

Catharina Peersman, Gijsbert Rutten, Rik Vosters (Eds.)
Past, Present and Future of a Language Border

Language and Social Life



Editors

David Britain

Crispin Thurlow

Founding Editor

Richard J. Watts

Volume 1

Past, Present and Future of a Language Border

Germanic-Romance Encounters in the Low Countries

Edited by
Catharina Peersman
Gijsbert Rutten
Rik Vosters

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

ISBN 978-1-61451-583-8

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-61451-415-2

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0106-7

ISSN 2364-4303

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2015 Walter de Gruyter, Inc., Berlin/Boston

Typesetting: PTP-Berlin, Protago-TeX-Production GmbH, Berlin

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

☺ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Contents

Preface — vii

Author information — viii

Catharina Peersman, Gijsbert Rutten and Rik Vosters

Chapter 1

Romance–Germanic encounters along the language border: past, present and future — 1

Part I: Theoretical and historical overview

Jeroen Darquennes

Chapter 2

The dimensions of language conflict: an exploration — 19

Roland Willemyns

Chapter 3

Trilingual tug-o'-war: language border fluctuations in the Low Countries — 39

Ulrike Vogl

Chapter 4

Standard language ideology and the history of Romance–Germanic encounters — 61

Part II: The Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period

Catharina Peersman

Chapter 5

Constructing identity: language and identity in the narration of the Franco-Flemish conflict (1297–1305) — 91

Willem Frijhoff

Chapter 6

Multilingualism and the challenge of frenchification in the early modern Dutch Republic — 115

Part III: The 18th and 19th centuries

Gijsbert Rutten, Rik Vosters and Marijke van der Wal

Chapter 7

Frenchification in discourse and practice: loan morphology in Dutch private letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — 143

M. C. A. Kessels-van der Heijde

Chapter 8

The use of languages in Maastricht in the nineteenth century: the press and family archives — 171

Part IV: The 20th and 21st centuries

Magali Boemer and Jeroen Darquennes

Chapter 9

Language conflict in the educational realm: Eupen-Malmedy in the interbellum period (1920–1940) — 207

Kristine Horner and Jean-Jacques Weber

Chapter 10

Multilingual education and the politics of language in Luxembourg — 233

Rudi Janssens and Joost Vaesen

Chapter 11

In contact and/or in conflict? Ethno-cultural markers, language and schooling in post-war Brussels — 255

Epilogue

Richard J. Watts

Chapter 12

Conceptualising “language borders”, “language contact” and “language conflict” — 277

Index — 297

Preface

We would like to thank the authors of the individual chapters, who produced the excellent pieces of scholarship which make thematic volumes such as this one possible. Some of the contributions in this book were first presented as conference papers at the 2012 Sociolinguistics Symposium in Berlin, where we hosted a thematic panel on Conflicts in the city, cities in conflict? Romance-Germanic encounters in the Low Countries. Thanks to all the presenters at that panel who reworked their contribution into a chapter for this book, and thanks to the other scholars who were not present in Berlin, but kindly agreed to submit a chapter for the present volume anyway.

We would also like to express our appreciation to the numerous colleagues who participated in the double-blind peer review process, and to Bettina Müller and Helen Bilton who helped in the preparation of the final manuscript. Special thanks are likewise extended to the staff of De Gruyter Mouton, for their excellent advice and support throughout the publication process.

Finally, we were also privileged to work with the Language and Social Processes series editors, and Richard Watts in particular, who not only welcomed our book into the LSP series, patiently guiding us through every step of the publication process, but also agreed to write the concluding chapter of the book. Thanks are also in order to Tomasz Kamusella for offering us some of his thoughts on the chapters at an earlier stage.

Catharina Peersman, Gijsbert Rutten & Rik Vosters – October 2014

Author information

Magali Boemer is a member of the research group on plurilingualism (Pluri-LL) at the University of Namur, Belgium. She is currently working on her PhD project entitled *Language, Education and Power – A sociolinguistic study of language-in-education policy in the German-speaking Community of Belgium (1919–2012)*. She specializes in research on multilingualism and language-in-education policy (LEP) in language contact settings. Address for correspondence: UNamur, Rue de Bruxelles 61, B-5000 Namur, Belgium. magali.boemer@unamur.be

Jeroen Darquennes is professor of German and general linguistics at the University of Namur, visiting professor at the Université Saint-Louis (Brussels) and affiliated researcher at the Mercator Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning (Leeuwarden, The Netherlands). He is one of the general editors of *Sociolinguistica. The international yearbook of European sociolinguistics* (de Gruyter) and associate editor of *Language, Culture and Curriculum* (Routledge). In his research he mainly focuses on issues of language contact, language conflict and language policy and planning in European indigenous language minority settings. Address for correspondence: UNamur, Rue de Bruxelles 61, B-5000 Namur. jeroen.darquennes@unamur.be

Willem Frijhoff (°1942) studied and worked many years as a research fellow in history of mentalities and history of education at different scholarly institutions in France. At present he is emeritus professor in early modern history at the VU-University, Amsterdam, and holds the G.Ph. Verhagen chair in cultural history at Erasmus University, Rotterdam. His publications are about the history of education, culture and religion in Western Europe and the Atlantic area, in particular in the early modern Netherlands and France. Address: Jan van Ghestellaan 25, NL-3054CE Rotterdam. willem.frijhoff@gmail.com

Kristine Horner is Reader in Luxembourg Studies and Multilingualism at the University of Sheffield, where she is also Director of the Centre for Luxembourg Studies. She has published widely on language politics, language ideologies and multilingualism, including special issues of *Language Problems and Language Planning* (2009) and the *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* (2011), *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach* (with J-J. Weber, Routledge 2012) and *Multilingualism and Mobility in Europe: Policies and Practices* (with I. de Saint-Georges and J-J. Weber, Peter Lang 2014). Address for correspondence: School of Languages and Cultures, University of Sheffield, Jessop West, S3 7RA Sheffield, United Kingdom. k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk

Rudi Janssens is sociologist and senior researcher at the Brussels Information, Documentation and Research Centre (BRIO) at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel where he is in charge of the language-sociological research segment. He has published on language use in multilingual and multicultural cities and regions, language and identity and the impact of language policies. He is a member of the international consortium 'Mobilities and Integration in a Multilingual Europe (FP7). Address for correspondence: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Pleinlaan 2 1050 Brussel. Rudi.Janssens@vub.ac.be

Marina Kessels-van der Heijde is a retired English teacher and independent scholar. She studied cultural studies at the Open University and graduated in 1997. The subject of her research was the press in nineteenth-century Maastricht. In 2002, she published her dissertation *Maastricht, Maestricht, Mestreech, the language proportions of Dutch, French and the Maastricht dialect in the nineteenth century* (Maaslandse Monografieën 65, Hilversum 2002). She previously published on language choice in the press in Maastricht (*Verslagen en Mededelingen* 2004: 1) and gives lectures about the subject of her dissertation. Address for correspondence: Dorpstraat 47 6438 JS Oirsbeek, The Netherlands. jmkessels@gmail.com

Catharina Peersman is Lecturer in French and Sociolinguistics, at the University of Sheffield, UK. Her research focus being Old French, she has published on the rise of the written vernaculars in Western Europe (Hernandez-Campoy & Conde-Silvestre 2012, Blackwell) and in medieval Flanders (*L'essor des langues vernaculaires dans l'abbaye de Ninove* 2012, PAF). She is one of the editors of the new *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* (De Gruyter, 2015). Address for correspondence: Blaarstraat 160, 3700 Tongeren, Belgium. catharina.peersman@gmail.com.

Gijsbert Rutten is a senior researcher Historical sociolinguistics of Dutch and an assistant professor Dutch historical linguistics at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL). He leads the VIDI research project *Going Dutch. The Construction of Dutch in Policy, Practice and Discourse, 1750–1850*, funded by the Netherlands Organisation of Scientific Research (NWO). He has published widely on variation and change in Dutch. Recent books include *Touching the Past. Studies in the historical sociolinguistics of ego-documents* (co-edited with Marijke van der Wal, Benjamins 2013), *Letters as Loot. A sociolinguistic approach to seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dutch* (with Marijke van der Wal, Benjamins 2014) and *Norms and usage in language history, 1600–1900. A sociolinguistic and comparative perspective* (co-edited with Rik Vosters and Wim

Vandenbussche, Benjamins 2014). Address for correspondence: Universiteit Leiden, Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), PO Box 9515, NL – 2300 RA Leiden. g.j.rutten@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Joost Vaesen is director of the Brussels Studies Institute, an interuniversity research platform building and sustaining multi-actor and multidisciplinary research on Brussels, and assistant professor at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. He has published on urban politics and the governance of Brussels and on urban education. Address for correspondence: Vrije Universiteit Brussel / IDLO, Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussels (BE). joost.vaesen@vub.ac.be

Marijke van der Wal is Professor in the History of Dutch at Leiden University, The Netherlands. Her publications cover the fields of both historical linguistics and the historiography of linguistics. Her current research focusses on egodocuments and the language history from below. She directed the research programme *Letters as Loot. Towards a non-standard view on the history of Dutch*, which explored the extraordinary source of Dutch 17th- and 18th-century private letters, kept in the National Archives (Kew, UK). Recent sociohistorical linguistic highlights are *Letters as Loot* (2014) and *Touching the Past* (edited, 2013), both publications with Gijsbert Rutten. Address for correspondence: Universiteit Leiden, Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), PO Box 9515, NL – 2300 RA Leiden. m.j.van.der.wal@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Ulrike Vogl is Assistant Professor in Dutch linguistics at the University of Vienna. Her research interests focus on language ideology, on language variation and language learning and on the language history and historiography of Dutch. She teaches courses on sociolinguistics and multilingualism at the Dutch Department of the University of Vienna. She published the edited volume *Standard languages and multilingualism in European history* (with Matthias Hüning & Olivier Moliner, Benjamins 2012). Address for correspondence: Universität Wien, Institut für EVSL, Abteilung Niederlandistik, Universitätsring 1, 1010 Vienna. ulrike.vogl@univie.ac.at

Rik Vosters is an assistant professor at the Center for Linguistics of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel and a postdoctoral researcher at the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO). He is currently working on a project about orality and literacy in eighteenth-century Southern Dutch. He is also the co-editor of the new *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Mouton De Gruyter, 2015), and has published extensively on the historical sociolinguistics of Dutch, with a particular focus on language variation and change, as well as language planning and language policy.

His recent work includes *Norms and usage in language history, 1600–1900. A sociolinguistic and comparative perspective* (co-edited with Gijsbert Rutten and Wim Vandenbussche, 2014) and *Sur la langue nationale. Taal en taalpolitiek in het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden en het jonge België* (with Guy Janssens, 2014). Address for correspondence: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Centrum voor Linguïstiek, Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussel (BE). Rik.Vosters@vub.ac.be.

Richard J. Watts is emeritus professor of Modern English Linguistics, retired from the chair in that discipline at the University of Berne since 2008. He was editor of the international journal *Multilingua* from 1986 till the end of 2013 and co-editor of the book series *Language and Social Processes* till the end of 2014, both produced by Mouton De Gruyter. He is the author of 5 books (including *Politeness*, 2003, CUP and *Language Myths and the History of English*, 2011, OUP) and the co-editor of 9 further books (including *Politeness in Language*, 1992, Mouton [with Sachiko Ide and Konrad Ehlich], *Standard English: The Widening Debate*, 1999, Routledge [with Tony Bex], *Alternative Histories of English*, 2002, Routledge [with Peter Trudgill] and *Letter Writing and Language Change*, in press, CUP [with Anita Auer and Daniel Schreier]).

Jean-Jacques Weber is Professor of English and Education at the University of Luxembourg. He was educated at the University of Lancaster (UK) and the University of Leuven (Belgium), where he was awarded a PhD in 1991. He has published widely in the areas of discourse analysis, multilingualism and education, including *Flexible Multilingual Education: Putting Children's Needs First* (Multilingual Matters, 2014), *Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach* (co-authored with K. Horner; Routledge, 2012) and *Multilingualism and Multimodality* (co-edited with I. de Saint-Georges; Sense Publishers, 2013). Address for correspondence: University of Luxembourg, Campus Walferdange, BP 2, L-7201 Walferdange, Luxembourg. jean-jacques.weber@uni.lu

Roland Willems is emeritus professor of Dutch linguistics at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. He has published extensively about historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, dialectology, Middle Dutch, language history and language planning. His most recent works include *Het verhaal van het Nederlands. Een geschiedenis van twaalf eeuwen* (with Nicoline van der Sijs, 2009, Bert Bakker) and *Dutch. Biography of a language* (2013, OUP). In 2014, he was awarded the prestigious Prijs voor Meesterschap by the Dutch Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde for his complete scientific career. Address for correspondence: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Centrum voor Linguïstiek, Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussel (BE). willems@skynet.be.

Catharina Peersman, Gijsbert Rutten and Rik Vosters

Chapter 1

Romance–Germanic encounters along the language border: past, present and future

1 Language borders as sites of contact and conflict

For centuries, the Low Countries have been at the intersection of Germanic and Romance cultures and languages. The French–Dutch and French–German language borders, cutting through the present-day territories of France, Belgium and Luxembourg, have given rise to often intense situations of language contact and conflict, both in situations of every-day communication and in more stylised domains such as literature, diplomacy and science. This has led to various degrees of societal and individual multilingualism. Whether in peaceful coexistence or at the heart of heated conflicts, these Romance–Germanic encounters have made their mark on the sociolinguistic landscapes of the Low Countries (Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) and have left a fascinating paper trail for (historical) sociolinguists to investigate. This volume brings together a range of state-of-the-art contributions, discussing sociolinguistic aspects of these Romance–Germanic encounters from the thirteenth century to the present.

Societal multilingualism and linguistic conflicts in the Low Countries have been at the heart of research on language planning and language contact for a long time now, and seminal sociolinguistic studies such as Nelde (1987, 1989, 1997) offer recent scholarship a firm foundation upon which to build. The issue of Romance–Germanic contact and conflict has become particularly relevant again in recent years, not only with the recent resurgence of language planning efforts in Luxembourg (Horner 2009), but also with linguistic quarrels being perceived to be at the basis of the recent political crises in Belgium (De Keere and Elchardus 2011). In addition, linguistic encounters in the Low Countries have also sparked off a considerable amount of interest within a larger European language planning perspective (Darquennes 2010). Romance–Germanic language contact and conflict in the Low Countries has been explored in earlier thematic publications such as Wright and Kelly (1995, as a special issue of *Current Issues in Language and Society*) and Treffers-Daller and Willems (2002, as a special issue of *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*), and the work of Peter Nelde, although concerned with the notion of language conflict more generally, has

often focused on the Belgian situation as a case in point (cf. also the contribution by Darquennes in the present volume). Many publications focus exclusively on the Romance–Germanic language border in Belgium (e.g. Lamarcq and Rogge’s 1996 study on its origin and oldest development), and the Belgian French and Dutch language conflict more specifically (e.g. Von Busekist’s 1998 discussion of linguistic conflicts and language planning efforts since the end of the *ancien régime*, especially within the framework of the emerging Belgian nation state). Furthermore, the recent stream and relative commercial success of popularising works on issues of language borders, language contact and linguistic conflicts in Belgium shows how these topics are not only of interest among linguists and historians, but also appeal to many individual language users in the areas concerned (e.g. Fonteyn 2009; Witte and Van Velthoven 2010; Raskin 2012; Devoldere 2013).

Apart from earlier work focusing on language contact in the Low Countries specifically, recent studies on language choice and societal multilingualism within the emerging domain of historical sociolinguistics also make up the context for the present volume. More and more work is focusing on linguistic tensions within historical contexts of multilingualism, approaching societal and individual multilingualism from a distinctly sociohistorical perspective, often within a broader European context (e.g. the work of Rindler Schjerve 2003 on language conflicts and language planning in the nineteenth-century Austro-Hungarian Habsburg empire, but also various contributions in Braumüller and Ferraresi 2003). This historical and sociolinguistic turn in the study of multilingualism and language contact adds to the already extensive body of research in contact linguistics, where most attention has traditionally been paid to intralinguistic mechanisms and explanations, for instance in the study of lexical and structural transfer, or contact-induced language change (e.g. Van Coetsem 1988; Thomason and Kaufman 1991).

2 Language contact and conflict across time, space and disciplines

The present volume focuses on language contact and conflict in one specific area, the Low Countries, which is studied from a variety of different perspectives. Diachronically, the volume ranges from the earliest records and reflections of language contact and conflict in the thirteenth century to the present-day situation in the early twenty-first century. With this diachronic perspective and the broad time-span covered we hope to offer a valuable contribution to the study of language contact and conflict, which often focuses on present-day situations. The

same also applies to research on the Low Countries specifically: our understanding of present-day language contact and conflict has much to gain from historical depth, as the chapter by Peersman amply demonstrates. Focusing on the oldest period represented in this volume, the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, she uncovers the foundations of present-day identities constructed and debated in political and linguistic conflicts in Belgium.

The geographical scope of the volume also extends beyond the traditional focus on Brussels or Belgium more generally. This volume incorporates language contact and conflict situations in the other geographical areas that were historically part of the Low Countries, such as the present-day Netherlands, Luxembourg and the German-speaking borderland in the east of Belgium. By widening the geographical scope to the whole of the Low Countries, the present volume aims to put the classic case of Belgian societal multilingualism into a broader perspective, thus capturing examples of historical Romance–Germanic language contact and conflict situations that would otherwise not receive sufficient attention or would not be studied in conjunction with each other. This wide geographic range ensures coverage of recent scholarship on French, Dutch, German and Luxembourgish.

As language contact and conflict is a research topic that has appealed to scholars in different research traditions, the present volume is also characterised by multi-disciplinarity, bringing together empirical approaches to the subject from the angles of language variation and change, contact linguistics, discourse analysis, historical language sociology, language planning and policy, and language-in-education planning. Though many contributors work in the field of sociolinguistics in the broadest sense, the volume also comprises chapters by historians and sociologists. What binds all of the contributions together is the focus on language contact as a societal rather than just a linguistic phenomenon: as such, all of the contributions have roots in historical sociolinguistics, which is one of the most productive and innovative research paradigms focusing on the social history of language.

3 Theoretical and historical outline

The present volume consists of two main parts: a first section offers three introductory, comparative and theoretical reflections on the object of study, and a second section comprises individual case studies in chronological order. Many of the themes implicitly or explicitly addressed in these sections are taken up in the Epilogue by Richard Watts, which offers a thorough re-thinking of the crucial con-

cepts underpinning the volume. The first part of the book brings together three overview chapters with a broader perspective, covering recent developments in language planning and language conflict research (Darquennes), a historical and typological outline of language border changes in the Low Countries (Willemyns) and a discussion of standard language ideologies in the linguistic historiography of the Low Countries (Vogl).

In his chapter on “The dimensions of language conflict: an exploration”, Jeroen Darquennes seeks to provide an overview of the way in which language conflict has been discussed in European and North-American studies on language policy and planning in language contact settings since the early 1950s. Special attention is paid to the alleged inseparability of language contact and language conflict (“Nelde’s Law”), the theoretical and methodological underpinnings and challenges of language conflict research and diachronic as well as synchronic research perspectives. The chapter starts with a systematic sketch of the main areas of focus of language conflict research, i.e. language, the individual language user(s) and society. Zooming in on the third area of focus, Darquennes explores the dimensions of language conflict in society, discussing in succession possible causes of language conflict, its visibility and manifestation in societies, focal points such as the structural properties of a specific variety or language choice in different domains and finally language conflict management, including corpus, status and acquisition planning. After offering an overview of existing methods, he rounds off with a number of research desiderata, stressing that research on language conflict would, for example, greatly benefit from investigations into the actors and their motives in language conflict situations, as well as into the duration and intensity of language contact and conflict situations.

After Darquennes’ more theoretical overview, Roland Willemyns focuses on the Dutch–French language border in his chapter “Trilingual tug-of-war: language border fluctuations in the Low Countries”. After a short summary of the historical background of the language contact and conflict in Alsace, Switzerland and South Tyrol, he discusses both historical (French Flanders) and actual language borders (Belgium, Luxembourg). As such, his chapter provides the backdrop against which many of the later contributions can be read. Particular attention is paid to how the territoriality principle has influenced the Dutch–French language border in Belgium to become not just a mere linguistic notion, but a legal, administrative and political reality. Willemyns examines the part played by linguistic legislation, language planning and other sociolinguistic developments in order to determine the Belgian problem areas, with special consideration for the highly complex nature of the capital, Brussels. He then moves on to contextualise trilingual contact in German-speaking Belgium and Luxembourg. The discussion of the different borders and contact situations finally builds up to a typology of lan-

guage borders and patterns of change, with Willemyns discerning essentially two types of language border based on language shift (the first resulting in erosion, the second resulting in a change of location of the border) and two patterns of change (monolingualisation and bilingualisation).

The third and final chapter in the theoretical overview “Standard language ideology and the history of Romance–Germanic encounters” covers the importance of standard language ideologies in the language historiography of the Low Countries. Ulrike Vogl provides evidence for the underlying standard language ideology in the historiography of the Romance–Germanic border region in Belgium. More specifically, she uses a discourse analytical approach on a corpus of four textbooks on the external history of Dutch, which share common ground regarding the content, target audience and professional background of the authors. In order to illustrate how a present-day standard language perspective has shaped common but biased views on language, she identifies two discourse models: the “decay of Dutch in the South in the shadow of French” and “monolingual Flanders”, linked respectively to the French annexation of the Southern Low Countries and to the federalisation process in Belgium. Both models represent ways of simplifying the complex history of Romance–Germanic encounters in the South of the Low Countries through the use of elements of standard language ideology, such as the “ideology of the hierarchisation of varieties”, the “ideology of correctness” and the “one-nation-one-language ideology” as their conceptual basis, which also means that practices deviating from this ideal tend to be hidden. Vogl nonetheless recognises that the books leave a little room for the alternative discourse model of a “super diverse Belgium”, which fits in with some characterisations of the linguistic situation in Brussels.

4 Case studies from past to present

The three introductory chapters set the theoretical and methodological stage for the subsequent seven case studies. In the individual case studies, the authors deal with important sites of Romance–Germanic contact along the language border, such as Luxembourg (Horner and Weber), the Northern Netherlands (Frijhoff; Rutten, Vosters and Van der Wal), Flanders (Peersman; Rutten, Vosters and Van der Wal), the cities of Brussels (Janssens and Vaesen) and Maastricht (Kessels-van der Heijde), and the German-speaking community in Belgium (Boemer and Darquennes). Moreover, the volume is structured along a diachronic axis, showing how language contact and conflict operated in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (Peersman; Frijhoff), the eighteenth and nineteenth cen-

turies (Rutten, Vosters and Van der Wal; Kessels-van der Heijde) and throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Boemer and Darquennes; Horner and Weber; Janssens and Vaesen). The chapters discuss a variety of topics and themes, many of which display a remarkable diachronic stability, such as the interplay of multilingualism and group identities, the educational practices and policies focused on the management of multilingualism, and the close connection between language contact and language conflict.

4.1 Multilingualism and nationhood

Throughout the history of the Low Countries, language, or, more precisely, linguistic difference has been employed as a tool to create group identities, including national identities, feeding on what Watts calls the “essentialist hypostatisation” of both *language* and *group identity*. Even in relatively early medieval sources, identity boundaries separating various groups of individuals are drawn along linguistic lines. This theme is addressed by Vogl (cf. above), and is also at the heart of various case studies in the second part of the volume. In “Constructing identity: language and identity in the narration of the Franco-Flemish conflict (1297–1307)”, Catharina Peersman presents a contrastive analysis of narrative sources predating 1330. She examines the use and perception of languages in chronicles written in Latin, Old French and Middle Dutch. The common ground shared by these sources is their description of the Franco-Flemish conflict, from either a Flemish or a French point of view. Given the fact that one of the central events, the 1302 battle of Courtrai, is a highly politicised cornerstone of present-day Flemish identity, the analysis aims at determining whether and to what degree the actual battle contributed to the creation of a Flemish identity in the aftermath of the battle. To that objective, Peersman uses implicit and explicit textual markers as proxies for historical language attitudes. Combining a qualitative analysis of the narrated period 1207–1307 with a quantitative analysis of the general identifiers in the coverage of 1302, she argues that identity, on both sides, is implicitly but strongly linked to language, or rather to specific usages of the language of the “other” within clearly defined contextual boundaries, as is illustrated by loanwords and code-switching. The analysis of the identifiers complements these findings, but also opens up possible leads suggesting that the link between language and identity was present before the definition of 1302 as the “national” battle in the textual tradition and before the formation of nation-states as a larger sociolinguistic landmark.

The French language as the language of the “other” remains an important theme in subsequent periods. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in

particular, a lively discourse on the so-called frenchification of the Netherlands comes into being. Willem Frijhoff, in his chapter on “Multilingualism and the challenge of frenchification in the early modern Dutch Republic” discusses the position of French and other languages of international communication vis-à-vis Dutch in the seventeenth-century Northern Low Countries. The frenchification hypothesis has long dominated Dutch cultural history. The increase of the use of the French language and the introduction of French manners have been made responsible for Holland’s perceived decline as an independent power and a culturally innovative nation during the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, until its occupation by the French under the Napoleonic Empire. Against the background of Dutch multilingualism, however, Frijhoff argues that a more differentiated approach is necessary. An important empirical question concerns the point at which the domains and in which French really pervaded Dutch everyday life and culture, and which social, cultural and linguistic opposing forces became apparent during that evolution. Frijhoff analyses a wide variety of sources and contemporary comments to trace language use in various domains of society, including education, international trade, diplomacy, church, scholarship and so on. He shows how the Dutch Republic was in many ways a fully-fledged multilingual society, but also argues that the use of French cannot be overestimated based on its prominent and highly visible position in public life and among the social elite. The analysis by Frijhoff is continued in the chapter by Marina Kessels-van der Heijde, which discusses “The use of languages in Maastricht in the nineteenth century: the press and family archives”. Zooming in on language choice in two important societal domains in one specific town close to the language border in one specific period, Kessels-van der Heijde offers a detailed and largely qualitative picture of the use of language based on extensive research in historical archives. She investigates di- and triglossia, and the potential conflict between French, Dutch and the local Maastricht dialect, focusing on two important domains of nineteenth-century society, viz. the press and family correspondence. In many cases, she only encounters documents written by educated people in either Dutch or French. The local dialect is less frequently used in writing, although this changes after the establishment of the Momus society in 1840. From a carnival club, Momus developed into a cultural society with many departments including a theatre company. The members wrote prose and poetry in the Maastricht dialect, thus advancing the written version of the Maastricht vernacular. Offering an overview of language choice in the press and in family correspondence, both commercial and private, Kessels-van der Heijde shows that the linguistic situation in the border town of Maastricht changed mainly as a result of changing economic, social and demographic conditions. The use of French, for instance, decreased as the local economy shifted its market and ori-

entation from the Francophone hinterland around the city of Liège to the more monolingually Dutch-speaking parts of the Northern Netherlands. Both Frijhoff's and Kessels-van der Heijde' chapter suggest that the use of French was much less important than the frenchification discourse would suggest, being mainly restricted to specific social contexts, and, moreover, historically declining under the influence of economic and demographic developments.

Nevertheless, in the course of the Early and Late Modern periods, frenchification became increasingly perceived as a threat to the Dutchness of the Dutch language and culture. Zooming in on the linguistic outcome of French–Dutch language contact, Gijsbert Rutten, Rik Vosters and Marijke van der Wal in their chapter on “Frenchification in discourse and practice: loan morphology in Dutch private letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries” shift the focus from a language-sociological to a more sociolinguistic point of view. In the first part of their chapter, they discuss language choice in different domains of society in the Early and Late Modern period, with special attention to the use of French. They show that in some domains such as trade and education, the use of French was quite common throughout the period, and argue that the presence or even dominance of French in certain domains gave rise to the frenchification discourse also addressed in Frijhoff's chapter. In the second part of their chapter, Rutten, Vosters and Van der Wal turn to linguistic aspects of the language contact situation. First, they briefly discuss some unambiguous examples of French influence on the Dutch lexicon. Then they turn to derivational morphology, as Modern Dutch has borrowed many suffixes from French. Looking at borrowed suffixes in Dutch private letters from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they investigate the extent of French influence on the Dutch language in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. As their corpora allow for research into regional and social variation, they are able to demonstrate that frenchification in the sense of suffix borrowing mainly affected the upper ranks of society, while also hinting at possible differences between the northern and southern parts of the language area, the latter being closer to the language border.

4.2 Educational policies and practices

The close link between language and group identity remains relevant up to the present day. One of the domains of society where the need to manage multilingualism is felt most strongly, with the possible consequences of group identity politics and social exclusion, is education. The chapter by Kristine Horner and Jean-Jacques Weber brings together these two dominant themes in the history of the language border in the Low Countries: nationhood and education. In their

chapter on “Multilingual education and the politics of language in Luxembourg”, Horner and Weber discuss language-in-education policy in the trilingual grand duchy of Luxembourg. They discuss the language-in-education policies and the ideologies underpinning them from the nineteenth century to the present, with a strong emphasis on the second half of the twentieth century: it is indeed only from the 1970s onwards that the awareness of Luxembourgish as a language fully emerges, due to major economic and demographic changes. Horner and Weber argue that, despite these changes, the language-in-education policies have remained remarkably persistent as they largely ignore linguistic reality. This results in a highly fixed multilingual school system, with all children, even romanophone students whose home languages are mostly French or Portuguese, forced to go through the same language regime with German as the language of literacy – which is very similar to a monolingual system. Horner and Weber’s analysis points out that the school system, language-in-education policies and language debates are all informed by a monolingual mindset and similar discourses, in particular the discourse of ethnolinguistic essentialism, but also the concern with language endangerment, as Luxembourgers are afraid of becoming a minority in “their own country”. In order to create a flexible education system that puts the real needs first, they argue that the societal debate needs to be entirely refocused.

The vast research tradition on language-in-education policies in present-day metropolitan areas is also represented in the final contribution to this volume, which takes language contact and conflict to the school system in post-war Brussels. In their chapter “In contact and/or in conflict? Ethnocultural markers, language and schooling in post-war Brussels”, Rudi Janssens and Joost Vaesen focus on one of the major politically divisive issues of Belgium. Since Brussels and its educational system have always been situated at the core of both language contact and language conflict in contemporary Belgium, the role of schools in the process of ethno-cultural identification is indicative for the promotion or inhibition of contact between the two language groups. Janssens and Vaesen argue that political and institutional changes invariably affected the school system: in the immediate post-war period, Dutch-medium education in Brussels was in a precarious position, but the creation of sub-national entities, the Communities, ensured more direct control over educational matters. The ensuing non-hierarchical organisation of education, with schools belonging to either the Dutch-medium or the French-medium system, was then challenged by the State Reform of 1988/9 and the influx of multilingual or allophone immigrants. Similar to Luxembourg now, Brussels was facing a discrepancy between a changing social reality and a school system based on an essentially monolingual mindset. However, as a lynch-pin for the Belgian political-institutional model, Brussels is also shown to

be a laboratory of transitions and experiments, reflecting intermingling political, demographic and socio-cultural transitions.

Educational concerns, however, are not the privilege of present-day situations of super- or hyper-diversity. Travelling back into time, Magali Boemer and Jeroen Darquennes' chapter on "Language conflict in the educational realm: Eupen-Malmedy in the interbellum period (1920–1940)" blends the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis with McRae's theoretical framework for analysing societal language conflict into a contextualised analysis of both the Belgian language legislation in the field of education and the reactions against this legislation. The German-speaking community of Belgium, or more specifically the districts of Eupen, St. Vith and Malmedy, were exposed to linguistic assimilation after World War I (1920–1940) and logically, the language-in-education policy of that time reflects the geo-political changes and ensuing conflicts. Boemer & Darquennes distinguish between three subperiods (1920–1925, 1925–1932 and 1932–1940) for their analysis of the official law documents and the comments in the local press. They argue that the first period is one of transition and uncertainty with a mainly German-oriented press, but from the second period onwards, the discrepancies between policy and reality concerning the use of languages in education (i.e. German and/or French) spark language conflict. The discussions over the use of French in education in particular are significant, as Boemer and Darquennes use them to identify not just the changing actors influencing the language-in-education policy, but also their perception of the language contact situation as a problem or an opportunity.

4.3 From contact to conflict or Nelde's Law

The contributions to this volume discuss a wide variety of topics, among which nationhood or more generally group identity and educational policies are but two dominant ones. In addition, all the chapters show the topicality of what is sometimes called Nelde's Law (cf. the chapter by Darquennes), amounting to the alleged inseparability of language contact and language conflict (e.g. Nelde 1987). Nelde (1997) argued that "[t]he statement that there can be no language contact without language conflict ... may appear exaggerated, but there is in the realm of the European languages at present no imaginable contact situation which cannot also be described as language conflict". This is clearly demonstrated in the chapters by Horner and Weber and Janssens and Vaesen, which largely deal with present-day situations of contact that seemingly inevitably result in conflict. In both cases, i.e. Luxembourg and Brussels, important causes that lead contact to develop into conflict are the so-called monolingual mindset and the (ethnolin-

guistic) identity functions of language referred to above. But in historical times, too, contact implied conflict, as the other chapters demonstrate. Boemer and Darquennes, for example, detail the transition from language contact to language conflict in the German-speaking parts of Belgium in the first half of the twentieth century under the influence of changing political circumstances. Peersman's contribution delves deeply into the medieval roots of historical and present-day conflict situations along the language border.

Interestingly, the historical conflict situation analysed by Peersman is first and foremost a political conflict that manifests itself on the battlefield. The linguistic side is secondary. Discussing causes of language conflict, Darquennes stresses that situations of contact and conflict are usually characterised by asymmetrical multilingualism, i.e. by differences in prestige, status, power, social organisation, values and beliefs between speakers of the respective languages. Therefore, the conflicts that arise between speakers of different varieties are social, political, cultural and/or economic conflicts at the same time, or even primarily. In this connection, Darquennes, following Nelde, talks about the stratification of language conflict. Language conflicts often appear to be secondary indicators of – broadly speaking – social conflicts between groups of actors that are unequal in terms of opportunities and privileges. In the case of Peersman's chapter, this is obvious, but in subsequent periods, too, knowledge of French was normally not only practical or accidental, but also an in-group sign of distinction as well as an out-group tool for social exclusion or for blocking social mobility.

A related aspect of language conflict is its sensitivity to metalinguistic identity work, or, as Nelde (1997) put it, ideology can be used “to intensify the differences that exist”. The above-mentioned asymmetry both in social and linguistic terms can lead to strong or even apparently compulsive language ideologies. Illustrative examples can be found in various chapters, of which present-day ethnolinguistic essentialism as discussed by Horner and Weber is but one. In the history of the Low Countries, the continuous discourse on the alleged frenchification of originally Germanic societies constitutes the obvious counterpart. Despite the relatively small proportion of the historical population from which a good command of French can be expected, the beast of frenchification dominates both historical and contemporary accounts of the sociolinguistic situation in the Low Countries in the Early and Late Modern periods, as outlined by Vogl, Frijhoff and Rutten, Vosters and van der Wal. In these cases, it could perhaps even be argued that the actual contact between speakers of different languages does lead to conflict, which is, however, largely restricted to metalinguistic discourse.

5 Research directions

After three introductory papers, introducing different theoretical frameworks on language conflict, the history of the language border and the functions of language ideologies in the writing of language histories, the present volume presents seven case studies that focus on language contact and conflict in the Low Countries, from the thirteenth to the twenty-first century. Through these case studies, a perspective of the history of Romance–Germanic contact in the Low Countries is developed, that is both very detailed and highly diverse. These studies lay the groundwork for a complete and integrated history of the Romance–Germanic language contact and conflict in the Low Countries. At the present, however, such a work, systematically mapping out all relevant aspects past and present, covering both the Southern and the Northern Low Countries, and both cities and smaller towns and rural areas, remains to be written. Richard Watts, in the final chapter, sketches the theoretical and methodological principles that would ideally define such a work. It is obvious that, in spite of the wide range of topics and periods covered in this and previous works, some clear lacunae remain, providing us with exciting avenues for future research.

While this volume makes a clear effort to focus not just on the better-known sites and eras of language conflict (e.g. Flanders in the nineteenth century, the city of Brussels from the eighteenth to the twentieth century), different geographical areas and different time frames still deserve more attention. As a case in point, much is still to be explored on the topic of multilingualism in medieval Flanders. Kleinhenz and Busby's (2011) *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and its Neighbours* only contains one case study on the Low Countries, namely Sleiderink's analysis of the changing attitude of Middle Dutch scribes towards their francophone sources. Earlier publications on multilingualism (or code-switching) in medieval Flanders are mostly written from a strictly historical perspective and more often than not focus on charters. A more systematic study of language conflict and multilingual practices in different types of sources is a clear desideratum. Another example of an area meriting still further investigation would be French Flanders, which Willemyns briefly discusses in his introductory chapter. Particularly from the perspective of language shift, this is an area that calls for detailed investigation. Being located in the most southern part of the Low Countries across the Channel from Dover, French Flanders and its most important town, Dunkirk, were predominantly Dutch-speaking until the seventeenth century. In the course of that century, however, the area came under French rule, which was followed by a migration of French speakers, most of them probably from nearby Picardy (Knooihuizen 2012, cf. Baycroft 2004). As a result, Dunkirk has been mainly French-speaking from then onward. The social conditions affect-

ing language shift, such as inter-ethnic marriage and the ideological assumptions justifying specific language choices, would be an interesting research topic for a comparative study of Dunkirk in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and Brussels in the nineteenth century, when the Belgian capital shifted from predominantly Dutch to mainly French.

Along those lines, more comparative research concerning language contact and conflict is called for, both from a synchronic and from a diachronic perspective. The various case studies from Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands not only need to be integrated in an overall history of Romance–Germanic encounters along the language border in the Low Countries, but also need to be viewed in a larger, European perspective. Comparisons with other sites of contact and conflict along the Romance–Germanic border can include, as mentioned by Willemyns in the present volume, the Alsace region, Switzerland and Northern Italy (cf. Willemyns 1996). Beyond just the confluence of Germanic and Romance language varieties, parallel projects on Germanic–Slavic and/or Slavic–Romance language contact and conflict also offer promising avenues for future research (cf. for instance Kamusella 2009). In all of those scenarios, the area of contact between speakers of Germanic and Romance languages and language varieties offers an exciting laboratory for various types of language contact, conflict and language planning over time, providing researchers with an interesting starting point for comparative work.

As discussed in Kessels-van der Heijde' chapter, historical language shifts are also mirrored by the socially embedded use of French by nineteenth-century elites, who shifted back to Dutch in the course of the century, often for economic or demographic reasons. The alleged frenchification of certain social groups or domains is also discussed in the chapters by Frijhoff and by Rutten, Vosters and Van der Wal. There is, however, still an enormous lack of data on which speakers actually used French in which situations and in which periods – and to whom. More generally, the topics of societal and individual multilingualism in history have received little scholarly attention, and it is mainly for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as outlined by Frijhoff, that some data, however scarce, exist. This underlines the strong research tradition of going back to unpublished, original and often unfamiliar sources that has characterised historical sociolinguistic research, and from which studies into historical language contact and conflict situations can only benefit.

It is particularly on the level of the individual language user that we are in need of reliable source materials. The linguistic resources exploited by multilingual individuals across the life span and the languages choices connected to these make up an exciting line of research, even if reliable data will often only be found for members of the upper ranks of society. With the advent of historical

code-switching as a field of inquiry (Schendl 2012 for an overview), such matters have only become more pressing. Variable language choices and multilingual practices such as language-mixing and macaronic writing are well-known from medieval sources (Schendl & Wright 2011; cf. Kleinhenz & Busby 2011), while a detailed account of their prominence in post-medieval times is lacking, despite well-known observations such as that sixteenth-century Dutch poetry was characterised by a plethora of French loans and the fact that in the wake of the French Huguenot flight to the Netherlands, multilingual families came into existence that were to remain bilingual for several generations. In addition, research on historical multilingualism often focuses on language choice and the social and ideological conditions steering language choice in certain contexts. The linguistic implications of societal and individual multilingualism have attracted far less attention. In this volume, too, specific linguistic features such as code-switching and contact-induced change are addressed in only a few chapters (e.g. Peersman, and Rutten, Vosters and Van der Wal).

The elite orientation implied in the previous paragraph naturally poses the question of the multilingual experiences of the lesser privileged members of society. Multilingual language guides and phrase books aimed at merchants and travellers were relatively cheap and widely in use, but people will also have learnt foreign languages such as French without the help of such instructive texts. The Flemish soldiers, for example, who were forced to take service in the Napoleonic army (cf. the chapter by Rutten, Vosters and Van der Wal), must have communicated in French, probably even on a daily basis. One of the greatest challenges for a renewed investigation of situations of language contact and conflict along the Romance–Germanic language border is the recognition of the implications of such a perspective “from below” on the history of multilingualism and intercultural communication, viz. to try to reconstruct the multilingual practices of social layers that are not usually part of language histories, but nevertheless make up the large majority of the population.

All of these possible avenues for future research show that even such a classic topic as the Romance–Germanic language border in the Low Countries still holds substantial promise for future research, especially when approached from different methodological and disciplinary angles and when seen in a larger and possibly comparative perspective. In that sense, and as the contributions in the present volume will also demonstrate, the case of Romance–Germanic encounters in Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands will be of interest to anyone concerned with language planning, societal multilingualism and situations of historical language contact or conflict. As such, linking up the historical perspective with more present-day studies on language contact and language conflict will

help us to better understand language conflicts and the challenges of multilingualism in present-day Europe.

6 References

- Baycroft, T. 2004. *Culture, Identity and Nationalism: French Flanders in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press.
- Braunmüller, K. & G. Ferraresi (eds.). 2003. *Aspects of Multilingualism in European Language History*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Darquennes, J. 2010. Language contact and language conflict in autochthonous language minority settings in the EU: A preliminary round-up of guiding principles and research desiderata. *Multilingua* 29(3/4). 337–351.
- De Keere, K. & M. Elchardus. 2011. Narrating linguistic conflict: A storytelling analysis of the language conflict in Belgium. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 32(3). 221–234.
- Devoldere, L. (ed.). *Grens/Frontière: 1713–2013*. Rekem: Ons Erfdeel.
- Fonteyn, G. 2009. *Over de taalgrens. Van Komen naar Voeren*. Berchem: Uitgeverij EPO.
- Horner, K. (ed.). 2009. Luxembourg. Special issue of *Language Problems and Language Planning* 33(2). 101–189.
- Kamusella, T. 2009. *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*. With a foreword by Peter Burke. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Knooihuizen, R. 2012. The use of historical demography for historical sociolinguistics: The case of Dunkirk. In N. Langer, S. Davies & W. Vandenbussche (eds.), *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, 323–340. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Kleinhenz, C. & K. Busby (eds.). 2011. *Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and its Neighbours*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Lamarcq, D. & M. Rogge. 1996. *De taalgrens. Van de oude tot de nieuwe Belgen*. Leuven: Davidsfonds.
- Nelde, P. 1987. Language contact means language conflict. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 8(1/2). 33–42.
- Nelde, P. (ed.). 1989. *Historische Sprachkonflikte*. Special issue of *Plurilingua* VIII. Bonn: Dümmler.
- Nelde, P. 1997. Language conflict. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 285–300. Malden: Blackwell.
- Raskin, B. 2012. *De taalgrens. Of wat de Belgen zowel verbindt als verdeelt*. Leuven: Davidsfonds.
- Schendl, H. 2012. Multilingualism, code-switching, and language contact in historical sociolinguistics. In J. M. Hernández-Campoy & J. C. Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 520–533. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schendl, H. & L. Wright (eds.). 2011. *Code-switching in Early English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schjerve-Rindler, R. 2003. *Diglossia and Power*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Thomason, S. G. & T. Kaufman. 1991. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Treffers-Daller, J. & R. Willemyns (eds.). 2002. *Language Contact at the Romance–Germanic Language Border*. Special issue of *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 23(1/2). 1–149.
- Van Coetsem, F. 1988. *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Van Velthoven, H. 2011. *Waarheen met België? Van taalstrijd tot communautaire conflicten*. Brussel: ASP Publishers.
- Von Busekist, A. 1998. *La Belgique. Politique des langues et construction de l'État, de 1780 à nos jours*. Paris/Bruxelles: Duculot.
- Willemyns, R. 1996. Language borders in Northern France and in Belgium: A contrastive analysis. In U. Ammon & M. Hellinger (eds.), *Contrastive Sociolinguistics*, 229–249. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Witte, E. & H. Van Velthoven. 2010. *Strijden om taal. De Belgische taalkwestie in historisch perspectief*. Kapellen: Pelckmans.
- Wright, S. & H. Kelly (eds.). 1995. *Languages in Contact and Conflict: Contrasting Experiences in the Netherlands and Belgium*. Special issue of *Current Issues in Language and Society* 1(2). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.