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CENTER FOR FOLKLIFE AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

Measuring Effectiveness: A Study on Changes in Minority Language Use and Perception due to Revitalisation Efforts, with Evidence from North Frisian

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A. Introduction of Program and Community

1. Provide a description of the language program and community

1.1 Name the language, and any dialects, and sub-dialects

Frisian / North Frisian (Friesisch / Nordfriesisch).

In official writing, the term *friesische Sprache* (Frisian language, rather than *nordfriesische Sprache*, North Frisian language) is often used despite the fact that there is also a sizeable West Frisian community in the Netherlands and a small East Frisian speaking community in Lower Saxony (Germany). Speakers themselves will only use *Friesisch* (Frisian) to identify their language in opposition to Low German, High German or Danish. Otherwise, they will use the local name for their variety, rather than say that they speak Frisian.

The major dialect grouping of North Frisian divides island North Frisian (*Inselnordfriesisch*) and mainland North Frisian (*Festlandnordfriesisch*). Within these two groups, the following dialects are usually listed, both in scholarly and in lay discourse:

a. Island dialects, from North to South: Sölring, Fering, Öömrang, Halunder

b. Mainland dialects, from North to South: Wiringhiirder Fresk, Bökinghiirder Frasch, Kårhiirder Fräisch, Nordergooshiirder Fräisch, Madelgooshiirder Freesch, Süürgooshiirder Freesch, Hallig Frisian.

This list contains those varieties that have been attested, i.e., where we have a clear idea of their linguistic shape and properties. At least one of these, perhaps two, are no longer spoken. In addition, we also know that on the peninsula of Eiderstedt, Frisian was spoken until at least the mid-seventeenth century. However, no linguistic evidence survives from this variety.

1.2 Name the autochthonous or minoritized community/communities that speak the language

There is universal agreement that those who speak the language belong to the ethnic group of Frisians. There is also a sizeable number of Frisians who don't speak Frisian. Of these, a significant proportion speaks Low German, another non-dominant autochthonous language. There is a substantial history of dispute over the question as to whether Frisians form a distinct ethnic minority or whether Frisians are a part of German ethnic identity. In the last 20 or so years the dispute has no longer been contested to such an extent that (non-violent) hostility is expressed.

The regional state of Schleswig-Holstein and the state of Germany recognise Frisians as a *Volksgruppe* (ethnic group) and include them in the list of national minorities protected by the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1998).

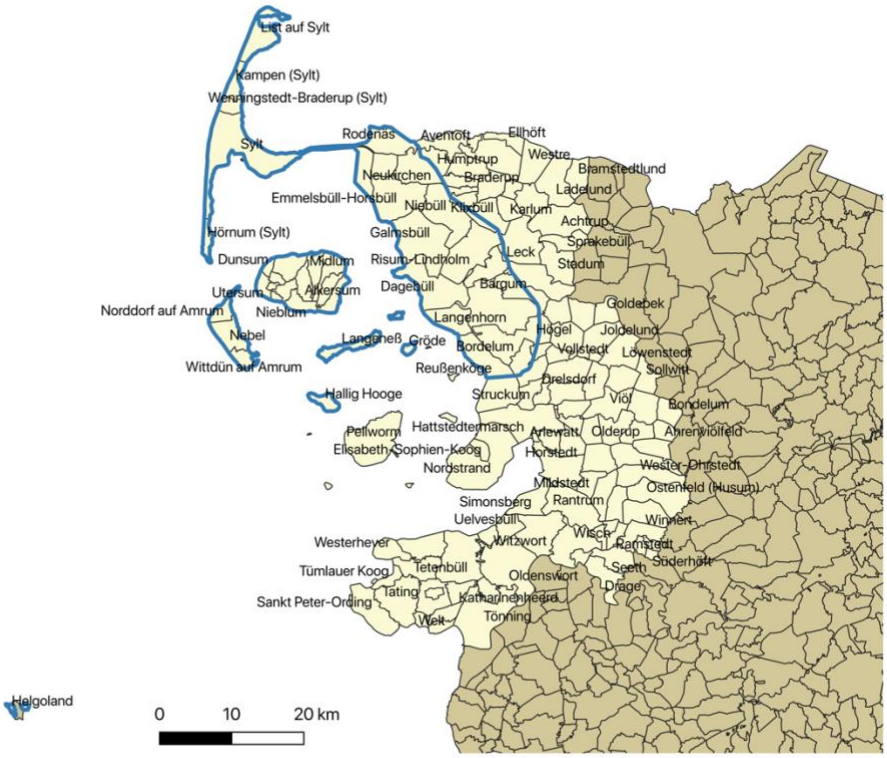
1.3 Describe the geographic area in which the language is spoken

There has been continuous settlement of Frisians on the north-west coast, islands and marshlands of (what is now) Germany for some 1000 years. The area was largely part of the Duchy of Schleswig, with three enclaves belonging to the kingdom of Denmark. The modern administrative district of *Nordfriesland*, established in 1969, encapsulates all autochthonous Frisian speaking areas, except for the island of Heligoland, which belongs to the administrative district of *Pinneberg*. Within *Nordfriesland*, the commonly cited strongholds of the language are the western half of the island of Föhr, the island of Amrum and the village of Risum-Lindholm on the mainland. Figure 1 shows the position of *Nordfriesland* in Northern Germany and the area where Frisian is spoken according to Munske (2001), see 1.1 for a discussion of the dialects of Frisian and a historical perspective on its distribution.

Estimates for the numbers of speakers range from 5,000 to 10,000, with the former being the more realistic one. In addition, realistic estimates speak of another 1000-2000 speakers of North Frisian in the diaspora, most notably in the urban environments of Flensburg, Kiel, Hamburg and Berlin, as well as the long-established immigrant networks on Long Island (NY) and Petaluhma (California).

Figure 1

North Frisian language area according to Munske 2001



1.4 Provide a brief history of the language

North Frisian is a West Germanic language with significant morphosyntactic borrowing from South Jutish, a neighbouring North Germanic variety. Frisian settlers first arrived in what then became North Frisia in around 800 AD (islands) and 1100 AD (mainland). There are no surviving texts or fragments of the language before 1600. Any medieval evidence of the

systemic linguistics of North Frisian is reconstructed, in parts by comparing modern North Frisian with Old Frisian, i.e., the medieval texts of West and East Frisian. The oldest known texts of North Frisian are two copies of the Lutheran Catechism written around 1600 on the islands of Föhr and of Strand. Both copies are lost and the only edition we have is by Ziesemer (1922).

North Frisian is a textbook case of what we call an *invisible language* (cf. Langer & Havinga 2015), i.e., it was never – to the extent that we can know this – used in formal writing or as a target of educational instruction. There is significant *indirect* evidence that the language was used as a wide-spread spoken idiom, i.e., metalinguistic comments in official reports on the state of education (Gregersen & Langer, at press) or evidence of linguistic transference and code-switching in historical private writing (Jacob-Owens, 2017), but there is virtually no historical record of the language itself. There are some word lists from the eighteenth century and a play printed as a book from 1809, but these were not part of a concerted effort and did not lead to a united ambition to boost the language's standing by using it in formal writing or public discourse.

It is generally accepted that Frisian was the native language of virtually the whole population in the areas covered by the dialects described until at least 1900. This is less likely to have applied to high-status persons such as vicars, civil servants and teachers, although there is no clear picture on their competence in the language. We do have evidence, however, that they did not use Frisian and that, where they did, it was not seen as appropriate amongst the general population (e.g., Kohl, 1846; cf. also Langer, 2016).

Up until the late nineteenth century, the number of speakers was equated with the number of people (=Frisians) in the area, so we do not have a clear view of declining numbers of speakers for the historical periods. Estimates suggest that around 1850, there were 30,000

speakers, halving to 15,000 by the 1920s. The reasons for the decline are likely to do with an increase in social and geographical mobility – people moving to cities such as Husum, Flensburg or Hamburg to better their employment and educational prospects, rather than just the commonly cited low status of the language since the low status already applied to previous periods when speaker numbers had remained stable.

The language continues to be restricted to a substantial degree to private communication, with only a few societies and associations using the language on more public occasions. This is unlikely to change, also because all speakers of Frisian are also native speakers of High German, with some also speaking Low German at highly competent levels.

2. Provide a brief history of the language revitalization efforts and the immediate community that the program serves or is situated in

2.1 How did the language revitalization efforts begin? What are some of the key factors or triggers that led to increased language revitalization or changes in attitudes (a leader, a historical catalyst, policy, revival, or renewed interest in an art form...)

Language revitalisation efforts for North Frisian largely concentrate on the introduction of lessons in schools, in particular primary school teaching. The first attempts to introduce Frisian in school teaching were carried out on the island of Sylt in 1909, but this was immediately rolled back by government officials for some schools and did not lead to an expansion of such provision to other geographical areas (Steensen, 2002). The provision of Frisian school teaching took place in waves, with periods of decline and loss of interest, followed by both bottom-up and top-down language policy efforts to kick-start a resurgence. The first period of decline and stagnation coincided with WWI, and the first period of

resurgence was marked by a government decree on the provision of Frisian language teaching in 1925. This was no doubt inspired by the fierce national conflicts fought over the 1920 referendum to decide on the new border between Denmark and Germany. This had triggered the articulation of the view by some Frisians that they are part of a distinct ethnic minority rather than part of the German cultural nation. It is commonly assumed that the granting of Frisian language lessons by the Prussian government in 1925 was intended to appease any separatist ambitions. It certainly resulted in the establishment of the *Wanderlehrer*, i.e., circuit teachers, who would serve up to 12 schools per week by teaching one lesson each and then proceeding ("wandering") to the next. With the general disinterest of promoting minorities in the III. Reich, these attempts to raise the prestige of Frisians by exposing pupils – many of whom were still native speakers at the time – to the language in the formal context of schooling, were abandoned again.

After WWII, policies reversed again with a decree by the Schleswig-Holstein government in 1947 reintroducing Frisian school teaching, but this was rarely implemented, presumably because of the other pressing issues the country was facing in the post-war period. In the late 1950s, the Danish minority school in the central Frisian-speaking community on the mainland, Risum (later joined with Lindholm), introduced Frisian as a language of instruction – in addition to Danish – and this school remains to this day the only school where Frisian is used in such a way. Already in the 1960s, however, the head teacher of the Risum Skole / Risem Schölj, had to acknowledge that the majority of her pupils were no longer native speakers of Frisian and consequently had to adapt the school's pedagogy. Elsewhere the provision of Frisian language teaching lay virtually dormant until its revival in the 1970s, no doubt connected to the general renaissance of local and regional culture at the time (see our SMiLE blog entry on the *biike*-bonfire, February 21, 2020).

Beginning in 1976, individual schools undertook the teaching of Frisian, this time with increasing and long-lasting success. The number of schools providing such education slowly increased and peaked in the 1990s with 32 schools offering lessons. The total number of pupils taking Frisian classes was highest in the early 2000s, when up to over 1400 children participated in Frisian classes (Walker, 2015). Closures of small schools due to centralisation efforts, lack of teachers, and lack of interest by school management have led to a slow decline so that by 2018, only 25 teachers taught 760 pupils in 16 schools. In most cases, the offer is restricted to either Y1 and 2, or Y3 and 4, i.e., those aged between 6-10 years. It should be noted at this place that participation in those Frisian classes is always voluntary. Frisian teaching at secondary school level is restricted to the *Eilun Feer Skuul* on the island of Föhr, the Gemeinschaftsschule on the island of Amrum, and the Risem Schölj on the mainland. Only on Föhr, the language can be chosen as a proper subject during the last three years of grammar school. It is privately acknowledged by teachers and community members that no level of school teaching will be sufficient to enable pupils to learn the language with active confidence, but there is equally widespread agreement that school education in Frisian is an important supporting component in sustaining the language.

Figure 2

Statistical overview of Frisian education (Walker 2015:57)

schoolyear	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93
teachers	14	12	13	19	20	18	22	21	23	22	23
schools	18	21	26	33	35	35	36	38	36	35	37
pupils	574	536	592	839	819	740	912	908	948	912	1003
lessons	74	79	84	128	142	129	149	153	153	140	149

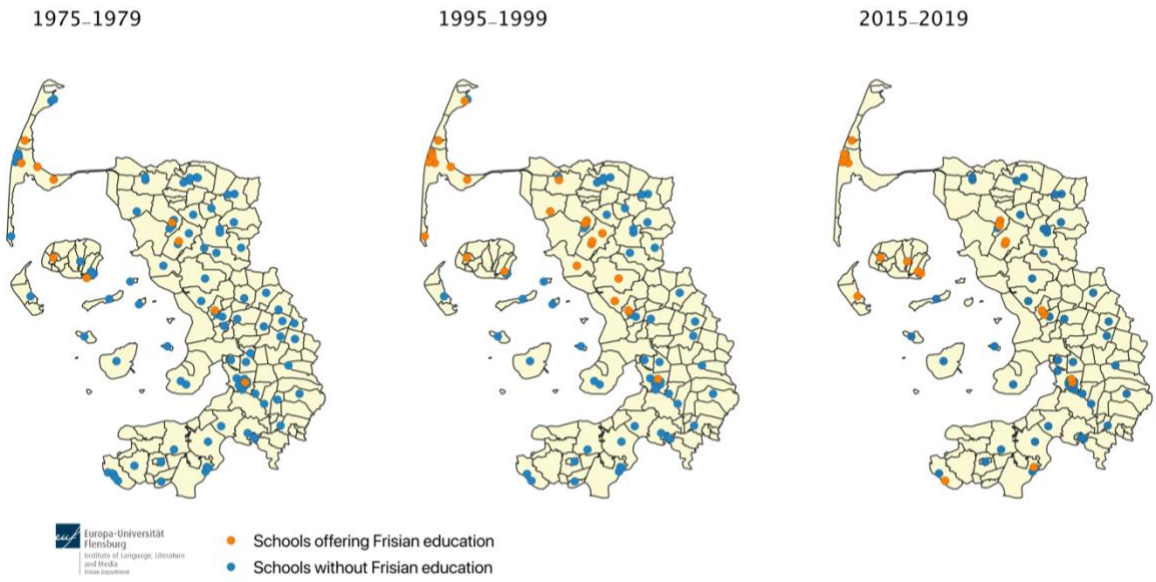
schoolyear	93/94	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02	02/03	03/04
teachers	23	22	23	22	23	24	23	27	29	29	26
schools	36	34	32	28	26	28	27	27	25	25	25
pupils	992	1055	1106	1155	1133	1250	1295	1321	1343	1473	1343
lessons	148	142	150	144	143	154	144	143	148	154	133

schoolyear	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08*	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12	12/13	13/14
teachers	28	30	30**	24**	24	22	24	21	24	23
schools	26	28	29	17	24	24	24	23	22	23
pupils	1362	1466	1276	946	925	888	863	934	802	878
lessons	143	153	133	95	106	96	95	90	92	98

* The statistics for this school year do not seem to be complete.
** Estimated

Figure 3

Location of schools with Frisian education in different periods in Nordfriesland



In addition to the provision of school teaching, there are further top-down revitalisation efforts, e.g., government funding for teaching and research of Frisian in the two universities (Kiel and Flensburg) in Schleswig-Holstein and the public funding of the *Nordfriisk Instituut* which is run by a private association and which is charged with, amongst others, participation in the development of teaching materials in Frisian varieties. In 1998, Germany ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (with Frisian as one of the five languages protected) and in 2004 the Schleswig-Holstein parliament passed a law to enshrine the right of citizens in the district of *Nordfriesland* to conduct official communication with the authorities in Frisian. In turn, these authorities are obliged to reply in Frisian where this is possible.

The use of Frisian in public and private media may also be considered part of the attempts to support the revitalisation of the language. There is, however, *very* little media presence of the language, restricted to three minutes of state radio per week, no regular presence

on TV, and barely any regular usage in print media. In addition to publicly funded enterprises, there is a private radio station on Föhr (*FriiskFunk*) which broadcasts a two-hour programme twice a day (Mon-Fri) and a regular podcasting radio programme (*tjabelstünj*) twice a week.

The top-down language policy measures are supported by the existence of a Commissioner for Minority Issues, appointed by and advising the Prime Minister of Schleswig Holstein, and the Standing Committee for Issues Pertaining to Matters for and of the Frisian Ethnic Group (*Volksgruppe*). There has been a generally positive attitude by politicians and policy-makers towards Frisians, but this has not necessarily translated into concrete improvements, justified due to the fact that such improvements are not within the power of policy makers, e.g. the presence of Frisian in the media has not increased due to the freedom of press (i.e. politicians cannot tell public broadcasting stations what to broadcast and in what language) and the number of schools and lessons has not increased because headteachers are – argued to be – free to decide what classes will be offered in their schools. The European Charter for the Protection of Regional or Minority Languages, in force in Germany since 1999, is likely to have increased a willingness towards positive measures for Frisian, but in practice, very little has changed in comparison with before 1999. The biennial writing competition *Ferteel iinjsen!* sponsored by the regional state broadcaster in conjunction with tourist boards and cultural association is unlikely to have been affected by the presence or absence of the charter. As regards to schooling, the presence of Frisian has decreased since the ratification of the charter (see figure 3).

To illustrate this point, we may take the example of the Language Policy Action Plan (*Handlungsplan Sprachenpolitik*) put in place by the Schleswig-Holstein government in 2015. The central ambition of this action plan is to enable citizens to have exposure (*Berührung*) to the (officially recognized and autochthonous) mother tongue at all stages of their education, i.e., from kindergarten to university. Whilst some improvement has been achieved in this regard

for Low German, though falling well-short of the overall ambition, very little indeed has been done with regard to Frisian. One much quoted achievement is the appointment of a new professor of North Frisian and Minority Research at the University of Flensburg in 2016, where the Chair had been vacant since 1997. Whilst this significantly strengthens the provision of Frisian language, culture and linguistics at university level, it has but little direct effect on the revitalisation of the language.

Apart from these top-down measures, there are also bottom-up activities, e.g., the use of Frisian in the official writings of the *Friisk Foriining*, a private society engaged with promoting and representing Frisians as a separate national minority. In addition, this association has been running a Frisian-speaking youth group and an annual "autumn school" in a youth hostel near Flensburg where between 30-70 participants spend 4 days together knitting, singing, craft-making and playing, all in Frisian. The *Nordfriesischer Verein*, the largest society in the area, also organises events where Frisian is used, most notably the Youth Away Weekends where the language is used to some extent.[1] The goal of exposing children to the language is certainly achieved but to what extent this leads to further study or a greater interest in learning and using the language is unclear.

2.2 Are there some sociological stages that you can identify in your trajectory related to group development that influence and intersect with other factors driving minority language revitalization movements as they develop over time?

One of the principal problems in answering this question lies with the heterogeneity of those who self-identify as Frisians and those who speak the language. It is not possible to speak

[1] As one of our activities to engage with the Frisian community, we will be offering Creative Writing workshops for children at these Away Weekends. The first such contribution will be in October 2019.

of *the community* in this regard. Instead, different agents with different motivations and aims need to be distinguished, bearing in mind that there is significant overlap in personnel in this regard, too. It is a truism that interest in language revitalisation often kick-starts or accelerates when the number of speakers and linguistic domains are severely reduced. The most important factor in causing the language shift, i.e., the non-transmission of the language to the next generation (*viz.* Fishman's 1991 catalogue of factors), appears to have been pervasive for our case study in the 1950s and 1960s, when parents were told by persons of respect (teachers, doctors) not to speak Frisian (or Low German) to their children, as this would confuse them, cause them delay in education or more generally hold them back in later life. This advice was, unfortunately, followed by the vast majority of parents so that, also as evidenced by our consultants, many of those who were children in the 1960s and 1970s no longer acquired Frisian as a native language or fluently. This is despite the language being still fairly widespread in their parents' and grandparents' generations. It is likely to have been a reaction to this development that initiatives to (re-)introduce Frisian in schools returned in the late 1970s, which ought to be seen in the more general context of the renaissance of regional language and cultures in this period, attested for much of the Western world. The key difference to the parallel developments in the 1920s was that in the earlier period, Frisian would have been taught to classes where a majority or at least sizeable portion will have been native speakers. This was not the case in the 1970s and consequently, teaching didactics had to refocus to teach Frisian as a heritage but fundamentally foreign language.

2.3 Can you identify any phases in the developmental stages in the language revitalization movement where exogenous forces have a greater influence? Can you identify any stages where endogenous forces have had a greater influence? Please explain the interplay between these forces.

A peculiarity of the Frisian Language Movement was that a surprising proportion of the most active lobbyists – be this teachers, vicars, civil servants, or academics – were either non-Frisians, Frisians in the diaspora, or Frisians who had been away for a long time (cf. Steensen 1986). It seems plausible to suggest that a sense of cultural loss is most felt by those who witness change from the outside. It is unclear what events triggered what development or whether there are identifiable stages in this regard.

3. Who are the key social actors today (individuals, societies and organizations, schools)?

The Frisians are politically represented by the Frisian Council (*Friesenrat*), an umbrella association representing most cultural Frisian societies. Of these, four institutions and societies are particularly prominent.

1. The *Nordfriesischer Verein*,[2] founded in 1902, aimed principally at cultivating traditional Frisian culture and language. This is a private association of some 700-800 members, which branches across North Frisia.
2. The *Friisk Foriining*,[3] founded in 1923, representing those Frisians who consider themselves a separate national minority. This is the second-largest

2 https://nf-verein.de, last checked 04-05-2020
3 https://friiske.de, last checked 04-05-2020

association with some 300-400 members, many of whom are also active members in the Danish minority associations and its political party (SSW).

3. The *Verein Nordfriesisches Institut*,[4] founded in 1948, with a permanent physical residence from 1964, hosting a substantial library and archive, meeting rooms, and full-time staff of academically trained linguists and historians. It is run as a private association with some 500 members and it receives some €400,000 p.a. from the Schleswig-Holstein government to pay for the running of the building, researchers and administrative staff and subsidies for their publications.
4. The *Ferring Stiftung*,[5] a foundation founded by a Frisian benefactor in 1988, is dedicated to the support and research of Frisian culture and language in particular on the island of Föhr. It houses the public archive of the administration of the island of Föhr and Amrum.

In addition, the state is represented by the Commissioner for Minority Issues[6] and the Parliamentary Standing Committees for Issues relating to the Frisian Ethnic Group. The Ministry of Education[7] has a representative for the teaching of Frisian, somebody who is a teacher of Frisian herself and who is active in providing support and further training for fellow Frisian teachers. Those schools that provide the most long-lasting tradition of schooling in Frisian are the primary schools of Föhr-West (island) and Nis-Albrecht-Johannsen-Schule, Risum-Lindholm (mainland), the combined primary and secondary schools Risum

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[4] https://www.nordfriiskinstituut.eu, last checked 04-05-2020
[5] https://ferring-stiftung.de, last checked 04-05-2020
[6] https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/Fachinhalte/M/minderheiten/minderheiten_minderheitenbeauftragter.html, last checked 04-05-2020
[7] More precisely: the Institute for Development of Quality at the Schools of Schleswig-Holstein (IQSH), which is an institution of the Ministry of Education.

Skole/Risem Schölj (a Danish minority school on the mainland) and James-Krüss-Schule (on Heligoland), and the secondary school of Föhr, the Eilun Feer Skuul.

There are further local groups and individuals who promote the language, but their activities are often restricted to the (very) local level and not publicly announced on a supra-local level.

4. Given known problems with numbers of speakers, we need some reference points to these numbers. Please provide your definition for native speaker and new speakers (or your preferred terminology for these categories). Please provide your data sources.

4.1 What was the number of native speakers at the apex of this language's vitality, and what was the approximate number at the time the revitalization efforts were initiated and at other important points of time in its development?

These numbers are impossible to get hold off. Traditionally, scholars use the following numbers (Walker, 2016, cf. also Århammar, 2008): 30,000 speakers in the 1800s, 15,000 speakers in 1920s, 5000-10,000 speakers today. However, these figures are little more than guesswork, which is only partly due to the problem of defining a native speaker. In our understanding, a native speaker is someone who grew up with enough exposure to the language to allow him/her to speak the language effortlessly and to make grammaticality judgements shared by the community of speakers. Most scholars would no longer speak of 10,000 speakers but rather use the figures of 5,000 speakers in North Frisia and 2,000 in the diaspora.

4.2 What is the percentage of native and new speakers to the total population of the community? To the total population of the state or nation (if different)?

This very much depends on the geographical area one focuses on. It appears to be uncontroversial to claim that in part of Amrum and on the western half of Föhr, some 70+% of permanent inhabitants (i.e., not recent incomers) speak Frisian. Elsewhere in the region, the use of percentages appears ill-justified as the language is largely used as the everyday language of particular families – across geographical boundaries. Some speakers we interviewed in Risum-Lindholm, which is known to be the hotspot of Frisian language on the mainland, estimate that 30% of the approx. 4,000 inhabitants there speak Frisian. The number of new speakers is similarly unclear. It is the case that amateur theatre groups include some new speakers, but there is no plausible way to abstract away from this the number of new speakers in the area. At the University of Flensburg, some 60-100 students take beginner's classes per year, some 5-10 also take advanced classes. These numbers are lower at the University of Kiel. In North Frisia several evening classes are offered every year, but they rarely reach more than A1, perhaps A2 levels,[8] i.e., competencies that do not go beyond much of a basic user of the language.

In terms of the overall percentage of Frisian speakers in North Frisia (population 160,000), we may speak of some 3%. In Schleswig-Holstein with a population of 2.9 million people, the number of Frisian speakers would reach an insignificant percentage.

[8] https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/level-descriptions

B. Attitudes

1. Given that the relationship between the dominant language(s) to a minority language is the key to why the languages are or are not used in different domains, what are prevailing attitudes towards the majority language today?

The majority language, High German, is used in daily life by all speakers of Frisian. It is generally acknowledged and unchallenged that all formal and written discourse be conducted in the majority language; a view that has a long history dating back to the Early Modern period. It is challenged by a few, politically charged Frisians, especially those who emphasise the perception of Frisians as a national minority. With this background knowledge, it was particularly interesting to review these perceptions in our interviews with a sample of residents of North Frisia. We deliberately included speakers as well as non-speakers as consultants.

Only a few speakers in our interviews make a general distinction between "the Frisians" and "the Germans" (0713, 0509)[9], and on Föhr between people from the town of Wyk and the villages in the west (0509) (which largely corresponds to the German-Frisian division, but see A.1.2). Some of those who consider themselves to be Frisian identified a difference in attitude between Frisians and Germans: they see themselves as equal, while Germans give importance to social position of their interlocutor (0509), or, to use more extreme wording, Frisians are modest and polite, Germans are arrogant and presumptuous (0713).

The North Frisian linguistic area has been polyglossic for a very long time, with Frisian being restricted to the local/regional context and Low German being used in supraregional contexts (see A.1.4 and A.4.1). Since intergenerational transmission was interrupted in the

[9] Codes of interviewees.

1950s-1970s, the use of Frisian – for those who resisted the general trend – has become even more restricted to the family domain since that time. Today, older people often speak the much more commonly used NDV Low German, rather than Frisian to each other in non-private domains like smaller shops, if they find out that the other is proficient in that language (some Frisian speakers report that people start talking to them in Low German when they notice they speak Frisian). Frisian speakers also speak Frisian in some shops in Risum-Lindholm (and to a lesser degree in Niebüll), they know who will understand them. Most of the younger people use High German in non-private domains, however, in the smaller villages, Low German is also used.

When conducting our interviews, we did not notice any particularly negative nor positive attitudes towards High German but using Frisian and Low German were both said to produce positive feelings of intimacy or emotional closeness.

There is a perception among some speakers of Frisian that they cannot change the language of communication with a particular person once they get used to it ("you always talk to each other in the language that you used when you got to know the person"), although many counterexamples do exist (see e.g., ME-180806FA-A-01, ME-190222LT-A-01)[10]. This re-affirms the view of Frisian as a family/private language, because one would not normally speak in Frisian to somebody one doesn't know (see above).

1.1 In what ways or domains has the language gained or lost prestige? How have these changed at different times in the history of the revitalization efforts?

[10] Codes of interviews.

General Image

It is generally felt that the image of the Frisian language has improved over the last 50 or so years. While some of the older Frisian-speaking consultants report that as late as the 1980s raising their children in Frisian was frowned upon (0231), growing up bilingually is now seen as an advantage for children. The overwhelming majority of consultants, speakers and non-speakers, considers Frisian to contribute to the uniqueness of the region (e.g., 1402, 1405, 1605). This does not mean that everybody feels comfortable when Frisian is spoken in their presence, some consultants consider it impolite since they do not understand (e.g., 0301, 1601), others do not have such concerns or even like it (e.g., 1402, 1409). Some of the non-speakers noted a lack of modern and fresh approaches towards the teaching of Frisian, which, they argue, would make it more interesting (1402, 1404, 1602).

The improvement of the image of Frisian may partly be connected to the fact that Frisian has been (re-)introduced as an extracurricular activity in schools, but not exclusively. It is a general trend in Germany at the date of this writing to valorise the local, be this local products, local landscapes, or local culture.

Mediality (Written Frisian)

North Frisian does not have a long tradition of being used in writing. Isolated examples can be found from as early as 1600 but these did not lead to further writing. A noted example from the early nineteenth century is the first book printed in Frisian, a play. However, it is unknown how many copies were printed and again, it did not lead to further plays or books being printed. It was only when formal language planning started at the end of the 19th century that the first printed dictionaries were produced, though most were done as private enterprises. Today, a significant number of books are available, both for children and adults. From the 1980s to 2000s reading competitions were held every year that promoted literacy in Frisian

among children in primary schools. However, the number of pupils able to read Frisian has decreased, which has to do with a general focus on orality in primary school foreign language education, and so reading competitions do not exist anymore.

Today, newspapers print articles in Frisian on occasion; in addition, there is *Ferteel iinjsen!*, a writing competition for short stories in Frisian, which is held biennially.

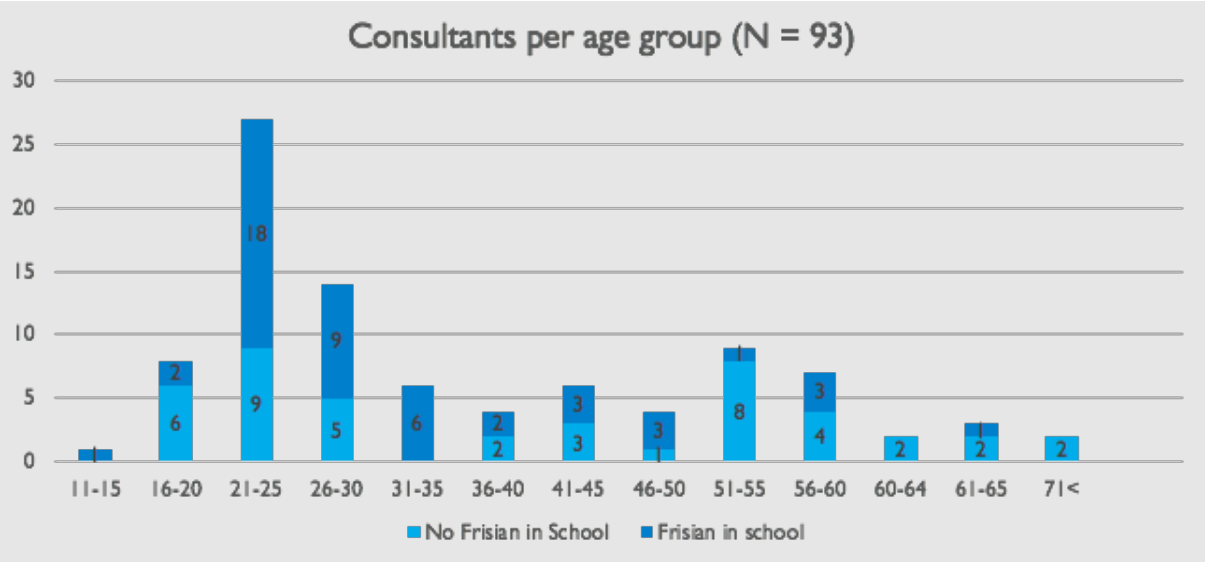
Nonetheless, some speakers claim that they (or their interlocutors) have difficulties reading and/or writing Frisian (e.g., 0707, 0723, 0501, 0505), others report that they hardly ever write the language, although they could (0507). This means that although there is a possibility to read and write the Frisian language today, and its use as a written medium is supported by Frisian activists, many people still feel that Frisian is mainly an oral language used to interact with the family and possibly some friends and colleagues. The most popular books in Frisian are a) children's stories, which parents read to their children, and b) dictionaries, which people use to check the spelling of certain words and words that they do not know or use. Nonetheless, electronic messenger services such as WhatsApp provide a more direct and imminent possibility of written communication, and our interviews have shown that some of the speakers occasionally or often use Frisian in these services, even if they do not read or write Frisian in other occasions (0723), see section E.

Education

Frisian was first offered in schools at the beginning of the 20th century (Steensen 2010). The history of Frisian school education has been summarized in A.2.1 already. In our sample, roughly ⅔ of the interviewed people between 20 and 30 participated in some form of Frisian education in school, see figure 4.

Figure 4

Proportion of interviewees who had Frisian classes in school



In addition to education in schools, some kindergartens offer Frisian education. Since the number of children has risen in the previous years, Frisian is mainly offered to pre-school children, who participate in the weekly offers on a voluntary basis. They learn songs, rhymes, and fingerplays in Frisian (Karin Vahder, 19.02.2019, p.c., 0232).

There is also adult education, but it has not been possible to find out when this had started exactly. The *Volkshochschule* (adult education centre) of Amrum has been offering Frisian classes during the winter for 25-30 years with some gaps (Klaus Jessen, 03.09.2018, p.c.).

Traditional and New Media

Media were not the focus of our research project. We would argue that the mere presence of the Frisian language in radio broadcasting, newspapers, and on the internet is a sign of improved prestige; however, the offer is very restricted, and the impact seems to be low (see sections A.2.1, E). Few of our consultants are aware of (the very limited presence) of Frisian radio programmes or newspaper articles, an observation which is telling in and of itself.

Culture

The most important cultural activity related to the Frisian language is drama. There are some amateur and one semi-professional theatre troupes. Most of those interviewed are aware of the existence of Frisian theatre, and many have seen a Frisian theatre performance at least once in their lives. Frisian theatre has a comparatively long tradition, and it would be worth elaborating further on its effect on the perception of Frisian as part of a new project (cf. section F.2.1).

Religious Activities

Though local languages are often incorporated into religious services, officially, Christian services in Frisian speaking communities were never conducted in Frisian, but rather in Latin, Low German and High German. It is unknown whether individual pastors may have conducted service in Fering in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. There is some tradition, from the 20th century, to write songs and poetry in Frisian and sing these songs in public at non-official occasions. It is possible that Frisian hymns may have been part of this tradition or of individual religious practices, though there is no record of this.

1.2 How has this relationship or attitudes changed over time?

Family Use

Since bi- and multilingualism is seen as something positive today, intergenerational transmission is also considered positive (<-> still in the 1980s, 0232), see A.1.1 above and section C.

Education

Frisian education in primary school used to be very popular until English was introduced as an obligatory subject in grade 3 in 2006/07 (Walker, 2015). Before that time,

English was taught from grade 5 on. Another factor that had a negative influence on the popularity of Frisian education was the closure of smaller schools and consolidation with larger schools. One problem with voluntary offers in the afternoon is transportation. Many pupils live in small villages and there is no regular public transport.

1.3 What were the triggers that caused this shift/these shifts?

This question has already been answered in 1.1 and 1.2.

2. Describe the influence of dominant language ideologies, such as 'one language one state,' in the community and/or in the language revitalization movement?

A good level of competence in High German is the key to success in Germany, and everyone who lives in Germany is required to acquire reading and writing skills in High German. This attitude prevails in Germany and is not challenged by a noticeable portion of society. Having a mother tongue other than German or a second mother tongue in addition to German had been considered an obstruction to the educational success of children (0717, 1401, 1404, 0233). As regards Frisian, this ideology was prevalent until the 1980s (0232), and it caused many parents to decide that they would not transmit the Frisian language to their children. Since that time, the attitude towards bilingualism has slowly changed. Knowledge of more than one language, in general, is seen positively, and there is a belief in cognitive advantages of early bilingualism. However, there are considerable differences in the evaluation of different languages. While Western European and autochthonous minority languages have a high status, migrant languages such as Turkish, Russian, and Arabic are more likely to be frowned upon and their maintenance as a family language is seen as problematic (cf. Adler 2018).

Today, the Frisian language has a generally positive image (see A.1.1 above) and consequently, Frisian – German bilingualism (or Frisian – Low German – High German multilingualism) is considered positively as well (0301), although some consultants who grew up in an almost monolingual Frisian environment report they *did* have trouble with the (High) German language when they first entered school (0216, 1407, 0706, 0508).

Frisian speakers explicitly claim that you do not have to speak Frisian in order to be Frisian. It is enough to identify as Frisian, if you like to live in the area, or identify with Frisian history and culture (however that is interpreted) (e.g., 0233, 0220, 1409, 0301).

2.1 What are the outcomes, expected and unexpected?

As mentioned in A.2 above, the expected outcome of a language policy that promoted the use of High German only, many speakers did not transmit the language anymore. When Frisian had begun to lose the negative image, some older speakers tried to speak Frisian to their grandchildren, but did not "succeed" (0227, 1409). However, many people gained a passive knowledge through contact to Frisian speakers, and possibly reinforced by Frisian classes in school.

With the introduction of Frisian education in schools, the language may have gained prestige. Consultant 0228, a native speaker, reports that he (together with his brother) refused to speak Frisian in his early childhood since he noticed that his peers did not speak it. It was only when he entered school in the 1970s and had Frisian classes that he would start to use Frisian actively again. However, we do not know whether this is an individual case (he was the only one who reported such an effect of schooling). This is a question that could be elaborated in the future.

The belief in cognitive advantages of early second language learning certainly had an influence on the popularity of Frisian classes in the late 1990s and early 2000s. People believe

that second language learning should start as early as possible (0203, 0301), and Frisian was there to comply with this. The total number of children taking Frisian classes has declined since 2003. We do not know whether this is due to the introduction of English classes in primary school, the reasoning being if second language learning is for the sake of cognitive development and not for the language itself, then it does not matter which language is taught. We note that some of our consultants who promote Frisian education would rather decide for Low German or Danish if they had the choice. Another reason for the decline could be due to the consolidation of smaller schools which entails problems with transportation if children decide to stay longer to take voluntary extra classes. The reason for the decline may also be connected to both these factors and to less transparent ones. We know that the total number of pupils had also decreased by the early 2010s (Vahder, 2011), so it would be necessary to correlate number of pupils and number of pupils taking Frisian classes before making any statements.

2.2 What alternative/counter discourses/ideological frames have been mobilized in the community or in the language revitalization movement? For example, has there been resistance to language planning measures? What is/are the source(s) of that resistance?

Since intergenerational transmission has largely stopped in most parts of the Frisian language area, there were apparently few alternative ideological frames in the past. However, two strongholds of the Frisian language do exist: the western part of Föhr and Risum-Lindholm on the mainland. In both strongholds, a significant number of children of Frisian speakers still acquires Frisian as a mother tongue. In Risum-Lindholm, a few consultants were asked why they think that Frisian has a strong position in their village. There are suggestions that this is connected to the fact that some people of high social standing resisted the general trend of abandoning Frisian during the 1950s to 1980s. 0233 reports that the chairperson of the local

Frisian association, Jörgen Jensen Hahn, was very active in promoting the Frisian language in the 1990s, while in other places, the Frisian association focused more on Frisian history. Jensen Hahn was also headteacher of the Risem Schölj from 1984-2017. The Risem Schölj (Frisian name) or Risum Skole (Danish name) is a Danish-Frisian minority school but stands out in that it is the only school on the mainland where Frisian is used as a means of instruction outside of explicit Frisian classes (see A.2.1). However, on a flyer announcing their summer party in 2019, the school's multilingual approach is described as children learning both German and Danish on a par and additionally Frisian.[11] This wording suggests that Frisian plays a more minor role than German and Danish. Marie Tångeberg, the school's headteacher until 1984, initiated the introduction of Frisian as a language of instruction on a mother-language level in 1956. ￼ Only a few years later, the concept had to be given up since there were no longer enough pupils who spoke Frisian as a mother-tongue.

Risum-Lindholm also had a Frisian speaking mayor for 15 years until 2018 (0223, Nordfriesland Tageblatt, 26.6.2018). The new mayor, although not a speaker of Frisian, tried to speak Frisian on his inaugural visit to the *Andersen Hüs,*[12] which serves as a Frisian cultural centre run by the East Mooring Frisian society since 1993. The existence of *Andersen Hüs* may also have contributed to the relatively high level of maintenance of Frisian in Risum-Lindholm. The question why Frisian still a relatively strong position in Risum-Lindholm in comparison with other villages on the mainland has needs to be further elaborated.

On Föhr, the healthy level of maintenance of Frisian is at least partly due to the islanders´ wish to distinguish themselves from tourists coming to the island (Antje Arfsten

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[11] "Bei uns lernen die Kinder gleichberechtigt Dänisch und Deutsch und zusätzlich auch Friesisch." http://www.risumskole.de/2019/06/09/samerfaest/, last checked 22-08-2019

[12] https://andersen-hues.de/

07.08.2019 p.c., 0508). Frisian education in primary school also started relatively early in the western part of Föhr, in 1967, a sign that the Frisian language also had a comparatively positive image there. In addition, Frisian has also been offered in the grammar school of Wyk since 1963, with the added option since 2012 to take Frisian as an A-level subject[13]. The promotion of Frisian in the educational domain is much weaker on Amrum – an island of some 2,300 inhabitants about half the size of Föhr – , although according to estimates of interviewees, a comparatively high proportion of approximately 20-25% of children do speak Frisian (0706, 0707). In the western part of Föhr, Frisian is still quite naturally used outside the family domain, on Amrum, this is not the case (0707).

We know that on Sylt levels of competence and promotion of the Frisian language are also considerably lower compared to Föhr, but unfortunately, we were not able to conduct any interviews with people living on Sylt,[14] so that we do not have data on attitudes of people from Sylt.

2.3 What are the outcomes, expected and unexpected?

Since the number of people speaking Frisian continuously decreased over the past 70 years or so, the language continues to be closely associated with the family sphere. One does not speak Frisian with people one doesn't know, because one doesn't expect them to understand the language. The people who one knows and who speak Frisian are usually close or extended family members. This close connection with the family sphere reinforces feelings of trust and familiarity that are associated with the language (0713). If the language is spoken to somebody outside the family, e.g., teachers, these feelings are transmitted and speakers imminently feel

[13] A-level subjects (Abiturfächer) serve as qualifications for university entry.
[14] A student from Sylt had originally agreed to interview people on Sylt, but did not conduct any interview in the end despite several assertions that they would do so.

closer to the person in question than they would feel had the person spoken German. In the case of Frisian education, the fact that classes are voluntarily, most teachers do not assign grades, and lessons typically contain plenty of play and music probably further contributes to this. In particular, the speakers from Föhr report that they had a very friendly and close relationship with their teachers of Frisian. Some speakers link this to the lack of an honorific second person address (V-pronoun) in Frisian – which makes the use of the language appear more informal and friendly than German, where a V-address would be used with teachers (0216). As for secondary education, speakers on Föhr also report that participation in Frisian courses automatically granted good grades (0508).

The position of Frisian in schools is still comparatively strong on Föhr and Risum-Lindholm. In most schools, parents must opt in for Frisian lessons for their children. However, in Risum-Lindholm, all children have Frisian lessons unless their parents decide against it. The school in Fahretoft had the same policy and a very popular master-apprentice model (cf. C.5.2 below; also Steensen, 2010) until the Frisian teacher retired in 2007 and, independently the school closed in 2009 due to centralisation efforts. Unlike Risum-Lindholm, there are no speakers younger than 50 in Fahretoft, an indication that more than just education is necessary to maintain a language.

It is no surprise that criticism from our consultants levelled at Frisian classes is highest in Risum-Lindholm since virtually all children take Frisian classes. Whilst Frisian remains a voluntary extracurricular activity like in Nordfriesland, in Risum-Lindholm lessons are integrated into the normal school day and not timetabled at the periphery of the school day. Consequently, parents hardly ever opt their children out of Frisian classes (cf. 0716, 0210).

3. What models of community are implied in definitions of "language," "speakers," "place" and how are they mobilized in the community or language revitalization efforts?

When conducting our interviews, there were some indications that there are tensions between native and (some) new speakers of Frisian. The Frisian language taught in class is felt to be rather archaic and relatively free from German loanwords. But many speakers who learn the language in the home reject neologisms, i.e., words composed of Frisian morphology to replace German loanwords, and would rather use a German loan (0709, 0710, 0711, 0233). Speakers estimate that they use about 25-30% of German (whatever that may be), when they speak Frisian (Hollmer, 2018). This creates a certain distance between native and learned Frisian (0501). Some native speakers think that their own Frisian is deficient in comparison with learned Frisian (0303), or at least have certain awe for the competence of new speakers who "just know too much Frisian" (0233). Consultants also report that some new speakers correct native speakers, and that this is not always appreciated (0233, 1408).

It is interesting that people from outside Risum-Lindholm seem to overestimate the proportion of speakers in that village, the known hotspot of Frisian on the mainland. Some claim that virtually everybody in Risum-Lindholm speaks Frisian (0204), while people who live there estimate that roughly 30% speak Frisian (0712, 0713) or even less (0722).

4. To what extent do revitalization efforts look to the past/tradition versus take a prospective approach, thinking of the future or modernity?

Many of our consultants claim that the main goal of Frisian classes is not acquisition of the language, but rather connected to finding out about North Frisian identity, culture, and history (e.g., 0509, 0901, 1402, 1604, 0304, 1404). At the same time, there is a strong belief in

the schools' role in preventing language loss (e.g., 0509, 0501, 0233, 1405, 1603, 0304). The approach taken in school is primarily communicative in nature. The emphasis is on making classes enjoyable and involves plenty of games and music. A significant number of modern children's songs have been translated to Frisian, the books (as far as books are used) have a modern approach as well.

As regards music in general, we find both the singing of traditional songs in specific occasions as well as a limited number of modern bands and singer/songwriters (Sophex, Norma, Kalüün) who have some songs in Frisian, as well as Frisian choirs that sing old and modern songs translated into Frisian. Since 2010, a Frisian *musiikweedstrid* (music competition) has been held every 3-4 years. As mentioned above, Frisian songs also play an important role in Frisian classes in primary schools.

Regarding radio, FriiskFunk is on air for 2 hours daily from Mon-Fri (8am-10am with a repeat of the show in the afternoon) which can be received on most of the islands and a significant part of the mainland by normal radio, as well as throughout the world via internet. It deals with "activities and culture of the Frisians" and broadcasts in Fering Frisian from Mon-Thu and Mainland Frisian (*Frasch*) on Fridays. The state broadcasting station NDR offers a weekly 3-minute programme *Frasch för enarken* with an alternation of traditional and non-traditional topics. *tjabelstünj*, a weekly podcast by (former) students of Frisian at the University of Kiel and Flensburg explicitly shies away from typically Frisian topics.

The writing competition *Ferteel iinsen!* also takes a modern approach in choosing topics, e.g., *my first time* or *that was lucky!*

A traditional approach to Frisian culture is presented in the form of the various folk costume associations, but these do not have a focus on Frisian language. There has been an overall increase in the number of people engaged with these traditions and for several areas on

the mainland in particular, the traditions have been reinvented by recreating folk costumes that had already disappeared.

4.1 How are traditions re-invented or redesigned?

Theatre

Frisian theatre is popular among speakers of Frisian, and it also attracts a number of people with some passive knowledge. The tradition of North Frisian drama was born in 1809, when the first theatre play in Frisian language was printed, although it was only put on stage in 1875. Since that time, Frisian plays have been performed in several villages. However, the plays that are performed have changed. The foundation of *Rökefloose*, a youth group of the cultural association of National Frisians, in the 1980s marked a departure from old, folksy-type role models found in "traditional" theatre plays (Riecken, s.d.). The established tradition of performing light-hearted "peasant comedies" – which also has a long tradition of some 100-150 years for other dialects and regional languages in Germany – has openly but not aggressively been challenged *nordfriisk teooter* since its founding in 2016. The *nordfriisk teooter* Some plays are originally written in Frisian. Performances are produced with over-titles in High German so as to allow those in the audience with limited comprehension of mainland Frisian to follow the play. The *nordfriisk teooter* is run by a private association but receives a large proportion of its funding from the Frisian Council, which, in turn, administers the funding provided by the federal government. The nordfriisk teooter offers performances at a number of venues across the mainland.

The theatre group at *Andersen Hüs* in Risum-Lindholm also prefers to translate modern plays over performing traditional ones, because "nobody wants to see the old stuff anymore" (consultant 0233 used the literal phrase *alte Knechtenkammergeschichten* "the old stories about what the farm hand does in his chamber"). They also host a youth theatre group.

Biike

Every February 21, on the eve of feast of the Chair of St. Peter, huge bonfires are lit throughout North Frisia. In the days and weeks before the 21st, the locals cut back trees and bushes around their homesteads and pile up the waste for the bonfire, generally one bonfire per village. In evening the people gather around the fire with friends and family. *Biike* is a very prominent part of Frisian culture and for many, it´s a must-go event. The language does not play an important part in this connection and for many such bonfires, no speeches or openings are delivered.

Historical evidence shows that by the end of the 19th century, the big bonfires we see today replaced the primitive beacons consisting of a tin on a stick. Around the same time, the date for the *biikebrennen* was fixed on February 21. Before that time, the date was flexible, as long as it came before the beginning of Lent, due to the celebratory nature of the festival. While it had nearly disappeared on the mainland in the 20th century, the festival was still celebrated on the island of Sylt. However, in the 1970s, *biikebrennen* re-gained widespread popularity, along a general revival of regional cultural heritage. Historical claims supporting its supposed long-lasting ties to earlier times may have been one reason why it was eagerly picked up and became a widespread custom again. In 2014 it was even officially recognized as intangible cultural heritage, as part of Germany's list suggested to UNESCO.

4.2 In what ways is minority language practice or planning oriented towards use of the language to discuss new, modern or dynamic domains?

There is a small number of activists who propose neologisms to refer to new things and concepts, but they do so in a private capacity. There is no language council to monitor the lexicon of the language. The use or acceptance of neologisms was not part of our research questions; however, there were indications that speakers often find them silly and refuse to use

them (0709, 0710, 0711, 0233). In the interviews by Hollmer (2018), Frisian speakers estimate that 20-30% of the words they use when speaking Frisian are German words. She also reports that younger speakers tend to be satisfied if they can speak Frisian with their families and do not necessarily wish to increase the number of domains for Frisian (Hollmer 2018).

All translation activities (theatre plays, children's books) could be interpreted as a way of making more topics available in Frisian.

Some people use Frisian to write text messages, but there are no thorough studies on the issue as of this writing (but cf. Heyen 2020 for some initial findings), and there is a (small) Frisian *wikipedia*, see E. As for radio programmes, see A.4 above.

4.3 How do planners or activists identify current needs and/or changes and respond to them? (for example, targeting specific populations, language practices, uses of media, etc.)

There are many attempts to raise awareness and create interest in the Frisian language, e.g. the current *Schnupper- und Sprachkurs* (taster language course) that combines language with some other topics (music, history etc.), organised by the *Nordfriesischer Verein*, as a personal initiative of the new general manager of the *Verein*. In 2019, it attracted some 15-30 participants, and it was deemed successful enough to have a second instalment run in 2020.

However, language activism highly depends on individuals, and it is often individuals who decide in which way they promote the language. If these individuals stop their engagement for whatever reason, their initiative is prone to stop as well (0231).

One problem for language maintenance as identified by people in general (not activists or planners) is that people date or marry or start a family with someone who does not speak Frisian. In these cases, the language of communication is usually High German (at least among younger people), or Low German (to a lesser degree nowadays), and use of Frisian decreases

(e.g. 0514, 1408, 0223); nonetheless, some people report that the partner has learned Frisian, and this is the language of communication among these couples and/or in the whole family or parts of the family (e.g. 0232&0233, 0223, 1408). Related to this topic, people identify greater mobility in general as a threat (0233, 0507): Frisian speaking people move away, (some of them do speak Frisian with their children in diaspora, but we do not know whether Frisian is still maintained in the third generation). At the same time, the influx of non-Frisian-speaking people from elsewhere reduces the proportion of Frisian speakers in villages like Risum-Lindholm. These newer residents may also be more sceptical towards Frisian education in Risum-Lindholm.

C. Intergenerational Transmission and Lifelong Learning

1. What support do adults/caregivers need to use the language in the home? What kinds of support are being made available to them?

To our knowledge, none of the Frisian organizations, neither on local level nor the umbrella organizations that cover the entire region, offers structured support for language transmission in the home. However, the annual 'autumn school' organized by the *Friisk Foriining*, as well as the Youth Away Weekends offered by the *Nordfriesischer Verein* (see last paragraph of A.2.1) are family-oriented activities that may have a positive effect on language use within, and across, the families that participate.

Resources that specifically aim at supporting language use in the home are limited. In the interviews, mostly children's books are mentioned, published by the *Nordfriisk Instituut*, the *Ferring Stiftung* or the *Andersen Hüs*. Some of these are translated popular books, such as *Min jarste duusend uurde* (original *First thousand words in English* by Heather Amery, translations in various Frisian dialects published by the *Nordfriisk Instituut*) or *Riad ens, hü hal ik di liis mei* (original *Guess how much I love you* by Sam McBratney and Anita Jeram, translated into Fering during a school project coordinated by the *Ferring Stiftung*). Other works are translated versions of successful West-Frisian children's stories (e.g., *Tomke* and *Momme Müs* series). One publication that was mentioned particularly often by interviewees from the Risum-Lindholm area was the *Momme* series by Lieselotte Ruhe, published by the *Andersen Hüs*, which is about a boy called Momme who lives in North Frisia.

2. To what extent is a monolingual household the ideal, valorized, or the goal of revitalization efforts? If not, what are the goals for family use?

Frisian, Low German, Standard Danish, and the dominant High German are all spoken in North Frisia. Frisian is virtually never the only language used in households; we use household to refer to an extended family. Nearly all our interviewees report that various languages are used in their families, either in their own generation or in the parental and grandparental generations. In most cases this was Frisian or Low German or both. The language that is used mainly in each nuclear family depends on many factors, but the mother tongues of the parents seem to be decisive. When only one of the parents speaks Frisian (see question 1 above), the main language in the home often becomes High German nowadays, where Low German probably prevailed before.

Top-down revitalization measures focus mainly on the educational system, not on language use at home (see question A.2). Bottom-up approaches coordinated by one of the local or regional associations, usually have more modest aspirations, if language revitalization is even an overt goal at all. For example, while the *Nordfriesischer Verein* explicitly includes a statement about language use in their leaflets, the *nordfriisk teooter* does not make any claims about language transmission when advertising and performing their theatre productions, and even chooses to display supertitles in High German to cater for non-speakers.

The goals for using Frisian with the family are rather implicit, but our interviewees mentioned that using Frisian almost exclusively with their family strengthens feelings of proximity and familiarity (e.g., 0713, 0216).

2.1 How is the local/minority language fostered in the home?

The use of Frisian in the home varies from one family to the next. Language transmission comes quite naturally in many families on the islands of Föhr (0216, 0501, 0506) and Amrum (0719, 0706, 0707), as well as in the few Frisian speaking families in the town of Risum-Lindholm (0223, 0714). A couple of interviewees report that newcomers to the family, for example those who marry-in, also actively learn the language, partly because they are interested and partly because otherwise, they would feel left out since Frisian is clearly the dominant language in the family (0713, 0723).

In other families, especially those where only one of the parents speaks Frisian, it plays a smaller, or even marginal role. Several interviewees reported that they, as native speakers, spoke Frisian to their children, but their children never learned to speak it, and High German became the main language in the home (0228, 0704).

2.2 How is the majority language included in the home?

Even in the very Frisian-oriented families, there is an insurmountable presence of German in daily life. In all places it is by far the dominant language in public life, even in a village as Risum-Lindholm, the self-proclaimed 'Frisian village' on the mainland. The only exception is the western part of the island of Föhr, where Frisian also plays a role in the local public life. Nevertheless, even there, in all homes German is present via channels such as television, radio, and especially written media (see also A.1.4). There are no monolingual speakers of Frisian; all are fully bilingual in German, even the elder generations. It is generally not possible to tell from the use of their High German whether a speaker is also a native speaker of Frisian, i.e., the degree of language interference is minimal at best, though in part this is also because the High German of the area includes a number of language-contact phenomena – which, however, are not restricted to the High German of bilingual speakers. All speakers have

extensive contact with non-Frisian speakers, which is obviously also reflected in the language use within the homes of the Frisian speakers.

3. Discuss perceptions about language acquisition and how they affect parental and grandparental engagement and language transmission?

Along a broader revival of regional cultural heritage, interest in the Frisian language has grown over the past 50 years or so, which led to an improved image of the language (see also question B.1.1). During the 1950-1980s, many parents decided, often on the advice of teachers and physicians, to no longer speak Frisian to their children as it would be detrimental to the cognitive development and social standing. It is well-known that even some of the most vocal language activists, who cared deeply for the promotion of the language, did not speak Frisian to their own children. The stigma of Frisian as a backward language seems to have abated, at least as reported by our consultants. This change in attitude is also reflected in perceptions about the acquisition of Frisian. Some of our older interviewees (0717, 0231) mention that transmission of Frisian in the home was seen negatively when they grew up, roughly in the 60's and 70s'. For example, one interviewee (0717) reported that his parents, both native speakers of Frisian, deliberately choose not to use the language in communication with their children, although they spoke Frisian to each other from time to time. Their reason for doing so was that they did not want to confuse their children or make it more difficult for them to go to school with German as the medium of instruction, which was a common perception in those days. Ironically, their family language policy was nevertheless frowned upon by some, since the father was an active member of the Frisian movement and chairman of the local Frisian association for many years. This, however, was not an isolated example. Anecdotally, we heard of several instances where prominent and outspoken members of the

pro-Frisian speaking lobby nevertheless spoke High German with their own children, during the 1950-1980s.

The belief in the impact of Frisian on educational success has slowly changed over the last thirty or so years. Growing up bilingually is, in general, seen as an advantage by a sizeable proportion of the population. Frisian speakers with small children report that they speak Frisian to their children because they don't want the language to disappear (this holds for Low German as well). One consequence of being raised in a Frisian-speaking home that was reported by our consultants is that when they entered the German-speaking educational system, they experienced some difficulties in the beginning (1407, 0216, 0706). As mentioned before, whether the children who grow up in a (partly) Frisian-speaking household acquire active competences in the language often depends on the spouse's native language and, consequently, the dominant language within the family. The younger non-Frisian-speaking interviewees whose grandparents speak the language usually have a passive understanding of the language, but the break in transmission already took place in their parent's generation. The younger consultants who did learn Frisian at home expressed their intention to speak Frisian with their children too when the time comes. One Frisian-speaking grandmother (who, unfortunately, did not consent to a formal interview) mentioned that her husband and she had raised their children in German because of the prevailing stigma in those days, but now that their son married a Frisian-speaking woman, the language was reintroduced into the family, and they had started speaking it with their grandchildren.

3.1 If there are misperceptions, how have they been or how are they being addressed? Are some more persistent than others?

See question C.3 above.

Interestingly, when interviewees were asked how the language could be maintained in the long run, nearly all suggested to intensify the school programmes for Frisian education, instead of emphasising language transmission within the families, internalising somehow a general belief that it is the role of schools to offer solutions. The main agents in this process such as schoolteachers, however, acknowledged that school teaching will not enable pupils to become active and competent speakers (see also A.2.1). Only a few interviewees clearly mentioned a role for the transmission in the family, such as a man from Föhr who claimed that the "most important thing is for free; that one speaks Frisian with one's own children, with nieces and nephews, so that it is transmitted in the family"[15] (0216).

4. What role does intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge and practices, such as traditional music forms, art forms, crafts, farming or herding, foodways, ecological knowledge, play in transmission of the language?

On the island of Föhr, many traditional practices still exist in the community. One example is the Hualewjonken, where groups of unmarried men who meet for entertainment, organised in a more or less formal way. Another is *Ütj to keeren,* where during the weekend of Pentecost, small groups of islanders go around the island on horse carriages decorated with branches. These traditional practices are highly valued as an important part of the island culture that sets apart the island population from the tourists, and from other North Frisians. However, it is unclear whether this is seen as an explicit strategy to transmit the language along with traditional practices although unconsciously it might have that effect. In other parts of the

[15] "Aber das Wichtigste, das Allerwichtigste ist kostenlos; dass du mit deinen eigenen Kindern Friesisch redest, mit Nichten und Neffen und, und was weiß-, dass das in der Familie weitergetragen wird"

Frisian language area, it is much harder to argue that traditional knowledge is tied particularly to the Frisian community because of the centuries-long multilingualism of the region.

Other traditional practices that potentially enhance the transmission of the language are the folk dance or theatre groups. The dance groups do not seem to be strongly tied to any language practices, as far as we can tell (it was not a main topic in our interviews, but occasionally it came up).[16] On the mainland, a number of theatre groups exist that perform in Frisian. However, this ought to be seen in the context of the very strong tradition of performing amateur theatre in Low German, which occurs not just in North Frisia but in a much larger geographical space ranging from the Dutch to the Polish border (see also B.4.1). Again, these are certainly opportunities for intergenerational transmission, but to our knowledge, not necessarily sought out by the younger generations with the explicit intention of learning the language.

4.1 To what degree does seeking out this knowledge by younger generations from older generations create motivation to learn the language?

See question C.4 above

4.2 How is this motivation leveraged from individual motivation into larger group motivation or to affecting the larger community?

See question C.4 above

[16] In some dance groups, however, Frisian seems to be used in conversation along with Low German (Lena Grützmacher, p.c., 8.2.2020).

5. What strategies are used to bridge the gap between "school" or "authority" language practices, competencies and sources of legitimacy, and the wider society?

The language of wider society as well as of schools and public authorities is virtually exclusively High German. The agents that act as "authorities" for Frisian are the institutions that represent the Frisian community, mainly the *Nordfriisk Instituut* in Bredstedt, the umbrella organization *Friesenrat* (Frisian Council), which represents all Frisian cultural associations, including the smaller, more local ones, and the *Ferring Stiftung* on Föhr, which also represents Amrum to a lesser extent. In addition, the *Friisk Foriining* and the *Nordfriesischer Verein* are long-established cultural associations covering all of North Frisia and with a pronounced interest in promoting the status and use of the language. In addition, and possibly 'closer' to the average individual, the teachers that teach Frisian in the schools can be regarded as authorities, since they have had formal training in the language.

The engagement of the members of the speech community with the authorities differs from case to case. The *Nordfriisk Instituut*, for example, is often consulted by individuals who wish to have a short piece of written text (e.g., wedding invitation) checked for mistakes (Antje Arfsten, p.c.).

On the islands of Föhr and Amrum, where the language is spoken by a much larger proportion of the population than on the mainland, its use is largely restricted to oral communication. Where it is used in writing, it is only found occasionally in marked circumstances, e.g., in linguistic landscaping by private companies (e.g., shops) or creative writing by individual language activists. It is not clear to what extent the introduction of electronic communication will have an impact on the use of Frisian – some speakers use the language on WhatsApp, much less so on Facebook (cf. Heyen 2020 for some initial findings). The gap between the spoken variety and the official written form is not perceived as something

insurmountable. A number of interviewees (e.g., 0509, 0719) report that the Frisian they learned in school is indeed different from the Frisian they speak at home and with the community, but this is not perceived as something negative or problematic. Some said that being corrected by teachers or other authoritative community members probably changed the way they made some lexical, morphological or syntactic choices in their Frisian, either consciously or unconsciously (e.g., 0515, 0516).

5.1 What specific language revitalization strategies engage people at different stages in their life cycle? (youth or family, forming new families, moving from community, moving back to community...).

As was argued before (see sub-questions of A.1), Frisian is strongly tied to family use and even only to a small extent to the community. With the exceptions of the islands of Föhr and Amrum, most Frisian speakers use the language almost exclusively within their own family, and possibly with a handful of people they are not related to. This circle expands when individuals are involved in one of the Frisian organizations, which is the main strategy that those who wish to sustain the language turn to. In principle, these associations cater to all ages (e.g., the Youth Away Weekends or the annual 'autumn school' mentioned in A.2.1) and could be sought throughout a lifetime. When young adults move out of their parental homes, though, this is often for reasons of pursuing higher educational degrees, which means moving out of the community (e.g., move to Kiel or Flensburg to study). In those cases, the intensity of the language use in daily life is obviously bound to decline. Whether or not the language use intensifies again when forming their own family, depends often on the language they speak with their spouse and whether they return (or stay, if they never left) to live in the community, i.e., close to their relatives.

5.1.1 How do they sustain this or not? Are there programs or approaches in place to help sustain these?

To what extent language revitalization or maintenance is achieved is different for each individual, and it depends on too many factors to offer a generalizable verdict. Currently, there are no structural programs or approaches in place to help sustain people in their use of Frisian in their day-to-day life, but individually, they may choose to participate to a greater or lesser extent in the Frisian organizations, which in turn may have positive effects and strengthen their personal engagement with the language. Also, Frisian speakers may choose, to a greater or lesser extent, to include the language in their daily engagement with others, such as at work. For example, a Frisian kindergarten teacher mentioned that she tried to transmit some Frisian to the children as well, even if this was not a requirement from her employer.

5.1.2 What are some key moments for interventions in the developmental process (linguistic, communicative, social) that have been understudied?

The generation of children of Frisian speaking parents who deliberately decided not to speak the language to them (roughly ‘60s, ‘70s and ‘80s) have not been studied as a coherent group. It would be interesting to have a closer look at these silent speakers to analyse their linguistic behaviour and their attitudes towards their heritage language in which they usually do have passive competence.

5.2 What strategies include people with non-scholastic linguistic and cultural competencies and authority?

Some of the revitalization projects or programmes involve people that have a great amount of cultural and linguistic expertise but no formal background in the matter. For example, there is a group of elders, mostly women, that regularly act as consultants in the

various book projects of the *Ferring Stiftung*. Amongst others, one result of their work is a compilation of an inventory of proverbs that was subsequently edited and published as the *Lexikon der friesischen Redewendungen von Föhr und Amrum* (Faltings & Jannen 2016).

Another example in which the grandparent generation aimed to pass on their knowledge of Frisian to the grandchildren generation was the mentoring programme in the village school of Fahretoft which ran from the 1990s until the retirement of the teacher (Greta Johannsen) in charge of the project in 2007. Here, older native speakers of Frisian ("godparents") came into the school every fortnight, were each paired with a student and then engaged in speaking Frisian. In this way, the pupils saw a practical application of their linguistic knowledge obtained from their Frisian lessons at the school (Steensen, 2010, p.185). The visits of the godparents were highlight of the Frisian lessons (Greta Johannsen, p.c.). Although the interviewees who participated in this programme highly valued the approach and felt they still had a close relationship with their linguistic godparents, transmission of the language was rarely successful. Those pupils who did not speak the language at home achieved some passive competence in Frisian but had forgotten most of it again due of lack of practice. The teacher of Fahretoft also initiated a *Frasch scheew* (Frisian table) where adults learned Frisian with 'masters'. This initiative ran for almost 20 years before it was terminated due to the advanced age of the participants a few years ago.

5.3 What strategies include engagement with traditional culture or lifeways, such as music, dance, textiles, sports, foodways...?

See question C.4 above

5.4 What strategies include multigenerational activities and/or transmission?

The Frisian organizations are open to all ages and thus offer opportunities for intergenerational exchange. For example, the audience of the reading evening *Frasche Tääle tu Padersdäi*, organized on 22 February 2019 by the *nordfriisk teooter*, was a mix of young adults, adults and elders of the grandparental generation. These activities are indeed multigenerational and in Frisian, but to our knowledge there are currently no multigenerational activities that *specifically* aim at intergenerational transmission.

One programme that did target intergenerational transmission was the master-apprentice programme at the school in Fahretoft described in C.5.2 above.

D. Support and Infrastructure

1. How is the language regarded as a commodity and/or a source of income?

1.1 To what extent is competence in the language linked to any kind of employment?

There is no direct and testable link between competence in Frisian and obtaining employment, with perhaps the only exception being a teacher of the language. In fact, recent leading academic positions in Frisian studies, namely the professorship of Frisian at the University of Flensburg and the directorship of the *Nordfriisk Instituut* in Bredstedt were filled with candidates who neither had competency in the language nor an academic background in Frisian studies. This is not to say that many positions in the field – both academic, cultural and political – are not filled with speakers of Frisian, it is often the case that speakers – both native speakers and new speakers – are particularly active and vocal in the movement to promote Frisian culture and ethnicity.

However, there does appear to be some use and benefit of knowing the language in some professions, outside of political and cultural organisations. Information from our consultants obtained during the interviews confirm that having Frisian language competence helps establish a rapport of friendliness and familiarity with customers over the counter in shops, working off-site with members of the farming community and dealing with the elderly in care homes. Knowing Frisian is seen to be an advantage in these circumstances but there is no evidence to suggest that this is seen a condition or a factor in obtaining employment.

1.2. In what ways does it contribute to an international image?

The largest group of Frisians, the West-Frisians, live in the Netherlands, and there is regular contact between North and West Frisians, e.g., during joint cultural events or in

response to reciprocal invitation. Among activists, there are close and long-established ties, both between individuals and institutions. Written communication often uses varieties of Frisian but oral communication, especially between West and North Frisians who do not know each other well, normally takes place in German or English (Ilwe Boysen, 15.8.2019, p.c.).

1.3. How does the language relate to markets (e.g., art, artisanal goods, music)?

There is an increase in multilingual landscapes, both in the form of top-down language policy and private initiatives. The latter is virtually exclusively linked with advertisement of products or companies. Whilst the use of Low German words and phrases can be found increasingly across Northern Germany, the use of Frisian is much more restricted, even within the realms for North Frisia. The only place where it is used to a genuinely noticeable degree is in the tourist areas where many holiday homes, typically those owned by outsiders, have Frisian names. To the irritation of some, at times, these 'Frisian' names are not Frisian at all but either made up or Low German (cf. Gregersen, 2018; Jessen, 2014, p. 38). Frisian is increasingly used on local products for sale, in particular on foodstuffs such as cheese, beer, wine and biscuits. Yet, it is still rare, with some concentration on the island of Föhr. Multilingual landscapes on the mainland are virtually exclusively in Low German and Danish, as well as High German.

1.4. What role does tourism play in support of language revitalization or use? Is it seen as crucial to tourism?

See our answers to D 1.3. Our consultants report that the increasing visibility of Frisian (most notably visible on bilingual village name signs and audible in trains where station names are announced in High German and Frisian) is perceived to be done as a service to tourists. In some information material on display in holiday homes, information about the Frisian

language, with some words in the Frisian language, can be found. However, more strikingly is the absence of the language even in prominent positions such as the *Welcome to Föhr* sign at the harbour, which is only in High German or the fact that the biggest and most well-known museum of Frisian and Sea-related fine art, the *Museum der Westküste* provides descriptions of the exhibits in three languages: German, English, and Danish… but not in Frisian. This is despite the building being next to the Ferring-Stiftung, *the* cultural institution to support, research and promote Frisian life and language on the islands, where the everyday language of communication is Frisian. In sum, the Frisian language plays a tiny part in the presentation of Frisian culture to tourists though it is fair to say that there is more public representation of Frisian now than before.

1.5 How is language part of the educational economy (production of teachers, hiring of teachers, support of school infrastructure, academics about the language...)? When and how did this occur? To what degree of the economy (part or whole)?

There are currently some 20 or so schools in North Frisia that offer Frisian language classes and about the same number of teachers. Teachers may be trained in three ways: (a) by qualifying with a degree in Frisian Studies from the University of Kiel, (b) by qualifying as a teacher of German with a specialist pathway in Frisian Studies from the University of Flensburg, or (c) by being deemed sufficiently suitable by the headteacher of a particular school to offer classes in the school. In most cases, they are already teachers at the school in other subjects, but they do not have to have specialised language pedagogy training. In addition, all people who wish to teach in secondary school are required to obtain a further certificate by the Institute for Development of Quality in Schools in Schleswig-Holstein (IQSH). Both Kiel and Flensburg have been offering university classes in Frisian studies since the 1950s, but it wasn't until 1978 (Kiel) and 1989 (Flensburg) that professorships of Frisian Studies were established.

With the retirement of Nils Århammar as professor of Frisian in Flensburg in 1997, the chair was left vacant until 2016 when it was filled again.

The universities of Kiel and Flensburg both offer scholarly expertise in Frisian Studies and both include a full professorship. In addition, the University of Kiel has a dedicated subject-library and a full-time researcher. The University of Flensburg has a full-time lecturer position which is often split into two 0.5 FTE jobs. The Frisian Department at Kiel is part of the administrative unit of Scandinavian Studies, Linguistics and Frisian Studies whereas the Dept. in Flensburg is a separate unit. However, the situation is reversed when it comes to teaching: all undergraduate teaching at Flensburg is part of the degree in German Studies whereas at Kiel, Frisian can be studied as a separate subject. At the two universities, practical language learning plays a significant role in the curriculum. In addition, linguistics, literary studies, and cultural studies are taught to an advanced degree or as a special option. The numbers of students are fluctuating and, due to the different status of the Frisian curriculum at each university, are not directly comparable. There are about 5-10 students per year group studying Frisian at as full subject at Kiel, whereas at Flensburg Frisian is studied as part of a degree in German. There some 80-100 students take the introduction to Frisian studies in semester 3 of their B.A., with some 5-15 continuing with the Frisian pathway at advanced level. Whilst at Kiel, students may read for an M.A. in Frisian Studies, students at Flensburg have a more limited option to study the subject post-B.A., namely in the form of a 4-course postgraduate certificate, aimed, in particular, at those wishing to teach the language in schools. Approximately 2–5 students per year participate in these courses. At both universities, there is the option to obtain a PhD in Frisian Studies.

As regards school teaching, the history and current state of this topic was outlined in other sections of this report (A, B). There is clear evidence that the current supply of new teachers is not sufficient to fill the demand. However, given the optional and incidental status

that Frisian enjoys as an extracurricular activity at most schools where it is offered, the discontinuation of such teaching due to a lack of teachers is rarely noticed outside the core interested parties. This is not helped by the fact that Frisian is *always* only a *third* subject in a teacher's specialism, and appointments to teaching jobs take place on the basis of a teacher's two primary subjects. Consequently, when jobs fall vacant, the respective advertisement rarely if ever mentions the desirability of being able to offer Frisian as a third / optional subject. Because of this, the statistics collected by the Ministry of Education do not note the absence / presence of Frisian in this area.

At both Kiel and Flensburg, several scholars are currently engaged with undertaking paid doctoral research in Frisian studies, particularly in linguistics. In addition, the University of Flensburg has a direct connection with the *Nordfriisk Instituut* in Bredstedt which does not only entail regular discussions and exchange but also a contribution of 3 courses in Frisian Studies per semester to the provisions offered by the University of Flensburg.

1.6 In what ways is language an incentive for business, manufacturing, and commerce (advertising, hiring, government incentives...)?

There is no evidence that we know of to suggest that Frisian language proficiency is an incentive or disincentive, with the exception for using Frisian in very limited ways in advertising.

2. What are public ways of recognizing or valorizing the language?

2.1 Are there festivals or events that support language use? For example, music festivals or poetry contests where the language is required?

See D.2.2

2.2 Are there prizes, publishing, recordings...Are these on a local, national, or international level?

The Frisian Council as the umbrella organisation for Frisian cultural institutions as well as its member associations and independent fora are engaging with promoting the use and value of Frisian through public cultural events.

Music

There are regular musical events, with the most prominent recent one being the Frisian Music competition (*musiikweedstriid*) that took place in 2010, 2013, and 2017 and is likely to be repeated in 2020. The songs cover a wide range of musical styles with all lyrics required to be in Frisian. They are subsequently published for free download[17] or as a CD. Some artists who performed have become professional (Norma Schulz)[18] or semi-professional musicians (kalüün / Keike Faltings)[19], using Frisian and Low German as well as High German as the language for their lyrics.

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[17] http://www.friesenrat.de/frl/musiikweedstrid/2017/mp3.html, last checked 08-10-2019
[18] https://www.normamusik.de, last checked 08-10-2019
[19] https://www.kaluun.de/index.php/de/band/ueber-kalueuen, last checked 08-10-2019

Music also plays a part in the activities of the medieval re-enactment society *Frisia Historica*[20] which aims to offer insights into the everyday lives of Frisians during the medieval period. One important event for this group is the biennial medieval market in Niebüll where "medieval Frisian" music occupies a big part of the programme.[21] The band *Frisia Non Cantat*[22] is one of those that aims to combine medieval instruments and music with modern views of medieval Frisian life, "im Stil zwischen Mittelalter und Folk" (in a combination of medieval and folk styles).

Theatre

There are two theatre companies that perform several times throughout the year. The semi-professional *nordfriisk teooter*[23] is funded to a large part by the German government through project funding and administered by its own association.[24] They define their cultural vision by explicitly departing from themes of traditional *Heimattheater* (comedies of errors, portraying rural lives) and instead staging modern themes, written or translated by their current director. They perform only in Frasch, the principal dialect of the mainland, and this also means that when a play from Föhr was performed, it had to be translated from Fering to Frasch first. As a way of including members of the audience with no or limited Frisian language knowledge, performances come with supertitles in High German. A second theatre company, *Frasch Klüüs*[25] is based at the *Andersen Hüs* in the marshes near Niebüll and also performs only in

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[20] http://www.frisia-historica.de/Joomla3/index.php, last checked 08-10-2019
[21] The oldest known North Frisian texts date from 1600, so well past the medieval period. Consequently, the historical accuracy of the musical and linguistic activities of this group depends to a significant degree on anachronistic interpretation.
[22] http://www.frisianoncantat.de, last checked 08-10-2019
[23] http://www.teooter.de, last checked 08-10-2019
[24] This does not always happen very smoothly, as monies have to be reapplied for, and there is often a months-long delay between formal allocation and actual pay-out. In 2019 the delay in paying out allocated monies caused some performances to be cancelled.
[25] https://andersen-hues.de/frasch-klueues/, last checked 08-10-2019

mainland Frisian. They produce one play per year, and it is well-known that their performances require no significant advertising and are still sold out on every occasion. In addition, regular theatre performances take place on the island of Amrum.

Literary Events

The principal literary event is the biennial *Ferteel iinjsen!,* a creative writing competition for short stories organised by the *Nordfriisk Instituut* in cooperation with the North German Broadcasting Corporation (NDR) and sponsored by commercial partners, e.g., the Tourist Information on Amrum. In 2018, the competition celebrated its tenth occurrence, attracting 41 submissions in all common North Frisian dialects in this round, there have been 450 submissions altogether since its inception. The top five stories are read out aloud during a public celebration of the event[26] and receive cash prizes of altogether 1600 Euros. A selection of the best stories is edited by the *Nordfriisk Instituut* and subsequently published in book form.

The *Nordfriesischer Verein*[27], the largest North Frisian cultural society, agreed to cooperate with the SMiLE-project team on North Frisian to organise a creative writing workshop for children. This took place in October 2019 and resulted in the publication of a book of some 40 hand-drawn pictures of monsters with accompanying commentaries in mainland Frisian, written by the children with the support of the event´s mentors.

In addition to these comprehensive events aimed at the whole of North Frisia, there are also other activities organised by the various local associations. These are typically restricted to members only but offer a public / semi-public opportunity to use the various forms of the Frisian language, e.g., the *Fering inj* (Föhr evening) of the Föhringian association (*Fering*

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[26] See https://www.ndr.de/wellenord/sendungen/friesisch/Fuenf-Sieger-bei-Schreibwettbewerb-Ferteel-iinjsen,ferteel154.html, last checked 08-10-2019
[27] https://nf-verein.de, last checked 08-10-2019

Ferian) or the assemblies of the *Friisk Foriining* (Frisian association) where a large part of the membership speaks Frasch.

Prizes

A number of prizes are awarded to people in recognition of their contribution to Frisian cultural life, e.g., the C.P.-Hansen Preis (Sylt, since 1960) or the Hans-Momsen Preis (Nordfriesland, since 1986). The prizes are not explicitly dedicated to reward contributions to linguistic matters and the awardees typically include historians, literary scholars, writers and active members of the Frisian movement. The prize-giving ceremonies may contain elements in Frisian but are largely in High German.

3. What infrastructure supports the creation of new materials for language learning and/or literacy?

There are three principal outlets for producing printed materials in and on Frisian, namely the Quedens publishing house on the island of Amrum, the Ferring foundation on the island of Föhr, and the *Nordfriisk Instituut*. The only genuinely commercial institution in this group is the Quedens Verlag. The *Nordfriisk Instituut* often uses the *Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft* as a commercial partner for the production of its books. At the University of Kiel and, to a lesser extent at Flensburg, there is a tradition of producing grammars, dictionaries and texts aimed at a general readership. The poor availability of teaching materials continues to be lamented though there has been some progress, e.g., with the publication of the textbook *Paul an Emma* (2018) aimed at primary school teaching and available in both major varieties, i.e., Frasch and Fering. The production of this book was initiated and organised by the IQSH, the printing of the work, however, was only possible due to the financial support of

private sponsors. A continuation of this material for more advanced learners is still lacking, mainly due to the fact that any time spent on production is not acknowledged as official working hours (regarding production but also coordination of the work). There is no formal instruction or demand from the state to have teaching materials commissioned or updated but there has been some improvement from the early days in the 1960s and 1970s when virtually all material was home-made by teachers.

A repeated complaint by the secondary school teachers on Föhr is the complete absence of a textbook for the teaching of Frisian to the standard required for university entry qualification (*Abitur*, after 13 years of schooling), despite the fact that the subject has been taught to this level for the last 10 or so years.

4. What are the specific local, national or international policies that have directly affected the community or program in positive ways? How have these been exploited?

4.1 What are the specific local, national or international policies that have directly affected the community or program in negative ways? How have these been fought against or dealt with? Have there been positive outcomes that were unexpected (such as solidarity or focus on internal growth)?

The most damaging policy affecting the use and status of Frisian has been the century-long practice to subsequently use Latin (until c. 1700), Low German (until c. 1730ish), High German and, to some extent, Standard Danish as languages of written discourse and high-status use. Whilst this was never explicitly stated, at least not in a document or decree known to us, it had been accepted as fact by the vast majority of the population and continues to remain unchallenged. In this way, it is fair to say that language policy until the 1900s was all about

suppressing L-varieties. Only with the beginning of positive associations between national cultures, traditions and languages in the mid nineteenth century, and the subsequent calls for introducing Frisian into schooling, did the first language policies emerge that countered the previous ideologies. We detailed the efforts on Frisian language school teaching in the sections above. It is noticeable that schooling was and remains to be the most immediate and well-known language policy in the area. Official decrees on language policy also focused on this issue, most notably the school teaching decrees from 1925 and 1947. Wider aspects to support Frisian culture featured only occasionally, e.g., in the Kiel Declaration (1949)[28], which guaranteed the rights of Frisians to be part of their minority.

In 1988, the prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein installed the office of Commissioner for Minorities (and Borderland Issues, though this was dropped later) who was also charged with providing a bridge between the Frisian minority and government. In addition, a standing select committee for issues regarding the Frisian ethnic group was established by parliament in 1988. This committee meets biannually and consists of parliamentarians and representatives of the Frisian community. It is chaired by the president of the Schleswig-Holstein parliament. In 1990, the protection of the Frisian ethnic group was enshrined in the constitution of Schleswig-Holstein.[29]

Germany signed the Framework convention for the Protection of National Minorities[30] in 1997 and the European Charter for the Protection of Regional or Minority Languages[31] in 1998, both of which included Frisians and the Frisian language as listed

[28] For a brief overview of development see https://www.schleswig-holstein.de/DE/Fachinhalte/M/minderheiten/minderheiten_geschichte.html, last checked 08-10-2019
[29] For a brief summary see https://www.landtag.ltsh.de/parlament/friesen/, last checked 08-10-2019
[30] See https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/home, last checked 08-10-2019
[31] See https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-charter-regional-or-minority-languages, last checked 08-10-2019

entities in the jurisdiction of Germany. It is unclear to what extent these charters and conventions made an actual difference to the status and use of Frisian: the number of pupils, hours and teachers involved with the use of Frisian at schools appears to be rather unaffected by the official protection, the use of Frisian in public media or on official occasions have been similarly stable or even in continued decline.

A serious commitment to status planning of Frisian was expressed by the Schleswig-Holstein parliament´s passing of the Frisian Law in 2004 which aims at promoting the Frisian language in the public domain and which permits citizens to use Frisian with the authorities in the District of North Frisia and obligates civil servants to reply in this language where possible. This law is largely symbolic, and it is not known how often, if ever, people make use of this right and obligation. The most visible part of the language policies in the region is, apart from school teaching, the use of bilingual place name signs since 1997 and road directions since 2017. This is confirmed by the views expressed by the consultants of our interviews. They, too, emphasise the symbolic nature of such measures – which they view positively on the whole – and feel that this will help with a positive attitude towards the Frisian language and culture but not increase the use of the language.

E. Responses to New Media, Domains, and Speakers

1. How important are new technologies in communication in the minority language?

On an institutional level, new technologies only play a modest role. Most institutions and associations such as the *Nordfriisk Instituut* or the *Friisk Foriining* have an internet site and/or a Facebook page to communicate with their audiences (see below), often both Frisian and German (plus, sometimes, Danish). The level of activity on these pages varies greatly, as well as the level of detail of the content, but most basic information and especially announcements for events are published online. In an attempt to engage with the community on their Facebook page, the *Friisk Foriining* and the *Ferring Stiftung* also offer language riddles or a 'word of the day'.

A few projects have been launched that make greater use of internet technology, such as the *EduFriisk* online Frisian course, developed by the *Nordfriisk Instituut* a few years ago. As always with project-based initiatives, the sustainability of the application is not clearly guaranteed and at the time of this writing, the website is no longer available.

There has been a Wikipedia in North Frisian[32] since 2010. In total, it contains 9118 articles in North Frisian (Aug 2019), spread over eight of the different varieties of North Frisian. Not all articles are covered in all languages and the vast majority is written in Öömrang, the dialect of the home of the administrator. According to public statistics, the Frisian Wikipedia has nearly 13,000 registered users, but only 17 active users (those who contribute to writing and expanding articles). As the administrator rightly indicated in an interview, it all depends on a few

[32] https://frr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Hoodsidj-öömrang

individuals that are the driving forces behind the Wikipedia. If they were to discontinue their activities, the entire enterprise is likely to break down.

1.1 How are they used? By whom? When or where?

As this was not a main objective in our study, there is no qualitative nor quantitative data on the use of electronic resources, partly because of a lack of studies, partly because of data protection rights and partly, and probably not insignificantly, due to the relative backwardness of Germany when it comes to digital maturity, especially in the generation of 30+ years of age. It is likely that this will change but we have no evidence as of yet. As an example, the language learning programme *EduFriisk* was developed for West Frisian and then translated into North Frisian. It was promoted as an extra resource to Frisian courses offered by the University of Kiel, but it was not integrated into the curriculum. The University of Flensburg never used it, partly because it was conceived of as a non-linear self-study course. It has since been discontinued. The activities on the Facebook pages of the institutions are mostly in German with the notable exception of the *Friisk Foriining* which posts in mainland Frisian. The *Ferring-Stiftung* posts in German but include occasional language games and quizzes in Fering Frisian.

1.2 Who develops them? How are they accessed?

See question E.1 above.

1.3 How are they supported (training, updates, advertising)?

The institutions themselves are responsible for maintaining the technologies (i.e., websites and Facebook pages).

1.4 How much of the language resources are allocated to developing and supporting new technologies?

To our knowledge, no structural budget is continually earmarked specifically for developing new technologies by any of the institutions or main agents involved in revitalization efforts. *EduFriisk* described above was budgeted as a specific project, but this appears to be an isolated example.

1.5 What are the consequences of new technologies?

One clear consequence of the new technologies is on an individual level, rather than on institutional or community-wide level. Frisian is first and foremost used for family and in-group communication. The means of conducting such communication, have of course changed with emerging technologies, especially with the introduction of social media and messaging services such as WhatsApp. Many interviewees reported that they use Frisian in personal messaging services (written or recorded) to those people with whom they would also communicate in Frisian in person. Most of them insisted on writing 'correctly' when using these services, despite the fact that the communication was informal.

2. How have new domains for language use been developed and/or expanded? For whom?

In general, the language use continues to decline, albeit at perhaps a lesser pace than in previous decades, despite the fact that over the past 50 years the attitude towards Frisian has become more positive and more revitalization activities have been undertaken. In the school domain, however, there is a clear increase in the provision since the late '70s (see also A.2.1).

One domain that could be considered as an entirely new domain is the use of writing in personal messaging services and other social media, as described in C.1 above.

In addition, in the last 15 years or so, media presence has increased and now consists of the radio channel *FriiskFunk* with 2 hours of Frisian broadcasting a day (since 2010), and the NDR-run weekly 3-minute programme *Frasch för enarken* (since 2008), and *tjabelstünj*, a weekly podcast by (former) students of Frisian at the University of Kiel (see A.2.1 and B.4).

2.1 Have older domains been restored? How did this come about?

To the best of our knowledge, no older domains have been restored.

2.2 What roles have the arts (old or new musical genres, traditional arts, new art forms or movements) played in creating new domains or expanding use of the language?

Theatre in Frisian has quite a long history and continues to be a domain where the language plays a role (see B.4.1). From our data, we can't really tell whether this is expanding or not, but it is certainly a domain that is known to the wider community, and where also non-Frisian speakers have heard of or have been to.

Likewise, music with Frisian lyrics comes in various forms, from choir singing to professional artists such as the band *Kalüün* and singer-songwriter Norma (see also A.2.2). Regarding the theatre, many people in the wider community have had some sort of encounter with it, but it is unclear whether this is a driving force that leads to expansion of the language use.

3. What issues surrounding authenticity affect the way language revitalization efforts are designed or received? How are speakers are defined or evaluated?

The definition of who is a Frisian speaker and who is not is a very loose one. One does not need to be a descendant of generations of Frisian speakers. New speakers are regarded as

part of the Frisian community as well (see also question 4 below). Evaluation of authentic use of the language is probably mostly implicitly dealt with on a personal level. One interviewee (0723) reports that she notices the differences in language use between new speakers and her own Frisian as a mother tongue speaker. She feels there is a slight tension between the new speakers that learn the 'official' and 'correct' Frisian, which is in contrast to her own 'incorrect' native language use. However, now that she has studied Frisian at university and is a qualified teacher of the language, she understands better how this difference comes about and she feels more secure of her own language use as a native speaker.

In some cases, authenticity, and recognition thereof, may be taken to a more public level. For example, some argue very strongly against the use of *sik* as a reflexive pronoun instead of *ham* in Fering (0507), which is perceived by others as a mere distinction between a formal (written) form and daily spoken language or as differences in local varieties or is regarded as natural language change by yet others (0231) (cf. Gregersen, 2019).

Another example of an issue surrounding authenticity of the language comes from the island of Amrum. In order to withstand the introduction of German loanwords into Frisian, a local authority figure had introduced a list of neologisms (e.g., *wiidluker* as a calque of German *Fernseher*, meaning television). Our interviewees (0710, 0711) strongly rejected these neologisms as being foolish, and they saw no reason for not using the German loans (in some cases phonologically adapted to Öömrang). The same is true for neologisms in Mooring, where the use of *späilwååder* instead of the loan *kanalisation* for sewer system provoked similar feelings (0233).

3.1 Who are the actors in authentication? Have these changed over the years?

Public actors in authentication are the people in key positions at the institutions that are active in the Frisian movement, such as the language experts of the *Nordfriisk Instituut* or the

Ferring Stiftung. As mentioned before, a considerable proportion of these people are new speakers of Frisian, Frisians in the diaspora or Frisians who have been living outside of the core linguistic area for some time (see A.2.3).

3.2 Where and how do these issues get resolved, or not?

In the case of reflexive pronoun *sik* described above, the case is, formally and informally, mentioned over and over again by some people as an example of 'incorrect' language use. An example of formal channels engaging in such discussion is the publication of an article on the matter in the popular-science magazine Nordfriesland, published monthly by the *Nordfriisk Instituut* (Gregersen, 2019).

In other cases, such as the Öömrang neologisms, the issue is simply resolved because supposed authentic language use is not adopted by the speech community.

4. How does the community determine new speakers?

In general, new speakers are welcome to the Frisian community. All new speakers among our interviewees (e.g., 0233, 0701, 0702) report that their efforts were very much appreciated by native speakers, and they were sometimes spoken to in Frisian from the first moment that people found out they were interested in the language, even when their proficiency was still very limited. All the native speakers that we interviewed had a very positive attitude towards learners of the language (e.g., 0216, 0504, 0714). One thing that there is disagreement on is whether it is okay or not to correct learners' utterances (e.g., 0230 and 0231). The new speakers we interviewed said they were very open to comments and suggestions on their language use, since that improves their proficiency.

4.1 How are new speakers integrated into the speech community and into larger social contexts?

In the case of Frisian, it is hardly possible to define the speech community as a coherent whole. When the motivation of new speakers is personal (e.g., in the case of someone marrying into a Frisian speaking family), the social integration comes first, and the linguistic integration naturally follows at some point.

In some cases, advanced new speakers even come to occupy very active positions on the forefront of the Frisian activism. One teacher who was particularly active from the early days of the Frisian revival in Risum-Lindholm onwards and subsequently became the Ministry's Coordinator for the Teaching of Frisian (*Landesfachberater*), mentioned that he was often described as an autochthonous Frisian (*Urfriese*), despite the fact that he only learned Frisian as a foreign language in his twenties (Gerd Vahder, 21.02.2019, p.c.).

4.2 What are the kinds of value and authority that new forms of language have? What debates surround these themes (and related issues of speakers, language proficiency in different registers etc...)?

A consequence of learning Frisian through schooling rather than in the home is that the more formal, written, language is taught there. One difference between the language use of new speakers and native speakers that was observed by our interviewees (e.g. 0719, 0723) is that new speakers are said to use no, or only a few, German loans in their Frisian ("they just know too much Frisian"[33], 0233), where native speakers would use a German loanword, although they sometimes still know that their parents or grandparents used a Frisian word for that. Even

[33] "die können einfach zu viel Friesisch"

the most proficient new speakers can still be identified by this characteristic. Thus, interestingly, the language use of new speakers seems to resemble more traditional, some would regard it archaic, language use, than the form that native speakers learn in the home nowadays. This can sometimes lead to the devaluation of native competence, e.g., interviewee 0508 claims that her native Fering improved through formal education, because in her village they did not speak “good” Fering, and interviewee 0303 believes that the people who learn Frisian in a formal context speak better than he does.

F. Further Questions

1. What other questions or issues not listed here that the community or program need to know more about? What don't you know, what would you like to know, and what do you need to know?

There is a considerable number of people with a passive knowledge of Frisian, which became evident when we conducted our interviews. We are not sure how much awareness there is among competent speakers of these silent speakers.

Many of the silent speakers appear to have the desire to increase their competence, at the same time, most of them do not take efforts to attend evening classes. There are already low-threshold language resources, such as Frisian language drama with super-titles in High German, taster courses for language learners and a short weekly radio programme. However, it could be effective to specifically address the group of silent speakers as a(nother) target group for these offers in advertising them and advertisement could be expanded to other channels beyond the usual ones that are used by people who are already interested and informed in Frisian topics.

2. What do you, as researchers, need to know more about, if different? What don't you know, what would you like to know, and what do you need to know?

As has been stated in the previous sections, some topics would be worth exploring further. Among them

- The relation between native speakers and new speakers and their perception of (in)correct language use

- Frisian theatre as a bottom-up initiative of language revitalization and maintenance, both from the actors' and the audience's view
- Perceptions and motivation of school-age children to engage with the language

In addition, it could be very fruitful to undertake social network analysis, especially in Risum-Lindholm, but also on Föhr, to better understand how the few speakers interact with each other and with others and how social dynamics contribute to maintaining the language.

3. What are the questions that you asked or discussed during interviews or in research teams that are not asked here?

In our interviews, we talked to both speakers and non-speakers. We deliberately tried not to look for consultants already active in the Frisian-lobbying networks (i.e., Frisian organizations), but by asking friends of friends and partly by approaching people on the street. At the same time, obviously, we did not refuse to speak to activists.

In total, 93 people were interviewed in 82 interviews, 55 of whom were non-speakers and 38 speakers. We had 61 female and 32 male consultants. Figure 5 shows, in which part of North Frisia the participants grew up.

Figure 5

Participants' place of origin

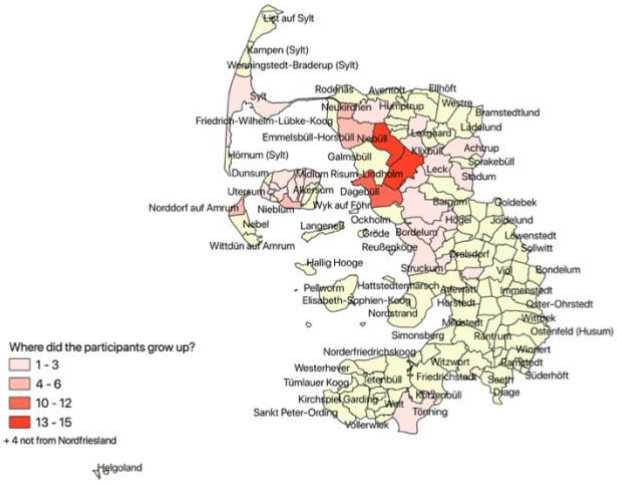
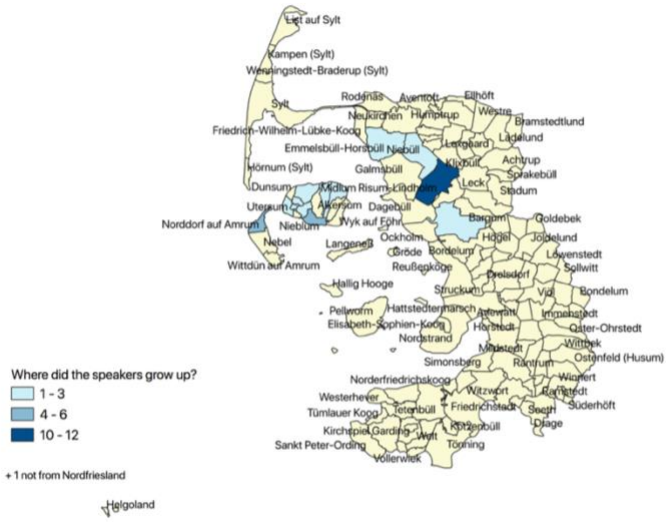


Figure 6 shows where speakers grew up. Except for one speaker in Niebüll, all speakers who did not grow up in Risum-Lindholm, on Föhr or on Amrum are new speakers.

Figure 6

Speakers' place of origin



In our interviews, which were partly conducted by ourselves, and partly by students who come from the area, we asked about the family background and especially, whether there

are people who speak Frisian in their family. If people spoke Frisian themselves, we also asked in which situations and with whom they speak. It became apparent that the most important domain for language use is the family sphere. Most speakers also have at least some acquaintances with whom they speak Frisian. In Risum-Lindholm, speakers also use Frisian with Frisian-speaking staff of mostly smaller shops, and it is well known who speaks Frisian. They also know a few Frisian speaking people working in shops in Niebüll, but the number is smaller, either because there are less people or because they simply do not know as many people in Niebüll as in Risum-Lindholm.

We asked whether the consultants had Frisian in school and how the classes were organized. We also asked about the perceived aim and effect of Frisian education (although consultants hardly differentiated between the two), and if the consultants would have preferred to learn Low German or Danish instead of Frisian. The figure in B1.1 shows that most interviewees between 20 and 50 had Frisian classes. Some of them would have preferred to have Low German and especially Danish at school, others would not have chosen a different language.

We asked whether consultants believed Frisian to be an important part of North Frisia and whether this has changed during the last 30 years.

Except for one person, all interviewees consider Frisian to be an important part of North Frisia. This is connected to the history of the region, but also to a perceived North Frisian identity. Most of them believe that there is less Frisian today than 30 years before, but some note an increase due to revitalisation initiatives and an improved image of bilingualism and the Frisian language.

We asked about Frisian radio, literature, and cultural activities and how much they are known and used. We asked about the opinion about the bilingual place name signs and whether the consultants knew other examples of names and labels in Frisian.

The existence of Frisian drama is well-known to most of our interviewees, but Frisian radio programmes are hardly known. The overwhelming majority of consultants likes the bilingual place name signs because they are perceived as a signal for the region's uniqueness. Many believe that they were mainly put up for the benefit of tourists.

Finally, we asked about an estimation about future language use (in 50 or 100 years).

People who do not have much contact with Frisian have a more negative picture of the language's future in general than people who speak Frisian or are in regular contact with Frisian speakers. This also coincides with the consultants' places of origin and residence.

Interestingly, when asked about possible measures to promote the Frisian language most people thought of increased efforts in Frisian education, although many of them admitted that their own Frisian classes did not have much impact on them and that they would not have been interested in further education in Frisian.

In addition, some of our consultants had very interesting ideas how to additionally promote the language. Among these were Frisian computer games, Frisian TV, and a Frisian poetry slam.

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