families and teachers. Generally communication with their peers involved using a few or quite a lot of English words, rather more than in Iceland. Comments showed that generally the Danish students may talk English just for fun in clubs for example (appendix 4: question 28). Comments on the questionnaires from several Danish students included that it was 'fun to spice the language with English words,' and that 'English words and slang are a natural part of Danish' (appendix 4: question 30). With teachers and parents, the data indicated that use of English was similar to the amount used by the Icelandic students. Again, this reveals that it is the young people, who are most influenced by English and consider it prestigious to use it between themselves. At the same time, parents and adults are passing on the standard Danish language rather than a mixture of Danish and English to their offspring.

Other comments from the questionnaires to the Danish students highlighted once more the problems due to the reduction of the lexicon: 'if I can't find a word in Danish I use the English word for it', 'sometimes it is easier to describe some things,' 'I'm using English words without noticing it, it's almost like a hybrid language. Simple everyday things are as easy and natural in English' and 'even sometimes in school I speak English in Danish classes because I do not know the word in Danish but in English'. Of course, this lack of terminology happens in Iceland too, as we have seen, but new words eventually come into circulation.

As we have seen in chapter 1: 1.2.1, the inability to use one's own language in a specific domain may be the first step towards language shift (Crystal 2000: 84), and loan words can be 'the tip of a cultural iceberg' (Phillipson, 2001: 4). It is

⁵ As shown in chapter 2: 2.3.2, spoken Danish is the most difficult for all the other Nordic countries to understand

very easy, according to Gregersen, to switch to English because, for example, of the need for using technical vocabulary and then to carry on using English.

3.7 Conclusion

The main points emerging from this chapter are as follows:

- 1) Iceland has had more success to date in protecting its language than Denmark because of the ideologies underpinning the policies. Despite the fact that the ILI is not as protectionist towards the language as it once was, purism is still, as Thomas (1991: 144) puts it is ‘an inalienable element of [its] overall cultural paradigm’ and nationalism ‘a positive force’ (Edwards, 1985: 44). In Iceland’s case, I do not believe that purism is harming the language (chapter 1: 1.4.4), rather that purism protects it. I believe that the prestige of Iceland’s own neologisms is assured – as long as they are used. The data indicate that, because of Iceland’s language policies, Icelandic in its written form is stable and likely to remain so.
- 2) Success in Iceland to date has resulted in part from Iceland’s relative isolation in the past, small population, a strong literary tradition and strong sense of national identity as well as policy. However, anglicisms in the spoken language are everywhere and increasing. This is due to younger people using words that they see/hear from the media but also because of the length of time it takes for the new Icelandic words to come into common use. Foreign words may supplement the Icelandic words, eventually replace them or fall out of use. All these processes are operating. Thus the spoken language is shifting more than the written. Some older people, whom I interviewed in Iceland (for example, Ólafsson), believe that the Icelandic Language Institute (now the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies) should be more protectionist than it is now, for example by carrying out stricter censorship of word lists and reinforcing the teaching of grammatical structures. Already the ILI faces competition from commercial publishers who include more anglicisms (adapted for Icelandic morphology) in their dictionaries than the ILI.

3) Denmark is continuing its laissez faire policy regarding anglicisms by taking them over wholesale, except for the allocation of gender. The English plural 's' which is creeping in is a further threat to Danish morphology, which as its linguistic history shows, has already been much simplified. Unlike Iceland, the Danish language is not considered as being a cornerstone of Danish national identity. The Danes' willingness to absorb anglicisms combined with unwillingness to modernise the language with new Danish words results in a lack of Danish terminology and a necessity to resort to English terms in both written and spoken forms. Thus, although loan words need not necessarily be a disaster for a language, as Crystal (2004b: 43) asserts, loan words may eventually contribute to loss of domains and result in a shift to English.

The fact that Danish has also been much simplified in its morphology over the centuries means that it converges with English more easily than Icelandic. The evidence for the harmful effect of too many anglicisms is evident in Denmark's case. Today, Denmark's laissez-faire policy of allowing English to be used is also *because* there may be no Danish equivalent.

4) Groups are being excluded by not knowing English. This is again particularly evident in Denmark because of its immigrant population who do not know English. The older generation in Iceland are likely to adopt the Icelandic neologisms as quickly as possible, rather than use borrowed English words. The Danes do not have that choice. Therefore, the older generation are more likely to be excluded because of globalisation than their Icelandic counterparts.

Chapter 4: The impact of global English on national policies for education in Iceland and Denmark

In chapter 2, I examined how globalisation influences policies at supranational levels in accordance with Blommaert's hypothesis (2003: 612) that developments at the top of the world system affect developments elsewhere in the system. I explained that more and more countries are trying to attract international students by offering courses through English because, by so doing, a country can increase its market share of students. I also showed that Europe's policy of multilingualism is in conflict with this desire to follow market trends and that practices within Europe do not necessarily follow policy. There is no explicit policy for what the language of higher education (HE) within Europe should be. Therefore choice is market driven and English is becoming the language for this domain.

There is a similar conflict in the Nordic countries where Nordic policies exist to increase exposure and use of other Nordic languages to counteract English. However, English is increasingly being used as the language of HE in this region. To this extent Blommaert's hypothesis is borne out. My own data, however, suggest that in the domain of education, policy is very often driven at the national level, by tradition and ideologies behind language, as well as by global factors and supranational policy.

In this chapter, national policies for education in Iceland and Denmark are analysed in the context of globalisation and supranational policy. Firstly, I shall examine policies for languages in secondary education and secondly for languages in HE.

4.1 Policy for languages at secondary level

The main messages of the Action Plan for Europe (chapter 2: 2.2.2) regarding the learning and teaching of foreign languages are: that learning a *lingua franca* is not enough; that every citizen should learn two languages besides their mother tongue

at a level of meaningful communicative competence; that linguistic diversity should be promoted, as well as lifelong language learning (Commission of the European Communities, 2003: 4 -7; Delmoly, 2005).

Strategies to enhance language learning should also include good quality CLIL (content and language integrated learning) in a variety of languages. However, the trend in higher education to use English makes it necessary for schools to provide their students with the competence to use English at an advanced level, particularly in science. Therefore, a good grounding and communicative competence in English has become essential.

I will investigate how far Iceland and Denmark are following Europe's action plan, and whether national policies for secondary education are due to globalisation, other supranational policies or their own nationalist ideologies. I shall also look at the practices and attitudes of a sample of upper secondary school students in the two countries.

4.1.1 Iceland: policy for languages at secondary level

As we have seen in chapter three, corpus planning is driven by nationalist ideologies and these also underpin some of Iceland's language policies for education. Although English is considered a valuable language to learn, it is also necessary to keep it separate from Icelandic, so that Icelandic retains its identity.

Icelanders have acknowledged for many decades the importance of learning foreign languages because no other nation speaks Icelandic, nor is it taught as a foreign language at this level by any other nation. Instruction in foreign languages has always been a major part of the curriculum at the compulsory and upper secondary levels of education (Gunnlaugsdóttir, 2005a).

Up to 1999 the first foreign language taught in schools was Danish, after which a decision was made to change to English. The reasons for this were because 1) English gradually became more dominant in relations with other countries 2)

English became more dominant within Icelandic society in the form of films and television, the Internet and popular music, which Gunnlaugsdóttir, an adviser in Department of Education, referred to in an interview, as ‘out-of-school support for English’. Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir (2002: 88) add that the daily contact with English means that many children have obtained considerable knowledge of the language before they start learning it formally at school. Other foreign languages lack this out-of-school support and, ‘have been given less emphasis, both officially and unofficially, partly as a result of the dominance of English’ (Gunnlaugsdóttir, 2005a). English teaching begins at age ten.

Responses to the questionnaire to upper secondary school students (appendix 3: questions 33 & 34) support Gunnlaugsdóttir’s statement. A majority of students claimed to have learnt *a lot* of English through popular culture and *quite a lot* of English through reading books, web pages, magazines etc. Student comments (question 37) included the following: that the grammar and writing was learnt at school but the talking and listening at home; that they had watched so much English on the television or movies when very young that they could speak English before they went to school; that they had learnt a lot through pop music lyrics and computer games.

Motivation amongst young Icelanders to learn English is high: the overwhelming majority of all students’ responses on their use of English was that they perceived English to be useful and important (appendix 3: question 39). All but seven students out of seventy nine believed they would need English most of all foreign languages in the future (question 41).

The great majority of students enjoy learning English, which is revealed in their comments to question 31 & 32. Most of these comments reflect the fact that English is the global *lingua franca*, for example: ‘English seems normal;’ ‘English is very useful as it is part of globalisation;’ ‘it is a very international language, so almost everyone can understand you;’ ‘if I didn’t learn English I would feel stupid’. Many said that English was entertaining, that it was important to know English if they intended to travel, that there is a lot of information in English, and that it is a ‘cool’ language.

In line with the theory that as one language increases in importance, another decreases (Gardt and Hüppauf, 2004: x), interest in other foreign languages is diminishing. Icelanders do not, for example, value the learning of Danish, despite the fact that a majority of Icelandic students in postgraduate education study Master's courses in Denmark, which are free for students from the Nordic countries. According to Rasmussen (2002), the students question the *raison d'être* of learning languages other than English. At one time, in the period up to the 1960s, text books were in Danish and it was essential to know Danish (Hilmarsson, 2004). Now they are in Icelandic and English.

Despite losing its status, Danish is regarded by the policy makers as an important language for the Icelanders to learn, for the purposes of maintaining and strengthening ties with the other Nordic countries. Gunnlaugsdóttir explained during her interview, that it is for this reason that Danish is still a compulsory subject in schools in Iceland: from twelve to sixteen (compulsory school) and from sixteen to seventeen in upper secondary, and the hours devoted to teaching it have not been reduced. The only exceptions to this rule are for students with parents of Swedish or Norwegian origin or, recently, for children of immigrants, who have the right to study those languages instead of Danish.

Icelandic and Danish are both central languages in de Swaan's model, being the national languages of their nations. However, Danish should be placed a step up from Iceland in this model, as it is still learned in that country as a compulsory foreign language at secondary schools, while Danes do not learn Icelandic at schools. However, the model is unclear how to position a language, in this case Danish, which is on two different levels in the hierarchy.

In line with the action plan, there is also an option for Icelanders in the last two years of compulsory school to learn a third foreign language, French, German or Spanish (see table 6 below). Most schools only offer one of these foreign languages for one year in the tenth and last grade, although some, especially small schools, are unable to offer foreign languages other than English and Danish (Gunnlaugsdóttir, 2006, email correspondence). German is the most popular. The school year 2005/6 was the first year that students learning Spanish overtook

those learning French, demonstrating an increasing popularity for Spanish here (Statistics Iceland, 2006). Those students who join the language stream in upper secondary level (sixteen to twenty) have to take a fourth language.

Table 6: Foreign languages learned in Iceland

	English	Danish	French, German and Spanish	Norwegian and Swedish.
Compulsory level (7-16)	10-16 compulsory	12-16 compulsory	14 - 16 optional for one year	12 – 14 in class, 14 - 15 online resources - for those of Norwegian or Swedish origin
Upper secondary level (16-20)	compulsory for 2-4 years	compulsory for 1-2 years	Compulsory 3 rd language plus 4 th language for language stream	

Iceland’s nationalist ideology is reflected in the fact that bilingual (CLIL) programmes are not taught in Iceland, for ‘fear that they would promote English and might in the long run threaten the Icelandic language’ (Garcia and Baetens Beardsmore, 2007: 3).

Iceland’s policy for immigrants follows EU policy, (see chapter 2: 2.2.2) that immigrants have the right to learn Icelandic through special courses. Ten years ago, according to Heyworth (2003: 12), Iceland was ‘almost entirely monolingual and mono-cultural.’ Now, however, even here

there is a need to provide Icelandic as a second language for some 28 different language communities and to face the organisational task of offering language learning opportunities in the “heritage” languages spoken by the newly diverse school community.

At present immigrants do not have the right - under Icelandic law - to teaching through the mother tongue. However, Olgeirsson, a consultant in the Department of Education, informed me in an email that it is possible for individual municipalities to offer bilingual pupils mother tongue teaching, and also offer

their language as an optional course at lower secondary level. Immigrants have to learn Icelandic at schools, and also English from grade four (nine years old), the same as Icelandic pupils. The immigrant children also learn about Icelandic culture and, according to Olgeirsson, 'they have not caused problems in implementing language policies.'

Pupils of Norwegian and Swedish origin living in Iceland can also learn these Nordic languages instead of Danish from ages 12 – 14 in class and from 14 – 16 online. Online distance learning courses are run by the Languages Centre, Reykjavik (Kelly et al, 2002, Gunnarsson, 2007).

4.1.2 Denmark: policy for languages at secondary level

English and one other foreign language are compulsory at secondary schools in Denmark. Compulsory education is from seven to sixteen in *folkeskole* after which a further three year period of academic education is offered at the *gymnasiums* (academic education colleges) or vocational education colleges (Danish Ministry of Education, 2005). English is taught as the first foreign language to pupils from third grade (ages nine to ten). This is a year earlier than formerly and reflects the increase in importance of English in society. This new law, Preisler (2005: 240) reports, 'signals a readiness on the part of the government to meet the needs of the business community', which, he adds, 'also means the needs of internationalization.' Pupils are offered instruction in French or German from age fourteen for two years (see table 7).

A second foreign language is a requirement for entry into a gymnasium (Danish Ministry of Education, 2005). Here students are taught English and either French, German or Spanish. The latest statistics show that about eighty per cent learn German and twenty per cent French. This is because not all schools offer French. However, there is also a sizeable minority now who take Spanish at this level (ibid).

Table 7: foreign languages learnt in Denmark

	English	French or German	Spanish	Norwegian and Swedish.
Compulsory level (7-16)	10-16 compulsory	14 - 16 compulsory		To be introduced from 2007
Gymnasium (16-19)	16-19 compulsory	16 – 19 compulsory second foreign language: French, German or Spanish	16-19 compulsory second foreign language: French, German or Spanish	

Until November 2006 there had been no facility to learn the other Nordic languages in Denmark until university level. This lack of Nordic teaching was because the central Nordic languages are supposed to be mutually intelligible⁶ and the learning of them considered ‘superfluous’ (Vikor (1995: 113). However, a recent report from the Council of Europe ERICarts (2007a) states that Norwegian and Swedish are now to be studied also, in order to introduce the Danish pupils to their Scandinavian heritage. There is no facility for pupils from other Nordic countries living in Denmark to study their languages online. Although Denmark scores third highest for use of elearning in formal education out of thirteen European countries in a survey (Statistics Denmark, 2005: 46), elanguages does not appear to be part of their elearning agenda. This is in contrast to Iceland’s provision for online courses.

As in Iceland, motivation to learn English in Denmark is high. Responses to the questionnaire to students, on their attitudes and use of English, showed that the overwhelming majority of students found English to be ‘useful and important’ or ‘very useful’ and that this would be the language they would need most in the future (appendix 4: question 39). Comments on the questionnaires as to why they enjoyed using and learning English were similar to those given by Icelandic students, for example: ‘because it is useful everywhere,’ ‘because it is important

⁶ see chapter 2: 2.3.2, where Delsing’s report shows that the Danes cope the least well of all the Nordic nations, except Finland, with understanding the other Nordic languages

to speak it' and because it is fun, relevant, or part of everyday life (appendix 4: questions 31 & 32).

Denmark, like Iceland, does not participate in CLIL, reasons given being the high costs of introducing it, such as teacher training and development of materials (Eurydice, 2006: 53). This is different to Iceland's ideological reason, that CLIL would promote English and threaten Icelandic. Denmark and Iceland are two of only six countries in Europe who do not participate in CLIL (see appendix 6). However, Preisler's (2005: 240) investigations into attitudes towards English teaching shows that more than one third of all Danish adults *would* support CLIL, if it were suggested, for example in geography classes.

Immigrants and refugees, and their children, have been receiving teaching in Danish for approximately thirty years and policy for immigrants in Denmark follows EU guidelines (see chapter 2: 2.2.2). Unlike in Iceland, where municipalities have a choice of whether to offer mother tongue teaching, in Denmark the present scheme *obliges* municipalities to *offer* mother tongue instruction. Conditions for this include whether there are a minimum of twelve children in the class and whether the school leader assesses that the child in question needs the instruction (Jakobsen, 2000).

Children are not obliged to accept mother tongue instruction, however. Figures for the year 2000 show that about fifteen thousand children, about one third of the bilinguals, had accepted the offer (Jakobsen, 2000), which means that two thirds did not. Mother tongue teaching exists for children from members of EU states and the EEA as well as from the Faroe Islands and Greenland. Bilingual children are offered support in learning Danish as a second language 'to the extent required'. However, according to the Danish Government (2006: 10) one in every six children leaves lower secondary school without being able to read (Danish) properly. Pupils are leaving school without the same level of literacy as other wealthy countries, such as Finland.

Many immigrants particularly men, drop out of vocational upper secondary courses, mainly due to inadequate proficiency in Danish. The figures cited by

Colding (2006) are almost sixty per cent, compared to half that for native Danish men. Minority women have a lower drop out rate. Policy efforts to reduce drop out rates focus on improving Danish language proficiency for this group and for children of immigrants generally. These figures indicate that a policy of pluralism (which encourages immigrant languages to coexist alongside the host language) may exclude immigrants from access to jobs in Denmark, as well as slow down the integration process (see chapter 1: 1.4.2). The data further suggest that most immigrants prefer to learn the language of the host country, shown by the fact that two thirds opted not to have mother tongue instruction.

4.2 Policy for languages at higher education (HE) level

In chapter 2: 2.1.1, it was made clear that higher education is becoming a marketable commodity in that many countries are now offering courses taught through English as a way of attracting international students. Policy for education at HE level, particularly in relation to the Bologna process, was examined. There is no doubt that national policies for HE have been affected by the Bologna process, even though many of the Nordic countries were teaching through English long before the Bologna process was instigated.

The relevance to this thesis is that the promoting of mobility and exchanges of students between countries has led to an increase in the number of courses being taught through English, even though this was not one of the stated aims of the process.

4.2.1 *Iceland: policy for languages at HE level*

The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (2005c) reports that, generally, the Bologna Declaration is in line with developments in Iceland in the area of higher education over the last decades. The national report on the Bologna process for Iceland states that this mobility and cooperation, has had an effect on

the structure and content of Iceland's HE. Specifically, Gunnarsdóttir (2005) reports, it has encouraged teaching through the medium of English:

the number and variety of courses offered in English for foreign exchange students has grown considerably in recent years and is a major factor in encouraging students to come to Iceland to study.

The year 1999/2000 was the first year when incoming students to Iceland exceeded outgoing students and this has continued to be the case (see appendix 7: table 3).

However, the Bologna process is actually in conflict with the explicit language policy at universities in Iceland that teaching is done through Icelandic. The website of the Office of International Education (accessed 2005) advises students that 'If you want to come to Iceland for studies, you must know first of all that the language of instruction is Icelandic.' However, it continues to say that 'most universities and colleges provide some courses in English for foreign exchange students. Furthermore, a few degree programs are offered in English.'

All Iceland's nine universities are independent institutions responsible for their own language policies, which is in line with the Action Plan for Europe that all universities should have a language policy. The language policy at the University of Iceland, the largest of the nine universities and based in the capital, Reykjavik, shows that, although the emphasis is on teaching through Icelandic, policy is flexible. Ingólfssdóttir, Rector of the University of Iceland, outlined, during an interview, the University's basic policies:

- Teaching is through Icelandic
- Exchange students are taught alongside Icelandic students - *but*
- Text books are in English and students may take their exams in English
- Individual lecturers may choose to teach in English
- Certain subjects are taught in English at Masters level, e.g. geology

- Most science students write their PhD theses in English
- Researchers get more points for publishing in peer reviewed academic journals where the language is English. At the same time the University encourages students to publish in Icelandic so both languages benefit.

The University of Akureyri (2005) also states on its website that Icelandic is the language of instruction in most courses, but that ‘all the courses in the Faculty of Information Technology are taught in English’. This includes undergraduate courses.

Icelanders’ attitudes to English being used as a medium of instruction are a mixture of hostility and pragmatism. Ingólfssdóttir admitted that there is a risk that the language of higher education may shift to English but insisted that the language policy is to teach through Icelandic. This policy, she emphasised, needs to be maintained, alongside the need to keep Icelandic as a language of research. At the same time, the postgraduates need to be able to speak and write in English. Having said that, Ólafsson, in an interview, reported that Icelandic students’ English is not good enough at this level, especially the written language, which results in the universities having to provide some courses in English to help students write their theses.

Figures for numbers of exchange students with the University of Iceland for 2004 – 2005 show that more Icelandic students go on exchanges with other Nordic countries than with English speaking countries (see appendix 7: tables 1 and 2). In 2004 – 2005 over half, about one hundred students, went to the Nordic countries as opposed to forty two to English speaking countries (U.K, Ireland, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand). A further seventy students from Iceland went to the Nordic countries through the Nordplus programme (chapter 2: 2.3.4).

According to Statistics Iceland, 2,237 Icelandic students studied abroad in 2005, of which 1,052 of those were in Denmark. At the same time 621 studied in UK, USA and Canada (Gunnlaugsdóttir, 2006). There are many reasons why so many

Icelanders study in Denmark, which Gunnlaugsdóttir explained in an email in 2006. The first of these is historical: Iceland was part of Denmark until 1944 and there is a very long tradition for Icelanders to study in Denmark. Secondly, there is a common Nordic culture and values, as well as societies that have many similarities. Thirdly, as mentioned in chapter 2.3.1, agreements between the Nordic countries makes it easy for Nordic people to move to another Nordic country and get the same rights as inhabitants, for example, scholarships, educational and job opportunities, and welfare. Lastly, as we have seen, Danish is a compulsory subject in Icelandic compulsory and upper secondary education.

In an email Óskarsson, Director for Socrates in Iceland, observed that more students would have liked to exchange with English speaking countries, but there were limited places on the Erasmus programme. Óskarsson pointed out that because UK students are not active in Erasmus, UK institutions are unwilling to take in a great number of incoming students. Figures for students for 2004 – 2005 going from the University of Iceland to all countries (not just on the Erasmus programme) show that Denmark is the most popular choice with seventy two out of a total of 229 choosing to go there (see appendix 7: table 1). Denmark is followed by Sweden (24), Spain (20), Germany (19), U.K (14), USA (14), France (11), and Canada (9). Choices are reflected by educational provision that the Icelanders receive and reveal the relatively recent interest in learning Spanish. As we have seen in chapter 2: 2.2.3 & 2.3.4, Germany and Sweden also offer courses in English in order to attract foreign students.

Mobility in and out of Iceland has been encouraged by the Bologna process, for example in the form of grants which HEIs receive from the EU (Gunnarsdóttir, (2005) (also the Nordic Council of Ministers for exchanges on the Nordplus programme). However, Ingolfssdóttir, pointed out during our discussions, that it has always been tradition for Icelanders to study abroad because, as a small country, there was no provision for students in some disciplines at the universities. Mobility, therefore, is part of the culture and between fifteen and twenty per cent of students at the University of Iceland are studying abroad at any one time, mostly at postgraduate level (ibid). This figure is in line with Ministry figures for Iceland of sixteen per cent (Clark, 2003).

Students numbers going *to* the university of Iceland show that the Germans were well ahead in 2004 – 2005 with fifty five students exchanging, followed by Sweden, Finland, Italy, France, USA, Spain and Denmark. Only one student came to Iceland from the UK (see appendix 7: table 2). It is not compulsory to learn Icelandic before doing a course in Iceland. However, Icelandic language courses are offered to the foreign exchange students. Jónsdóttir, a teacher of Icelandic to foreign students, stated in an interview that numbers taking the course in Icelandic for foreign students had greatly increased in recent years.

Recently an increasing number of students from countries, both within and outside the EHEA, have studied at an Icelandic higher education institution. The University of Iceland has developed an online course in Icelandic for foreign students. There are two stages, one aimed at beginners and the other for more advanced students. These courses are free, although it is also possible to opt for a tutored course which is fee paying. Guðmundsson, Director for ICT Development, told me in an interview that the beginners' course has been used as a requirement for foreign students wanting to study for a degree in Icelandic.

Ingólfssdóttir explained during our discussions that decisions on the language of academic publications are left to the Universities. The University of Iceland places great emphasis on their scientific researchers publishing in peer reviewed academic journals, in which case the language is English. Some subjects, such as humanities, law and social science, are more appropriate to publish in Icelandic journals. The University encourages researchers to publish in Icelandic so that both languages benefit but, Ingólfssdóttir pointed out, researchers get more points for publishing in international journals, that is, their prospects for promotion are higher. Most students in science subjects also write their PhD theses in English - in line with global trends.

At the moment, Iceland does not market its courses abroad, it merely benefits from reciprocal exchanges, according to Ingólfssdóttir. There has been a lot of discussion about charging tuition fees, which would include Icelandic students, but the future, Gunnlaugsdóttir stated (email correspondence, 2006), is uncertain.

However, the report on trends in the Bologna process states that marketing may be inevitable:

HEIs will not be able to avoid targeted marketing techniques if they want to position themselves internationally, even if such efforts may go against the grain of established academic culture and habits (Reichert and Tauch, 2003: 51).

It remains to be seen whether Icelandic universities will eventually see the need to market their HE as other Nordic universities are doing (chapter 2: 2.3.4). The national report on the Bologna process in Iceland reports that a conference took place in 2004 during Iceland's chairmanship of the Nordic Council of Ministers. This conference was about Nordic participation in the Global Educational Market, the aim of which was 'to look into the possibilities of the Nordic countries to attract foreign students to the HEIs in the Nordic countries.' Iceland is playing a role in the marketing process, therefore, which goes against their established academic culture and habits, as above.

4.2.2 Denmark: policy for languages at HE level

All universities in Denmark are self-governing institutions, which come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation. They are funded by the State (Danish Ministry of Education, 2005). The recent language policy document in 2004, agreed on by members of all political parties, states that Danish should be the main language of instruction in tertiary education. However, in practice, it is seen as more important by the Danish Government that universities increase their provision of courses in English in order to participate in the global market.

In its strategy for Danish in the global economy, the Danish Government (2006: 18) advocates that 'all higher education institutions must set out relevant objectives for their participation in the global education market,' and that 'the number of relevant courses and programmes offered in English should be

increased'. The Bologna process and the internationalisation of education and training are high on the political agenda (Cirius Danmark, 2005). This strategy has implications for the spread of more English in Denmark.

In the National report on the Bologna process for Denmark, Winther (2005) reports that more and more programmes are being offered in English, not only in Denmark itself but in universities abroad making it more possible for Danes to access them. Amongst the main challenges for Denmark, according to the National report, is 'making Danish higher education attractive to foreign students' (Winther, 2005).

In a letter, the incoming Rector of the University of Copenhagen (Hemmingsen 2005: 6) emphasises to all staff and students that, in order to strengthen international relations significantly, a requirement is that 'the University is more systematic in offering entire programmes and single courses in English.'

Likewise, the University of Aarhus (2005) states in its policy pages that it wishes 'to equip its researchers as well as possible to cope with international demands, and to teach in English'. Among the University's goals is to attract the best foreign students and the best researchers from institutions abroad as well as sending their own students to strong research institutions abroad (University of Aarhus, 2005). Similar goals are true of other Danish universities.

This teaching through English is in direct conflict with the recent language policy. Some universities *are* trying to formulate language policies, for example Preisler, Professor of English, explained in an interview in 2006 that Roskilde University has set up a committee which is planning for a language centre to oversee changes in language policy. However, Preisler reported, 'there is no way we can avoid extensive programmes taught in English'.

Andersen, J.E. (Director of International Affairs at the International Office) during email correspondence in 2006, admitted that the University of Copenhagen (KU) has some difficulties in attracting Danish students to the English taught courses. KU's goal, he stated, is to motivate students to add linguistic competence

to their subject qualifications. This is in line with the Action Plan for Europe that language qualifications should be part of every degree programme (Commission of the European Communities, 2003). However, linguistic competence, Andersen, J.E., explained, implies competence in English. KU's elite programmes (those where the university has a good reputation and where there is much external funding) will all be in English because the goal is to recruit good foreign students, as is also the case with Aarhus University. However, KU does want Danish students in these programmes as well.

Future language policy at KU, according to Andersen, J.E., will focus on provision of more courses and degrees in English, although Danish will still be the preferred language of instruction. KU will probably have a parallel strategy of language, meaning that there will be provision for studying both in Danish and in English. However, KU will do its utmost to ensure that Danish is a fully functional language in the domain of higher education and research. Parallelism is the sort of policy that could only be accomplished by a large university because large institutions have potential for change and could afford such a strategy, according to Gregersen, during an interview. At the moment KU is the largest.

The fact that an increasing number of programmes are taught in English is seen as one of the main factors encouraging mobility of Danish students and staff (Winther, 2005). According to Andersen, J.E., about 350 students from the University of Copenhagen (KU) participate in Socrates/Erasmus exchange schemes annually. The UK, Germany and France are the major destinations although preferences vary from year to year. Around twenty five to thirty KU students participate in the Nordplus programme each year, far less than Icelandic participation in Nordplus (seventy from the University of Iceland in 2005/6). These figures indicate that exchanges with the Nordic countries are not considered as attractive to Danes as they are to Icelanders.

As is the case with the University of Iceland, KU receives more students than it sends abroad. Andersen, J.E. reported that there are far more exchange students coming to KU today than ten years ago. Today there are fourteen hundred exchange students at KU, in 1999 there were approximately six hundred students

and in 1985/86 when they started exchanges about one hundred. Exchange students choose from more than three hundred courses offered in English, which they follow alongside the third year Danish students. Normally the first two years of a degree programme for Danish students are taught in Danish after which there are more and more English taught courses.

KU markets itself strongly in efforts to attract exchange students, according to Andersen, J.E. Marketing appears to be successful in view of the numbers coming to KU in 2006. Although it is not compulsory to study Danish, many students do. I myself took part in a Danish language course as a visiting guest student in the summer of 2006. I followed the course alongside over three hundred exchange students. Courses are also offered in January each year. As in Iceland, desire to learn the language of the host country appears to be increasing: figures for summer 2005 were 241 (Figures supplied by the International Office, KU, 2006).

Some universities market their courses more than others in order to recruit foreign students to enrol on full degree programmes. Andersen, J.E. reported that KU is only marketing itself in a limited way because the University does not yet offer many degree programmes in English. All undergraduate degrees are taught in Danish except for Economics as from 2007. All other degrees in English are taught at Master's level. There are six of these Master's courses entirely taught in English at KU as of 2006 and this is planned to rise to fifteen by the end of 2008. There will be no Danish modules on these Master's programmes. The University of Aarhus' policy is that all faculties teach at least one semester of Masters level courses in English in all subject areas (University of Aarhus, 2005). Scandinavian speaking applicants can be admitted to Danish universities without doing a Danish entrance test (under the Nordplus programme).

As in Iceland, the language of academic publications, especially in science, is expected to be in English. There are financial incentives to publish in English, and funding is allocated, according to the number of publications in international peer reviewed journals, most of which are in English. Gregersen pointed out that there are not enough peer reviewers to review for each other in Danish journals and that also there is not enough competition.

Gregersen informed me that PhD theses have now to be written in either English or Danish, depending on subject, with a thorough resume in the other language. Those who are not good at writing in English are obliged to take courses in English academic writing, in the same way as they do in Iceland. Davidsen-Nielsen made the point, during our discussions, that both students and teachers are at a disadvantage internationally if they do not have sufficient command of English. The risk, he stated, is that they will only use the English they are capable of.

However, the lack of a policy to invent new words also results in a qualitative reduction of Danish and a decrease in linguistic competence of the user (Preisler (2005: 242, as outlined in chapter 1: 1.2.1). Preston, a teacher of Danish to foreign students, explained to me during an interview, that she had recently written her Master's dissertation. She wrote it in Danish but admitted that it was difficult because of the need to know so many terms that do not exist in Danish, but in English. She got over this problem by making up her own words, and explaining in the footnotes that these were her translations from the English. She is one of a minority of Danes, who is concerned to keep Danish up to date, and believes that Danish should coexist with English. She would encourage the making of new words so Danes can converse about these subjects in Danish.

Kirchmeier- Andersen, Director of the Danish Language Council, chose to write her PhD on computational linguistics in English with a summary in Danish. She reported, during an interview, that she did not have time to write it in Danish, that there was no demand to write it in Danish, it was easier to write it in English and, as it was for scientific colleagues, there was no point. She emphasised that she did not want to spend time 'thinking about what to call things in Danish' and that 'it is too tempting to use the words we know already which are in English.' For example, the word 'computer' is used in Danish and it has become a Danish word.

Unlike Iceland, where the invention of neologisms is a part of the purist paradigm, the question of whether neologisms should be invented is very much part of the language policy debate on education in Denmark (see chapter 3: 3.6.4). There is some consensus amongst language academics that there will be problems

if words in Danish do not exist, as I have shown in the two examples above.

Domains may be lost if the terminology does not exist and the students only know the English terms.

Kirchmeier-Andersen reported that Danish has already lost ground in natural sciences and there is little terminology left. As Preisler (2005: 243) points out, if scientists and scholars use only English in preference to Danish over a number of years, 'this would affect their ability to convey their research results in a comprehensible, precise and idiomatic Danish.' Students are educated to take up important posts in Danish society. Therefore Danish should still be used as a language of tertiary instruction (Davidsen-Nielsen, 2006).

On the other hand, research written in Danish is unlikely to reach anyone other than the narrow circle of Danish academics. Preisler (2005: 247) argues that the choice of using English or Danish in scientific research is determined by the competence of the member of the network and that Danish does not suffer as such because Danish is not an option. Danish only suffers, Preisler (ibid) argues, if English is used for 'locally-oriented research' for the Danish general public. Kirchmeier-Andersen, during our interview, explained that this is where the main problem lies - in transferring the knowledge from the research area to the general public. For example, lack of technical terminology implies problems with communicating technical information and the possibility of alienating the populace from the products of research. It is the scientific journalists who have the task of translating the information.

These problems lead many to believe that universities have an obligation towards Danish society to maintain Danish in HE. Preisler believes that English will prevail 'unless we build in guarantees that each programme has a solid block of at least one module in Danish.' He asserted, during our discussions, that maintaining Danish must be seen as a national responsibility, and that the politicians need convincing. Skuttnab-Kangas argues (2005, cited in chapter 2: 2.1.1), that universities are contributing to linguistic genocide if the mother tongue is not available. Students can be dispossessed of linguistic capital if education at university does not increase knowledge of one's own language (ibid).

However, the universities prefer to accommodate the needs of exchange students, who bring in income and form part of a significant industry. The increased number of English courses planned for the future will inevitably increase the number of students wishing to study in Denmark.

At the moment, Preisler (2005: 246) reports, because programmes are offered in English, universities will tend to abandon the Danish version because the costs are twofold. The fate of Danish in higher education is totally dependent on whether Danish politicians are prepared to pay that price (ibid).

Denmark introduced fees for foreign students in 2006, although these fees do not apply to the other Nordic countries.

4.3 Conclusions

The main points emerging from this chapter are as follows:

- 1) Supranational policies have little relevance to national policies in Iceland and Denmark in secondary education.

Although both countries are broadly following the EU Action Plan for teaching foreign languages, Icelanders and Danes are obliged to learn other languages anyway because Icelandic and Danish are small languages, low in de Swaan's hierarchy, and not learned anywhere else, except for Danish in Iceland.

Globalisation was responsible for the switch to English as first foreign language taught, to the detriment of Danish, in Iceland, and globalisation was responsible for putting English earlier on the curriculum in Denmark than before.

- 2) Iceland can be said to be following Nordic policy (chapter 2: 2.3.1), specifically the action plan for Nordic language cooperation of 1991, in the promoting and teaching of other Nordic languages.

However, Iceland would be teaching Danish anyway because it is part of tradition and many Icelanders benefit from higher education and jobs in Denmark through their ability to speak Danish. In Denmark, Nordic policies have little relevance. It remains to be seen whether the recent policy declaration at the end of 2006 to instigate the teaching of Norwegian and Swedish actually materialises (Council of Europe ERICarts, 2007a).

3) It is in higher education that national policies in Iceland and Denmark have been most influenced by supranational policies.

The major impact has been in terms of numbers of students exchanging and the number of courses in English. At one time language was perceived as a barrier to mobility of foreign students. This is no longer inhibiting exchanges with either Iceland or Denmark. Similarly, both Icelanders and Danes can go to many other European countries without the need to know any language but the *lingua franca*, English. Exchange programmes, however, can be considered as partially successful in promoting linguistic diversity because students still experience the cultures and languages even though they are not obliged to learn the languages.

4) Within the Nordic arena, the Nordplus programme is successful in promoting Nordic exchanges at HE level, particularly from Iceland.

It is evident that Icelanders are more concerned to participate in Nordic programmes and perpetuate the Nordic ideal, than Denmark. This is despite the fact that they are on the periphery and that their language is the most different from the others (excluding Finnish). Another reason may be *because* of their relative isolation compared to the other Nordic countries.

5) Global trends and the situation in the other Nordic countries suggest that Iceland may wish to benefit from the market for students worldwide and offer more English courses.

In Gunnlaugsdóttir's opinion (2006, email correspondence) however, Icelandic HE institutions will continue to teach in Icelandic but a limited number of courses

will be taught in English to meet the needs of exchange students. This is the current situation. She asserts that, as long as Icelandic is the language of the Icelandic people and the official language of the country, Icelandic will be the teaching language in HE institutions. Any change in this respect would be met with 'great resistance'.

6) Practices in HE in Denmark are market-driven and are completely out of step with the recent language policy that Danish should be the language of tertiary education.

The reality is that the Danish government is in favour of the internationalisation of education. It could be said that this formal language policy in Denmark is no more than a 'declaration of intent', which has been easily manipulated and contradicted (Shohamy, 2006: 53) (see chapter 1: 1.3).

Individual universities are beginning to develop some sort of policies to resist the takeover of English and/or promote use of Danish alongside English, but always in the face of these conflicting directives from above. Some Danes will be obliged to study a course through English. It is likely that this HE level will shift more towards English in practice. The problems will be in the fields of science which are most likely to be, or already are, partly taught in English resulting in loss of terminology and domain loss.

7) It is in postgraduate education that Icelanders and Danes are most likely to require advanced English or, in the case of the many Icelanders who go to Denmark, advanced Danish *and* advanced English.

Thus, if we believe Skuttnab-Kangas (2005), it may be that it is the Icelanders (more than the Danes) who are being deprived of linguistic capital - as their mother tongue is not available at this level if they study abroad. However, Iceland's strong traditions, and the constant modernising of its language mean that Icelandic students can find the words they require on the Icelandic Word Bank. Because Danish is not modernised, HE in Denmark is more likely to shift to English.

8) Reichert and Tauch (2003: 150) admit that linguistic matters are a 'neglected aspect of the European Higher Education Area and ask whether the total dominance of the English language is 'the price we have to pay for true European mobility' or whether there are 'ways to safeguard Europe's linguistic and cultural diversity and convince students (and institutions) to bother with "small languages"?' This is the only mention of linguistic matters in this whole one hundred and fifty page document, which is about trends in learning structures in HE four years after the Bologna process had been instigated. It appears on the very last page, a fact which emphasises just how unimportant linguistic diversity is perceived to be in comparison with the demands of the market.

Chapter 5: The impact of global cultural products on national policy and practice in Iceland and Denmark

Both Iceland and Denmark are aware of the impact of English in the domain of cultural products, such as television, films and pop music, especially with new technologies enabling ever increasing access to them. As Wright (2004: 154) points out, popular culture has, 'inevitable consequences for the spread of English [as] the consumer experiences the cultural product in the original language.' It also acts as an ideological force. As we have seen, UNESCO has adopted no less than three conventions to promote cultural diversity (chapter 2: 2.1.2). Its convention 'to safeguard intangible cultural heritage' was ratified by sixty three states in 2006, of which Iceland and Denmark were two signatories.

Iceland and Denmark also participate in the cultural programmes of the European Commission, such as Culture 2000 and its successor; and the Media Programme. Both countries also participate in Nordic projects funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers (chapter 2: 2.2.4 and 2.3.5). These cooperative projects have assisted them in the promotion of their own films and television programmes within the Nordic area. They also help to counteract the prevalence of Anglo-American cultural products. Both countries have commitments to various cultural exchange schemes under these programmes.

However, although programmes like the EU Media plan and television directive have increased the exposure of national cultural products in Europe, the data in this chapter show that there has been a parallel increase in Anglo-American cultural products in English. In both Iceland and Denmark, therefore, national cultural policies are having to be adjusted in the light of globalisation. Legislation is sometimes used as a way in which to counter these products, but even legislation may not be effective. For example, the French, via the *Loi Toubon*, have legislated, among other things, for the media to be in French only (see chapter 1: 1.5). Martin (2006) has shown how the French media have been undeterred by this legislation and have got round it by using ingenious strategies to do so, simply because they want to appeal to a global audience. One example

of this is that translations of English headlines in posters or magazines are smaller or less visible (Martin, 2006: 227); another example is that some firms copyright some product features as trademarks. These features have to be translated into the French, but are in English first (Martin, 2006: 223).

As in the previous chapter, my prime investigations will be to find out whether supranational policies of organisations such as UNESCO and the European Commission affect national policies. I will also be examining responses to the questionnaires from upper secondary school students regarding their attitudes to global cultural products and their practices relating to a range of cultural genre, including television and radio; films; popular youth music, and written material.

This investigation will give me an idea as to whether national cultural policies have any effect on the practices of this age group. It will also allow me to draw tentative conclusions as to whether global English culture threatens diversity in Iceland and Denmark, and whether nationalist ideologies are being replaced by new ideological frameworks, as suggested by Wright (2004: 96).

5.1 Makers of policy: Iceland

The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in Iceland sets policy for cultural affairs. Cultural institutions that come under their jurisdiction include the Icelandic film centre, the Icelandic national broadcasting service and the Árni Magnússon Institute of Icelandic Studies, which preserves old Icelandic manuscripts and other documents (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2005: 6). The Ministry also allocates grants to many individuals and groups to promote Icelandic culture abroad. Furthermore,

every single Icelander plays a part in the preservation and evolution of the national cultural heritage and its transmission to future generations. This is evident, for example, as regards fundamental elements such as

the national language, Icelandic' (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in Iceland, 2006: 5).

While it is recognised that sweeping changes have occurred in Iceland due to globalisation, Gunnarsdóttir, Þ, (2006) emphasises that 'the core and the essence of our culture remain much the same as before' and, 'the defining criteria of Icelandic identity is what it has always been: our history, our language and our beloved country' (ibid). Iceland's main concern is the protection of its language and its cultural heritage. Therefore, most state funds are spent on cultural heritage (UNESCO Culturelink Network, 2001).

In order to stimulate Icelanders' interest in the other Nordic countries, the Nordic Council of Ministers has set up a cultural centre, Nordic House, to strengthen cultural bonds between Iceland and the other Nordic countries. Nordic House organises a range of cultural events and exhibitions and runs a library of about thirty thousand Nordic books.

5.2 Makers of policy: Denmark

Hansen (2002) reports that at the beginning of the 21st century, 'cultural traditions and cultural policies in Denmark as elsewhere are being reconsidered and restructured in the light of globalisation and the IT revolution.' Responsibility for cultural policies lies with Denmark's Ministry of Culture. Policy areas include music and film as well as popular culture, radio and television broadcasting and international cultural relations, for example, with the EU and with the Nordic Council of Ministers.

Cultural policies in Denmark are rooted in certain basic values, which include freedom of speech and the 'arms length principle' – that is, the Ministry do not act as 'arbiters of taste' (Hansen, 2002), nor do they 'intervene in the artistic or cultural process'.

5.3 Broadcasting

In the past, the role of television in the Nordic countries was strictly regulated for cultural and political reasons. According to Nielsen (2007) television was to be used as a public service in the interests of their citizens. Public service broadcasters were obliged to broadcast nationally created programmes promoting national cultures and the use of the national languages. However, Nordic television is now experiencing what Nielsen (2007) refers to as a 'revolutionary transition' from the public service broadcasting monopolies to a multichannel system with satellite delivery.

The regional European satellite arrived in 1982 plus many national private and local stations, which resulted in structuring and programming becoming more market oriented. According to Nielsen (2007), the political reaction to satellite television in some of the Nordic countries at the time was to ban the reception of the satellite signals. Even after legalising the reception of the signals the Nordic countries found it necessary 'to strengthen the national terrestrial output as a protection against the influence from foreign television stations.'

Today, in order to safeguard cultural diversity, a major proportion of television time has to be devoted to European programmes within the Nordic countries, in line with the European Television Directive of which both Denmark and Iceland are members (see chapter 2: 2.2.4). Also, the Nordic countries have a Nordic television and film fund, whose purpose is to promote the production and distribution of Nordic films and television programmes (chapter 2: 2.3.5). However, according to Norden (2007), Nordic television channels 'are often conspicuous by their absence,' especially outside of major conurbations.

The language of broadcasting in both countries today is often English because the number of public service broadcasters is few in comparison with the number of private stations. The discussion below reveals how new technologies in broadcasting have led to an increase in the presence of the global language,

English - despite cooperation within Europe and the Nordic area to promote European and Nordic programmes - and what the two countries are doing about it.

5.3.1 Iceland: policies for broadcasting

Iceland was influenced by American broadcasting from the Keflavik NATO base after the Second World War, which resulted in Icelanders being exposed to large amounts of American military radio and television. This broadcasting was a major influence on the borrowing of English words and, in the 1960s, resulted in a restriction on the transmission 'for cultural and language political reasons' (Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir, 2002: 83- 84).

According to RÚV, 'Yankee Radio', made more American music available to Icelandic audiences and 'deeply influenced the music, fashion and attitudes of Icelandic youth' (cited in Nordicom, 2006b),

Today the Icelandic state owns the Icelandic National Broadcasting Service, RÚV, which broadcasts two radio stations and one television station throughout Iceland. In its programming policy, it 'has a duty to nurture the Icelandic language, the history of the nation and the national cultural heritage' (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in Iceland, 2002: 20). However, due to new technologies, there are many other radio and television stations in competition with the National Broadcasting Service: twenty six radio stations and thirteen television stations that held broadcasting licences in 2005 (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2005). Most of these are commercial television stations, which broadcast American shows, pop music, sitcoms, sports and films.

In a speech, the Minister of Education, Science and Culture (Gunnarsdóttir Þ, 2006a) reported that the share of Icelandic television programmes had 'steadily declined' in the face of foreign material, despite the fact that more stations have been showing more Icelandic programmes (in line with developments since the EU television directive, first adopted in 1989 (see chapter 2: 2.2.4)). Where Icelandic broadcasts increased sevenfold in the period from 1987 to 2003,

Gunnarsdóttir Þ (2006a) reports that foreign broadcasts increased tenfold in the same period.

Article 2 from the Broadcasting Act (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2000), obliges Iceland to accept television broadcasts from other EEA member states and Article 7 states that 'Television broadcasters shall make every effort to ensure that the greater part of their transmission time is reserved for Icelandic and other European material.' However, students' responses to the questionnaire (appendix 3: question 22) show that the vast majority of young people watch television programmes in English *very often*. According to some Icelandic students I spoke to, the preference appears to be for English programmes rather than Icelandic or European programmes for this age group. Guðmundsson stated in an interview, however, that the official statistics (Hagstofa Íslands, 2007) indicate that, overall, the most popular programmes in Iceland are in Icelandic.

It is vital, Gunnarsdóttir Þ. (2006a) states, to support local production to counter the presence of Anglo-American programmes. To this end the government has introduced a bill, a specific goal of which will be to regulate the amount of Icelandic programming on the air and its share of broadcasting time (Gunnarsdóttir Þ., 2006a).

As Williams (1992: 134, see chapter 1: 1.5) points out, one of the most effective ways of increasing the status of a language is legislation. However, unlike the French, Icelandic policy makers do not intend to legislate for 'only' Icelandic because there are not enough people to make Icelandic programmes⁷.

Furthermore, legislating for more Icelandic may not influence teenage choices, when so many English programmes are available on other stations.

Furthermore, despite efforts made to promote programmes and films made in the Nordic region, students' responses to the questionnaire show that the vast majority of students claim to *never* or *not often* watch Nordic television programmes (appendix 3: question 23B).

⁷ Up to the late 1980s there was only one television channel broadcasting in the evenings in Iceland and no broadcasting on Thursdays.

In order to protect the Icelandic language, all national television channels are subtitled and all television programmes aimed at children under five years old are dubbed into Icelandic. Television advertisements are also dubbed during children's programmes and subtitled during adult programmes. According to Article 8 of the Broadcasting Act, subtitling does not apply to lyrics of foreign songs or live transmissions by satellite (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2000).

The law for national radio is very clear. In an interview, Ólafsson, Head of Division of Arts and Museums at the Department of Culture, stated that although there is no policy against radio transmissions in English, national radio is regarded as the main institution for the preservation of the Icelandic language. However, as with television, there are far more commercial radio stations to choose from and the data from my questionnaire show that nearly all the students prefer to listen to Icelandic commercial stations, which play international pop music, than the Icelandic national radio stations (appendix 3: question 27a). Only four students out of a sample of eighty six claimed to listen to Rás 2, one of the public service broadcasters.

5.3.2 Denmark: policies for broadcasting

The Media Secretariat, an independent institution under the Ministry of Culture, hosts the radio and television board. There are two public service broadcasters in Denmark: DR and TV2. They are each responsible for two television channels, one terrestrial and one satellite, along with regional television and radio stations (Hansen, 2002). In addition there are many private television and radio companies that broadcast nationwide through satellite or cable television. Local coverage consists of about a hundred local television stations and two hundred and fifty local radio stations, which are privately run (ibid).

As in Iceland, public service broadcasters have a duty to provide programmes in the Danish language. Part of the Danish radio and television broadcasting act 2002, states that emphasis must be put on the Danish language in all cultural areas

as well as providing programmes ‘which reflect the diversity of cultural interests in Danish society.’ Similarly local radio and television services must comply with the condition of providing a significant proportion of programmes ‘in the Danish language or produced for a Danish audience’ (Danish Ministry of Culture, accessed 2006b).

Nordahl-Svendsen (Director of the Media Secretariat) explained in an interview that DR and TV2 have a combined share of about seventy per cent of the viewing time. The figures from the television meter in Denmark, which automatically registers the viewing on all channels for about two thousand one hundred Danes (three years old and over) in one thousand representative homes, show that, generally, Danish programmes on these channels are more popular than English programmes. The graph at appendix 8 shows the national origin of programmes, which is coded for five Danish channels. It shows that 48% of the combined transmission time in 2005 was Danish production (and spoken in Danish) and 69% of the viewing time was to these Danish programmes. In contrast, 43% of the transmission time and 24% of viewing time was for English-language programmes. For the twelve to thirty years age bracket, 62% of their viewing time on the five Danish channels was to Danish programmes.

These statistics, however, can be misleading because they combine all the twelve to thirty year olds in one group, which does not reveal the true situation in terms of teenage viewing. My questionnaire to students elicited responses, which showed that the majority of all students (forty four out of fifty seven) in the fifteen to twenty years age range watch English television programmes the most, while only five claimed to watch Danish programmes the most. The majority (forty one out of fifty seven) either *not often* or *never* watched Swedish or other Nordic broadcasting (appendix 4: question 23C and 23B). These responses may reflect a lack of interest (1% of viewing time), as well as the small percentage (3%) of transmission time allocated to programmes in the other Nordic languages.

Although my sample is small and cannot be quantitatively reliable, it does, nevertheless, give a good idea of students’ practices and agrees with the research

(for example, Wright, 2000, Hjarvard, 2004), which claims that it is the young teenage group, who are being most influenced by English broadcasting.

The graph (appendix 8) shows that it is the older people (fifty five and over) who watch the most programmes in Danish. These data show that the circumstances are similar in Iceland and Denmark. The older people prefer viewing in the national language and the overall figures show a preference for the national language, but the younger people prefer English language programmes.

Only between 4% and 8% of viewing time and 6% of transmission time is devoted to other languages on the five channels in Denmark, some of which are other European languages, for example French. According to the EU television directive (see chapter 2: 2.2.4), member states are supposed to ensure that broadcasters reserve a 'majority proportion' of their transmission time for European programmes to ensure cultural diversity. 6% can hardly be considered a majority proportion, especially compared to the percentage of transmission of Anglophone programmes.

It is policy to subtitle foreign language programmes and films shown in the cinema, the exception, as in Iceland, being very young children's programmes which are dubbed. During our discussion, Nordahl-Svendsen pointed out that older children learn a lot by hearing the original language and seeing the subtitle at the same time. Subtitling is also done for the satellite channels. In general, Nordahl-Svendsen reported, it is good quality and is undertaken in order to assist the public to understand the language of the programmes, rather than for the purpose of protecting Danish.

Policy is also to subtitle programmes broadcast in the other Nordic languages, for example Swedish. The Media Secretariat has tried several times to show Norwegian or Swedish programmes without subtitles. However, the Danes complained because they could not understand the languages well enough (Nordahl-Svendsen, personal communication). This serves to demonstrate once more that the Nordic languages are not mutually intelligible (see chapter 2: 2.3.2).

Nordahl-Svendsen (2006) reported that there are thousands of hours of television programme exchanges between the Nordic countries, especially children's programmes and documentaries. The figure was nearly 3600 hours for 2005 (Nordicom, 2006). According to the statistics there is 1.4% of combined market share to these programmes in Denmark. There are no figures for market share or penetration in Iceland, even though the exchanges are supposed to include Iceland (Nordicom, 2006).

According to Nordahl-Svendsen, advertisements on television are either dubbed or, more often, re-produced with Danish actors. This is because, he explained, the actors are well known and popular with the audience and advertisers sell more products by using Danish actors. Preisler (1996: 30) reports, however, that some Danish advertisements are in English 'to give them an international flavour'.

5.4 The film industry

Both Iceland and Denmark have taken part in the European film programme Media (see chapter 2: 2.2.4), and are participating in Media 2007, which is due to run until 2013. The MediaPlus programme (2001-2005), open to all EU member states and EEA countries, gave opportunities for independent production of films and television programmes. Other foreign funds that have supported film production are the Council of Europe's Film Fund Eurimages and the Nordic Film and Television Fund (see chapter 2: 2.3.5). For example, for 2007, Iceland has been allocated 200,000 euros for the production of the feature film *Skrapp Út* (Back Soon), in cooperation with France and Slovenia, from the Eurimages fund (Council of Europe Eurimages, 2007).

My data show, however, that despite efforts at cooperation, the majority of films watched by young Icelanders and Danes are in English, and that the majority prefer English-language films to home grown films or films from other European countries. This is due to quantity as well as quality. The sheer number of American films and the resources put behind them far outweigh the output of

national productions. Moreover, American films are inexpensive for the media companies to buy. The following reveals how policy makers in Iceland and Denmark are reacting to the dominance of English in this medium, and looks at the practices of the teenage group.

5.4.1 Iceland: policies for the film industry

Because of the dominance of American films, Iceland's policy after World War II, like other European countries including France and Denmark, was to fund film-making to increase the production of Icelandic films (Ólafsson, 2005 personal communication). The main role of the Icelandic Film Fund today 'is to make grants and loans for Icelandic film production, stimulate the cinema in Iceland, collect and publish information on Icelandic films, publicise Icelandic films abroad' (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in Iceland, 2002: 16). The Icelandic Film Centre aims to make five Icelandic films each year.

Although Iceland produces its own films, in order to use its own language in this medium, the students' responses to the questionnaire show that they are not considered as good as American ones (appendix 3: question 24 - 27). The main reasons given for their preferences are that English-language films are better and more fun than Icelandic films, that they have better actors and feature celebrities, that there are many English language films to choose from compared to very few Icelandic films (appendix 3: question 27). The vast majority of students claimed to *not often* watch Icelandic films, but to *often* or *very often* watch English language films. Furthermore, the majority *never* watched films in any other language (see appendix 3: question 26). Despite the small sample, the data, nevertheless, give a very clear idea of student preferences.

As with television, the policy is that all foreign films are subtitled, although, Ólafsson stated, while being interviewed, that the younger people do not consider subtitles to be necessary. For the older people, however, it is unacceptable not to have subtitles. Film advertisements are also subtitled in Icelandic but, according to Halldórsson (2005, personal communication), the Icelandic translation can

barely be seen. This may reflect the wishes of the advertisers, as in France, to appeal to a global audience by using English first.

5.4.2 Denmark: policies for the film industry

The Danish Film Institute is responsible for promoting the production of films in Denmark by granting financial support to film production (Hansen, 2002). The Danish Ministry of Culture (2006c) states that it was because of 'the tremendous inroads made by television throughout the fifties and sixties' that it was found necessary 'to strengthen and restructure the film industry' in Denmark.

In 2001, according to Hansen (2002), Danish feature films had an overall market share of thirty per cent in Denmark. Twenty five Danish films are made every year. However, as with the Icelandic data, responses from the Danish students show that English language films are preferred (43/50) (appendix 4: question 27). Only two preferred Danish films, and three preferred films in Urdu or Hindi, reflecting the preferences of the immigrant minority. Comments from the Danish students were similar to those from the Icelandic students, for example, that 'Danish films are not as good as English ones', 'USA and England make more films than other countries', 'they have a lot of money to make films.' The great majority *never or not often* watched films in other languages such as Swedish.

According to Hjarvard (2004: 87) only about half of film titles are translated into Danish today compared with about eighty per cent in the 80s/90s. This shows that there is no perceived need to translate, as the majority of film goers will understand the titles in English.

5.5 The music industry

In the domain of youth music, as with television and films, most young people prefer Anglo-American music because they believe the bands are better and they

sing in English, which is considered a cool language. Furthermore, there is a greater quantity of American and British music than Icelandic and Danish music. There has also been a trend for non-native English singers to use English for their lyrics because they have realised that by doing so they have a better chance to make it on the international scene. Trends in the Eurovision song contest have also been for most nations to use English.

There are no policies in either country for language of lyrics (unlike the French, who require that 40% of broadcast music has French lyrics (Berns et al, 2007)). In this domain, therefore, in Iceland and Denmark, one has to observe the practices to discover the covert policies of the groups or individuals themselves (Spolsky, 2004: 8).

In both Iceland and Denmark pop music with English lyrics is still the most popular. However, the data from the questionnaire to students show that there are many who prefer music with lyrics in their native tongue or who have no preference (appendices 3 and 4: question 11). Furthermore there is an indication that some individuals and groups in Iceland, are returning to singing in the national language. Oakes (2005: 167) reports that the trend in Sweden has been for artists to begin to sing in English, then switch to Swedish to express their identity. He gives as an example, the Swedish pop group, Abba, which generated a positive image through singing in English in the 1980s, but claims that Swedish groups sing less in English today. Hjarvard (2004) however, states that, as far as Denmark is concerned, English has become the rule in the music industry, although 'it has become something of a "statement" to choose to produce a CD with the lyrics in Danish.'

5.5.1 Iceland: practices in youth music

My questionnaire to students aimed to find out which music they listened to most and what the language of the lyrics was. The data show that many young Icelanders prefer American pop music, reasons given because they like the lyrics in English, they hear it so often on the radio and it is more 'cool' (appendix 3:

question 11). While many students claimed to prefer American or British music (thirty nine out of eighty six), seven preferred Icelandic music but thirty eight had no real preference.

However, it is clear that English holds high status in this domain. This fact is revealed by the students' attitudes towards English and the responses received to the question as to why Icelanders sing in English (appendix 3: question 10). Many understood that English was necessary to appeal to a worldwide audience resulting in more chance of selling their records, for example, 'so people in other countries understand it;' 'they sing for the world market;' 'to sell more records.' Others believed that their own language did not have the appropriate status: 'sometimes it sounds silly in Icelandic;' 'because no-one is interested in listening to Icelandic music abroad;' [English] 'sounds better than Icelandic.'

The Icelandic students gave the names of many groups and individuals who sing in English (appendix 3: question 10). Some of these groups have given themselves English names, but most are Icelandic.

Despite the status attributed to English, however, it appears that some kind of linguistic nationalism is surfacing in music lyrics in Iceland whereby popular artists are using Icelandic. Kvaran (2003: 3) reports that

Within the pop world more and more song writers use Icelandic for their texts, and the reason is that an Icelandic pop singer, Björk, and an Icelandic pop group, Sigur-Rós, have become known abroad, and they often sing their texts in Icelandic.

A reason for this development may be that these singers have made their names singing in English, as with Abba, and therefore it makes no difference to their popularity or sales if they sing in their native language. Even so, the fact that these singers want to use Icelandic reflects the ideologies they hold about their native language.

According to The Age (2002), bands such as Sigur-Rós are 'the hottest tickets in alternative music' and only ever sing in Icelandic. It is their very difference, which makes them do well on the international scene, as well as the exotism associated with Iceland. Similarly, most reports about Björk, and Iceland's music, are 'peppered with references to Norse gods, Vikings and the inhospitable landscape - the "land of fire and ice"', which, the Age (2002) reports 'has been a big selling point in Björk's music'. 'The Iceland tag', The Age (2002) continues, 'has become a seal of approval in alternative and underground music'.

As a result, Kvaran (2003) believes that other groups are encouraged to sing in Icelandic and that a domain that was losing ground to English is being strengthened again, at least for the moment. My data confirm that, although Anglo-American music is popular, it is not contributing to the loss of Icelandic in this domain, rather the use of Icelandic has been stimulated, along with an interest in the country.

After a review written of one of Sigur-Rós' shows, one contributor (Stereogum, 2006) wrote: 'it's the kind of thing that makes me want to go on a pilgrimage to Iceland.' Many people in fact are visiting Iceland for this reason. The *Iceland Airwaves* festival, for example, is an annual event in Iceland which is attracting a large number of people including celebrities and bands, reporters and entrepreneurs as it is considered a 'cool' place to visit.

5.5.2 Denmark: *practices in youth music*

Responses to the questionnaire show that the majority of the students (thirty five out of fifty three) prefer American or British music, five prefer Danish and ten have no real preference (see appendix 4: question 11). There were similar responses to the question as to why Danes sing in English as to why Icelanders sing in English, which again reflects a) their understanding for the need for English in the wider world, for example, 'you can't break through outside of Denmark if you sing in Danish;' 'it's because they want to spread their message around to the whole world;' 'it is quite normal;' and b) the status associated with

it: [English] 'sounds really cool;' 'lyrics sound better in English' (appendix 4: question 10).

Røgilds (2005) reports that hip hop and urban music have become prominent in Denmark since the mid 1980s because 'the Danish – and global – music industry, the consumers and the times all demanded an expansion in the scene'.

Furthermore, he continues, 'at the same time, the growth of globalisation has meant that more and more English-speaking artists have appeared on the scene', for example, Anders Trentemøller, has current releases on both British and American labels' (Frederiksen, 2005).

The students provided many names of groups and individuals who sing in English in Denmark (appendix 4: question 10). Most of the groups have English names, whereas most of Iceland's groups have Icelandic names.

Festivals in Denmark, such as the annual Roskilde festival regularly feature major rap stars. Other cities, such as Aarhus, also host an annual hip hop festival.

Various committees serve to promote Danish music abroad, for example, the Danish Rock Council and Music Export Denmark (Council of Europe/ERICarts 2007c).

Preisler (1996: 30 - 31) argues that the use of English in these various youth subcultures is 'spearheading the use of English in Denmark' because all these subcultures are rooted in the English-speaking world and English is a necessary medium of communication with members of these subcultures worldwide (see chapter 1: 1.6). Hjarvard (2004) believes that attributing such significance to these subcultures is exaggerated. However, they do add to the general influence of English which Danes are exposed to through film, television and advertising etc. (ibid).

Unlike in Iceland, there is no evidence of a shift back to Danish in this domain. Danish artists, who wish to be famous world-wide, are singing in English and thus strengthening English in this domain. These differences reflect a more nationalist

feeling on the part of the Icelanders than the Danes and the value that they place on their language and identity.

5.6 Written material and the book industry

In chapter 2: 2.2.4 it was shown that the EU Culture 2000 programme and its successor assist nation states in the funding of translations of their literature in order to promote cultural diversity. Both Iceland and Denmark have profited from this programme to increase production and distribution of their literature.

However, there is a demand for English books, which are often being read in the original by the teenage group rather than the translated version. Furthermore, the impact of electronic material has changed the reading patterns of this age group, who choose to do more of their reading via the Internet.

The data below illustrate the extent to which English is intruding in written forms, other than computer mediated communications, in the two countries and the contribution made by policies to counteract English.

5.6.1 Iceland: policies for written material

Nowhere is Iceland's pride in its cultural heritage more evident than in its literature. The Minister for Education, Science and Culture (Gunnarsdóttir, Þ, 2006) quotes the Icelandic writer, Halldor Laxness, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1947, who stresses that, while others nations have been builders, Icelanders have always been writers:

Wise men say that no nation, for all we know, has been as absorbed in the art of words from the outset as the inhabitants of this country. It may be said that scholars and laymen, irrespective of their gifts or circumstances, have been united, century after century, in creating literature here. Other nations worked in gold and marble.

Instead of grand palaces the Icelanders have their medieval literature, their manuscripts and their sagas, which 'define the true essence of our identity as a nation' (Gunnarsdóttir, Þ. 2006). Most Icelanders have no problem reading the ancient texts because there has been so little change in the written language since medieval times. This is partly due to Iceland's corpus planning (see chapter 3: 3.6.5).

Poetry is also a popular genre. On 16th November 1995 the Government agreed with a proposal made by the Minister of Culture to make the birthday of the renowned nineteenth century poet, Jónas Hallgrímsson a special Icelandic language day every year. The Ministry of Culture makes it 'the focus of a special campaign to promote the language' and special events organised by many institutions are held to mark the day (The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Iceland, 2002: 20). This language day predates the European Year of Languages set up in 2001 by the European Council and its language day on 26th September, the aim of which is to raise awareness of all the languages spoken in Europe and to celebrate linguistic diversity.

Books are the most popular Christmas gifts in Iceland, according to the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (2001), despite the fact that books are very expensive due to the small market. About seven hundred titles are released for the Christmas market each year (Jonasson, a publisher in Iceland, cited in Magnusson, 2006). In a discussion about the current book market in Iceland, Jonasson (in Magnusson, 2006) reports that the last twenty years have been a literary golden age, where there has been an explosion in terms of sales and translations of Icelandic works. However, he admits that publishers are having trouble reaching the younger generation, the fifteen to twenty year age group.

The Department of Culture stimulates the publication of books through the Cultural Fund whose role is to provide financial support for books in Icelandic 'that serve to strengthen Icelandic culture'. Emphasis is also given to the publication of non-fiction works, reference works, dictionaries and works dealing with cultural history (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in Iceland, 2006: 10). Ólafsson reported during our interview that there has also been a fund

in place for over ten years for promoting Icelandic literature abroad and to support publications through translation grants, along with publishing subsidies from the EU Culture 2000 programme to have books translated from other languages into Icelandic.

As shown in chapter 3, Iceland's corpus planning serves to keep foreign words out of the written form and this policy is remarkably successful, in view of the pressures of global English. Kristinsson, during our discussions asserted that there is nothing to remind you of English in the Icelandic national newspapers, for example, the daily *Morgunblaðið*. According to Kvaran (2003), the daily papers have fairly strict rules. Even a youth magazine, *Seð og Heyrt* (Seen and Heard) aimed at Iceland's youth culture, and mostly about celebrities, has practically nothing written in English. Where English does appear, it is in the occasional advertisement, usually for English brands.

Mixing up the languages is rare in these written forms in Iceland. Mixing languages is anathema to the Herderian ideology (Gal, 2006: 20, see chapter 1: 1.4.4). The impact of English is revealed rather by young people's choice of written forms and the choice of language. Ólafsson reported, during our discussions, that many books are read by the teenage population in English, such as *Harry Potter*. One of the students' responses was 'I've learnt English by reading English novels' (appendix 3: question 37). Many youngsters choose to do all their reading via computer games in English and, as Ólafsson lamented, they do not read literature any more, rather texts on the Internet.

As the data in chapter 4: 4.1 indicates, the students claimed to have learnt *quite a lot* of English through reading English books, magazines and web pages. Another response to question 37 was 'computer games were my teacher from the seventh grade.'

5.6.2 Denmark: policies for written material

As stated in chapter 3: 3.4, literature does not have a significant impact on feelings of Danishness among Danes, in contrast to the situation in Iceland. However, their national literary hero is without doubt Hans Christian Andersen and, in 2005, Danes celebrated the anniversary of his 200th birthday. Events in his honour took place all over the world.

Denmark's first Literature Act was adopted in the spring of 1996, the aim of which is to promote literature and access to literature in Denmark while promoting Danish literature abroad. The Act applies to Danish and translated literature, including prose, poetry, drama, children's and young adult literature as well as cultural literature and non-fiction (Hansen, 2002).

However, Hjorth-Andersen (2000: 31) reports that books in Danish are not even exported to other Scandinavian countries, rather they are translated (because of lack of intelligibility (see chapter 2: 2.3.2). There are several grants for translation of literature, grants for publishers for translations of Danish works and travel grants for authors (Danish Arts Agency/Literature Centre, 2006), as well as funding from the EU Culture 2000 programme.

According to Hjorth-Andersen (2000: 40) the book market in Denmark has undergone a dramatic change due to the impact of electronic media whereby real turnover in book sales has shown a decline since the beginning of the 1980s by 2.6 per cent per year. He (ibid) concludes that 'without the electronic media, the book market in Denmark would have been about twice as large as it is now'. This situation is likely to result in the need for increased sponsorship of Danish authors.

This decline in book sales reflects the fact that, as in Iceland, a lot of Danish youth are doing their reading via the Internet and computer games. According to Hjarvard (2004: 87), no less than 84% of computer games on the Danish market have English titles and the games themselves are in English, often, he reports, requiring a high level of proficiency.

Unlike in Iceland, however, code switching goes on in written forms in Denmark. Advertising in English in popular magazines in Denmark has vastly increased since the 1990s where over half the advertisements contain English expressions (Hjarvard, 2004). Hjarvard has carried out a survey of the use of English in magazine advertising looking at four types of magazines with four different readership profiles. These magazines were:

1) *Familie Journalen*, primarily read by low income, middle-aged and older women; 2) *Alt for Damerne*, aimed at better educated younger women; 3) *Vi Unge*, aimed at young people, and 4) *Euroman* aimed at male readers, who see themselves as Europeans.

Hjarvard's results show that, in the magazine *Familie Journalen*, there has been little change over the years. In *Alt for Damerne*, the frequency of advertisements using English has increased markedly since the 1990s and 'in 2001 more than half the advertisements contain English expressions'. Other languages, Hjarvard reports 'are extremely scarce.' *Vi Unge*, showed a similar trend to *Alt for Damerne* but with slightly more use of English advertisements. The magazine *Euroman*, showed much more frequent use of English expressions with only 16.5% of advertisements having a 'strictly Danish text' and 52% of them wholly in English. (Hjarvard, 2004) concludes that English symbolises an attractive lifestyle, to which young Danes aspire.

Hjarvard's survey reflects the increasing use of English as a status language among the highly educated young Danes, whereas 'Danish suffices in all respects in communication with older and less highly educated Danes.' Hjarvard (2004: 90 – 91) believes that the women who read *Familie Journalen* for instance, are 'out of touch with modern lifestyles' and 'as a consequence of deliberate choices on the part of the advertising industry to "sell" lifestyles to specific target groups, they are also *barred from* them.' Thus the media reinforces the status of English and extends it to new fields. The use of English for advertising in popular magazines 'may be an important factor in consumers' decisions to buy' (Hjarvard, 2004: 91). This situation is different from that of Iceland, where advertisements in English are rarely to be seen.

English is even used in formal advertisements in Denmark. According to Herslund (2001), advertisements for goods and services are increasingly written in English. A general proficiency in English is taken for granted, according to Preisler (1996) to the extent that many imported texts, such as instruction manuals and international advertisements accompanying foreign products, are not translated. Herslund ponders whether there is any point in expecting immigrants to become proficient in Danish when it may actually be more beneficial for them to learn more English than Danish. As Preisler (1996: 31) points out, this use of English 'completely ignores the language problems of the older and/or less educated sections of the population.' He believes (ibid) that there is an ever widening gap between those proficient in English and a large minority who are not.

5.7 Conclusion

The following points emerge from this chapter:

- 1) Global English cultural products have a great impact in both Iceland and Denmark, in terms of quantity, quality, and the ease with which these products are spread through new technologies. English is seen by the younger generation as the language of prestige and equated with quality (films), status (celebrities) and as being 'cool' (pop lyrics).
- 2) There are more and more privatised broadcasting stations, which do not have protection of the national languages on their agendas. Television and film companies bring in many English programmes and films because they are cheaper. Neither Iceland nor Denmark can match the huge budgets spent on this medium by the American film industry.
- 3) In the written media, the impact of English is greater on Danish than Icelandic. Iceland has a strong literary tradition and still maintains a healthy demand for books, despite the presence of the Internet. Books, magazines and advertisements

in Iceland retain their pure Icelandic content, even in popular forms. This is because of Iceland's policy for keeping the formal written language free of foreign borrowings.

However, although the Icelanders do not code switch, many young people are able to read, and choose to read, popular books in English, a reflection of the fact that youngsters are taught English as the first foreign language and are highly motivated to learn it. This fact is borne out by the publishers, who report that it is difficult to reach this age group.

In Denmark the book market is declining in the face of electronic media, and secondly the newspaper and magazines market deliberately aims its advertisements at young people by using English.

4) There is some evidence that Icelanders are shifting back towards using Icelandic rather than English for music lyrics, suggesting a nationalist tendency, whereas the Danes' choice of English reflects the perception that English is the natural medium for this domain.

5) Supranational policies for cultural products have had some effect on national policies but supranational programmes for cooperation are not very successful in promoting cultural and linguistic diversity amongst the teenage group. Icelandic and Danish film makers find it difficult to compete with their Anglo-American counterparts in terms of quantity. Furthermore, the films they produce are perceived by the students as poorer quality. The share of films in languages other than English, for example, Norwegian in Denmark, German in Iceland, is negligible.

Even so, without funding from EU institutions and the Nordic Council of Ministers, Danish and Icelandic cultural goods would have little exposure elsewhere.

6) Individual choices amongst young people in both Iceland and Denmark show that English is the preferred language of cultural products. The data show that

young people have different values to the older generation and that policies to promote the national languages are largely ignored, due to these different values (Shohamy, 2006: 51), see chapter 1: 1.6). Where policies do not exist, as for language of pop lyrics, market forces dictate that the language is English, although, as we have seen there may be a reversion to Icelandic in Iceland. Therefore, nationalist ideologies may be in the process of being replaced by new ideologies, particularly in Denmark.

Hjarvard (2004: 92) believes that Anglo-American culture plays a central role in the media industry, and that young Danes are not merely adapting to the linguistic codes but also to the cultural experience and preferences they have developed through the use of mainstream Danish media. He argues (2004: 92) that although 'the media speak young people's language,' 'increasingly, young people speak the language of the media.'

Vikør (1995: 145) quotes from the Danish linguist, Else Bojsen (1989:42), who wrote that the youth of Denmark are not at all fascinated by things American because to them the American culture and language is part of everyday life and that young Danes are 'just as familiar with American conditions as with those in Denmark.'

My data tend to support these views and indicate a shift towards English in this domain and for this age group, not only in Denmark, but to some extent in Iceland too. It is only the formal written medium in Iceland that is safe from English for the moment.

However, I do not believe that the language of these subcultures filters into mainstream usage and 'inexorably' changes it, as Hjarvard (2004: 91 – 92) suggests (see chapter 1: 1.2.2). My interviews with the older generation in both countries suggest that older people do not necessarily choose English products in preference to their own national products and that, especially in Iceland, they resist the language of the subculture.

Chapter 6: The impact of information technology on national policies and practice in Iceland and Denmark

In chapter 2 (2.1.3), I discussed the extent to which English has come to dominate the global market in information technology, notwithstanding the increase in the presence of other languages. There have been moves to promote equitable access to the information society, for example, UNESCO's 2003 recommendations. These recommendations state that member states 'should define and support national policies that promote the teaching of languages, including mother tongues, in cyberspace' and 'encourage the production of local content' and the development of policies to preserve digital heritage (Khan, 2003: 20-21).

One of the remits of UNESCO is to allocate funds to each language, although, when questioned, neither head of IT policy in Iceland or Denmark claimed to know anything about this funding. The EU also provides funds for language technology projects, for example in machine translation (Eurotra project) (see 6.2.2 below). However, applying for funding is a time consuming process and the success rate is low among the older members of the EU, because, as Kirchmeier-Andersen, Director of the Danish Language Council (DLC), explained during an interview, there is huge competition from the new countries which have recently joined the EU. The EU's current focus is on helping these newly joined countries to develop their IT. Furthermore, Sandford-Pedersen, a senior researcher at the Centre for Language Technology in Denmark, pointed out in an interview, that the language used for such cooperative projects within Europe tends to be English.

At the Nordic level, the Nordic countries are cooperating on a number of language technology (LT) projects in an endeavour to boost the use of Nordic languages in this domain (see chapter 2: 2.3.6). However, a recent report on the Nordic countries' progress in this area is not encouraging (Linden, Kostenniemi and Nordgård, 2006). They claim that 'there hardly exists a common Nordic LT policy at present and even rather modest ones at the national level' (ibid). Among the reasons cited for this are that some communities are less pro-active than

others, there is a lack of resources, diversity in standards and incompatible technical methods.

Kirchmeier-Andersen explained that at a national level, although Denmark is larger than Iceland, there are no large IT companies which are comparable to the UK or Germany, or even Finland (Nokia) and Holland (Phillips), that may be interested in developing language technology (LT) for Danish. In Iceland, funding has been almost entirely from the government to date. Development and funding from private companies is limited, although many private individuals and groups endeavour to develop resources for Icelandic in their own time, for example, Briem (1994), who has developed his own machine translations between Icelandic and Esperanto.

It has been pointed out by several people in Denmark and Iceland (for example, Kirchmeier-Andersen, and Rögnvaldsson, Professor in Icelandic language and head of the Master's programme in Language Technology, University of Iceland) that if IT is not available in their languages, some people will be excluded from the information society. Exclusion of groups from access to knowledge is one of the consequences of globalisation. Another consequence is that, in Iceland, the dominance of English in this domain is seen as a threat to Icelandic. As a result, it is important to both countries to develop language technology for their languages.

Funding this development in national languages is expensive and can be a significant factor in countries of small populations, as Wright has pointed out (2005: 8, see chapter 2: 2.1.4). Both countries have problems in getting enough funding for projects and, as a consequence, look to cooperation with the EU and the Nordic community.

This chapter aims to find out whether supranational language policies for IT affect national ones: how Iceland and Denmark try to use their national languages in IT in face of the dominance of English; and whether national language policies have any effect on practice in the two countries. The chapter examines the reasons behind the policies; the policies themselves, and the practices of a sample of teenagers.

6.1 Attitudes and ideologies

As pointed out in chapter 3: 3.6.3, the advent of new domains has implications for corpus planning. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 276 – 277) point out that each time a new technology impacts upon a society and is accepted by that society a type of language change occurs, as the society may not only adopt the technology and a new lexicon but the value system that goes with it. To some extent, this type of language change can be planned and controlled by nations creating their own lexicon in certain areas (ibid: 284). However, language shift can occur not only as ‘the result of the availability of greater resources in some registers in some external language’ but also ‘be the result of changing popular...attitudes toward the external language’ (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 284).

Iceland’s policy of inventing neologisms stimulates the use of Icelandic in information technology, as also in the language of education, as we have seen (chapter 4). Denmark’s more laissez faire approach to language and the problems it experiences due to lack of terminology in its own language, permits the use of English. However, although the ideologies behind policies for IT are different in the two countries, the aims of the policies are similar. The data below serve to illustrate these policies along with the problems faced by both countries in developing language technology.

6.1.1 Iceland: attitudes and ideologies

Iceland’s policy for IT reflects its language ideologies, as demonstrated in chapter 3: 3.2. The government’s vision of the information society in Iceland is summed up in the two words: guidance and vigilance, that is, to guide information technology in a ‘beneficial direction’ by facilitating the use of Icelandic in as many fields as possible (guidance) and to stand guard over the Icelandic people’s identity (vigilance) (Icelandic Government, 2001).

Amongst the Icelandic Government’s policy objectives for IT is for

- a) Icelanders to be able to choose from a wide choice of digital content and software in Icelandic;
- b) that the most common types of software and user interfaces will be available in Icelandic; and
- c) that Icelanders will be leaders in the world in the development of language technology (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (2005a: 17)).

The Office for ICT Development in Iceland is responsible for facilitating the use of Icelandic in this domain (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (2005)).

Despite support from government, the question of whether to continue to promote Icelandic versus English causes mixed feelings amongst Icelandic IT professionals. Some believe that it is absolutely essential that Icelandic be used in this domain, for ideological reasons, while others are uncertain that the effort is worthwhile, for practical reasons. For example, Rögnvaldsson (2005) believes that IT 'has become an important and integrated feature of the daily life of almost every single Icelander' and that if Icelandic is not used within this domain then a part of the daily life of Icelanders will be in a foreign language, a situation 'without parallels earlier in the history of the language'.

This statement is emphasised by Einarsson (1998) who states in a report to UNESCO:

I want to use the new implement [the computer] in exactly the same vein as an English-speaking colleague of mine would do – but on my own premises and in the language that is the expression of my thoughts and feelings and is the embodiment of my artistic taste (Einarsson, 1998).

On the other hand Halldórsson, a professor in the department of Computer Science, University of Iceland) in an interview, expressed uncertainty as to whether it is worthwhile continuing to invest in Icelandic due to the huge time and cost required, and the difficulty of constantly adapting and translating the new technology.

6.1.2 Denmark: attitudes and ideologies

IT has assumed such importance in Denmark that it was one of the major reasons for introducing a language policy. Sander (2005), Minister of Science, Technology and Innovation, writes that Danes must be 'among the best in terms of knowledge and innovation' in order to compete internationally.

In contrast with attitudes in Iceland however, Kirchmeier-Andersen, during an interview, expressed the opinion that there is no wish by the Danes to counteract English and there is little interest in guarding the identity of Danish. The issue rather is to promote the use of Danish in language technology to prevent exclusion. This view reflects the majority attitude in Denmark towards English, that is, a more *laissez-faire* ideology than Iceland. However, a minority (for example, my informants: Kirchmeier-Andersen and Sandford-Pedersen), believe that it is worth making efforts in Danish LT despite the prevalence of English in this domain because, if Danes are constantly met with new systems in English,

- a) people will be forced to use English,
- b) they will speak less Danish,
- c) they will no longer be able to access historical documents and history.

According to Sandford-Pedersen, although at first there was some discussion about finding new Danish words for IT terms, the general attitude is that technology changes so rapidly that it is not worth translating into another language or making up new words.

The problem with having no policy for new terminologies is that, when a need arises to find a Danish word, many institutions invent different words for the same thing (see also chapter 3: 3.6.4). Sandford-Pedersen stated that the Centre for Language Technology (CLT) has recently produced a book on language technology in Danish, with the terminology in Danish. She expressed the hope that the terms created there would be used with their students. However, according to Aegidius, Head of International ICT Policy in Denmark, in an

interview, the Ministry of Technology makes up other words for the same terminology.

Kirchmeier-Andersen (2006) believes that the DLC should coordinate these efforts and produce a database for new terms, as the Icelanders do, to prevent this happening.

6.2 Policies for language technology

Both countries are developing lexicons and automatic translation for their languages, which are cited by Coulmas (1992: 69, chapter 2: 2.1.3), as important investments for the improved utility of a language. The data below illustrate how much has been done in LT in each country, and the problems incurred.

6.2.1 *Iceland: policies for language technology*

As a result of worries about English dominance, a major investment in the Icelandic language has been in the Language technology project (*Tungataekni*), which was initiated by the Ministry in 2001 to support institutions and companies 'to create basic resources for Icelandic technology work' (Rögnvaldsson, 2005). The proposals included the development of common linguistic databases:

- 1) a corpus for the language, and
- 2) a lexicon.

These are considered prerequisites for language engineering applications handling the written language, such as machine translation and grammar correction programmes.

The Institute of Lexicography has been allocated a grant to produce a morphological database of Icelandic. This database contains 'almost 180,000

lexemes and 2.4 million inflectional forms' (Rögnvaldsson, 2005) and is constantly being enlarged. The second database, a tagged corpus of modern Icelandic containing 25 million words, is planned to be completed in 2008 (Kristinsson, 2007: email correspondence). Other proposals have called for investment in research in language technology; financial support for companies for the development of language technology products; and the development of education and training in the field of language technology and linguistics (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1999: 2).

A consortium consisting of the University of Iceland and four private companies in the telecommunication and software industry has collected material and created a transcribed wordlist for training speech recognizers (Rögnvaldsson, 2005). There has been less focus on machine translation in Iceland than on speech recognition, Guðmundsson (Director of the Office for ICT Development in Iceland) told me during an interview. As outlined in chapter 2: 2.1.3, machine translation is very important for small languages, so users can access texts written in a foreign language. True machine translation (MT), however, is some distance away because of the complexity of Icelandic sentence structure (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1999).

According to Rögnvaldsson (2005: 4) the total budget for the LT project, which ended in 2004, was about one eighth of the estimated cost to make Icelandic language technology self-sustained. A major problem, as has been emphasised elsewhere, is that the small size of Iceland's population 'is not enough to sustain costly development of new products.' He emphasised that, although the project had been successful, it was important to continue with public support for it and 'to utilize the knowledge and experience that researchers and companies have gained' (ibid).

As we can see, cost is a major issue. Until now, Icelanders have always paid the price for goods produced in Icelandic, such as books and newspapers. The price is very high precisely because they are in Icelandic and the market is small (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1999: 1). The Ministry postulates that 'gradually, Icelanders would presumably pay the cost involved in translating

and adapting information technology for use in Icelandic' (ibid: 1). However, Rögnvaldsson (2005: 5) ponders whether individuals will prefer to buy Icelandic technology products or cheaper English ones:

People may be ready to pay a little more for language technology programs and tools in their own language, but if the difference is substantial, people will resort to the foreign almost always English products (Rögnvaldsson, 2005: 5).

Rögnvaldsson (2007: email correspondence) reported that the Icelandic state no longer supports LT projects and that no Icelandic company is currently working in this field. He was not very optimistic that further funding would be forthcoming. Moreover, he reported that Icelanders have applied for grants from the EU but that these applications have not been accepted.

In the education area, the University of Iceland launched a Master's programme in Language Technology in 2002. However, this course has not admitted new students since 2004, according to the Nordic Graduate School of Language Technology (2006) due to lack of funding and qualified teachers. There are, however, plans for a Nordic cooperative project to develop a Masters course in LT (Rögnvaldsson, 2007).

6.2.2 Denmark: policies for language technology

In contrast to the situation in Iceland where IT policy is imposed from the top down, the Danish Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation prefers to follow market developments, only stepping in where needed. Sandford-Pedersen explained in an interview that the Centre for Language Technology (CLT) is partly financed by the Ministry, who pay one third of it, but that the Centre has to find the other two thirds. Sometimes private companies and the EU may provide funds. Its success rate in funding applications to the EU, Sandford-Pedersen stated, is about one in six.

The largest investments by the Danish Government have been made in language resources, that is, a language technology lexicon and corpora and in some software. In the same way as Iceland's Language Technology Project has done, the CLT, in collaboration with Copenhagen Business School and University of Southern Denmark, has developed a lexicon. This 'contains the morphology and syntax of about 65.000 words in a formal language that search engines will be able to use' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2007b)). However, linguistic descriptions are not yet available for all types of Danish phenomena because it is expensive to develop them. Kirchmeier-Andersen believes that if the corpora were available then companies, for example Microsoft, might be interested in developing language technology for Danish.

There has not been any Danish effort made in machine translation except as part of the Eurotra project. This project was originally set up by the European Commission in the late 1970s to provide machine translation for the myriad pairs of languages (nine official languages at that time within the European Community, including Danish). The project developed linguistic descriptions for multilingual machine translation (MT). As Denmark is a member of the EU it received funds for this project (which distributed resources to all countries at the time).

Although the project never achieved a working machine translation system, Kirchmeier-Andersen reported, during our discussions, that Denmark developed one commercial MT system derived from Eurotra technology, as well as benefiting from the ten years research it carried out with teams in each country, so that it strengthened cooperation and developed significant expertise. The Eurotra researchers, according to Hutchins (1995), 'advanced substantially the theoretical foundations of MT and made important contributions to syntactic theory, formal parsing theory, and discourse analysis' as well as stimulating much more innovative linguistic computational research.

Currently, according to Kirchmeier-Andersen, the CLT is trying to sidestep the cumbersome methodologies existing at the moment for MT through a prototype

statistical dependency-based machine translation (SDMT) (Kirchmeier-Andersen, 2006). This project is financed partly by Copenhagen Business School.

6.3 Policies for software

Because software was initially developed in English, and the biggest software company in the world is the U.S.A's Microsoft, which has dominated the software market hitherto, many countries started off by buying Microsoft's products (see chapter 2: 2.1.3). Microsoft's rise to dominance is a good example of a large supranational company taking over from the previous agents of imperialism as cited by Mar-Molinero (2006: 14). However, as I have explained (chapter 2: 2.1.3), open source software and operating systems can be more easily adapted for Icelandic, Danish and other languages than commercial systems. Moreover it is cheaper. Finnbogadóttir (1998) believes that UNESCO countries should adopt this freeware in the public sphere, otherwise there is a risk of having a private monopoly. Similarly, Einarsson (1998) states that

By encouraging free access to the world's public knowledge (the people's own heritage), UNESCO can contribute to establishing a counterweight to the power of the market where information is considered a commodity to be paid for.

The data below illustrate some of the policies and practices regarding the acquisition and translation of software and the practices of students at home and school. The data indicate that Denmark is doing rather better than Iceland in terms of producing software in its native language. However, Microsoft software is dominant in both countries at present.

6.3.1 *Iceland: policies for software*

In 1993 the Icelandic Government decided to standardize on Microsoft products in all schools. However Microsoft refused to translate its software into Icelandic.

Williams Walsh (1998) explains the reason for this decision in an article in the Los Angeles Times:

For even as [Iceland's] language specialists were defending the purity of their ancestral tongue, they were also making sure every schoolchild here learned English. With the entire population now proficient in English as a second language, Microsoft sees no point in translating Windows into their proud mother tongue; it can just sell them the English version (Williams Walsh, 1998, cit. in Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2003).

Microsoft, however, eventually relented in January 1999, and signed an agreement with the Icelandic Government: the software (initially Windows 98 and Internet Explorer) would be translated by a company set up to do so and would be paid for by Microsoft; the Icelandic authorities for their part would take measures to combat software pirating in the country and make sure schools and official institutions bought legal software (Kristinsson, 2005; Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2003).

However, although the Microsoft software was localised into Icelandic, there were problems. Firstly there were some technical bugs but, more importantly, by the time Windows 98 had been translated it was obsolete, because the next version of Windows (Windows 2000) had already come out. According to Briem in an interview, 'the point was to keep English out' but it was a complete failure because very few people bought the Windows 98 version in Icelandic. Iceland continues to receive the new Microsoft versions of Word for Windows translated into Icelandic, for example Windows XP, which came on the market in its Icelandic translation in 2004. XP is widely used, together with, or instead of, the English version (Kristinsson, 2007: email correspondence).

In order to stimulate the use of Icelandic further, the Government has announced that preference will be given in public tenders for software localised for Icelandic (Ministry for Education, Science and Culture, 2005a: 16). This is an example of a marketing technique to promote the use of the language (see chapter 1: 1.5).

As the group influenced the most by English is the young teenage population, it is not surprising that the most important group to be targeted by the government with Icelandic software is that of school pupils. However, Guðmundsson admitted during our discussions that, despite efforts by the government to push the use of Icelandic on school computers, the default language in the Microsoft software is often English. The data from the questionnaires to students (appendix 3: question 19) show that the comprehensive school in Selfoss, which places a particular emphasis on IT, uses both Icelandic and English versions of MS software.

At students' homes, though, the situation is different. Every student responding to the questionnaire has access to a computer at home but the vast majority of their software is in English, because people buy computers with the English software already installed (appendix 3: question 18). Very few have Icelandic software or software in both languages. This situation may reflect the problems in translating new versions in time, or just the fact that Icelanders are so competent in English that they do not see a problem in using English versions. The data indicate that Iceland's purist policy to keep out English and ensure that the population has access to the most common types of software and user interfaces is not succeeding, at least, not for the moment.

There are discussions taking place about whether Iceland should make more use of Open Source (OS) software and operating systems, which are cheaper and can be better adapted to the Icelandic script (see chapter 2: 2.1.4). Some schools, Guðmundsson reported, are making more use of OS such as Linux, but there is not a strong trend. Similarly, Briem stated that the number of companies using OS is growing and there has been some work done in translating OS and localising Linux into Icelandic. However, as we have seen, most of the computers that people buy already have the English MS software and, for most people, it is easier to use the versions that are already in place and that they are familiar with.

6.3.2 Denmark: policies for software

In an interview, Aegidius stated that there is no specific policy that software should be translated into Danish. The Government does not generally fund translation of products. However, she continued to say that it does get involved in funding if the market does not provide for the development of certain tools, such as in the area of disability.

Denmark did not experience the battle that Iceland had in getting Microsoft's software translated into Danish because, according to Aegidius, the Danish market is large enough. Other translations are carried out by private companies. According to Aegidius (2006), most computers have Windows and Microsoft packages with the software in Danish. However, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation has initiated quite a lot of work in the area of Open Source and OS is recommended by the Government because of the ease in adapting scripts. Aegidius is unsure whether OS or MS will dominate in the future.

In Denmark, responses to the questionnaire showed that all students except one had access to a computer at home (appendix 4: question 18). Unlike in Iceland, the great majority of students' computers at home had Danish software. Furthermore, every student claimed that the software on school computers was in Danish, which suggests that the Danes are doing better than the Icelanders in strengthening their language in this area (appendix 4: question 19).

6.4 Policies for language scripts

It is important for language technology purposes that the characters of a script are part of international standards and fonts so that, for example, search engines can search for sites with those characters. However, in most programming languages, the programmer is restricted to using English character sets, as English was originally the default language of computers (see chapter 2: 2.1.3). Moreover, it is

expensive to include special characters in such international standards, especially for countries with small populations.

Furthermore, as most IT personnel in Iceland and Denmark know English, it is easier to use the English programming versions that they are familiar with, as we have seen above when examining people's choices of software.

6.4.1 Iceland: policies for language scripts

Iceland made a major effort to have its special alphabetic characters incorporated into ISO-Latin 1 – the dominant character set, (at the expense of the Turkish script) (Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2003). According to the report on language technology produced by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (1999: 9-10), it is not generally realised how expensive it is to keep the Icelandic alphabet included in international standards and fonts. For example, The Ministry (ibid) points out that 'special measures are needed to define the appearance of the Icelandic letters (*þ* and *ð*) in fonts and, as these letters are not used elsewhere, this is exclusively a matter of concern to Iceland'.

One of the priority tasks laid out in the report (1999: 4) is that Icelandic should be used with the proper characters. Specifically,

It should be possible to use the Icelandic letters
(*áéíóúýðþæöÁÉÍÓÚÝÐÞÆÖ*) in all circumstances: in computers,
mobile telephones, teletext and other applications used by the
public.

In practice however, use of these letters is not always consistent. Rögnvaldsson (2005: 2) reports that, while many mobile phones now have Icelandic characters in the menus, they cannot always be used in SMS messages, while Guðmundsson, during our discussions, reported that the predictive text facility varies between phones: some phones have it in Icelandic, others not.

It is obviously important that search engines should also be able to search for material in Icelandic. In this respect, having the Icelandic characters included in the most commonly used character set has ensured that these letters will not cause problems (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1999: 19). However, for Icelandic, more complex procedures have to be developed due to its inflections, especially internal inflectional changes in the stems of the words (ibid: 20) An example of an Icelandic strong masculine noun with its inflections for four cases is shown below:

	The noun <i>maður</i> (man)		<i>maður</i> with definite article as a suffix	
	<u>Sing.</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>sing.</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Nom.	maður	menn	maðurinn	mennirnir
Acc.	mann	menn	manninn	mennina
Dat.	manni	mönnum	manninum	mönnunum
Gen.	manns	manna	mannsins	mannanna

Search engines such as Google are limited in terms of being able to search for Icelandic words with all their inflections. However, Gíslason (2005) describes one of the recent products of the language technology project. This is called *Embla*, a search engine, which “‘knows” Icelandic,’ and therefore is capable of searching for all the inflections (Guðmundsson, 2005, Briem, 2005). The difference in the number of returned results when using *Embla* is sometimes six to ten fold, according to Gíslason (2005), and relevance is improved. According to Rögnvaldsson (2007: email correspondence), there is a large project going on at present to take digital pictures of the ancient manuscripts, so that people can search for them electronically using *Embla*.

6.4.2 Denmark: policies for language scripts

Although Danish characters are also in the dominant character set there are still problems because they are not fully integrated into all English systems. The Danish alphabet contains all the characters in the Latin alphabet with the addition of *Æ Ø Å* and lower case *æ ø å* (the letters *C, Q, W, X* and *Z* are only used in

foreign loanwords). Sandford –Pedersen explained that it is not possible to use these letters on teletext. She pointed out that Google does use Danish characters and finds Danish sites but that, as for Icelandic, Google cannot search for Danish inflections and is therefore inadequate.

Sandford-Pedersen is not aware of a Danish search engine that is freely available, but explains why it is important to have one:

it's an important political mission to develop technological linguistic tools designed for the Danish language, in order to make sure that search engines can capture the nuances of the Danish language (cited in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2007b).

The more linguistically sophisticated a search engine is, the more effectively it will be able to find relevant information. Kirchmeier-Andersen reported, during our discussions that, as in Iceland, Danes are in the process of making cultural heritage available electronically and many texts are being digitised, such as the literature of Holberg.

6.5 The Internet

Iceland, Denmark and the other Nordic countries have the highest number of users of the Internet within Europe (see chapter 2: 2.3.6). Statistics Denmark (2005: 17) shows that, of the percentage of people who accessed the Internet at least once a week in 2004, Iceland is at the top of the list with 77% , followed by Sweden with 75%, then Denmark with 70%. Both Iceland and Denmark produce content in their own languages on the Internet in all forms of netspeak (for example web pages, chat rooms, email). Responses to the questionnaires, however, show that both young Icelanders and Danes will use English when necessary and that English is not an obstacle either for participation in chat rooms, for doing research, or for all sorts of entertainment (appendix 3 and 4: questions 3, 4, 14 & 16).

Wright (2005: 8) points out that for countries with small populations there may never be enough information on web pages, particularly at the professional level, to satisfy every requirement (see chapter 2: 2.1.3). She concludes, therefore, that English pages are likely to be used and will contribute to a language shift to English. English is also often the language of choice for entertainment, for example games and pop music, which are extensively used by younger people and account for a large proportion of their internet use. Products, such as computer games, often require high levels of proficiency in English, as Hjarvard points out (2004: 87). The data below explore the languages that are used over the Internet in both countries in these various mediums.

6.5.1 Iceland: use of the Internet

Guðmundsson stated during an interview that there is a wide variety of Icelandic web pages and there is not an issue regarding quantity of Icelandic web pages. He reported that a survey, carried out by the Office for ICT Development, to ascertain which were the most popular web pages, indicated that the Icelandic language dominates the Internet in Iceland. There is no policy that materials on the Internet should be in Icelandic (unlike the policy for France, see chapter 2: 2.1.4). This is because Icelanders need to import information and always have done so in the form of foreign text books, Halldórsson explained in an interview. The Internet merely provides this information in a different medium.

Data from the questionnaire shows that Icelandic students access Icelandic web pages for research, for example, more often than English pages, but there are still many who access English pages (appendix 3: questions 4 & 5). This supports the results of the Office for ICT Development's survey. However, over half the students claimed that there was not enough information on Icelandic web pages. The vast majority of students said that they would look at English web pages if there was not enough information on the Icelandic web pages. Again I emphasise that this sample of students is small. However, the results nevertheless suggest that there is not always enough information on Icelandic pages for research purposes.

Furthermore, the questionnaire also shows that English is used a great deal in the other forms of Internet use, for example, for computer games and Microsoft Networking (MSN). Results of students' use of English in chat rooms and MSN (appendix 3: question 14), showed that a majority who participated in computer chat used MSN in Icelandic; but many of those also used MSN in English. Again, although fewer Icelandic students use English than Icelandic in chat rooms there is a not a very significant difference. The data indicate that students who use chat rooms are prepared to use English when necessary.

Icelanders, particularly the females, also produce many personal web sites or web logs (blogs) on the Internet. Guðmundsson asserted that Iceland has the world record for numbers of blogs and that the Internet may be the means of strengthening Icelandic identity because of this individual participation and other communications on the Internet. He reported that communications with written material have vastly increased in Iceland thereby 'maintaining the language in new situations.' This statement is reflected in the students' responses, which show that the language chosen for personal websites or blog sites was overwhelmingly Icelandic for all groups (appendix 3: question 21). Only four students altogether produced web sites in English, and five in both languages. The reasons put forth for using English included: 'To make it understandable to all people,' and that it was a *cool* website to be in both languages. These comments reveal the status that English enjoys, but the data show no trend to use English in local networks.

Almost 90% of the population have access to the Internet in Iceland. There are Internet cafes in libraries and some restaurants have points. There is also wireless access for laptops. Nearly all schools and colleges in Iceland are now connected to the Internet with broadband connectivity. Those that are not connected are in remote areas of Iceland (Guðmundsson, 2005). 90% of compulsory schools have 100 megabyte connections and universities have gigabyte connections.

Guðmundsson does not believe that there is a significant digital divide as such high numbers use the Internet although, he admitted, there have been no very detailed surveys. Statistics Denmark (2005: 47) shows percentage of Internet use

by population in Iceland was 59% of fifty five to sixty four year olds and 29% of sixty five to seventy four year olds for the year 2004.

6.5.2 Denmark: use of the Internet

Data from the questionnaires to students in Denmark reveal that, for research purposes, as in Iceland, most Danish students access Danish web pages for research purposes more than English web pages (appendix 4: questions 4 & 5). Nearly twice as many Danes claim that there is not enough information on Danish web pages compared with those that do. Again, the vast majority would access English web pages if they could not find enough information on Danish pages. Some Danes access pages in other languages, for example Arabic, which reflects the minority population. Results from the questionnaires to students on their use of English in chat rooms and MSN are similar to those of Iceland showing that English is not an obstacle to communication in this form (appendix 4: question 14).

Aegidius stated her belief, during our discussions, that the Internet may be the means of strengthening Danish identity because of the increased communications in these new forms. She reported, however, that, unlike the young Icelanders, blogging has not become a trend in Denmark. Therefore the question (21) on language used on personal websites designed by young Danes is irrelevant.

All libraries and many private internet cafes provide Internet cafes/access points throughout Denmark. Broadband connectivity is 98% and all schools and universities are connected. Statistics Denmark (2005: 18) shows the figures for Iceland in 2004 to be 81% and Denmark 69%. In 2005, 75% of Danish households had actual access to the internet in their homes. Only Iceland was higher than Denmark within Europe (90% cited by Guðmundsson for Iceland).

The digital divide is more an age divide: Statistics Denmark (2005: 47) shows percentage of Internet use by population was similar to that of Iceland: 59% for fifty five to sixty four year olds and 26% for sixty five to seventy four year olds.

These figures show that many older people are using the Internet. Older people may not be excluded from the Internet but it is important to note that they may be excluded if the information they require is not available in the mother tongue but in English.

6.6 Conclusion

The main points emerging from this chapter are as follows:

1) Iceland is struggling to cope with the demands of constantly adapting and translating new technologies into Icelandic mainly because of the cost, its small population size and the fact that the population is quite able to cope with IT in English.

Denmark is also having problems with funding but has more resources than Iceland and a larger population to help develop language technology for Danish. However, Denmark is still small compared to the world as a whole. The young native-speaking Danes do not have an issue with using English. Their attitudes towards it are positive and using English is normal practice.

2) Iceland's IT policy is to have a wide range of software and content in Icelandic, and the Government will give preference to tenders for software in Icelandic. The Danes are able to produce most of their software in Danish, mostly through private companies. Open source software has not yet managed to shift Microsoft from its dominant position in either country.

3) Professionals in both countries very often use English in programming as they are more used to it. Therefore, it is not necessary to use Icelandic or Danish (Halldórsson, 2005, Aegidius 2006). Furthermore those who need to communicate with non-Icelanders or non-Danes will work in English as it is the language of international portability.

4) In view of its very small population, the Icelandic government needs to be more supportive of language technology than the Danish government. Denmark may leave its development to some extent to market forces. Success of many projects in Iceland, according to Guðmundsson, for example, computer speech recognition, depends on whether the government will support them with enough funds. The latest report suggests that there are no private companies in Iceland developing LT at the moment and that the Government is no longer supporting it with funds. If this continues to be the case, the future of LT for Icelandic may become reliant on funding from supranational organisations.

5) An important factor is to convince the new generation that developing language technology in Icelandic is worthwhile. As the students are the next generation of policy makers, it may be considered too difficult and too expensive to bother with developing LT in Icelandic, especially as only a few people are likely to be excluded from this domain through not knowing English.

Without language technology in Danish, more groups are likely to be excluded than in Iceland, mainly immigrant groups. However, the data indicate that policy for language technology for Danish has a better chance of success. Despite this, the domain is likely to shift more towards English in the future.

6) Both countries have the desire to be among the best in the world for IT. English, therefore, is an asset that they cannot do without. Even if, in local networks the local language is used, English is likely to continue to dominate as the IT *lingua franca*.

7) The EU and Nordic units are likely to play a bigger role in the future in terms of funding for IT projects. Cooperation between the Nordic countries means that they may be more successful in their funding applications to the EU and Nordic funding bodies. If successful this would provide a big boost to language technology research for both countries.

7 Conclusions

The main research question posed in the Introduction to this thesis is whether official language policies can be effective in the framework of globalisation and global English. This chapter aims to offer some conclusions about whether language policies can actually make any difference in the long run to the position of English and its role vis-à-vis other languages.

Firstly I shall summarise what I consider to be the two major findings of the thesis. Secondly, I shall discuss the findings from the two case studies, which, I believe, constitute an interesting contribution to the debate on language policy. This will include a discussion as to whether policies of supranational institutions are effective and whether loss of domains and identities is in fact taking place.

The conclusions drawn will enable me to highlight the factors which contribute towards successful language planning in the context of global English. These factors will contribute to the debates that inform those language policy makers who are concerned about the threat of a dominant language in their small nation states.

7.1 Key findings

There are two major findings of my research.

The first is that English represents significant linguistic capital and no language policy reverses the desire to learn it. This finding concurs with the theories about the value of English as well as its position in the language hierarchy models presented in chapter 1: 1.1. The domains of status planning which I selected for examination: education; cultural products; and information technology, are those where English has had a significant impact in recent years. They represent the key domains influencing young people, who are the future generations of planners and

policy makers. The influx of English into these domains filters into the written and spoken corpus of both languages.

My research into the use of English in these domains has shown that English is likely to be widely used:

- a) to give the user linguistic capital, particularly amongst the younger generation;
- b) where it has the advantage of being the first language to enter the market, such as in the case of IT;
- c) in popular culture, because the quantities of Anglo-American cultural products outweigh national outputs, and are associated with prestige;
- d) as the first foreign language learnt in schools and, increasingly, as the language of higher education because of market demand.

As a result, we are left to ask whether language policies, which seek to promote the national language in these domains, can be effective.

The second significant finding is, however, that language policies may ensure that a national language can be used in a broad range of domains *alongside* a dominant language provided that its national community fully supports it, both ideologically and financially. It is not possible to reject or ignore a dominant world language, nor is there any point, because people will want and/or need to use it.

7.2 Findings from the case studies

It is evident from my findings that English enjoys high status in both Iceland and Denmark and that both national languages have to compete with English in many domains. The way in which the two countries are facing the challenge of English, however, is a reflection of the ideologies behind their languages. Iceland has a recognised literary tradition, upon which it based part of its identity as a nation-state. In order to preserve its language, it has adopted purist language policies.

Since World War II, Danish national identity has been built upon concepts of liberalism and the welfare state. Danish has always absorbed foreign words; there is no tradition of language policy and little planned development of the language. As a result, an unwritten, or covert, policy has been of convergence towards other languages.

7.2.1 The future for Iceland

The case study of Iceland has shown that, although language policies might once have been sufficient to withstand influence from a dominant language,⁸ they can no longer withstand the speed of English language spread into the domains of status planning examined. My research suggests that the decisive factors in the maintenance of Icelandic in the future will be:

- 1) funding (of these language policies), but also
- 2) convincing the younger generation that Icelandic is worth supporting.

Iceland in its recent past can be viewed as a benchmark case of a monolingual homogenous nation-state where policies have been easier to implement and control than in more complex situations. Iceland has succeeded up to now in maintaining its language because of national language ideologies underpinning official language policies, as well as government funding. Iceland's resistance to language change, along with language experts and motivated volunteers to further develop the language, has enabled Icelandic to be maintained and modernised.

Another major factor in Iceland's success in language planning to date is that Iceland is a country which is isolated geographically and has a small population. These factors and the fact that the population is relatively homogenous mean that it has been easier to implement policies in the past than it would be for a larger heterogeneous population or, probably, for the Iceland of the future. For example, their successful policy, instigated in the 1940s, to eradicate a spoken dialect

⁸ For example, a prediction in the 1960s that Icelandic would have been absorbed by English within a decade did not happen

would be unlikely to succeed today. This is partly because of the recent influx of immigrants, who do not speak standard Icelandic, but also because the national language institute is more democratic than earlier in its existence and prefers to give guidelines rather than to enforce changes.

Moreover, legislation is easier to enforce in small countries. Current legislation to promote the production of more television programmes in Icelandic, for example, will assist in the implementation of language policies.

In the future, however, in the face of the spread of more and more English, the size of Iceland's population may work against it, because it is unlikely to be able to sustain costly language policies in the domains of status planning, particularly for language technology, on its own and against market forces. Iceland is no longer a community in isolation and, to combat the forces of English, it will find itself needing more support from the EU and the Nordic community. If such support is not forthcoming, then maintaining Icelandic as a fully functioning language in all domains may be unsustainable.

I would now like to examine what is likely to happen in terms of domain loss in Iceland. There are two possible scenarios.

The first scenario is that the sociolinguistic situation will be one of stable bilingualism, with Icelandic being used for functions of national and local concern, English for international domains, and both languages for domains such as web pages and cultural products where English plays a major role. An important fact to stress is that Icelandic is unlikely to *lose* domains, because Icelanders are constantly cultivating their language. It will have to *share* domains, as is currently the case, because the small size of Iceland's population and unequal amounts of funding cannot match, for example, the amount of cultural products and quantity of web pages produced by the English-speaking world. While there may be greater quantities of Anglo-American cultural products, for example, they exist alongside Icelandic products. Equally, in the same way that students use English for some of their personal communications over the Internet, they use Icelandic either more, or alongside, English. Moreover, while young

Icelanders may read English books, there is no evidence of a decline in literacy in the national language, which stands at 100%.

There is evidence of more English in the spoken domains than ever before in Iceland. However, even here, provided that schools insist on rigorous training in the written form, which prohibits anglicisms, the presence of English in spoken domains is unlikely to cause language shift.

However, it is also important to note that Anglo-American cultural products are often more popular than the Icelandic equivalents amongst the younger generation. As a result, the status of English for this group is increased.

This leads me on to the other possible scenario for the future of the Icelandic language. Future generations may no longer attach importance to the national language and heritage because of a decline in its status and use. This could result in a reduction of funds being allocated for Icelandic in the domains of IT and cultural products, which would leave the way open for market forces and, therefore, more English. Already, there is a less protectionist more democratic language policy than in the past, along with a positive attitude to the use of English. As the present generation, who use English more and more in everyday life, are the future policy makers, they may in fact consider the Icelandic language to be less important than at present.

Current evidence suggests, however, that the first scenario is the most likely. As long as the Icelanders continue to develop and use their language through their corpus planning, Icelandic will function in all domains, although in specific domains, alongside English.

As for losing identities, there is little evidence that Icelanders are *identifying* with English. This fact stems from their strong national identity and from the high value they place on Icelandic.

7.2.2 The future for Denmark

The sociolinguistic situation in Denmark is more complex than that of Iceland. Denmark is experiencing the impact, not only of English language products due to globalisation, but also of other social and cultural changes brought about by immigration. Although economic conditions may be similar to those of Iceland, social conditions are different in Denmark. This factor contributes to the lack of determination or even concern by the average Dane to maintain their language. It is only the elite minority, who are concerned about the language, as shown by the fact that they managed to bring about a language policy for Denmark.

My research suggests that the decisive factors in the maintenance of Danish in the future will be:

- 1) convincing the majority of the population that Danish is worth supporting. This would require a complete change of attitude towards English in order that language policies have any chance of working.
- 2) the need for funding to pursue this support.

Denmark has already proceeded in the direction of using English for some domains to the exclusion of those that do not know English, for example, written advertisements. Government support for Danish is low on the political agenda. The language is not protected against English, and there is no formal institution to develop the language, with the result that Danish does not have the necessary terminology for some domains. Without institutional support for corpus planning, which underpins the status of the language, Danish is likely to decline further. The problem stems from the Danes' attitude to English, which is not seen as a threat, at least by the majority. Their recent language policy is not in tune with prevailing attitudes and practices, for example that of higher education.

In the domains of status planning, English may come to dominate higher education, despite a language policy to the contrary. Popular culture is also dominated by English. On the other hand, in the field of IT, Denmark is being more successful in the promotion of its language than Iceland. This is because the

population is larger, therefore the market is larger, which encourages private companies to develop language technology in Danish. However, Denmark itself is also relatively small and, like Iceland, will need to look to supranational institutions for some of its funding requirements in the future, if it is to support the use of Danish.

Denmark's policy has been and is essentially that of *laissez-faire* liberalism, that is, of non-interference by government, and thus market driven. English is not seen as a threat, rather as the natural language of global products. As a result there is little concern about switching to English when terminology is lacking in certain domains. In such a scenario language policies to promote Danish cannot be expected to be effective.

I shall now examine the likely outcome in terms of domain loss in Denmark. The data indicate that some domains are likely to be monopolised by English, or that domains will be shared, in the same way as in Iceland, for cultural products and IT. The most likely domains to be monopolised by English are those of youth music and parts of higher education. In the first instance, English is being used almost solely as the language of the subculture. I do not believe that this necessarily contributes to a loss of Danish terminology, but it does contribute to a loss in its status and is likely to cause those adherents to the subculture to identify more with English.

In the second instance, the crucial fact is that terminology is not being developed so that the language may not be fully functioning for all academic subjects. This is particularly the case in the science fields. If it is necessary to switch to English in some networks, even when all the members of the network are Danish, there is a likelihood that people will consider the language less relevant, and that it is not worth using.

Furthermore, as universities teach more and more through the medium of English, Danes may prefer to have their children taught English at a younger age (which is already happening). There might even come a time when parents might prefer to teach their children English themselves. There are some precedents for this. For

example, according to Berdichevsky, (2004: 10) after the Danes refused to restore South Schleswig⁹ to Danish rule after World War II, despite the many Danish people who wished to return to their original homeland, the German language was promoted by the German authorities as being the language of world-wide prestige. The authorities claimed that economic and social opportunities would be reduced if the language spoken was Danish, ‘a minority language on Europe’s “Scandinavian periphery”’ (Berdichevsky, 2004: 10). As a consequence, the South Schleswigers identified more with Germany and Southern Schleswig parents actively taught their children German instead of Danish.

Some Danes have even suggested that it might be better for the present immigrant population to learn English in the long term, as that language may be of more benefit to them in Denmark than Danish (Herslund, 2001: 29).

The language of research in Denmark is also English, so that Danish loses out in the written form of communication for some subjects, as well as the spoken. In Iceland, in contrast, despite the fact that research papers are mostly produced in English, the terminology exists in the spoken form and the students are taught through Icelandic. As I have emphasised before, a language needs to be used, otherwise another language will take its place.

It is important to emphasise that, in Denmark, it is the older generation, including many of the elite in government and academia, who are contributing to domain loss in Denmark, rather than primarily the young people, who are usually identified by researchers as being the leaders in language change.

Having said that, my data show that many young Danes are identifying with English. Young people consider American culture normal and a part of being Danish. Danes, in general, do not place a high value on their language as part of their identity and have always been willing to absorb features from other languages and cultures rather than distancing themselves or diverging from them.

⁹ The northernmost part of Germany, where Germany borders with Denmark

These findings tell us that official language policies can make a difference to practices. In Iceland the evidence is that some language policies are effective. On the other hand, in Denmark they are less so.

The findings also show, however, that it may not be possible to maintain language policies in the future in the selected domains without funding from other sources, for example from the EU. In the light of this, the next section examines whether supranational policies have made, and will continue to make any difference in the promotion of national languages.

7.3 Effectiveness of supranational policies

The hypothesis that was put forward in the introduction to the thesis, was that language policies underpinned by nationalist ideologies can counteract English. This hypothesis was based on the proviso that supranational policies and supranational and national funding would be major factors influencing the outcomes of national language policies. However, in the light of my research, my hypothesis needs amending. I have observed that supranational policies, intended to promote linguistic diversity in the domains that I have examined, generally promote the use of English as well as, or instead of, the national languages.

As I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, there is a conflict between global market forces and national/supranational policies of linguistic diversity. Cooperation leads to convergence and thus to the use of a *lingua franca*. This conflict can be seen in all the domains examined at all levels, for example:

1) EU level

EU policy has stimulated the use of national languages at an elite level within EU institutions, which gives all official languages of the EU status, for example, Danish. In practice, however, use of the national language varies according to country. The Danish representatives are not always interested in using Danish and do not use all their interpretation funds because it is very often easier to use

English. Meanwhile, the French make every effort to use French as much as possible.

2) Nordic level

Nordic policy to use a Nordic language within the community cannot always be maintained because it is often easier to use English. Political agendas and market forces are likely to dictate language used, especially if there is no desire to use a Nordic language.

3) National level: education

In secondary education, the impact of globalisation has been responsible for the teaching of English at an earlier age than was previously the case in Denmark. It was responsible for replacing Danish as the first foreign language taught in Iceland. In higher education, the Erasmus programme has stimulated the teaching of many courses through English, despite the aim of the programme being in fact to promote linguistic and cultural diversity.

4) National level: cultural products

Cooperative projects exist to promote European and Nordic films and television within their respective regional constellations. However, market demand for Anglo-American programmes, especially by the young generation, far outweigh the interest in watching programmes in other European or Nordic languages, even though policies have resulted in more provision of the national languages in these media.

5) National level: IT

Cooperative projects also exist in the field of information technology. However, young people in both countries are used to IT in English, and developing language technology and software etc. is complex and expensive.

Despite the fact that neither EU language policy nor Nordic language policy is always successful in the promotion of national languages as against English, in fact projects set up by the EU to promote linguistic diversity benefit both Iceland and Denmark. These include programmes to increase mobility of their students

and greater exposure of their cultural products, along with the funding for the projects.

I conclude that the result of supranational policies do not assist national languages to *counteract* global English. Rather they endeavour to promote cultural products, education and IT in the national languages *alongside* English, in the same way that national language policies do. However, as I have demonstrated throughout the case studies, these policies often lead to a preferential use of English.

Therefore, supranational policies do not always have the desired effect upon the outcomes of national policies. National language policy makers cannot rely upon supranational policies and supranational funding to promote their languages in the face of the spread of English. However, none of this should undermine the importance attached to having these policies in place, at least from an ideological viewpoint.

7.3.1 Appropriateness of the categories: global, European, Nordic, national

Following on from the findings above, I shall now comment upon the appropriateness of the categories, *global, European, Nordic, national* that I have used. Throughout the thesis I have tried to examine how policies in large constellations have influenced policies in regional constellations, and how each has influenced policies in nation states within the context of globalisation.

My research has shown, however, that there is no neat filtering of policies downwards from a larger constellation to a smaller. Nor do EU policies counter globalisation or shield nation-states from this process. My research has, rather, highlighted the fact that globalisation plays a greater part in influencing policies in nation states than regional supranational policies. Each of my data chapters, (4,5, and 6), show that the global has more influence on national policy than supranational policies.

Furthermore, the global has more influence on regional constellations than regional constellations have on each other. Although there is some filtering of EU policy into Nordic policy, globalisation has the greater impact on both. Although the categories I have referred to are valid, their role and interaction is different to what I expected. To answer Wright's question (2004: 251, see Introduction: II) as to whether there is 'a leaking away from the national in language practice,' I would say that language practices are veering towards the global.

7.4 Summary of key points

Certain key points can be drawn from the findings above, many of which can be applied to countries of similar population sizes, and socio-economic conditions. The main point to emerge from the findings is that, if small nation states wish to counteract the spread of English, they should endeavour to keep their national languages fully functioning. In this way, they may be able to prevent English from taking over the domains examined.

Fundamental to the development and maintenance of a language is a nation's corpus planning, which ensures the status of the language. The evidence from this thesis suggests that examples of corpus planning that could be undertaken might include the following:

- 1) the development and modernisation of the language so that terminology exists for every function. This modernisation would be most effective if coordinated by a specific institution;
- 2) the regular update of dictionaries in order that they encompass new words which quickly come into general circulation;
- 3) the promotion of these new words from a top-down perspective by ensuring their use in official documents, as well as bottom-up methods, for example, through advertisements featuring celebrities.

This corpus planning underpins the three domains of status planning. The following points provide a number of ways in which the languages could be further maintained, extended and modernised in order to increase their status:

- 4) focus on rigorous teaching of the standard language, firstly, in order to achieve a high level of literacy, and secondly, to emphasise the differences between the national language and the dominant language;
- 5) develop language technology, for example, spelling and grammar checkers and machine translation. The first two contribute to the knowledge of the standard national language and the second would assist in gaining access to documents in a foreign language, for example, German, without having to resort to using the dominant language, English;
- 6) ensure teaching and research in higher education is carried out in all academic subjects in the national language, at least alongside, if not in preference to, the dominant language;
- 7) ensure that popular cultural products are available and promoted as much as possible in the national language, for example, broadcast radio and television programmes and films at prime times. Endeavour to convince the media companies to provide programmes in the national languages and to appeal to the young generation. This could be done by using celebrities, such as pop stars to promote the national language, by using it for their lyrics.

7.5 Possibilities for further research

This thesis leaves unanswered questions, which have not been within its initial brief. My thesis focuses primarily on policy rather than practice. However, it would have been interesting to investigate the practices of the young Icelanders and Danes more deeply, for example, the language they use in the diverse new

written forms, such as Internet chat rooms, which are in competition with traditional literature. To show how the media, the Internet and computer games effect young people's English language proficiency¹⁰ as well as the impact of English upon the written standard national languages would also be revealing. It was mentioned in Denmark several times how much code switching takes place in the written form, to the detriment of standard written Danish, but I was unable to acquire any samples. The questionnaire to students was designed merely to get an idea of some of the practices and trends.

Another interesting topic for research would be on the impact of immigrants in Iceland and Denmark, and other small nation-states. For example, if immigration to Iceland increases it could impact upon Iceland's sense of national identity and serve to create a language shift. Already, there are many more migrant workers in Iceland, working in the fisheries than there have ever been before. Such transient workers do not usually learn the language of the host country but, instead, may contribute to an increase in the use of English. This impact could be significant in terms of numbers, especially when measured against Iceland's small Icelandic-speaking population.

More could also be found out about the relationship between language and identity, as perceived by young Danes and Icelanders, as opposed to the views of the older generation. It is their attitudes towards their languages which are most likely to influence future policies. My study concentrates on language ideologies at the national level behind the policies.

Finally, following on from the preceding point, and widening the field, it would be interesting to find out more about attitudes towards EU language policy on the part of nation states. Whether the EU's commitment to the equality of languages can be maintained in practice may well depend upon the attitudes to the policy of member states, and those of the EEA/EFTA, who stand to benefit from this commitment.

¹⁰ A recent study has been carried out by Hasebrink (2007: 89 - 110) on looking at the relationships between young people and the media in four countries in Europe, and how different kinds of English proficiency are developed in the context of different media environments, such as television and the internet.

Appendix 1: Questionnaire to school pupils and students, Iceland

This questionnaire was given out to students at a large college of further education, Fjölbrautaskóli Suðurlands, in the south of Iceland, which serves the town of Selfoss and caters for students between fifteen and twenty years old. The aim of the questionnaire was to see if there was any correlation between actual use of language by young people and the policies implemented by the Departments of Education, Culture, Office for ICT Development and the Icelandic Language Institute. The survey was intended to give a general idea of how much English is used by the students and their feelings about English in various domains in Iceland.

Most of these questions make use of a five point scale from never, not often, sometimes, often and very often or other similar criteria.

Age:

Gender:

These first questions are about how much you use English on the Internet

1. How often do you access English web pages? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

Never not often sometimes often very often

2. How often do you access Icelandic web pages?

Never not often sometimes often very often

3a. For what reasons do you access web pages? Tick all those that apply to you.

- ☐ Research for your studies eg school, university
- ☐ Popular music sites
- ☐ Games
- ☐ Tourism/travel
- ☐ Other (please specify)

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often?

4. How often do you do research using web pages written in English? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

Never not often sometimes often very often

5. How often do you do research using web pages written in Icelandic? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

Never not often sometimes often very often

6. Is there enough information on Icelandic web pages for your research purposes? Yes no (please circle the one that applies)

If there is not enough information, which of the following choices would you make (please tick either, a,b, or c):

- a) look in Icelandic books or journals,
- b) look at English web pages,
- c) other (please specify)

7. Do you do research using web pages written in any other language? Please specify

8a. How often do you download American/English pop music from the Internet?

Never not often sometimes often very often

8b. How often do you download Icelandic pop music from the Internet?

Never not often sometimes often very often

9. Do you download pop music which is in any other language, eg Danish? (Please specify)

10. Do any Icelandic pop stars sing their songs in English? Please give one or two examples.

If so, why do you think they do this?

11. Which pop music do you prefer? (please circle your preference)

American British Icelandic Other No preference

Please give a reason for your preference if you can

12. How often do you download American/English movies from the Internet?

Never not often sometimes often very often

13. How often do you download Icelandic movies from the Internet?

Never not often sometimes often very often

Please give a reason for your answer.

14. Do you participate in MSN or chatrooms? Yes No (please circle)

Please tick all those that apply to you.

- Icelandic chat rooms
- English speaking chat rooms
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify)
- MSN using Icelandic
- MSN using English

15. How often do you participate in Icelandic chat rooms?

Never not often sometimes often very often

16. How often do you participate in English speaking chat rooms?

Never not often sometimes quite often very often

Which language do you use most often in chat rooms?

Why?

17. Do you have access to a computer at home? Yes No (please circle)

18. On your PC at home is your software in

A) Icelandic

b) English

c) other language (please specify)

19. On your PCs at school is the software in Icelandic or English?

If English, do you understand the English words used, eg *file*, *edit*, *save* etc?

20. Have you designed your own website? Yes No (please circle)

21. If so, is your web site in

a) Icelandic

b) English

c) Other language (please specify)

Please give a reason for the language chosen.

The next questions are about listening to English

22. At home how often do you watch English language TV programmes?

Never not often sometimes often very often

23A. Please tick all English programmes which you watch on Icelandic channels

a) programmes dubbed into Icelandic?

b) programmes with subtitles?

c) programmes only in English (no Icelandic spoken or written)

23B. How often do you watch TV programmes in other Nordic languages, eg Danish

Never not often sometimes often very often

Are these programmes subtitled or dubbed?

24. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in Icelandic?

Never not often sometimes often very often

25. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in English?

Never not often sometimes often very often

Are any of these movies subtitled?

26. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in another language eg Danish?

Never not often sometimes often very often

Are these movies subtitled? Which language are they in?

27. Which movies do you prefer?

A Icelandic

B English

C Other (please specify)

Please give a reason for your preference

27a. Please name your favourite radio station.

Is this radio station Icelandic, English, other (please specify)
Why is this station your favourite?

These questions are about verbal communication

28. How do you communicate with your friends? Tick the one that best applies to you

- Only Icelandic
- Icelandic with one or two English words
- Icelandic with a few English words
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words
- Icelandic with a lot of English words
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify)
- Other (please specify)

Any comments, eg do you use more English if you are out at clubs?

29. How do you communicate with your teachers? (exclude your foreign language teachers)

- Only Icelandic
- Icelandic with one or two English words
- Icelandic with a few English words
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words
- Icelandic with a lot of English words
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify)
- Other (please specify)

30. How do you communicate with your parents and other adults?

- Only Icelandic
- Icelandic with one or two English words
- Icelandic with a few English words
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words
- Icelandic with a lot of English words
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify)
- Other (please specify)

Any comments?

These questions are to make you think generally about your use of English

31. Do you enjoy learning/using English at school/college? Why? Why not?

32. Do you enjoy using English at home, eg movies, pop music, internet? Why? Why not?

33. How much English have you learnt through listening to popular culture, such as music and movies?

None a little some quite a lot a lot

34. How much English have you learnt through reading books, web pages, magazines?

None a little some quite a lot a lot

35. How much English have you learnt through speaking, eg at school, with friends, parents, teachers?

None a little some quite a lot a lot

36. How much English have you learnt through writing, eg schoolwork, email, letters

None a little some quite a lot a lot

37. Where do you think you have learnt the most English?

- a) at home in your own time
- b) at school

Any comments?

38. Which language do you like learning best? Please tick one.

- Danish
- English
- French
- German
- Spanish
- Other (please specify)

39. How useful do you think it is to learn English? (please tick the one that applies to you)

- A not useful
- B fairly useful
- C useful
- D very useful
- E useful and important

40. Do you think that you will need to speak other languages in the future?
Why?

41. Which foreign language do you think you will need most in the future?
A Danish
B English
C other (please specify)

42. When you meet someone from a foreign country do you speak to them in
A Icelandic
B Danish
C English
D Scandinavian
E other (please specify)

43. Which of the following do you consider yourself to be: (please tick one)
A Icelandic
B Scandinavian
C European
D an International citizen
E other

44. Which words do you prefer to use (please tick one)
A New Icelandic words
B Borrowed words from English
C Borrowed words from another language (please specify)

45. Which of these words are you most likely to use (please circle)

Smókur or reykur
Prittí or falleg
Reddy or tilbúin
Emeil or tölvurpostur
Computer or tölva
Tekki or ávísun
adda or joina or bæta við
seiva or vista
dílíta or eyða
fæl or skjál
picka út or velja

46. What do you feel about the new Icelandic words, for example for new technologies. (Tick the one that best applies.)

A clever, appropriate and necessary to use

B worth using because they are Icelandic

C fun to use but not really necessary

D not worth using because the original term already exists in another language

E a waste of time and money

Appendix 2: Questionnaire to school pupils and students, Denmark

This questionnaire was given out to school pupils at Ørestad Gymnasium next door to the University of Copenhagen, Amager site, which caters for pupils between fifteen and twenty years old. The aim of the questionnaire was to see if there was any correlation between actual use of language by young people and the policies implemented by the Departments of Education, Culture, Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation and the Danish Language Council. The survey was intended to give a general idea of how much English is used by the students and their feelings about English in various domains in Denmark.

Two questions: 3c, 23c were added to the questionnaire that was distributed to Icelandic students the year before. Another question was expanded: 43. One question was left out: 27a.

Most of these questions make use of a five point scale from never, not often, sometimes, often and very often or other similar criteria.

Age:

Gender:

These first questions are about how much you use English on the Internet

1. How often do you access English web pages? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

Never not often sometimes often very often

2. How often do you access Danish web pages?

Never not often sometimes often very often

3a. For what reasons do you access web pages? Tick all those that apply to you.

- ☐ Research for your studies eg school, university
- ☐ Popular music sites
- ☐ Games
- ☐ Tourism/travel
- ☐ Other (please specify)

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often?

3c. Which language is used most often on these sites?

4. How often do you do research using web pages written in English? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

Never not often sometimes often very often

5. How often do you do research using web pages written in Danish? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

Never not often sometimes often very often

6. Is there enough information on Danish web pages for your research purposes?
Yes no (please circle the one that applies)

If there is not enough information, which of the following choices would you make (please tick either, a,b, or c):

- a) look in Danish books or journals,
- b) look at English web pages,
- c) other (please specify)

7. Do you do research using web pages written in any other language? Please specify

8a. How often do you download American/English pop music from the Internet?

Never not often sometimes often very often

8b. How often do you download Danish pop music from the Internet?

Never not often sometimes often very often

9. Do you download pop music which is in any other language, eg Swedish?
(Please specify)

10. Do any Danish pop stars sing their songs in English? Please give one or two examples.

If so, why do you think they do this?

11. Which pop music do you prefer? (please circle your preference)

American British Danish Other No preference

Please give a reason for your preference if you can

12. How often do you download American/English movies from the Internet?

Never not often sometimes often very often

13. How often do you download Danish movies from the Internet?

Never not often sometimes often very often

Please give a reason for your answer.

14. Do you participate in MSN or chatrooms? Yes No (please circle)

Please tick all those that apply to you.

- Danish chat rooms
- English speaking chat rooms
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify)
- MSN using Danish
- MSN using English

15. How often do you participate in Danish chat rooms?

Never not often sometimes often very often

16. How often do you participate in English speaking chat rooms?

Never not often sometimes quite often very often

Which language do you use most often in chat rooms?
Why?

17. Do you have access to a computer at home? Yes No (please circle)

18. On your PC at home is your software in
A) Danish
b) English
c) other language (please specify)

19. On your PCs at school is the software in Danish or English?

If English, do you understand the English words used, eg *file*, *edit*, *save* etc?

20. Have you designed your own website? Yes No (please circle)

21. If so, is your web site in
- a) Danish
 - b) English
 - c) Other language (please specify)

Please give a reason for the language chosen.

The next questions are about listening to English

22. At home how often do you watch English language TV programmes?

Never not often sometimes often very often

23A. Please tick all English programmes which you watch on Danish channels

- a) programmes dubbed into Danish?
- b) programmes with subtitles?
- c) programmes only in English (no Danish spoken or written)

23B. How often do you watch TV programmes in other Nordic languages, eg Swedish

Never not often sometimes often very often

Are these programmes subtitled or dubbed?

23C. which TV programmes do you watch most often:

English Danish other (please specify)

24. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in Danish?

Never not often sometimes often very often

25. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in English?

Never not often sometimes often very often

Are any of these movies subtitled?

26. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in another language eg Swedish?

Never not often sometimes often very often

Are these movies subtitled?

Which language are they in?

27. Which movies do you prefer?

A Danish

B English

C Other (please specify)

Please give a reason for your preference

These questions are about verbal communication

28. How do you communicate with your friends? Tick the one that best applies to you

- Only Danish
- Danish with one or two English words
- Danish with a few English words
- Danish with quite a lot of English words
- Danish with a lot of English words
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify)
- Other (please specify)

Any comments, eg do you use more English if you are out at clubs?

29. How do you communicate with your teachers? (exclude your foreign language teachers)

- Only Danish
- Danish with one or two English words
- Danish with a few English words
- Danish with quite a lot of English words
- Danish with a lot of English words
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify)
- Other (please specify)

30. How do you communicate with your parents and other adults?

- Only Danish
- Danish with one or two English words
- Danish with a few English words
- Danish with quite a lot of English words
- Danish with a lot of English words
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify)
- Other (please specify)

Any comments?

These questions are to make you think generally about your use of English

31. Do you enjoy learning/using English at school/college? Why? Why not?

32. Do you enjoy using English at home, eg movies, pop music, internet? Why? Why not?

33. How much English have you learnt through listening to popular culture, such as music and movies?

None a little some quite a lot a lot

34. How much English have you learnt through reading books, web pages, magazines?

None a little some quite a lot a lot

35. How much English have you learnt through speaking, eg at school, with friends, parents, teachers?

None a little some quite a lot a lot

36. How much English have you learnt through writing, eg schoolwork, email, letters

None a little some quite a lot a lot

37. Where do you think you have learnt the most English?

- a) at home in your own time
- b) at school

Any comments?

38. Which foreign language do you like learning best? Please tick one.

- English
- French
- German
- Spanish
- Other (please specify)

39. How useful do you think it is to learn English? (please tick the one that applies to you)

- A not useful
- B fairly useful
- C useful
- D very useful
- E useful and important

40. Do you think that you will need to speak other languages in the future? Why?

41. Which foreign language do you think you will need most in the future?

- A German
- B English
- C other (please specify)

42. When you meet someone from a foreign country do you speak to them in

- A Danish
- B German
- C English
- D Scandinavian
- E other (please specify)

43. Which of the following do you consider yourself to be: (please tick TWO)

- A Danish
- B Scandinavian
- C European
- D an International citizen
- E other

44. Which words do you prefer to use (please tick one)

- A New Danish words
- B Borrowed words from English
- C Borrowed words from another language (please specify)

45. What do you think about the new Danish words, for example for new technologies. (tick the one that best applies)

- A Clever and necessary to use
- B Worth using because they are Danish
- C Fun to use but not really necessary
- D Not worth using because the original term already exists in another language
- E A waste of time and money

Appendix 3: Data from questionnaire to school pupils and students in Iceland

Age:
Gender:

Total sample: 86 students
Females 17+ (24), males 17+ (8), females 15-16 (31), males 15-16 (23).

These first questions are about how much you use English on the Internet

1. How often do you access English web pages? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	4	8	6	5
Males 17 +	0	0	4	2	2
Females 15-16	0	3	10	9	10
Males 15-16	0	1	2	7	13

2. How often do you access Icelandic web pages?

Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	1		2
Males 17 +	0	0		2
Females 15-16	1	2		1
Males 15-16	0	2		4

3a. For what reasons do you access web pages? Tick all those that apply to you.

Females 17+

- Research for your studies eg school, university 21
- Popular music sites 11
- Games 11
- Tourism/travel 7
- Other (please specify) 18

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often? Other (blogs: 8), research (6), pop music (2), games (2), other (email:2)

Males 17+

- Research for your studies eg school, university 6
- Popular music sites 1
- Games 4
- Tourism/travel 0
- Other (please specify) 8

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often? Other (blogs: 3)

Females 15-16

- Research for your studies eg school, university 7
- Popular music sites 20
- Games 21
- Tourism/travel 3
- Other (please specify) 25

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often? Other (blogs:16), research (8), pop music (6)

Males 15-16

- Research for your studies eg school, university 14
- Popular music sites 15
- Games 19
- Tourism/travel 2
- Other (please specify) 13

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often? Games (11), pop music (3), other (blogs: 3), other (sports: 3)

Comment: *I play an internet video game and everyone talks English*

4. How often do you do research using web pages written in English? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	7	7	9	0
Males 17 +	0	5	2	0	1
Females 15-16	1	3	17	7	3
Males 15-16	0	6	12	4	1

5. How often do you do research using web pages written in Icelandic? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	1	4	13	5
Males 17 +	0	2	1	5	0
Females 15-16	1	5	10	10	5
Males 15-16	0	5	7	8	3

6. Is there enough information on Icelandic web pages for your research purposes? Yes no (please circle the one that applies)

	Yes	no
Females 17+ .	9	14
Males 17 +	7	1
Females 15-16	10	20
Males 15-16	11	12

If there is not enough information, which of the following choices would you make (please tick either, a,b, or c):

- a) look in Icelandic books or journals,
- b) look at English web pages,
- c) other (please specify)

	Icelandic books	English web pages	other
Females 17+	4	11	
Males 17 +	1	1	
Females 15-16	1	20	
Males 15-16	4	14	

Comment: *many things for natural sciences are not in Icelandic pages*

7. Do you do research using web pages written in any other language? Please specify

	Yes	no
Females 17+	8 French, Russian, Danish, German, Spanish	13
Males 17 +	1 Danish, Swedish	6
Females 15-16	10 Danish (1)	15
Males 15-16	6 (Danish: 5, German: 1)	15

8a. How often do you download American/English pop music from the Internet?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	7	4	6	3	2
Males 17 +	1	3	0	3	1
Females 15-16	10	3	8	4	6
Males 15-16	7	3	7	4	2

8b. How often do you download Icelandic pop music from the Internet?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	12	8	2	0	1
Males 17 +	3	3	0	2	0
Females 15-16	14	15	0	2	0
Males 15-16	13	5	3	2	0

9. Do you download pop music which is in any other language, eg Danish?
(Please specify)

	Yes		no
Females 17+	5	Germ, Dan, Span	17
Males 17 +	1		6
Females 15-16	7	Span (3), Fren (1)	23
Males 15-16	9	Germ (2), Swed (2), Dan (1), Span (1)	12

10. Do any Icelandic pop stars sing their songs in English? Please give one or two examples: *Björk, Hildur,, Mínus,, Sigur Rós, Hölt, Trabant, Jet Black Joe, Brainpolice, Daysleepers, Híro, Mysti, Svala, Quarashi*

If so, why do you think they do this?

- So people in other countries understand it*
- They become more popular*
- Sometimes it sounds silly in Icelandic*
- Because no-one is interested in listening to Icelandic music abroad*
- They sing for the world market*
- Most people in the world understand English*
- To sell more records*
- Sounds better than Icelandic*
- To be famous in America and other countries*
- Songs are more beautiful in English*
- It is easier to write songs in English*
- Because people think it's more cool to sing in English*

11. Which pop music do you prefer? (please circle your preference)

	American	British	Icelandic	Other	No pref
Females 17+	8	1	2	0	13
Males 17 +	2	3	0	0	3
Females 15-16	10	0	3	7 (Amer and Brit)	11
Males 15-16	7	0	2	3 (Amer and Brit: 1)	11

Please give a reason for your preference if you can.
These reasons include the following (many said the same thing):

American because
It is more cool
The best bands come from America
English music is easy to listen to
English music is more fun to listen to
There is more to choose from
I prefer English lyrics
It is always on the radio
I like to understand the text

British because
The best classic bands are from England, eg. Beatles

Icelandic because
I also love Icelandic music

No preference because
It doesn't matter what the language is if it's a good song

12. How often do you download American/English movies from the Internet?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	17	4	1	0	1
Males 17 +	4	4	0	0	0
Females 15-16	17	8	1	3	2
Males 15-16	13	3	2	3	2

13. How often do you download Icelandic movies from the Internet?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	20	2	1	0	0
Males 17 +	6	2	0	0	0
Females 15-16	28	2	1	0	0
Males 15-16	20	4	0	0	0

Please give a reason for your answer. Answers included the following (again many mentioned the same things):

There are not many Icelandic movies on the Internet to download
If I want a movie, I buy a DVD
It is illegal
I do not know how to do it

14. Do you participate in MSN or chatrooms? Yes No (please circle)

Please tick all those that apply to you.

Females 17+ (yes: 21, no: 3)

- Icelandic chat rooms 6
- English speaking chat rooms 6
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify) 1 (Danish)
- MSN using Icelandic 16
- MSN using English 10

Males 17+ (yes: 6, no: 2)

- Icelandic chat rooms 2
- English speaking chat rooms 0
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify) 1 (Danish)
- MSN using Icelandic 6
- MSN using English 1

Females 15-16 (yes: 31, no: 0)

- Icelandic chat rooms 8
- English speaking chat rooms 5
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify) 0
- MSN using Icelandic 25
- MSN using English 17

Males 15-16 (yes: 22, no: 1)

- Icelandic chat rooms 9
- English speaking chat rooms 7
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify) 1
- MSN using Icelandic 21
- MSN using English 14

15. How often do you participate in Icelandic chat rooms?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	8	7	4	3	1
Males 17 +	5	0	2	0	0
Females 15-16	14	8	2	3	3
Males 15-16	6	5	4	3	5

16. How often do you participate in English speaking chat rooms?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	12	5	3	2	1
Males 17 +	6	1	1	0	0
Females 15-16	16	6	1	2	6
Males 15-16	6	5	7	1	4

Which language do you use most often in chat rooms?
Why?

	Icelandic	English	other
Females 17+	14	7	0
Males 17 +	3	0	0
Females 15-16	20	3	0
Males 15-16	17	1	0

Comments

Reasons given for using Icelandic were:

- Because Icelandic is my language*
- My friends are Icelandic*
- I know more people in Iceland*
- It is easier*
- Because everyone is on them*
- Most people I talk to are Icelandic*

Those who claimed to use English wrote:

- I like English*
- Everyone can understand English.*
- I prefer to use English*
- I have English speaking pen friends*
- Occasionally I use English if it is about programming or technical things*

17. Do you have access to a computer at home? Yes No (please circle)

	Yes	no
Females 17+	23	1
Males 17 +	8	0
Females 15-16	31	0
Males 15-16	23	0

18. On your PC at home is your software in

- A) Icelandic
- b) English
- c) other language (please specify)
- d) both

	Ice	Eng	both
Females 17+	4	16	2
Males 17 +	0	8	0
Females 15-16	2	27	2
Males 15-16	0	21	2

19. On your PCs at school is the software in Icelandic or English?

	Ice	Eng	both
Females 17+	7	9	5
Males 17 +	2	3	3
Females 15-16	11	7	12
Males 15-16	5	12	4

If English, do you understand the English words used, eg *file, edit, save* etc?

All responded 'yes'. Comments included:

I prefer the English words because I am used to them
Yes, often better than the Icelandic words
Yes, very well, I cannot understand the Icelandic

20. Have you designed your own website? Yes No (please circle)

	Yes	no
Females 17+	16	7
Males 17 +	5	3
Females 15-16	24	7
Males 15-16	12	11

21. If so, is your web site in

- a) Icelandic
- b) English
- c) Other language (please specify)

	Icelandic	English	both	other
Females 17+	13	1	2	1 (German)
Males 17 +	5	0	0	0
Females 15-16	24	2	1	0
Males 15-16	11	1	2	0

Please give a reason for the language chosen.

Reasons for using Icelandic:

Because I don't expect anyone not from Iceland to read it
So my friends can understand it
Because my friends visit my website
Because it is stupid to talk other languages with Icelandic speakers
I live in Iceland. Why use another language?
I prefer using my own language

Reasons for using English or both languages:

I am designing a website for my parents' business.
To make it understandable to all people

*Because most people read English
It is in Icelandic but has some stuff in English on it, such as poems, stories and jokes. It is a cool website to be in both languages.
I copy stuff from English sometimes*

The next questions are about listening to English

22. At home how often do you watch English language TV programmes?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	0	3	3	17
Males 17 +	1	0	1	1	5
Females 15-16	0	0	3	4	24
Males 15-16	0	0	3	5	15

23A. Please tick all English programmes which you watch on Icelandic channels
a) programmes dubbed into Icelandic?
b) programmes with subtitles?
c) programmes only in English (no Icelandic spoken or written)

	dubbed	subtitled	English only
Females 17+	2	22	6
Males 17 +	1	8	0
Females 15-16	1	29	11
Males 15-16	7	21	9

Comments included:

*I download a lot of English shows with no subtitles
I don't use subtitles on English DVDs*

23B. How often do you watch TV programmes in other Nordic languages, eg Danish

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	4	13	6	0	0
Males 17 +	3	2	2	1	0
Females 15-16	13	13	5	0	0
Males 15-16	7	14	2	0	0

Are these programmes subtitled or dubbed?

All are subtitled

24. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in Icelandic?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	2	19	2	0	0
Males 17 +	2	5	1	0	0
Females 15-16	6	19	6	0	0
Males 15-16	3	16	4	0	0

25. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in English?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	2	4	7	10
Males 17 +	0	1	3	3	1
Females 15-16	0	2	5	11	14
Males 15-16	0	3	4	10	6

Are any of these movies subtitled?

All

Comment: *all but it would be better if they weren't*

26. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in another language eg Danish?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	13	9	1	0	0
Males 17 +	5	3	0	0	0
Females 15-16	28	3	0	0	0
Males 15-16	23	8	0	0	0

Are these movies subtitled? All

27. Which movies do you prefer?

A Icelandic

B English

C Other (please specify)

	Icelandic		English	both	other
Females 17+	1	22	0	0	
Males 17 +	0	7	1	0	
Females 15-16	1	27	3	0	
Males 15-16	1	19	3	0	

Please give a reason for your preference

Icelandic movies are all good but you can choose between many more in English
Icelandic films are boring
There is no sense in Icelandic movies
English movies are better and more fun than Icelandic movies
The effects are better
They have better actors and celebrities in them.
Bigger productions
More fun to watch
Sound better
There are so many of them

27a Please name your favourite radio station

Bylgjan, x-fm, kiss-fm, fm 957, Rás 2, x-ið.

Is this radio station Icelandic, English, other? (please specify)
These radio stations are all Icelandic

Comments included:

Bylgjan and fm 957 play old and new songs from all over the world
x-fm ad 957 play all pop, hiphop, rock and grunge
x-fm is the only rock station
x-ið plays Icelandic and English rock
they speak Icelandic but the music is English
Rás 2 plays all kinds of music and news from all over the world

These questions are about verbal communication

28. How do you communicate with your friends? Tick the one that best applies to you

Females 17+

• Only Icelandic	3
• Icelandic with one or two English words	12
• Icelandic with a few English words	6
• Icelandic with quite a lot of English words	2
• Icelandic with a lot of English words	0
• Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish	0
• Other (please specify)	0

Males 17+

• Only Icelandic	5
• Icelandic with one or two English words	3
• Icelandic with a few English words	0
• Icelandic with quite a lot of English words	0
• Icelandic with a lot of English words	0
• Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify)	0
• Other (please specify)	0

Females 15-16

- Only Icelandic 3
- Icelandic with one or two English words 16
- Icelandic with a few English words 7
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 1
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 2
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 1
- Other (please specify) 2

Males 15-16

- Only Icelandic 1
- Icelandic with one or two English words 8
- Icelandic with a few English words 9
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 3
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 1
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify)
- Other (please specify)

Any comments, eg do you use more English if you are out at clubs?

Yes, if American or English people are there

Only if I meet someone that doesn't speak Icelandic

Sometimes if there are men annoying me and if they are English or from other countries

I use English as a joke when I talk to my sister

I usually just speak Icelandic unless I have to speak English

When I talk to my sister I use a lot of English words

29. How do you communicate with your teachers? (exclude your foreign language teachers)

Females 17+

- Only Icelandic 18
- Icelandic with one or two English words 3
- Icelandic with a few English words 1
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 1
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Males 17+

- Only Icelandic 8
- Icelandic with one or two English words 0
- Icelandic with a few English words 0
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Females 15-16

- Only Icelandic 23
- Icelandic with one or two English words 3
- Icelandic with a few English words 5
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Males 15-16

- Only Icelandic 12
- Icelandic with one or two English words 7
- Icelandic with a few English words 4
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

30. How do you communicate with your parents and other adults?

Females 17+

- Only Icelandic 16
- Icelandic with one or two English words 4
- Icelandic with a few English words 2
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 1
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Males 17+

- Only Icelandic 7
- Icelandic with one or two English words 1
- Icelandic with a few English words 0
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Females 15-16

- Only Icelandic 15
- Icelandic with one or two English words 11
- Icelandic with a few English words 2
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 1
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 3: Dan
- Other (please specify) 0

Males 15-16

- Only Icelandic . 9
- Icelandic with one or two English words 9
- Icelandic with a few English words 5
- Icelandic with quite a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with a lot of English words 0
- Icelandic with words from another language, eg Danish (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Any comments?

If I have to talk English then I will

Sometimes I think in English

I use English if I am talking about, eg pop music.

These questions are to make you think generally about your use of English

31. Do you enjoy learning/using English at school/college? Why? Why not?

	Yes	no
Females 17+	17	7
Males 17 +	7	1
Females 15-16	27	3
Males 15-16	15	5

It's good to know it to go to other countries

Yes, I love it, it's my hobby

It's fun

English seems normal

English is very useful as it is part of globalisation

It's easy

If I didn't learn English I would feel stupid

I'm good at it

Because I can use it in the future

It is a very international language, so almost everyone can understand you

It's exciting and it's good for my job

I know I need to learn it

The grammar is boring

It's dull at school

I don't like the teacher

No, I just want to speak Icelandic. I want my son to learn good Icelandic

32. Do you enjoy using English at home, eg movies, pop music, internet? Why? Why not?

	Yes	no
Females 17+	19	3
Males 17 +	7	0
Females 15-16	29	2
Males 15-16	20	1

It's a cool language
Movies are boring in Icelandic
It's entertaining
Because I understand the lyrics
It's fantastic to listen to all the music lyrics and learn the text of the song
Yes, it helps me learn English
There is a lot of information in English

33. How much English have you learnt through listening to popular culture, such as music and movies?

	None	a little	some	quite a lot	a lot
Females 17+	0	1	6	8	8
Males 17 +	0	0	2	3	3
Females 15-16	0	0	5	12	14
Males 15-16	0	0	2	6	15

34. How much English have you learnt through reading books, web pages, magazines?

	None	a little	some	quite a lot	a lot
Females 17+	0	2	8	9	4
Males 17 +	0	1	4	2	1
Females 15-16	0	6	7	12	6
Males 15-16	0	3	6	9	5

35. How much English have you learnt through speaking, eg at school, with friends, parents, teachers?

	None	a little	some	quite a lot	a lot
Females 17+	1	1	5	11	5
Males 17 +	0	3	2	2	1
Females 15-16	0	1	15	9	6
Males 15-16	0	5	7	9	1

36. How much English have you learnt through writing, eg schoolwork, email, letters

	None	a little	some	quite a lot	a lot
Females 17+	0	0	9	13	1
Males 17 +	0	0	4	2	2
Females 15-16	0	1	13	11	5
Males 15-16	0	5	8	6	3

37. Where do you think you have learnt the most English?

a) at home in your own time

b) at school

	home	school	both
Females 17+	8	11	3
Males 17 +	3	5	0
Females 15-16	17	11	3
Males 15-16	14	7	1

Any comments?

Comments included:

I've learnt English mostly through watching TV

I could read when I was little so could read the subtitles and speak English from age 8

Computer games were my teacher from the seventh grade

I've learnt English by reading English novels

I watched so many English movies when I was a child that I could speak English before I started learning it at school

Through the Internet

The best movies, songs and websites are in English

I've learnt a lot in school but mostly grammar

I have learnt the grammar and writing at school but the talking and listening at home.

38. Which foreign language do you like learning best? Please tick one.

Danish

English

French

German

Spanish

Other (please specify)

	Dan	Eng	French	German	Spanish	other
Females 17+	5	8	5	2	3	
Males 17 +	2	7	0	0	0	
Females 15-16	7	19	0	0	2	
Males 15-16	2	16	0	2	1	

39. How useful do you think it is to learn English? (please tick the one that applies to you)

A not useful

B fairly useful

C useful

D very useful

E useful and important

	Not useful	fairly useful	useful	very useful	useful and imp
Females 17+	0	0	0	5	18
Males 17 +	0	0	1	1	6
Females 15-16	0	0	0	5	25
Males 15-16	0	0	0	5	16

40. Do you think that you will need to speak other languages in the future?
Why?

These answers assume that the question meant languages other than English:

- Yes, because English is not spoken in every country*
- No, because English will always have the upper hand on the Internet*
- Not really, because almost everyone knows basic English*
- Yes because sometimes people don't speak English*
- I won't need to but I want to*
- Not other than English and Icelandic*
- No, I think English will be every single person's second language*
- No, most people I talk to will probably speak English*
- I may need Spanish or French*

These answers assume that the question meant languages including English

- Yes because I want to work in the travel business*
- Yes because I need English for my job*

41. Which foreign language do you think you will need most in the future?
A Danish
B English
C other (please specify)

	Danish	English	other
Females 17+	0	20	3
Males 17 +	0	8	0
Females 15-16	0	25	2
Males 15-16	1	19	1

Comments:

- German, Danish and Spanish are also important*
- I may need Latin in health care*

42. When you meet someone from a foreign country do you speak to them in
A Icelandic
B Danish
C English
D Scandinavisk
E other (please specify)

	Icelandic	Danish	English	scand	other
Females 17+	1	1	21	1	0
Males 17 +	0	0	7	0	1
Females 15-16	0	0	30	0	0
Males 15-16	1	1	18	0	1

Comments:

If I can speak his language I will try to speak it instead of English

I will speak Danish if he is from Denmark (5 claimed they would do this)

43. Which of the following do you consider yourself to be: (please tick one)

A Icelandic

B Scandinavian

C European

D an International citizen

E other

	Icelandic	scand	Euro	Int citizen	other
Females 17+	24	0	0	0	0
Males 17 +	8	0	0	0	0
Females 15-16	26	0	1	0	0
Males 15-16	20	0	3	0	0

44. Which words do you prefer to use (please tick one)

A New Icelandic words

B Borrowed words from English

C Borrowed words from another language (please specify)

	New Ice words	borrowed Eng	borrowed from other
Females 17+	10	12	1 (Fren, Span, Dan)
Males 17 +	4	4	0
Females 15-16	11	17	0
Males 15-16	9	13	0

45. Which of these words are you most likely to use (please circle)

Females 17+

	Borrowed English	Icelandic
Smókur or reykur	1	19
Prittí or falleg	0	20
Reddy or tilbúin	11	12
Emeil or tölvupostur	18	2
Computer or tölva	0	20
Tékki or ávísun	3	17
adda or joina or bæta við	13	6
seiva or vista	16	4
dílíta or eyða	13	7
fæl or skjál	10	11
picka út or velja	3	19

Males 17+

	Borrowed English	Icelandic
Smókur or reykur	2	3
Prittí or falleg	0	5
Reddy or tilbúin	1	4
Emeil or tölvupostur	4	1
Computer or tölva	0	5
Tékki or ávísun	1	4
adda or joina or bæta við	3	2
seiva or vista	5	0
dílíta or eyða	2	3
fæl or skjál	3	2
picka út or velja	1	4

Females 15-16

	Borrowed English	Icelandic
Smókur or reykur	4	19
Prittí or falleg	1	22
Reddy or tilbúin	13	12
Emeil or tölvupostur	23	1
Computer or tölva	1	22
Tékki or ávísun	8	15
adda or joina or bæta við	16	7
seiva or vista	21	2
dílíta or eyða	13	10
fæl or skjál	13	9
picka út or velja	3	19

Males 15- 16

	Borrowed English	Icelandic
Smókur or reykur	2	16
Prittí or falleg	1	17
Reddy or tilbúin	11	7
Emeil or tölvupostur	17	0
Computer or tölva	0	18
Tékki or ávísun	4	13
adda or joina or bæta við	13	5
seiva or vista	16	0
dílíta or eyða	13	5
fæl or skjál	13	6
picka út or velja	6	12

46. What do you think about the new Icelandic words, for example for new technologies. (tick the one that best applies)

- A Clever and necessary to use
- B Worth using because they are Icelandic
- C Fun to use but not really necessary
- D Not worth using because the original term already exists in another language
- E A waste of time and money

	Clever	worth using	fun	not worth it	waste of time	
Females 16	3	7		9	4	0
Males 17 +	3	3		0	0	1
Females 15-16	6	9		13	1	1
Males 15-16	6	4		6	5	1

Any comments?

Technical words should not be translated
They are fun because some of them are ridiculously crazy

Appendix 4: Data from questionnaire to school pupils and students in Denmark

Age:
Gender:

Females 17+ (17) males 17+ (8) Females 15-16 (12) Males 15-16 (15)
These first questions are about how much you use English on the Internet

1. How often do you access English web pages? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	0	9	3	5
Males 17 +	0	0	1	2	5
Females 15-16	0	2	6	2	2
Males 15-16	0	1	4	4	6

2. How often do you access Danish web pages?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	0	1	7	9
Males 17 +	0	2	1	4	1
Females 15-16	0	0	1	4	7
Males 15-16	0	0	1	6	8

3a. For what reasons do you access web pages? Tick all those that apply to you.

Females 17+	
o Research for your studies eg school, university	17
o Popular music sites	14
o Games	4
o Tourism/travel	6
o Other (please specify)	13

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often? Research (7), pop music (5), chat (5), sports/news (1)

3c. Which language is used most often on these sites? Danish 9, English 5, mix 2

Males 17+	
o Research for your studies eg school, university	8
o Popular music sites	7
o Games	3
o Tourism/travel	3
o Other (please specify)	4

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often? Games (2), chat (2), research (1), pop music (1), news (1)

3c. Which language is used most often on these sites? Danish 1, English 5, mix 1

Females 15-16

- Research for your studies eg school, university 10
- Popular music sites 8
- Games 2
- Tourism/travel 0
- Other (please specify) 8

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often? Research (5) pop music (4) chat (2) news (1)

3c. Which language is used most often on these sites?

Males 15-16

- Research for your studies eg school, university 15
- Popular music sites 8
- Games 6
- Tourism/travel 1
- Other (please specify) 9

3b. Which one of the above do you look at most often? Research (8), chat rooms/forums (5) email (1)

3c. Which language is used most often on these sites? Danish: 9, English 5, mix: 1

4. How often do you do research using web pages written in English? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	4	8	4	1
Males 17 +	0	1	1	5	1
Females 15-16	1	2	6	3	0
Males 15-16	0	0	7	2	6

5. How often do you do research using web pages written in Danish? (please circle the one that best applies to you)

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	0	2	5	10
Males 17 +	0	0	5	2	1
Females 15-16	0	0	2	6	4
Males 15-16	0	0	3	6	6

6. Is there enough information on Danish web pages for your research purposes?
 Yes no (please circle the one that applies)

	Yes	no
Females 17+	7	10
Males 17 +	1	7
Females 15-16	6	6
Males 15-16	5	10

If there is not enough information, which of the following choices would you make (please tick either, a,b, or c):

- a) look in Danish books or journals,
- b) look at English web pages,
- c) other (please specify)

	Danish books	English web pages	other
Females 17+	1	13	0
Males 17 +	0	8	0
Females 15-16	5	6	0
Males 15-16	3	8	1 (ask a Teacher)

7. Do you do research using web pages written in any other language? Please specify

	Yes	no
Females 17+	3 german, 1 urdu 2 scandinavian 1 Hindi	10
Males 17 +	0	8
Females 15-16	0	11
Males 15-16	2 german, 2 swedish, 1 arabic	7

8a. How often do you download American/English pop music from the Internet?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	4	2	4	2	5
Males 17 +	0		1	1	6
Females 15-16	1	2	1	3	5
Males 15-16	3	3	1	2	6

8b. How often do you download Danish pop music from the Internet?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	7	6	2	1	1
Males 17 +	2	2	2	2	0
Females 15-16	3	4	3	1	1
Males 15-16	7	1	3	1	3

9. Do you download pop music which is in any other language, eg Swedish?
(Please specify)

	Yes		no
Females 17+	4	hindi, urdu	9
Males 17 +	5	span, swe, nor	3
Females 15-16	3	germ, span	9
Males 15-16	3	2 germ, 1 swe	11

10. Do any Danish pop stars sing their songs in English? Please give one or two examples: *Outlandish, Joey Moe, Julie Berthelsen, Alex, Tine Dickow, Brian Rice, Dad, Saybia, Mew, Kashmir, Bombay Rockers, Infernal.*

If so, why do you think they do this?

Some Danes sing in English. It is quite normal – I think it is for an international breakthrough
You can't break through outside of Denmark if you sing in Danish
It's because they want to spread their message around to the whole world and English is quite often used several countries and it sounds really cool aswell
Because English is a lot more international than Danish and pop stars try to reach other countries than their own

11. Which pop music do you prefer? (please circle your preference)

	American	British	Danish	Other	No pref
Females 17+	7	3	1	2	5
Males 17 +	4	1	1	0	2
Females 15-16	7	1	1	1	1
Males 15-16	11	1	2	0	2

Please give a reason for your preference if you can

These reasons include the following (many said the same thing):

American because

I consider American music a bit more evolved and varied
I prefer American pop music. The genre started there so they are the best at it
Most of the biggest stars come from America
These 2 countries (USA and GB) have great bands. If Denmark had good bands I would listen to them aswell
They [Americans] make the best music
It's the mainstream [American]
There is a load more in English but I also like some Danish music
It's cool

Danish because

*Danish. Right now I think Denmark has some really good artists
Over the years, Danish pop music has become increasingly better*

Those who chose ‘other’ were the immigrant minority who enjoyed music in their own languages.

No preference because

*The language doesn’t matter for my choice of music
There’s good music in most countries*

12. How often do you download American/English movies from the Internet?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	11	4	1	0	1
Males 17 +	2	2	4	0	0
Females 15-16	9	2	1	0	0
Males 15-16	10	2	1	1	1

13. How often do you download Danish movies from the Internet?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	14	3	0	0	0
Males 17 +	4	4	0	0	0
Females 15-16	9	3	0	0	0
Males 15-16	13	1	0	0	0

Please give a reason for your answer.
Answers included the following:

*Movies on the internet are bad quality
What you can download is limited but there are more English movies available
Takes too long to download. I would rather see a movie in the cinema
Danish movies suck
I can’t take a Danish movie seriously and there are more English movies*

14. Do you participate in MSN or chatrooms? Yes No (please circle)

Please tick all those that apply to you.

- Females 17+ (yes: 16; no: 1)
- Danish chat rooms 7
 - English speaking chat rooms 2
 - Chat rooms in other languages (please specify) 1hindi and Punjabi, 1 urdu
 - MSN using Danish 14
 - MSN using English 8

Males 17+ (yes: 8, no: 0)

- Danish chat rooms 6
- English speaking chat rooms 5
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify)
- MSN using Danish 8
- MSN using English 7

Females 15-16 (yes: 12)

- Danish chat rooms 7
- English speaking chat rooms 4
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify)
- MSN using Danish 12
- MSN using English 2

Males 15-16 (yes: 15)

- Danish chat rooms 9
- English speaking chat rooms 2
- Chat rooms in other languages (please specify)
- MSN using Danish 14
- MSN using English 5

15. How often do you participate in Danish chat rooms?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	8	2	2	2	1
Males 17 +	0	3	0	1	4
Females 15-16	1	5	1	1	4
Males 15-16	3	0	5	3	4

16. How often do you participate in English speaking chat rooms?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	8	4	2	1	0
Males 17 +	1	2	3	2	0
Females 15-16	6	3	2	1	0
Males 15-16	6	3	2	2	2

Which language do you use most often in chat rooms?
Why?

Reasons given for using Danish were:

Danish because it is easiest way to communicate
I use Danish the most cos I am talking with my friends so it would be silly to write in English

I use Danish in chat rooms cos I am Danish; ditto website
All my friends are Danish and I only use English as slang in chat rooms – Denglish
Danish cos my friends are Danish. English is mostly in games
Danish but sometimes with English words
Danish cos I'm not so good at English

Those who claimed to use English wrote:

English cos its an international language and its more cool
I usually talk with people I meet in games and they're from multiple countries
English Danish and Urdu so I can chat to every type of people
English cos I have a lot of friends in the USA
English cos almost everyone can understand it

Other comments were:

I use a mixture, I use American slang a lot.
Depends on the other users
English, Danish and roman Urdu (written with English letters). Because I live in Denmark, English is naturally a part of me and roman Urdu because my ethnical background is from Pakistan

17. Do you have access to a computer at home? Yes No (please circle)

	Yes	no
Females 17+	16	1
Males 17 +	8	0
Females 15-16	12	0
Males 15-16	15	0

18. On your PC at home is your software in

- A) Danish
- b) English
- c) other language (please specify)
- d) both

	Dan	Eng	both
Females 17+	12	2	2
Males 17 +	4	3	1
Females 15-16	11	1	0
Males 15-16	10	1	4

19. On your PCs at school is the software in Danish or English?

	Dan	Eng	both
Females 17+	16	0	1
Males 17 +	7	0	1
Females 15-16	11	0	1
Males 15-16	13	0	2

If English, do you understand the English words used, eg *file, edit, save* etc?

All responded ‘yes,’ Comments included:

I understand the English terms because I have worked with computers for a long time so I understand from an early age

Yes, but the software is in Danish, but if it wasn't I would understand it.

I understand the English words file, save etc. because we use some of them in the Danish language

I don't have English on my PC but I do understand the words

20. Have you designed your own website? Yes No (please circle)

	Yes	no
Females 17+	3	14
Males 17 +	1	7
Females 15-16	1	11
Males 15-16	4	11

21. If so, is your web site in

- a) Danish
- b) English
- c) Other language (please specify)

	Danish	English	both
Females 17+	2	0	1
Males 17 +	1	0	0
Females 15-16	0	1	0
Males 15-16	3	1	0

Please give a reason for the language chosen.

If I was to do my own website – it would depend on the subject, whether it was for school or my own private, or if I wanted it to be open to people round the world

The next questions are about listening to English

22. At home how often do you watch English language TV programmes?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	0	2	3	12
Males 17 +	0	0	0	1	7
Females 15-16	0	0	1	2	9
Males 15-16	0	1	1	2	11

- 23A. Please tick all English programmes which you watch on Danish channels
- a) programmes dubbed into Danish?
 - b) programmes with subtitles?
 - c) programmes only in English (no Danish spoken or written)

	dubbed	subtitled	English only
Females 17+	0	17	8
Males 17 +	0	8	3
Females 15-16	1	12	6
Males 15-16	3	14	8

23B. How often do you watch TV programmes in other Nordic languages, eg Swedish

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	2	9	5	0	1
Males 17 +	4	3	1	0	0
Females 15-16	3	6	1	1	1
Males 15-16	8	6	1	0	0

Are these programmes subtitled or dubbed?

23C. which TV programmes do you watch most often:

	English	Danish	other (please specify)
Females 17+	12	3	both the same
Males 17 +	8	0	0
Females 15-16	11	0	1 both
Males 15-16	13	2	0

24. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in Danish?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	2	7	6	2	0
Males 17 +	1	5	2	0	0
Females 15-16	1	5	5	1	0
Males 15-16	2	8	4	2	0

25. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in English?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	0	1	3	7	6
Males 17 +	0	0	1	4	2
Females 15-16	0	0	5	4	3
Males 15-16	0	0	1	7	7

Are any of these movies subtitled?

All

26. How often do you go to the cinema to watch movies in another language eg Swedish?

	Never	not often	sometimes	often	very often
Females 17+	7	7	2	0	1
Males 17 +	4	3	0	0	0
Females 15-16	10	1	1	0	0
Males 15-16	10	4	1	0	0

Are these movies subtitled? Which language are they in?

27. Which movies do you prefer?

- A Danish
- B English
- C Other (please specify)

	Danish	English	other
Females 17+	1	13	3 (Ind, Pak,Hindi)
Males 17 +	0	6	0
Females 15-16	1	9	2 both the same
Males 15-16	0	15	0

Please give a reason for your preference

Reasons for preferring English movies included:

- English. They have the best resources*
- Danish movies are not as good as English ones*
- English ones are bigger and better*
- I like English movies. I like the English language a lot, you are able to express yourself better and they have their own kind of mentality that fits me better*
- I like the English language and there is a wider choice – more things to choose from*
- Its not very often there are good Danish movies in the cinema*
- USA and England make more movies than other countries*

Reasons for preferring Danish or both or other included:

- I like both but there are more English ones but Danish comedies are fun*
- I prefer Danish movies because they are better. American films are too commercial*
- English and Indian and Pakistani. It comes very naturally for me to watch movies in those languages and more interesting*
- I have to say both Danish and English because I don't think you can compare Danish and English movies. They are too different from each other*
- English movies, mostly because they are better but Danish movies are also good sometimes*

These questions are about verbal communication

28. How do you communicate with your friends? Tick the one that best applies to you

Females 17+

- Only Danish 1
- Danish with one or two English words 1
- Danish with a few English words 5
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 4
- Danish with a lot of English words 4
- Danish with words from another language, eg German 3 (German)
- Other (please specify) 2 (Urdu or Hindi)

Males 17+

- Only Danish
- Danish with one or two English words 1
- Danish with a few English words 3
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 2
- Danish with a lot of English words 0
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Females 15-16

- Only Danish
- Danish with one or two English words 4
- Danish with a few English words 6
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 0
- Danish with a lot of English words 2
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 1
- Other (please specify) 0

Males 15-16

- Only Danish 2
- Danish with one or two English words 1
- Danish with a few English words 9
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 2
- Danish with a lot of English words 1
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 1
- Other (please specify)

Any comments, eg do you use more English if you are out at clubs?

We sometimes talk English just for fun out at clubs

If you go out to clubs and meet some people that don't speak Danish, you automatically change into English.

If there is someone who can just speak English, then yes I do

It's fun speaking English and the more you use it, the better you get

I use it for example if I can't find a word in Danish I use the English word for it
Sometimes it is easier to describe some things
I use more English when I am with my English friends. They can speak Danish but we prefer to speak English
The English word is a word we don't have a Danish word for but we say it a bit different eg computer

29. How do you communicate with your teachers? (exclude your foreign language teachers)

Females 17+

- Only Danish 10
- Danish with one or two English words 3
- Danish with a few English words 2
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 1
- Danish with a lot of English words 0
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 1 spanish

Males 17+

- Only Danish 4
- Danish with one or two English words 3
- Danish with a few English words 1
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 0
- Danish with a lot of English words 1
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Females 15-16

- Only Danish 5
- Danish with one or two English words 3
- Danish with a few English words 3
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 1
- Danish with a lot of English words 0
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Males 15-16

- Only Danish 3
- Danish with one or two English words 5
- Danish with a few English words 4
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 0
- Danish with a lot of English words 2
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

30. How do you communicate with your parents and other adults?

Females 17+

- Only Danish 6
- Danish with one or two English words 4
- Danish with a few English words 2
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 0
- Danish with a lot of English words 0
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 1 Russian, 1 Urdu, 1 Hindi 1 Urdu and English 1 Turkish and Albanian

Males 17+

- Only Danish 2
- Danish with one or two English words 2
- Danish with a few English words 3
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 0
- Danish with a lot of English words 0
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) Thai and Danish

Females 15-16

- Only Danish 4
- Danish with one or two English words 5
- Danish with a few English words 3
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 0
- Danish with a lot of English words 0
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 0

Males 15-16

- Only Danish 3
- Danish with one or two English words 4
- Danish with a few English words 5
- Danish with quite a lot of English words 1
- Danish with a lot of English words 0
- Danish with words from another language, eg German (please specify) 0
- Other (please specify) 1 Danish and Arabic

Any comments?

I talk English when I am in India, Hindi aswell. We mix it
I often forget the Danish word for something so I just say it in English
English slang is less common to older generations
There are many words in Danish that are the same in English, e.g. burger, t-shirt etc
I code switch between Danish and English
It is fun to spice the language with foreign words
English words and slang are a natural part of Danish – also in text messaging

These questions are to make you think generally about your use of English

31. Do you enjoy learning/using English at school/college? Why? Why not?

	Yes	no
Females 17+	16	0
Males 17 +	8	0
Females 15-16	12	0
Males 15-16	14	1

Comments included (many said the same things):

- I enjoy learning English at school because it is useful everywhere*
- Because it is more global*
- It's a language with more 'options'*
- It is a beautiful language and I like speaking it*
- English is an easy language to learn*
- I enjoy it very much, I have kind of grown up, seeing English TV shows and speaking English*
- It is a relevant language*
- I like English and it is a language everyone mostly understand*
- You have to speak English if you want to communicate with other countries*
- English is almost more common than Danish for me especially on the internet*
- Yes it's a challenge and an exciting language*
- Yes because I know it's important to speak it*
- Yes because I am good at it*
- It is easy because you hear the language all the time on TV*
- Because it makes me better at it and English is an important language*
- Yes because it is fun*
- I think it is fun and interesting to learn another language*
- I wouldn't say I enjoy it but its good if you can speak English*
- Yes because English is a language that you HAVE to learn*

32. Do you enjoy using English at home, eg movies, pop music, internet? Why? Why not?

	Yes	no
Females 17+	15	1
Males 17 +	8	0
Females 15-16	12	0
Males 15-16	15	0

Comments included:

- Its more easy to sing in English*
- I think English is a big part of our "everyday" so yes I enjoy it*
- Yes because sometimes English words is better to describe how I feel*
- Yes because I think it sounds better*
- Yes because it's a common thing to do*
- When I do it (use English) its natural*
- If I can speak and understand English, everything in the whole world is possible.*
- English is the way to go. I wish I was English*

I'm using English words without noticing it, its almost like a hybrid language.
Simple everyday things are as easy and natural in English
Even sometimes in school I speak English in Danish classes because I do not know the word in Danish but in English
I see myself as a very international person and I just enjoy listening to English
Yes I like English TV comedy/drama series and music
Yes because it helps making it easier to learn
I enjoy using English at home because it is entertaining
Quality of English products are better
Yes because almost everything are better in English
You have access to a lot more in English on the internet

33. How much English have you learnt through listening to popular culture, such as music and movies?

	None	a little	some	quite a lot	a lot
Females 17+	0	0	1	12	4
Males 17 +	0	0	1	4	3
Females 15-16	1	0	2	2	5
Males 15-16	0	1	2	8	4

34. How much English have you learnt through reading books, web pages, magazines?

	None	a little	some	quite a lot	a lot
Females 17+	1	1	5	9	1
Males 17 +	0	0	4	4	0
Females 15-16	0	1	3	7	2
Males 15-16	0	2	5	3	5

35. How much English have you learnt through speaking, eg at school, with friends, parents, teachers?

	None	a little	some	quite a lot	a lot
Females 17+	0	2	1	9	5
Males 17 +	0	0	3	2	3
Females 15-16	0	1	2	9	1
Males 15-16	1	0	1	5	8

36. How much English have you learnt through writing, eg schoolwork, email, letters

	None	a little	some	quite a lot	a lot
Females 17+	0	0	6	7	4
Males 17 +	0	0	3	3	2
Females 15-16	0	1	3	7	1
Males 15-16	0	1	2	7	5

37. Where do you think you have learnt the most English?

- a) at home in your own time
- b) at school

	home	school	both
Females 17+	6	9	1
Males 17 +	4	4	0
Females 15-16	3	8	0
Males 15-16	8	5	2

Any comments?

I also learnt English a lot at youth exchanges
Both, but mostly at home as a child, which made it easier at school
At school you often meet rules, grammar etc. When you are at home can concentrate on speaking the language.
English movies is a great substitute for learning in school but you do need the school.
On my holidays e.g. in Spain, I speak English to my Spanish friends
At home because I got a lot of help from my parents

38. Which foreign language do you like learning best? Please tick one.

- English
- French
- German
- Spanish
- Other (please specify)

	Eng	French	German	Spanish	other
Females 17+	15	0	0	2	0
Males 17 +	3	1	0	4	0
Females 15-16	11	1	0	0	0
Males 15-16	11	1	1	2	0

39. How useful do you think it is to learn English? (please tick the one that applies to you)

- A not useful
- B fairly useful
- C useful
- D very useful
- E useful and important

	Not useful	fairly useful	useful	very useful	useful/ imp
Females 17+	0	0	0	3	14
Males 17 +	0	0	0	0	8
Females 15-16	0	0	0	1	11
Males 15-16	0	0	1	2	12

40. Do you think that you will need to speak other languages in the future?
Why? Reasons included:

No I don't think so, I mean except from English - English I think I will use all the time.
I doubt it is needed per se but still I love my own language and would not like to see it vanish
Yes French and English is the way to go
Don't need anything else. English pretty much covers it all
Yes because there are many different languages, which are used all around the world
German maybe. Many countries are using it like we use English
I think its quite ok to just know a bit from other languages. Generally I think that English is enough
Yes, Spanish and German and French to communicate with different cultures
No, it depends where you are. But English will stay as an international language
No, almost everywhere people speak English (No need to speak other langs)
Yes because we are in Europe
Yes cos we need to communicate with other countries other than ourselves
I would love to see Danish and other European languages disappear, and then use English instead
Yes because not everyone can speak English
Because I like to travel and need to communicate with people who don't understand Danish

41. Which foreign language do you think you will need most in the future?
A German
B English
C other (please specify)

	English	German	other
Females 17+	14	0	1 Hindi and Punjabi
Males 17 +	8	0	1 also Spanish
Females 15-16	11	1	1 Spanish
Males 15-16	14	1	0

42. When you meet someone from a foreign country do you speak to them in
A Danish
B German
C English
D Scandinavisk
E other (please specify)

	Danish	German	English	Scand	other
Females 17+	0	0	16	1	Hindi 1
Males 17 +	0	0	8	0	0
Females 15-16	0	1	10	0	0
Males 15-16	0	1	13	0	Arabic 1

43. Which of the following do you consider yourself to be: (please tick TWO)

- A Danish
- B Scandinavian
- C European
- D an International citizen
- E other

	Dan and euro	Dan and Scand	Dan and Int Cit	Dan and other
Females 17+	7	1	4	1 (+Russian) 4
Males 17 +	3	0	3	1 1
Females 15-16	5	6	1	0 0
Males 15-16	7	2	2	1 (+Palest) 1
	Euro and Int, 1 Scand and Euro			

44. Which words do you prefer to use (please tick one)

- A New Danish words
- B Borrowed words from English
- C Borrowed words from another language (please specify)

45. What do you think about the new Danish words, for example for new technologies. (tick the one that best applies)

- A Clever and necessary to use
- B Worth using because they are Danish
- C Fun to use but not really necessary
- D Not worth using because the original term already exists in another language
- E A waste of time and money

Any comments?

I cant remember any words
I use whatever words fit into the conversation

Appendix 5: Tables showing Internet usage by language

Table 1: The top ten languages used in the Web, 2007

Top Ten Languages Used in the Web (Number of Internet Users by Language)					
TOP TEN LANGUAGES IN THE INTERNET	% of all Internet Users	Internet User by Language	Internet Penetration by Language	Language Growth in Internet (2000 - 2007)	2007 Estimated World Population for the Language
<u>English</u>	31.2 %	365,893,996	17.9 %	157.7 %	2,042,963,12
<u>Chinese</u>	15.7 %	184,001,513	13.6 %	469.6 %	1,351,737,92
<u>Spanish</u>	8.7 %	101,539,204	22.9 %	311.4 %	442,525,60
<u>Japanese</u>	7.4 %	86,300,000	67.1 %	83.3 %	128,646,34
<u>French</u>	5.0 %	59,207,849	15.3 %	385.4 %	387,820,87
<u>German</u>	5.0 %	58,981,592	61.1 %	112.9 %	96,488,32
<u>Portuguese</u>	4.0 %	47,326,760	20.2 %	524.7 %	234,099,34
<u>Korean</u>	2.9 %	34,120,000	45.6 %	79.2 %	74,811,36
<u>Italian</u>	2.7 %	31,481,928	52.9 %	138.5 %	59,546,69
<u>Arabic</u>	2.5 %	28,782,300	8.5 %	940.5 %	340,548,15
TOP TEN LANGUAGES	85.0 %	997,635,142	19.3 %	203.7 %	5,159,187,76
Rest of World Languages	15.0 %	175,474,783	12.4 %	440.3 %	1,415,478,65
<u>WORLD TOTAL</u>	100.0 %	1,173,109,925	17.8 %	225.0 %	6,574,666,41

(*) NOTES: (1) Internet Top Ten Languages Usage Stats were updated for June 30, 2007. (2) Internet Penetration is the ratio between the sum of Internet users speaking a language and the total population estimate that speaks that specific language. (3) The most recent Internet usage information comes from data published by Nielsen//NetRatings, International Telecommunications Union, Computer Industry Almanac, and other reliable sources. (4) World population information comes from the world gazetteer web site. (5) For definitions and navigation help, see the Site Surfing Guide. (6) Stats may be cited, stating the source and establishing an active link back to Internet World Stats. Copyright © 2007, Miniwatts Marketing Group. All rights reserved.

Table 2 The top ten languages used in the web, 2005

The Top Ten Languages in the Web
(Number of Users of the Internet by Language)

TOP TEN LANGUAGES IN THE INTERNET	Internet Users, by Language	Average Penetration	World Population Estimate for Language	Language as % of Total Internet Users
<u>English</u>	283,363,528	25.5 %	1,109,719,291	34.7 %
<u>Chinese</u>	112,736,236	8.6 %	1,316,007,412	13.8 %
<u>Japanese</u>	67,677,944	52.8 %	128,137,485	8.3 %
<u>Spanish</u>	55,649,751	14.3 %	389,587,559	6.8 %
<u>German</u>	53,418,308	55.6 %	96,141,368	6.5 %
<u>French</u>	37,067,503	9.9 %	375,066,442	4.5 %
<u>Korean</u>	31,600,000	42.0 %	75,189,128	3.9 %
<u>Italian</u>	28,610,000	48.8 %	58,608,565	3.5 %
<u>Portuguese</u>	22,407,050	9.8 %	227,621,437	2.7 %
<u>Dutch</u>	13,657,170	56.4 %	24,218,157	1.7 %
TOP TEN LANGUAGES	706,187,491	18.6 %	3,800,307,391	86.4 %
Rest of the Languages	111,259,656	4.3 %	2,611,759,794	13.6 %
WORLD TOTAL	817,447,147	12.7 %	6,412,067,185	100.0 %

NOTES: (1) Internet Top Ten Languages Stats were updated on February 14, 2005. (2) Average Penetration is the ratio between the sum of Internet users speaking a language and the total population estimate that speaks that referred language. (3) The most recent Internet usage information comes from data published by www.internetworldstats.com, www.netratings.com, [International Telecommunications Union](http://www.internationaltelecommunicationsunion.org), and other reliable sources. (4) The population information is from [world-gazetteer.com](http://www.world-gazetteer.com). (5) Stats may be given the source and establishing an active link back to InternetWorldStats.com. ©Copyright 2005, Miniwatts International, Inc. All rights reserved.

Table 3: Internet usage in the Nordic countries within Europe, 2007

Based on Internet World Stats (2007)

Internet Usage in Europe					
<u>EUROPE</u>	Population (2007 Est.)	Internet Users, Latest Data	% Population (Penetration)	% Users Europe	Usage Growth (2000- 2007)
<u>Denmark</u>	5,438,698	3,762,500	69.2 %	1.5 %	92.9 %
<u>Faroe Islands</u>	49,760	33,000	66.3 %	0.0 %	1,000.0 %
<u>Finland</u>	5,275,491	3,286,000	62.3 %	1.3 %	70.5 %
<u>Iceland</u>	299,076	258,000	86.3 %	0.1 %	53.6 %
<u>Norway</u>	4,657,321	3,140,000	67.4 %	1.0 %	42.7 %
<u>Sweden</u>	9,107,795	6,890,000	75.6 %	2.7 %	70.2 %

Table 4: Internet usage in the Nordic countries within Europe, 2005

Based on Internet World Stats (2005)

Internet Usage in Europe					
<u>EUROPE</u>	Population (2007 Est.)	Internet Users, Latest Data	% Population (Penetration)	% Users Europe	Usage Growth (2000- 2005)
<u>Denmark</u>	5,411,596	3,375,850	62.4 %	1.6 %	73.1 %
<u>Faroe Islands</u>	49,329	25,000	50.7 %	0.0 %	73.3 %
<u>Finland</u>	5,246,920	2,650,000	50.5 %	1.3 %	37.5 %
<u>Iceland</u>	294,947	195,000	66.1 %	0.1 %	16.1 %
<u>Norway</u>	4,600,644	2,288,000	49.7 %	1.0 %	4.0 %
<u>Sweden</u>	9,043,990	6,722,553	74.3 %	3.3 %	66.1 %

Appendix 6: Table to show language training offered in the Nordic countries for language teachers

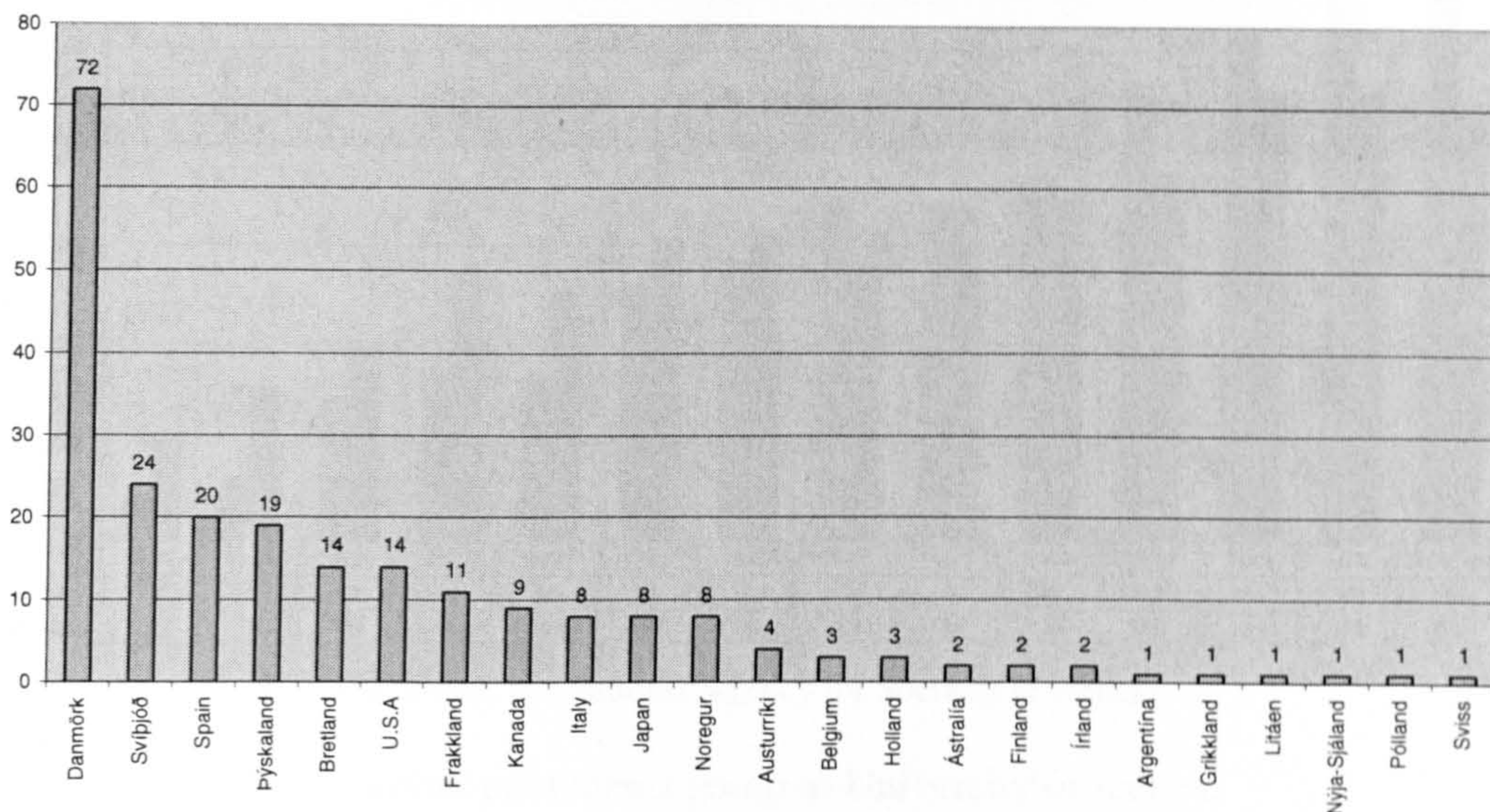
Source: Grenfell, Kelly and Jones (2003:48-49 table 1) and Kelly et al (2002)

	Languages for which training has been identified at primary and secondary level	Languages for which training has been identified at secondary level	LWUTLs taught	Participation in European programmes	Participation in content language and integrated learning (CLIL)
Denmark	English	French German Spanish	Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic (taught in dept of Nordic studies at HE level)	Socrates/Erasmus Nordplus Nordic-Baltic cooperation project, Leonardo	NO
Finland	English French German Russian	Croatian Estonian Greek Hungarian Italian Japanese Spanish	Scandinavian languages may be taught through Scandinavian HE departments	Socrates/Erasmus Nordplus ISEP Tempus	YES
Iceland	Danish English	French German Spanish	Danish, online courses in Norwegian and Swedish at primary/secondary level, Nordic languages at HE level	Socrates/Erasmus Nordplus Grundtvig Comenius	NO
Norway	English French German	Finnish Portuguese Italian Japanese Russian Spanish	Scandinavian languages and literature at HE level	Socrates/Erasmus Nordplus Leonardo Nordkalotten Quota Programme Lingua programme	YES
Sweden	English French German Spanish	Chinese Finnish Italian Japanese Russian	HE departments offer course in languages and cultures of Scandinavian languages	Socrates/Erasmus Nordplus, Visby (exchange with Baltic countries, Poland and Russia), Tempus	YES

Appendix 7: Tables showing exchange students going to and from Iceland. Source: Oskar Oskarsson, the National Agency for Socrates in Iceland.

Table 1

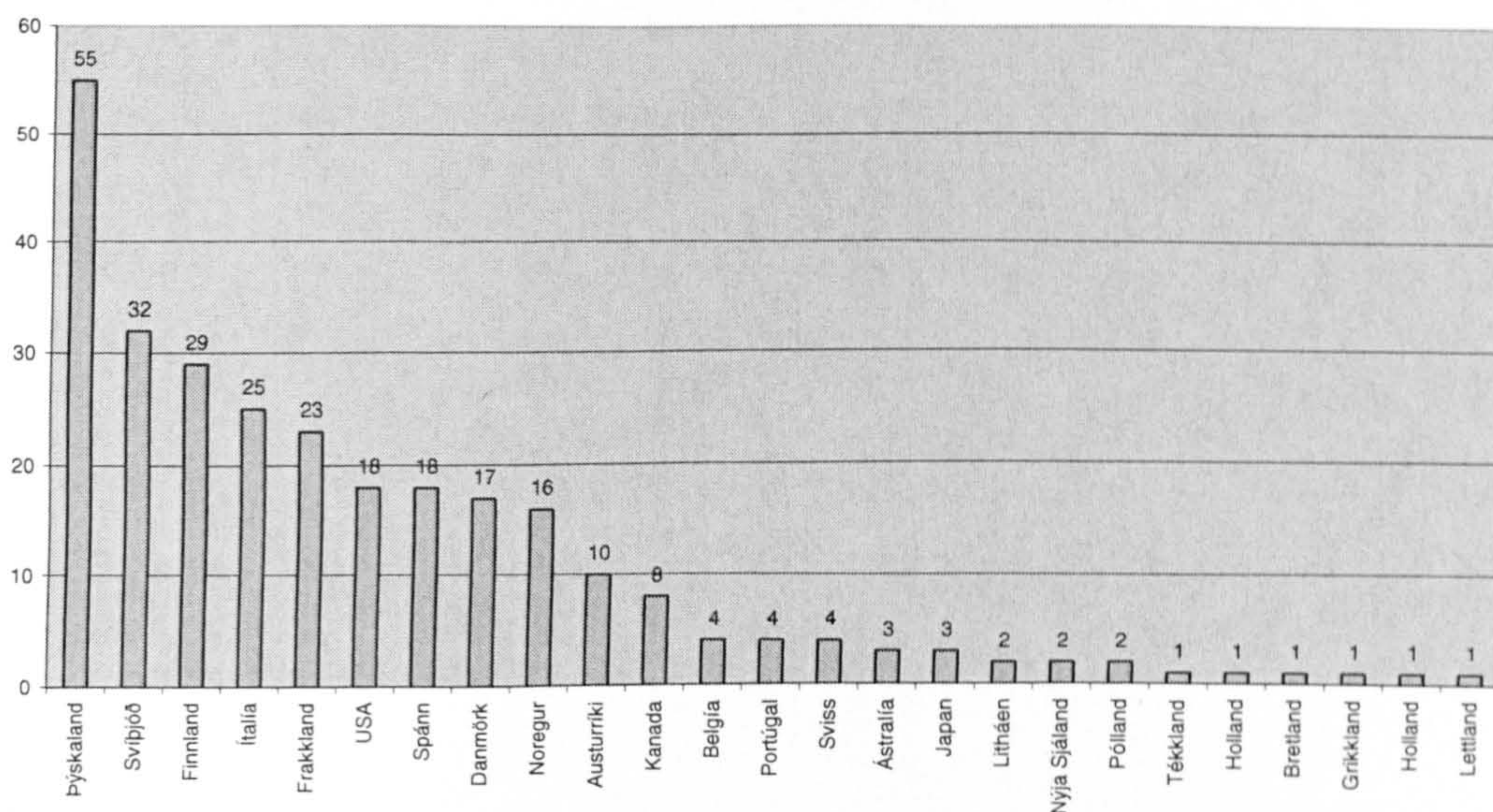
Skiptistúdentar frá Í 2004-05 eftir löndum / heild = 229



Graph shows numbers of exchange students going from Iceland to other countries in the year 2004-5.

Table 2

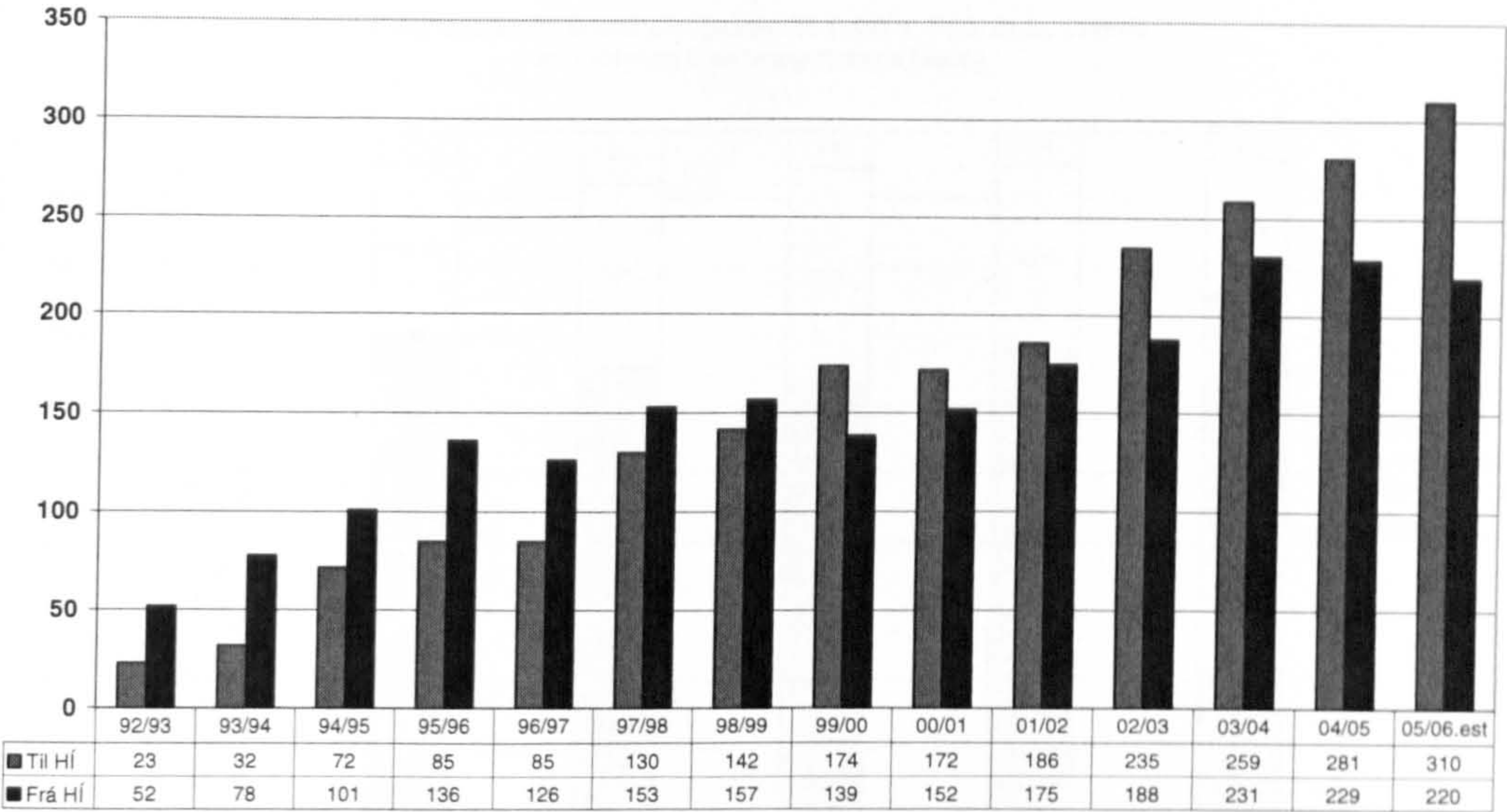
Skiptistúdentar til Í 2004-05 eftir löndum / heild = 281



Graph shows numbers of exchange students going to Iceland from other countries in the year 2004-5

Table 3

Exchange students to and from the University of Iceland



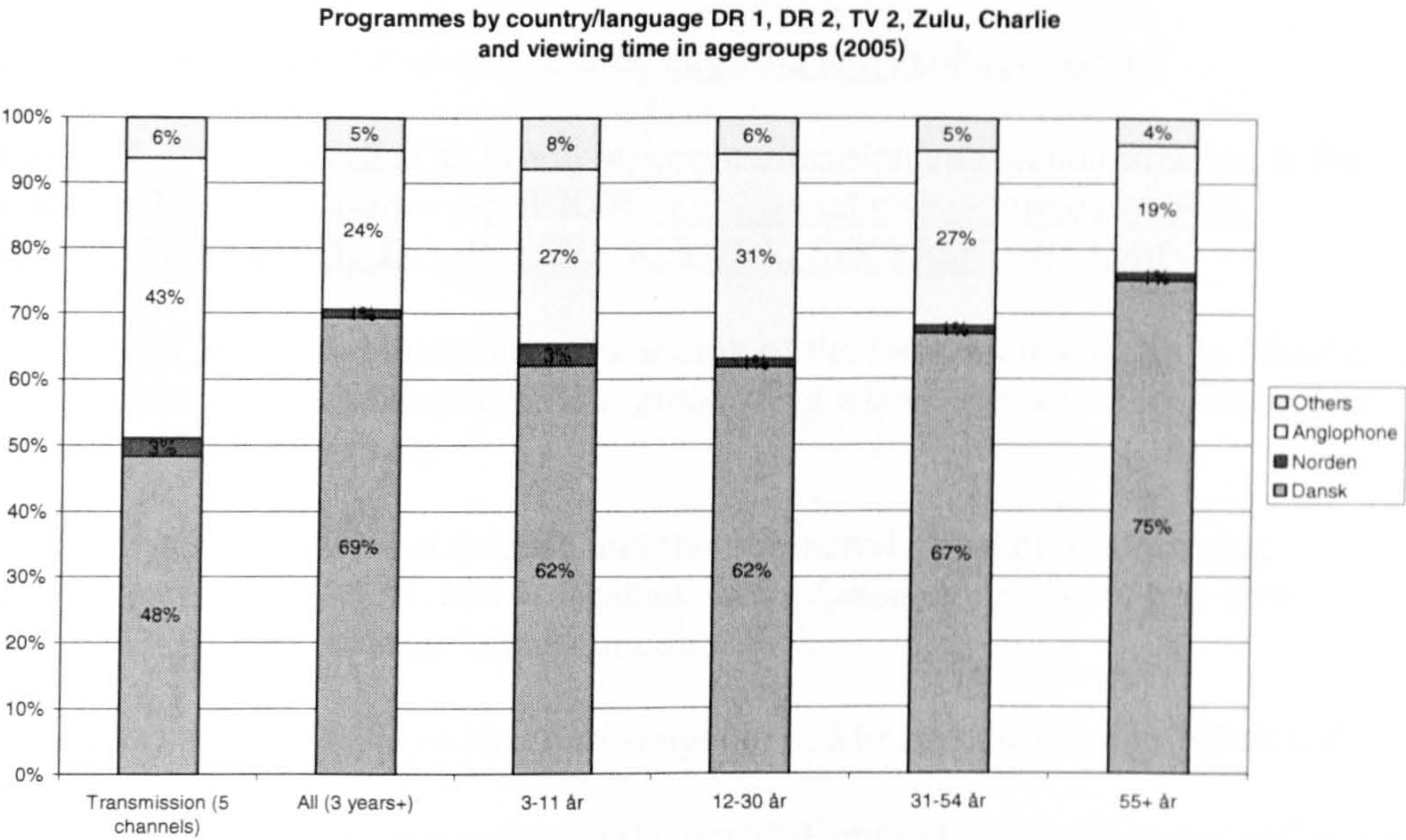
Source: Oskar Oskarsson, the National Agency for Socrates in Iceland.

Key: Dark: number of students going to University of Iceland
Pale: number of students going from University of Iceland

Graph shows numbers going to and from the University of Iceland between 1992/3 and 2004-5 with estimated figures for 2005-6 and shows how incoming students have overtaken outgoing students since 1999/2000

Appendix 8: Television viewing data, Denmark

Source: Erik Nordahl Svendsen, Media Secretariat, Denmark, 2006



Key: blue=Danish, yellow=Anglophone (UK, Ireland, US, Canada, Australia), red=Nordic, light blue=others.

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