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Ein upprunafrøðilig tilhugsan

An ethymological hypothesis

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Úrtak

Við støði í nútíðarføroyskari og fornari málnýtslu verður her hildið upp á, at

- á frumkendum málstigi (upprunaligum og hjá børnum) varð og verður tátíðarleiki nýttur umframt til at siga, hvat ið hevur hent, eisini hvat ið kann hugsast,
- í indogermanskum má rótórðamerkingin í “null-stiginum” (3. avljóðastigi) vera eldri enn í “e-” og “o-stigininum” og hevur helst onkursvegna havt tátíðarligt ella liðið (*perfektivt*) innihald,
- rótórð (*etymon*) úr “null-stigi” eru upphavligari enn røtur úr hinum báðum stigunum.

Abstract

It is a fact that

- 1) children use the past tense to describe non-factual things when playing.
- 2) with small children the expression “yesterday” and the non-factual seems to be one and the same.
- 3) modal auxiliaries use the ancient forms of the past tense to express the present.
- 4) the conditional was a) in Old Norse phrased as the subjunctive in the past tense, and is b) in modern Faroese expressed in the past indicative.
- 5) unreality, the imaginary, is in modern Faroese expressed in the past indicative.

It is here argued that

- 6) in primitive languages (ancient and children’s languages) the past or perfect forms were – and still are – used to express the imagined as well as to express what has happened.
- 7) In Proto-Indo-European the form of a word in zero-grade must be older than forms in “e-” and “o-grades,” and has in some way expressed a past or perfect sense.
- 8) Etymones from zero-grade are older than those from the other two grades.

Inngangur

Í einum stubba í *Máltingi*, “Í gjár,” tók eg undir við tí sannroyndini, sum Marna Jacobsen dró fram í *Sýnisstubbum*, at børn nýta tátíð (*preteritum*) til at lýsa óveruleikan í spæli (t.d. “Kom og spæl, at hetta *var* land og hetta *var* sjógvur.”), og skoytti uppí, at hjá børnum tykir orðingin “í gjár” og óveruleiki at vera eitt og tað sama, at tey ikki pella, tá ið tey siga frá onkrum bert hugsaðum og halda upp á at tað hendi í gjár.

Eg helt fram, at tilíik málnýtsla við sagnorðum í tátíðarsniði fyri tað óveruliga, tað hugsaða, er almennari enn so: Nú-tálugu sagnorðini (*preterito-presentisk verb*) *kunna*, *mega*, *munna*, *skula*, *vita*, – tey hava øll meir og minni hugsað merkingarinnihald – nýta gamalt **tátíðarsnið** til at mynda nútíð (Berið saman t.d. “Hann *vann*, teir *vunnu*” og nútáluga “Hann *kann*, teir *kunnu*,” har ikki bert hitt fyrri dømið, men einaferð eisini hetta seinna, sambært orðsniðinum, má hava umboðað tátíðarsnið eins og á nútíðarmálum tátíðarsniðið “**Nú kundi** hann.”). Og vit nútíðarføroyingar seta okkara tátíðarsnið fyri tað óveruliga, tað hugsaða (“**Nú skuldi** tú ...”), og treytarháttur (*konditionalis*) gongur í sama borð, eisini í fornnorrønum orðaður sum hugsháttur (*konjunktiv*) í **tátíð**, í føroyskum søguháttur (*indikativ*) í **tátíð**: “*Hevði* tú verið her, tá *var* bróðir mín ikki deyður.”

Niðurstöðan var, at á ávísu menningarstigi ræður það einfalda tilmunarliga ástöð-ið, at það, sum er, það er, og það sum ekki er, men kann hugsast, það “var.”

Avljóð

Indogermanska sagnorðabendingin er tann sterka avljóðabendingin. Tær ótaldu öldirnar, síðan hon varð til, eru avljóðini vorðin alt flóktari, men upprunaliga vóru tey rættiliga einföld.

Sum dømi kunnu vit seta upp gongdina í 3 teimum fyrstu avljóðarøðunum úr indoevropiskum til føroyskt:

indoevropiskt

1.	ei	—	oi	—	i
2.	eu	—	ou	—	u
3.	en	—	on	—	n

frumnorðent

1.	ii	—	ai	—	i
2.	iu	—	au	—	u
3.	in	—	an	—	n

fornnorðent

1.	í	—	ei	—	i
2.	jú/jó	—	au	—	u/o
3.	en	—	an	—	un

føroyskt

1.	í	—	ei [ai]	—	i (bíta)
2.	jú/jó/ú/ó	—	ey	—	u-o (flúgva, skjóta)
3.	en	—	an	—	un (brenna)

Hini indoevropisku avljóðarøðini vóru:

- ex-ox-x x = m/n/l/r + hjáljóð
(skelva, nerta)
- ex-ox-ēx-x¹ x = m/n/l/r +
sjálvljóð (nema, bera)

- ex-ox-ēx-x x = onnur hjáljóð
(drepa)
- ox-ōx-x (fara)
- ēx-ōx tvífoldanarsagnorð úr
ymsum avljóðaflokkum (gráta)

Sum það sæst, ganga *e* og *o* aftur framman fyri sjálvljóð ella stavilsiberandi hjáljóð í at kalla øllum avljóðarøðum í indoevropiskum: *e* í tí avljóðastiginum, sum gjørdist okkara navnháttur og nútíð, boðsháttur, hugsháttur og nútíðar lýsingarháttur (*e*-stig), og *o* í tí, sum varð okkara tátíð eintal (*o*-stig). Í tí avljóðastiginum, sum gjørdist okkara tátíðar lýsingarháttur/luttøkuháttur (*perfektum participium/supinum*) og í flestum førum eisini í tátíð fleirtali, stendur það ljóð, sum gongur ígjøgnum alt avljóðaraðið, einsamalt (*null*-stig).

Ymisk ástöði hava verið roynd til at greiða, hvussu avljóðini eru íkomin. Ragnvald Iversen umrøðir í síni *Norrøn grammatikk* null-stigið sum eitt snið, har ið /e/ ella /o/ er burturdottið. Tað má tó heldur kunna roknað sum rímligt skilvísi at ætla, at avljóðsinnskoytini *e* og *o* (annaðhvørt so upprunin er herðing, ljóðleinging ella annað) eru komin aftur at upprunaljóðinum til at geva orðinum víðkað innihald, – við øðrum orðum: at það avljóðsstigið, sum á okkara máli myndar lýsingarhátt/luttøkuhátt (*participium/supinum* – t.e. lidna, *perfektiva*, tíð) og tátíð í fleirtali (t.e. eina samtøka, *kollektiva*, tátíð), er það upprunaliga – helst eitt upprunaligt, bendingarleyst orðsnið.

Ein niðurstøða

Hetta, at upprunaligi sagnorðsstovnurin í indogermanskum man vera tann, sum hjá

okkum merkir samtøka tátíð ella lidna tíð, leiðir okkum sostatt aftur til tann einfalda tilmunarliga tátíðarleikan, til ”í gjár.”

Ella øðrvísi tikið samanum: Á frumkend-um stigi (frummáli eins og nútíðar barnamáli) varð og verður okkurt **tátíðarsnið** nýtt til at siga frá, hvat ið hevur hent ella sum kann **hugsast**.

Ein upprunafrøðilig tilhugsan

Eitt og hvørt móðurmál hevur rímliga sín uppruna í at vera borið ætt eftir ætt alt frá tí, at fyrstu menniskju orðaðu ljóð til samskiftis (um enn fólkasløg ferð eftir ferð hava skift frá einum móðurmáli til annara).

Semja tykir vera málfrøðinga millum, at bendingarendingar eins og eftirskoyti og forskoyti, sum frá er liðið, eru lögð aftur at røtini í orðum.

Men um so er, at tað avljóðsstigið, sum á okkara máli varð til lýsingarhátt/luttøkuhátt og fleirtalstátíð, er tað upprunaliga, so er ikki órímligt at halda, at rótorðamerkingin í hesum avljóðsstiginum (null-stiginum) er eldri enn í hinum báðum (e- og o-stiginum) og óivað eisini hevði tátíðarligt ella – helst rættari sagt – liðið (*perfektivt*) innihald.

Hetta hevur so aftur við sær, at t.d. merkingin í hvørkikynsorðinum ’bit’ (null-stig) má vera upprunaligari enn merkingin í sagnorðinum ’bíta’ (e-stig), og merkingin í hvørkikynsorðinum ’rið’ (t.e. har náttúrukreftir ella sjúka – risar, trøll og illir andar – hava tikið vald, gera seg inn á ein)² er eldri enn í sagnorðinum ’ríða’ (e-stig) – somuleiðis t.d. at merkingin í hvørkikynsorðinum ’gil’ er eldri enn merkingin í kvennkynsorðinum ’geil’ (o-stig) – og framvegis, um hetta

alt er so, eisini at ein føroysk orðing sum “hvat riður tær?” sambært merkingarligum skyldskapi við hvørkikynsorðið ’rið’ er eldri enn sermerkingin “at ríða hesti” el. tíl. – Aftur her, at í tí frumkenda samfelagnum var frásøgn um, hvat ið hevur hent ella kann hugsast at hava hent (frásøgn í 3. avljóðastigi), upprunaligari enn framtøkin frásøgn um, hvat ið hendir ella ætlast at skula fara at henda.

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Notur

¹) Strika uppiyvir merkir, at sjálvljóðið var langt.

²) Móðurmálsorðabókin 1998: **rið** ... 1 rið, herðindi, kast (av t.d. illveðri, pínu o.tíl.), eitt ringt rið av landnyrðingi norðri; riðini vóru so stór við hvørt, at báturin hevði ilt við at taka tey; tað vóru ófær rið suður eftir Djúpunum; ein av teimum fermastu svimjarunum ger línu á seg, og ímillum tvey rið eydnast tað honum at koma á flesina; áður enn riðini eru á hana komin, eigur hon sveinsbarn (verkirnir); kanóndunini komu í riðum (í stoytum) 2 skifti við drykkjuskapi, við hvørt komu long rið á hann 3 (um bát) tað at ríða á, javnviga (í drátti), ...; sms. t.d. **aldu-**, **anda-**, **ill-**, **illsinnis-**, **inn-**, **njósa-**, **nos-**, **ódnar-**, **trøll-**, **yvir-**.

Føroyskt-danskt málamband

Athall, tillaging, eingangstillaging og málbygging

Convergence, accomodation and language building in Faroese

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Úrtak

Sambandið ímillum føroyskt og danskt, sum verið hevur í fleiri hundrað ár, hevur ført við sær, at føroyingar eru tvímæltir. Eitt úrslit av tvímælinum er fleiri lániorð, eitt annað, og tað hongur saman við politiskari tjóðarbygging, er málrøktin, meðan aftur eitt er, at tað antin kann vera tað valda málið (føroyskt) ella tað virkna málið (dansk), sum seta ta syntaktisku rammuna. Málbrúkarar kunnu royna at taka uppafur, stundum uttan at tað rættiliga eydnast, (replikation, replikera) ymiskar t.d. setningsgerðir í tí virkna málinum, og verður úrslitið, at nakrir nýggir strukturar koma inn í føroyskt, strukturar, sum ikki eru at meta sum nøkur málspilla, men sum málbygging, tí talan er um diskursbundin frábrigdir, sum eru íkomin av samskiftistørvinum. Stutt verður eisini mett, um málrøktin hevur nakran týðning í dag, og er tann partvís niðurstøðan, at tað hevur hon ikki reint málsliga, uttan har hon er partur tjóðarbyggingini.

Abstract

In this short paper we discuss especially language-contact induced changes in Faroese, shown with some examples from the verbs. We will compare the real language situation with purisms as an ideology; we express the opinion that purism will not have any large influence on Faroese sentence processing as it is for example incapable of accepting the actual language situation where the active language (Danish) interferes with the selected (Faroese) setting, from time to time, the language frame. We will refer to Faroese as the selected language = SL (tað valda málið) in this article, and Danish as the active language = AL (tað virkna málið), active in the sense that it does everything the SL does, except having access to the articulators. The Faroese-Danish structures we see emerging are not corrupted, but instead a case of language building.

1. Inngangur

Greinin snýr seg um nútíðarføroyskt ávirkað av donskum við tí úrsliti, at nýggjar setningsgerðir daga undan, soleiðis, at tað innbundna málið (dansk) kann gera av, hvussu bulurin fer at síggja út, t.e. bygnaðurin í rótarmálinum (føroyskt), sbr. eisini M. Barnes, sum metir, at mann hevur tvær skipanir í føroyskum, eina føroyska og eina danska, sum er lögð oman yvir ta føroysku málskipanina (Barnes, 1992, 2001); sbr. eisini tey mongu Orðafarini frá Málnevndini, t.e. serliga frá teimum gomlu Málnevndunum, har vit greitt fáa dømir um hetta málblanding, sum eg kalli málbygging, tí tað kemur ikki úr ongun. Talan er, sum eg sigi seinni í greinini, um diskursbundin frábrigdir, sum eru íkomin av samskiftistørvinum og teirri tvímæltu støðuni, har meira enn ein málskipan er virkin í málmyndanini.

Eg fari at vísa, hvussu tað valda málið (føroyskt) og tað virkna málið (dansk) ávirka hvørt annað. Hetta verður gjørt við sagnorðadønum, serliga sagnorð + bitil, og er tað partur av eini størri verkætlan um tvímæli í Føroyum, sum verður gjørt í Hamburg í lótni.

1.1. *Athall: ein greining*

Myers-Scotton greinar athall sum (feit skrift í upprunateksti):

Convergence is speech by bilinguals that has all the surface-level forms from one language, but with **part of the abstract lexical structure** that underlies the surface-level patterns **coming from another language** (or languages).

Myers-Scotton, (2006:271)

Tað er ikki altíð, at mann hevur athall, men (1a) er dømi um athall, (1b) vanligt føroyskt talemál.

- (1) a. mann gevur ringin til onkran (KE1T1)
 (1) b. mann gevur onkrum ringin (vanligt talemál)

Í (1a) eru allir yvirborðsformarnir føroyskir – vit hava føroysk orð og føroyskan framburð – men partur av yvirborðsmyndanini kemur úr einum øðrum máli, t.e. donskum. Tað er danskt, sum setur ta syntaktisku rammuna í (1a). Hetta er dømi um athall.

1.2. *Eingangslán og tillagað eingangslán*

Eitt verður kallað nonce borrowings. Orðið nonce verður greinað sum:

Nonce means ‘for the present time’ or ‘for a single occasion or purpose’....

Altso, at eitt orð verður brúkt einaferð, men fylgir teimum málfrøðiligu reglunum í tí málinum, sum orðið verður lænt inn í. Heldur ikki broytir tað málreglurnar í málinum. Talan er um eitt staklán; fyribilslán ber eisini til at kalla tað, ella eingangslán. Um vit hugsa okkum onkran siga:

- (2) a. Hatta var rættiliga **fancy**
 b. á tí hugmyndarliga langum er **konseptualaisarin**

og *fancy* bara kemur fyri einaferð, er tað dømi um eitt staklán. Eisini *konseptualaisarin* er dømi um tað sama – eitt orð, sum kemur fyri í hesari greinini.

Vit hava í summum førum sagnorð + bitil, sum bara tykjast koma fyri eina ferð – ella rættiliga sjálðsamt, og hetta kalli eg *tillagað eingangslán*.

1.3. *Tillaging, tillagað eingangstillaging og málmyndanarvillur*

So eru dømir, har tað danska verður lænt inn í føroyskt soleiðis, at tað er føroyskt, sum setur ta setningarligu rammuna. Hetta fari eg at kalla tillaging. Talan er ikki um eingangstillaging, tí fleiri dømir eru um hesar setningsgerðir. Dømir um tillaging verða víst seinni í greinini (*irriteraður inn á*), eisini dømir við tillagaðum eingangslán-um (*forelskaður uppi í*).

Alt hetta er ikki tað sama sum málmyndanarvillur (performance errors), har vit snøgt sagt hava málvillur, sum í (3a) og (3b), ella vanlig lán sum (3c).

- (3) a. *men allíkvæl var hann komin har,
 søgdu tey **við mær**... (KE2V)
 b. *hevur mann hug, kann mann altíð gera
 meir **við tí** (ME2V)
 c. sjálvandi, okur sum hevði nøkulunda gott
 mál, okur **spílaðu** okun út og **gottaðu**
 okun yvir tey, sum tað **glippaði** hjá
 (MG1SU)

1.4. *Tvímælt málstöða*

Vit mugu gera okkum greitt, at skal føroyskt granskast, og yvirhøvur orð skiftast um føroyskt, er neyðugt at taka við ta tvímæltu málstöðuna, vit hava, og neyðugt er at gera

sær greitt, at einki ringt liggur í tvímælinum ella hesum, at málskipanir kunnu renna saman, sjálvt um fólk í teimum eldru málnevndunum hava eina aðra fatan. Slík málsamanrenning hevur eina grund. Talan er um diskursbundin frábrigdir, sum eru íkomin av tørvinum fyri at samskifta og hesum, at tann tví- ella fleirmælti hevur meira enn eina málskipan. Tann nýggja skipanin, sum dagar undan, er ikki spilt. Hetta er málbygging heldur, og slíka síggja vit allastaðni, har málsamband er. Eitt øki, sum mangan verður víst til í hesum samanhangi er Balkanøki, har mann hevur mál sum eitt nú albanskt, grikskt og turkiskt, og í føroyskum hava vit tað eisini, sum sæst í hesum sitatunum:

Donsk orð í føroyskum hami

Í talumáli – og í skriftmáli hjá summum við – yður í donskum orðum og máliskum, ið eru meira ella minni lagað at føroyskum. Hetta eru lúnskar málsspillur, sum ikki altíð er so lætt at vara seg fyri, tí danskt er so rótgrógvíð hjá okkum øllum. Eitt høvuðsevnið hjá føroyskari málrøkt hevur frá fyrsta degi verið at royna at seta mark millum danskt og føroyskt, men ikki hevur altíð borið so væl til. Her verður gjørt vart við nakrar av hesum “óbodnu gestum”.

Orðafar (1987)

Vert er at leggja merki til orðingar sum, at *donsk orð meira ella minni eru lagað at føroyskum*, at talan er um *lúnskar málsspillur*, at hetta eru *óbodnir gestir*, at mann skal *vara seg fyri teimum*, tí danskt er so rótgrógvíð hjá okkum, og at *høvuðsevnið hjá málrøktini hevur verið at seta mark millum føroyskt og danskt*, men at hetta er, so at siga, misseydnað, sum róð verður fram undir í sitatunum omanfyri.

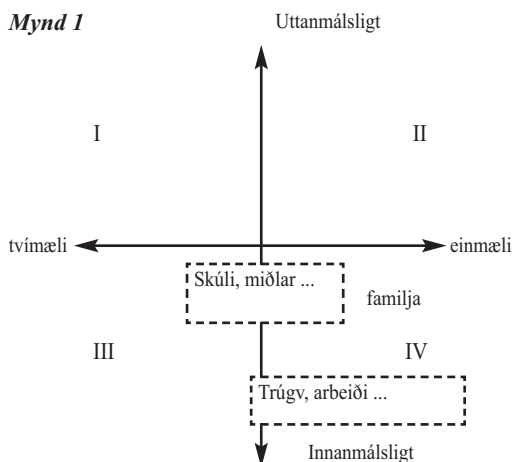
Verður hugt at málsamfeløgum kring um í heiminum, er stóðan tann, at umleið $\frac{2}{3}$ av øllum heimsborgarabørnum eru tví- ella fleirmælt (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004). Tvímæli kann vera í ymiskum stigum. Fólk kunnu duga bæði máluni eins væl, ella næstan eins væl. Tað velst eisini um, innan hvørji økir, máluni verða brúkt. T.d. er tað mangan soleiðis, at tað eina málið verður brúkt heima, hitt aðrastaðni í samfelagnum o.s.fr.. Tað eina málið kann eisini vera meira ráðandi enn hitt, og so eru tað dømir um, at tað eina málið dúrar. Tað er ikki virkið. Kann vera lært í eitt nú studentaskúlanum og so farið, um ikki í gloymskuna, so er tað næstan sovnað burtur.

2. Rótgróna danska

Ikki er neyðugt at skriva søguna umaftur, men fyri at fáa heildina við, skal stutt gerast vart við, at sjálvandi er danskt rótgrógvíð í Føroyum. Bleiv tað so við og við eftir trúarskiftið. Úrslitið var, at vit finga danskt kirkjumál, rættarmál, skúlamál, ja, yvirhøvur danskt sum skriftmiðil líka fram til fyrst í síðstu øld og væl inn í síðstu øld. Føroyingar vóru sostatt tvímæltir longu umleið 1500, sbr. Rasmussen (1987), har víst verður til, at Jens Lauritzson Wolff í 1651 sigur, at prestarnir prædika á donskum, og at føroyingar duga danskt eins væl og norðmenn, sbr. eisini Svabo (1746-1824), sum í 1781-82 sigur, at øll skilja danskt, at undirvísingin í kristni er á donskum, og at rættarmálið er danskt.

Jú – einki undarligt er í, at danskt er rótgrógvíð hjá føroyinginum, og kunnu vit skitsera málstøðuna í dag sum í Mynd 1.

Mynd 1



Talan er um eitt býti í einmæli og tvímæli – nakað, sum ikki er neyðugt at siga meira um, men so verður eisini býtt sundur í eitt uttanmálsligt og eitt innanmálsligt øki (Lüdi, 2000).

Tey, sum eru í tí innanmálsliga økinum, eru tvímælingarnir, í t.d. III, sum duga bæði máluni eins væl. Javnvág er millum máluni hjá tí, sum tosar, og tí sum lurtar. Hetta eru javngóðir tvímælingar, sum vit so, øvugt, ikki finna í tí uttanmálsliga økinum (II), og partvís í (I).

Í frymilin hava vit so sett nøkur økir (Fishman, 1972), sum tosar um, at neyðugt er at hyggja at, hvar tvímælingurin brúkar síni mál. Hann hevur økini:

- Familja
- Vinalag
- Trúgv
- Útbúgving
- Arbeiði

Altso, at mann í einari tvímæltari støðu bara nýtir annað málið heima, hitt alla aðrastaðni, t.e. í familjuni, ella at mann brúkar eitt mál til arbeiðis, annað heima o.s.fr.

Seta vit hesi økini inn í frymilin omanfyri, kemur fram, at danskt í dag verður nýtt í skúlanum. Eg havi sett inn miðlar eisini, tí føroyingurin lesur eina rúgvu á donskum umframt at síggja heilt fitt av donskum sjónvarpi. Telduspøl kundu eisini verið nevnd. Í familjuni verður danskt ikki brúkt – uttan sjálvandi har annað el. bæði foreldrini eru donsk, heldur ikki á trúarøkinum ella á arbeiðsplássunum, stórt sætt, men vit hava danskt kortini allastaðni, lærubøkur, filmsundirtekstir, sjónvarpssendingar, skelting í handlum, lýsingar... og vit kunnu karakterisera føroyingar sum javngóðar í báðum málum. Vit læra danskt frá umleið 10 ára aldri í skúlanum, men ongar kanningar eru, sum greitt vísa, nær børn duga danskt. Nær skilja tey tað? Nær duga tey at gera setningar? Fimm ár? Eldri? T.d., hoyrði eg ein fimm ára gamlan drong siga, at ‘måske er jeg lille, men jeg har en stor hjerne!’ og spurður, hvat tað merkti, visti hann tað.

Summir granskarar meta, at tá ið barnið lærir tað seinna málið eftir trý ára aldur, er talan ikki um javngóðan tvímæling, men at máluni verða lærd eitt eftir annað (Meisel, 2004) har hann skilir ímillum: (1) máluni verða innlærd samstundis (upp til barnið er trý, fýra ár), (2) frá fimm til tíggu ár og (3) eftir tíggu ára aldur.

Talandi dømir um danskt í Føroyum eru hesar báðar sjálvsmetingarnar: K = kvinna, E = eldri, S = Suðuroy; U = ung, V = Vágar. Hjá teirri ungu kvinnuni er eisini áhugavert at síggja *hvar...frá* fyrri *hvaðan*, sum kann vera donsk ávirkan.

økur forstóðu tað – jeg veit ikki, hvussu mann forstóð danskt – økur forstóðu alt! (KE1S)

eg veit ikki, hvar eg havi lært danskt frá – eg
havi bara dugað tað. (KU1V)

3. Ikki hefur borið so væl til

Nú sigur høvundurin el. høvundarnir at Orðafari nr. 2 frá feb. 1987, at tað ikki hefur borið so væl til hjá málrøktini at seta mark millum danskt og føroyskt.

Tað er ikki málrøktin, sum skal seta hetta markið. Málbrúkarin má gera tað, og hann ger tað ikki, tí hann í gerandisliga talumáli sínum ikki hefur brúk fyri nøkrum marki, av tí at málið verður brúkt at samskipta við, sbr., at vit kunnu meta um mál sum:

a language is a system which mediates, in highly complex way, between the universe of meaning and sound. (Chafé, 1970)

Og í eini málskipan eru ymisk løg, t.e.:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| a) | tað hugmyndarliga | |
| | lagið | (conceptual level) |
| b) | funktiónslagið | (functional level) |
| c) | yvirborðið | (positional level) ² |

Levelt (1989), de Bot (1992),
Myers-Scotton og Jake (1995),
Myers-Scotton (2006).

Nakað skal sigast um hetta, áðrenn hildið verður fram.

Í einari samtalu leggur mann altíð eina ætlan, og samtalan byrjar altíð í einum samanhangi; t.e. diskursurin, sum ikki er við omanfyri. Tí ber til at byrja ein setning við einum bundnum navnorði eins og *sólin skínur í dag*. Hetta ber til, tí vit vita, at tað bara er ein sól, sbr. eisini setningar í føroyskum sum *tann amerikanski forsetin : amerikanski forsetin*. Í tí seinna er einki kenniorð,

tí samrøðuluttakararnir vita, at tað bara er ein amerikanskur forseti (Petersen, 2002).

Á tí hugmyndarliga lagnum er konseptualaisarin, og her er tað, at vit leggja eina ætlan; *hvat* er tað, sum vit skulu siga. Hetta verður gjørt á makroplanleggingarlagnum í konseptualaisaranum. Á mikroplanleggingarlagnum verður málið valt, og vit spyrja, *hvussu* náí eg tí, sum eg havi sett mær fyri at siga (Levelt, 1989; de Bot, 1992).

Hugsa tær, at ætlanin er at miðla hetta her AT FATA við eygunum. Ymiskir móguleikar eru. Vit hava sagnorðini *siggja, hyggja (inn, út), hyggja seg um, skoða, líta at...*, men júst í okkara føri kunnu vit hugsa okkum, at talandi vil miðla hetta, at onkur hefur verið inni í einum finum húsum, og at tey sluppu at *hyggja seg um* inni í húsunum.

Tað er merkingarmunur ímillum *at hyggja* og *at siggja*. Tú kanst *hyggja teg um* uttan neyðtúrvligvís at uppfata tað, tú sært, t.d., tú ert inni í einum handli og ‘hyggur teg um’. Útafturkomin veitst tú ikki alt, sum tú hefur sæð. *At siggja* krevur eitt beinleiðis ávirki, og tú uppfatar tað, sum tú sært (Levin, 1993).

Í konseptualaisaranum hefur framsøgnin ongan málsligan form. Á mikroplanleggingarlagnum í konseptualaisaranum verður málið valt – tað er helst her, tað verður gjørt, tí mann hefur munir ímillum mál, eins og føroyskt *hesin: hasin* móttsett íslenskum *þessi : 0*.

Í einari tvímæltari støðu eins og teirri føroysku eru ymiskir móguleikar at velja ímillum: Føroyskt kann vera tað valda málið, og er tað málið, sum hefur ræðið yvir yvirborðsmyndunum – altso, at vit fara at fáa ...*hyggja seg um*.

Ein annar móguleiki er, at bæði føroyskt og danskt eru virkin, men at danskt ikki hevur atgongd til framburðin av framsøgnini, tó annars sama myndanarleiklut sum føroyskt.

Hetta er tann føroyska málstøðan, og tað kann gera, at vit kunnu fáa antin *hyggja seg um* (føroyskt), *síggja seg umkring* (donsk myndan ‘se sig omkring’), ella okkurt heilt annað, tí mann noyðist at fara ótroddar leiðir fyri at bjarga struktúrinum.³ Tað valda málið (føroyskt) og tað virkna málið (dansk) hava sama leiklut í málmyndanini, soleiðis at bæði:

- Velja út orð
- Dána setningar
- Mynda yvirborðsformar
- Búgva til ljóð
- MEN: tilbúgvingin av ljóðum hjá tí virkna málinum (dansk) verður ikki send til framberaran; t.e., tað virkna málið (dansk) hevur ikki atgongd til framburð.

de Bot (1992: 433)

Ætlandi er, at um tað verður skift millum málini, ella at ávirkan er ímillum málini, so er tað samrøðuevnið, sum ger tað av her á mikrolagnum, meðan tað er tilætlað á makrolagnum.

At danskt ikki hevur atgongd til framberarnar í føroyskum *síggja vit* í øllum teimum dømum, har vit hava danskar orðingar, men føroyskan framburð.

Ætlanin er at siga okkurt sum FATA UTTAN AT UPPFATA (*hyggja seg um*). Henda ætlan verður send til formaran á funktiónslagnum. Her er tað, at vit fáa setningsbygnað og merking skorna út; vit fáa bendingarligt skap og ljóðskipanarligt skap eisini. Her er eisini

tann mentala orðabókin og í henni eru orðini, sum hava tvær síður: eitt lemma og ein form. Í lemmanum eru upplýsingar um merking og um syntaks. Í forminum upplýsingar um bending og ljóðskipan. Nú er neyðugt at fáa fatur í tí lemmanum, sum best passar til ætlanina at skula siga FATA (við eygunum), UTTAN AT UPPFATA, og vit hava eitt valt mál (føroyskt) og eitt virkið mál (dansk). Brúka vit sagnorðið SÍGGJA, krevur tað, at tann sum sær, uppfatar tað, sum sætt er, meðan HYGGA, eisini eitt fatanarsagnorð, ikki krevur júst hetta sama, tí tú kanst HYGGA TEG UM uttan at fata tilvitað, hvat tað er, tú sært. Mann HYGUR SEG UM oftani mestsum upp á gjøt uttan at fata. Brúka vit HYGGA krevur tað ein bitil aftur at sær, SÍGGJA ávirki:

- | | |
|------|--------------------------|
| (1a) | *Marjun hyggur Martin |
| (1b) | Marjun sær Martin |
| (1c) | Marjun hyggur at Martini |
| (1d) | *Marjun sær at Martini |
| (1e) | Marjun hyggur seg um |
| (1f) | *?Marjun sær seg um |

Bæði danskt og føroyskt eru virkin í málmyndanini, men hava hvør sín formara, sbr. ta ymisku grammatikk, sum málini hava, men í teirri mentalu orðabókini er tað kortini soleiðis, verður mett (de Bot, 1992), at øll orð eru goymd so at siga á sama stað, men at tað er størri samband ímillum tey føroysku orðini enn tey dansku, og øvugt, umframt at nógv brúk av báðum málum skapar eitt tættari net málanna millum. Í donskum, eitt mál, sum er virkið í føroyskari málmyndan, ber til at siga, sbr. Dansk-tysk ordbog (2003):

- (2) se sig omkring

og hetta sagnorðið verður aktiverað í føroyskari málmyndan. Ein grund til hetta er, at orðini eru ættað. Tað er hetta, at vit hava so nógv ættað og lík orð, umframt líkan málsligan bygnað í málunum báðum, sum er grundin til, at so nógv danskt kann koma inn í føroyskt. Bæði lemmuni sleppa framat samstundis, og mann kann fáa:

- (3) Vit vóru inni í X, og so slapp mann at
síggja runt (KEIT).

Eyðvitað er tað ikki hetta at skula ‘síggja runt’, sum ætlanin er at siga her, tí sjálv orðingin er hópisleys, men við at brúka *hyggja seg um*: *se sig omkring* kemur bland í, og málbrúkarin roynir at bjarga málbygnaðinum við at seta inn ein bitil, *runt*, sum skal svara til strukturelt *um í hyggja seg um*. T.e., tá ið hon er byrjaður upp á setningin (og skal siga *hyggja seg um*), er eingin vegur aftur, tá ið blandið er íkomið. Týðningarmikið er kortini meginreglan: bjarga bygnaði, og tað ger málbrúkarin við at seta inn bitilin *runt* eftir *síggja*.

Heimildarfólkið, sum sigur henda setningin, hevur búð og arbeitt leingi í Danmark, og er tað sama, sum hevur setningin *givið ringin til onkran*. Viðkomandi hevur eisini orðingina: *og hatt skuldi mann hava uppá*. Av tí at viðkomandi hevur so nógv av donskum bygnaði í føroyskum, er tað møguligt, at danskt er rættiliga virkið. Tó sleppa vit ikki undan, at talan væl kann vera um ávirkan frá *hyggja inn*, *hyggja út* o.s.fr., ella eina myndanarvillu.

Eitt annað, greiðari, athalsdømi er, at tú ætlar tær at miðla eina prosess sum HETTA AT GEVA.

Tú byrjar á koneptualaisaranum; velur

mál og fert yvir í formaran, har tað ræður um at fáa fatur á einum lemma, sum passar saman við tí, tú ætlar at miðla. Tað aktiveraða lemmaið verður umgjørt til GEVA, enn uttan form, men markað sum føroyskt el. danskt, og lemmaið tillutar triggjar tematiskar leiklutir, og hetta verður til, á yvirborðinum: *maðurin gevur konuni ein muss*.

Á funktiónslagnum verður gjørt av, hvør orðarøðin skal vera – snøgt sagt, at grundliðurin stendur fyrst í setninginum, síðani sagnorðið og so, at mann við sagnorðinum GEVA hevur hvørjumfall + hvønnfall. Hetta dagar alt fram á yvirborðslagnum sum (4) niðanfyri, har vit fáa ljóðligan form, samsvarsbending o.s.fr., sbr. eitt nú Myers -Scotton og Jake (1995), also setningin:

- (4) Maðurin gevur konuni ein muss
 [NH Maðurin [SH gevur [NH konuni [NH ein muss]]]]⁴

Føroyingurin er í einari tvímæltari støðu, sbr. Mynd 1, og hjá málbrúkarinum snýr tað seg um at fáa fram ein boðskap; at formiðla nakað, og her hevur viðkomandi nøkur amboð tøk.

Hann kann brúka tey serføroysku amboðini, men kann so sanniliga eisini venda sær aðrar vegir og finna tey amboð, sum eru í donskum. Ymiskar grundir kunnu vera fyri, hví so er. Viðkomandi kann hava búð leingi niðri, síðani fluttur heim aftur, el. viðkomandi vil, við málbrúkinum, geva tekin um, at hetta er tað, sum er eg og mitt. Alt hetta, og annað við, kann vera orsök til setningin (5):

- (5) Maðurin gevur ein muss til konuna [NH maðurin [SH gevur [NH ein muss [FH til [NH konuna]]]]

Tey somu lemmuni eru aktiveraði, teir somu tematisku leiklutirnir sum í (4), men aðrar snildir, nevniliga, at tann, sum tosar, hevur aktiverað tann danska partin av málkunneleika sínum, og at tað er tað danska, tað innbundna málið, sum ger av, hvussu setningsbygnaðurin í bulinum verður, t.e. við *geva* + NH + FH + NH (*geva ringin til onkran*).

Og hetta er ein móguleiki, sum tvímælingurin hevur, og tað er einki galið í at brúka henda móguleikan. Eitt slíkt bland er ikki vánaligt málbrúk sætt út frá einum málsligum sjónarmiði, og slíkt bland er ikki óvanligt í tvímæltum málsamfeløgum. At tað verður mett sum vánaligt málbrúk, er eitt ytri brennimerki, sum er sett á av ideologiskum grundum. Meira um hetta undir 5. *Lúnkar málsspillur*.

Hetta kann vera ein strukturur, sum er í ferð við at koma inn í føroyskt, skal eg ganga út frá einari kanning, eg gjørdi í Hoydølum í august í ár.

Mynd 2

	Rætt		Skeivt	
Nú hevur Jógvan givið ringin til onkran	9	3	2	
Nú hevur Jógvan givið onkrum ringin	12	2		

Mynd 2 visir, hvussu 14 studentaskúlanæmingar í fyrsta G meta um setningarnar *geva* + NH + FH + NH og *geva* + NH + NH. Tað fyrsta raðið (9, 12) visir ein rættan setning, el. setning, sum næmingurin góðtekur fullkomiliga. Annað raðið (3, 2) sigur, at setningurin er grammatiskur, men eg hevði ikki sjálvur brúkt hann. Triðja raðið (2) undir Skeivt visir, at setninguri ikki er fullkomiliga skeivur, men heldur ikki fullkomiliga rættur, meðan tað síðsta raðið stendur fyri, at setningurin er fullkomiliga skeivur.⁵

Dømið við *geva* er eitt gott dømi um athall; dømið við *síggja runt* kann vera athall, men eisini ein myndanarvilla, ávirkað av *hyggja inn*, *hyggja út*...

Eg spurdi sjeý onnur. Miðalaldur uml. 30, og bara ein góðtók *givið ringin til onkran*. Hví?

Hetta eru íkomandi málmyndanir. Nýtslan av íkomandi málmyndanum er soleiðis, at tann nýggi setningsbygnaðurin kann verða brúktur, nýtist kortini ikki. Tað *síggja vit* í *geva ringin til onkran*, har tey ungu brúka setningin. Íkomandi málmyndanir eru morfosyntaktiskt tær somu sum í modellmálinum, sbr. danskt *given ringen til nogen*. Áðrenn íkomandi málmyndanir verða tillagaðar verða tær ikki nógv brúktar. Í tekstbankanum á Føroyamálsdeildini við 8271 dómum av *geva* eru bara fimm dømi við *geva til* (kanska fleiri vórðu, um aðrir formar av sagnorðinum vórðu tiknir við). Íkomandi málmyndanir verða ikki góðtiknar av øllum málbrúkarum – nakað, sum ikki er neyðugt at gera nakra viðmerking til í okkara føri, og puristar vilja ikki góðtaka tær, sbr. eisini Heine og Kuteva (2005:71).

Í føroyskum ber til at siga:

- (6) a. og hon bleiv **irriterað inn á hann** (KU1V)
 og hun blev **irriteret på ham** (Dan.)
 *og hun blev **irriteret ind på ham** (Dan.)

Tað ber ikki til at siga (6c) á donskum, meðan vit í føroyskum hava eina setningsgerð við tveimum sagnorðabitlum *inn á* móttsett danskt *på*. Her er sagnorðið lænt úr donskum, men tað er tillagað. Fyrimyndin er *ilskast inn á*. Av tí at (6a) er so vanligt í føroyskum, og av tí at vit ikki kunnu siga,

at tað er danskt, sum liggur aftanfyri, heldur føroyskt, men kortini við einum donskum (læntum úr donskum í hvussu so er) sagnorði í lýsingarhátti, mugu vit siga, at sagnorðið er lagað til føroyskar umstøður.

Aftur her vísir metingarkanningin, at *irriterað inn á* er lagað fullkomiliga at føroyskum:

Mynd 3

	Rætt		Skeivt	
Í skúlanum var Marjun irriterað inn á Jógvan	12	1	1	
Í skúlanum var Marjun irriterað á Jógvan	4	6	2	2

Soleiðis er ikki við:

- (7) a. og so blívur hann **forelskaður uppi í henni** (KU1V)
 b. og så bliver han **forelsket i hende** (Dan.)
 c. og så bliver han **forelsket *oppe i hende** (Dan.)
 d. og so blívur hann **forelskaður í henni** (Før.)

Eg vildi mett, at *forelskaður uppi í* er ein frasa, sum bara kemur fyri einaferð. Um so er, er talan um eina eingangstillaging, nevniliga ávirkað av *fjeppast uppi í onkrum*. Hetta er ikki nøkur málmyndanarvilla sum (3a) og (3b), endurgivið her niðanfyri sum (8a) og (8b):

- (8) a. men allíkavæl var hann komin har, søgdu tey **við mær...** (KE2V)
 b. hevur mann hug, kann mann altíð gera meir **við tí** (ME2V)

Í (7a) er talan um eitt útlendskt sagnorð í lýsingarhátti, sum verður lagað til føroyskt, men av tí at vit halda, at tað bara kemur fyri

hesa einu ferðina, kalla vit tað fyri eina eingangstillaging, mótsett tillagingini *irriterað inn á*, sum er vanligt og verður brúkt í heilum. (7a) kann ikki vera eitt eingangslán (nonce borrowing), tí *forelskaður* er alt annað enn eitt eingangsorð í føroyskum.

Metingarkanningin vísir, at *forelskaður uppi í* ikki er vanligt í føroyskum talumáli:

Mynd 4

	Rætt		Skeivt	
Hector er forelskaður uppi í henni	2	3	6	3
Hector er forelskaður í henni	13	1		

4. Óbodnir gestir?

Tað, sum umráðandi er, er at hava í huga, at eitt mál er ein skipan, sum miðlar, rættiliga komplekst, ímillum merking og ljóð, sbr. eisini tey trý lögini, sum eru sett upp omanfyri. Hetta verður upp aftur samansettari hjá tí tvímæltu, tí hann kann velja ímillum tvey mál, og tað kann hann gera soleiðis, at hann eitt nú skiftir ímillum málini (Code-Shifting). Ikki hava vit slíkt málskifti í føroyskum, uttan kanska har farið verður ímillum føroyskt og enskt – nakað, sum enn stendur ókannað, og nakað, sum helst er nýtt í málinum, sbr. at ung kunnu hava enskar frasur í málbrúki sínum, t.e. við fullkomnari, enskari úttalu og øllum, sum hartil hoyrir. Mann kann sjálvandi eisini læna orð, sum vit so mangan gera, og fullkomiliga laga tey at bulinum, sum *bedrøviligur* o.s.fr., og so kann mann hava athall (konvergens) millum danskt og føroyskt Vit hava eisini nevnt dømi um tillaging og eingangstillaging, og vit hava nortið við, at tey dømi, vit hava

brúkt í hesi greinini hava einki við reguler lán at gera, heldur replikatióin.

Tað kemur sjálvandi eisini fyrri, at málið fær inn eina nýggja orðing úr donskum:

Tað eitur ikki at “*hyggja eftir sjónvarpi*”, men at *hyggja at sjónvarpi*. At *hyggja* eftir e-m er at ansa eftir e-m. “Hygg mær eftir høsnum, meðan eg eri burtur”. – Biður tú onkun væla tær um ein lut, kann hann svara: “Eg skal *hyggja upp á tað*”, ivaleyst danskt árin, átti at verið: “Eg skal *hyggja at tí*”. – At *hyggja upp á* ein er at *hyggja* í eyguni (andlitið) á e-m.

Orðafar, nr. 3, 1987

Tá mann sigur *hyggja upp á* stavar tað úr donskum *se på*, sum eitt nú *se på sagen* : *hyggja at málinum*. Tað er danskt, sum liggur aftanfyrri. Mann blandar og lænir, og vit hava greitt frá omanfyri hví, og eisini nevnt, at tað ikki er galið út frá einum málsligum sjónarmiði, tí vit hava eitt valt mál og eitt virkið mál í teirri tvímæltu málstöðu, sum vit eru í. Tvímælið er, neutralt mett, ikki ringt, hóast tað kann verða mett sum so av mongum.

Her hava vit eini snildir afturat, sum málbrúkarin ræður yvir; enn eitt amboð at brúka. Sum málbrúkari skal eg hava fram ein kommunikationstørv, og tað geri eg við ógviliga samansettum ráðum, har eg seti saman tað, sum hoyrir til merking og tað, sum hoyrir til ljóð, sbr. (Chafé, 1970) omanfyri; eitt snitt er at nýta athall og blanda saman tvær skipanir, nýta tillaging o.s.fr., og tað havi eg loyvi til, og tað er júst tað, sum føroyingurin ger.

5. Lúnskar málsspillur

Í sitatinum fyrst í greinini verður, andbráð-

isliga og uttan grundgevingar, tosað um lúnskar málsspillur.

Málrøktin er ein ideologi. Slíkar eru trúarmynstur og gerðir, sum gera, at sumt kann tykjast natúrligt, annað ikki. Júst sum politiskar ideologiir.

Málrøktin sum ideologi fekk rættiliga góðan byr eftir seinna kríggj, hóast mótmæli eisini vóru, men nú var vanligt, føroyskt talumál ikki nóg gott. Nú skuldi alt vera tað, sum á mannamunni fekk heitið grót- ella rótføroyskt, og út frá ideologihugtakinum bleiv hetta, í huga teirra, tað natúrliga, meðan tað føroyska málið, sum eitt nú R. Long vardi, varð skúgvað til vikis, og enn verður tað av vissum málrøktarfólki heima á landi (Petersen, 2004; Niclasen, 1992).

Men málrøktin miseydnaðist partvís, júst tí hon, sum ideologi, bara var og er til hjá nøkrum fáum, og hon fer ongantið at vinna ígjøgnum, tí hon ikki vil, og heldur ikki er før fyrri, at góðtaka tann veruleika, at føroyingar eru tvímæltir við einum máli, har tað stundum er føroyskt, sum setir ta syntaktisku rammuna, stundum danskt, sbr. eisini Barnes (1992). Soleiðis hefur tað verið í øldir, og tað er ikki bara sum so hjá nøkrum fáum at broyta alt eftir nøkrum árum; kanska verður tað soleiðis í framtíðini, at danskt fer at víkja, men fyrri enskum. Livst so spyrst.⁶

Føroyingurin er, sum vit hava nevnt omanfyri, ‘early balanced bilinguals,’ javngóðir tvímælingar, sum læra málini tíðliga. Summir granskarar meta tó, at tá ið barnið lærir tað seinna málið frá fimm ára aldri, er talan ikki um javngóðan tvímæling, men at málini verða lærd eftir røð (Meisel, 2004). Tó, bæði málini eru staðsett vinstrumegin í heilanum, og tess meira tey verða brúkt og

lærd, og tess betur tú dugir tey, tess meira renna tey saman, og sum eg havi nevnt fyrr í greinini, so vita vit ikki enn, nær føroysk børn duga danskt, nær skilja tey tað? Nær duga tey at dána setningar?

Sjálvandi ber ikki væl til bara við nøkrum ideologiskum brøgdum at skúgva henda veruleika til viks.

Men er málrøktin fullkomiliga farin fyri bakka? Meira at siga mislukkað?

Tann harðrenda kósin, partvís. Tað fer, eins og víst á omanfyri, við einari málstöðu, har athall, tillaging og tillagað eingangslán eru ráðandi, umframt reguler lán, ongantið at bera til at beina av vegum øllum tí, sum danskt er. Ikki fyrr enn við møguligari, politiskari loysing, men vit fara tá at fáa eitt annað mál inn, nevniliga enskt. Kanska tað fer at føra til málskifti og máldeyða, men tað er ein onnur søga, sum vit einki vita um.

Fullkomiliga tapt hevur málreinsarin kortini ikki, tí fleiri orð verða brúkt í dag, sum málrøktin hevur skotið upp, setningsbygnaður, neyvan. Hon hevur eisini eina stílmessiga funktión, t.e., at mann í einum sín-ámillubólki og samanhangi brúkar, kanska, *ffáalturstungin*, heldur enn *nervøsur*, t.d. í einari týðing ella grein, og tað kann vera, at hon, á ein hátt, er stabiliserandi. Tað dugi eg ikki at svara uppá, vegna vantandi kanningar. Men á sama hátt kann tann føroysk-danska tvímælisstöðan møguliga vera stabiliserandi móttvegis enskum, og tí má mann hugsa seg væl um, áðrenn mann byrjar at pilka við henda stand, sum hevur vart í so mong ár.

Vit hava nakrar málnormar, og vit royna at tillaga málbrúki okkara til móttakaran. Í samband við málrøktina og nýorð kemur

hetta mest fram í skrift í føroyskum, og so eisini tað, at vit identifisera okkum sum serstakan bólk sum føroyingar serliga við málinum sum miðil, og har er tað, at málrøktin við nýorðum sínum kann hava ein leiklut, t.e., at vit við at siga *telda* ístaðin fyri *kompjútari*, vísa, at vit eru ein serstakur bólkur her úti í Atlantshavinum⁷. Tað er hetta symbolska virðið í málinum, sum eisini má takast við. Málrøktin hevur ein symbolskan týðning. Hon er knýtt at tjóðskaparrørsluni og samleikakensluni. Við føroyskum vísir tú, at tú hoyrir til ein vissan bólk.

Eg skal eisini gera vart við, at einki for-gjørt er í, at mann hevur opnan tann møguleika at smíða orð, altso at fara aftur til eitt nú eldri føroyskt og brúka *básur* ikki bara í merkingini ‘pláss til neyt at standa á í fjósi,’ men eisini ‘avskildrað rúm í t.d. framsýningarhøll’. Tað skal bara ikki vera soleiðis, at nakrir fáir sleppa at tvinga sína ideologi niður yvir onnur, sbr. Niclasen (1992), har ført verður fram, at málrøktin skapar trupulleikar heldur enn loysir teir, sbr. eisini, hvussu vit hava definerað ideologi omanfyri, t.e. ‘trúarmynstur og gerðir, sum gera, at sumt kann tykjast natúrligt, annað ikki.’ Sjálvandi er tað, sum er natúrligt hjá einum, ónatúrligt hjá einum øðrum, og vert er at hava í huga, at málrøktin, mett út frá einum málvísindaligum sjónarmiði, ikki er vísindi, men ideologi.

Málsambandið førir við sær, at málbrúkarin brúkar øll tey ráð, sum eru tøk, bæði í føroyskum og donskum, men eisini tey ymisku stílløgin í báðum málunum. Hetta málsamband er ikki beinleiðis vánaligt mál, men kann eins væl metast sum málbygging.

Samanumtikið lekur ímillum teori og

praksis. Summi stremba eftir einum reinum máli. Hetta er tað málið, sum hevur so stór-an, symbolskan týðning; málið sum identifikatióin. Idealið, ið eingin meistarar. Hetta heilaga mál, fólk stremba eftir, førir millum annað við sær, at unglingar kunnu siga, at tey ikki duga tað veruliga, føroyska málið (Holm, 1993), men tað veruliga, føroyska málið, sum hesir ungdómar sipa til, er ein hvørvisjón; tað veruliga, føroyska málið er tað blandingsmálið, sum vit hoyra í gerandisdegnum, og skalt tú hava dømir um slíkt bland, kanst tú leita tær til júst Orðafar, har fleiri dømir verða tikin fram um júst slíkt bland. Eitt bland, sum er natúrligt, verður hugt at teirri aktuelli málstöðuni í landinum. Eitt bland, sum er íkomið av athalli, tillagan og tillagaðum eingangslánum ímillum tvær málskipanir. Replikatióin kunnu vit eisini kalla hetta. Men eisini av regulerum lánum. Hetta er ein partur av tí føroyska máveruleikanum, antin tú vilt tað ella ikki, og er hetta eisini eitt mál við fungerandi málmyndanarreglum.

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Notur

- ¹⁾ Setningarnir eru úr vanligum talumáli, t.e., óbundnar samrøður, gjørdar í nov. 2005. K = kvinna, E = eldri, V = Vágar. M = maður...
- ²⁾ Til ber at kalla hetta *positional level* fyri *yvirborðslagið* el. *yvirborðið*, tí tað er her, at boðskapurin fær ljóðligan form.
- ³⁾ Ein triði møguleiki er, at M2 dúrar (dormant language); at tað er í langtíðarminninum, men ikki virkið. Tað liggur í dvala; t.d., um tú hevur lært russiskt ella franskt í Studentaskúlanum. Kanska nakað er eftir av tí, og hevur tú lært tað nóg væl, kanst tú, um tørvur er á tí, vekja tað fram og nýta tað.
- ⁴⁾ Struktururin er, foreinklaður, sum víst beint undir. NH = navnheild, SH = sagnheild. Í setningi (5) kemur eisini fyri FH = fyrisetingarheild.
- ⁵⁾ Ilt er stundum at gera av, hvat er tillaging, athall o.s.fr., og hvat er ein innari broyting el. rák (Sapir, 1921 ‘drift’), t.e., málvariatióin, sum kemur í av ‘natúrligum’, innari broytingum. Tá vit hava *geva ringin til onkran* el. *hvar eg havi lært danskt* frá mótsett *hvaðani eg havi lært danskt*, kann hetta vera talan um rákið frá einum syntetiskum til eitt analytiskt mál, Bernd Heine (persónlig samrøða).
- ⁶⁾ Eitt annað dømi, har roynt varð at beina áralanga siðvenju burtur er navnalógin; í strangasta líki sínum miseydnaðist hon, soleiðis at tað nú ber til, sbr § 2, stk. 2 *Kunngerð um undantak til navnauppkalling*: “Uppkalling í ættini verður avmarkað til, at tann, ið kallað verður upp eftir, er:
 - 1) systkin hjá barninum
 - 2) foreldur, omma ella abbi, langomma ella langabbi
 - 3) systkin hjá foreldrum
 - 4) systkinabarn ella
 - 5) ommu- ella abbasystir, ommu- ella abbabeiggi.
 Stk. 3 Fyri hvørt navnið, ið givið verður, kann bara verða kallað upp eftir einum navni.
 Hetta førir faktiskt við sær, at vit eru aftur har, sum vit vóru, áðrenn navnalógin yvirhøvur kom.
- ⁷⁾ Sjálvandi er tað ikki so einfalt, sum tað er sett upp her, men faktum er, at føroyingar sum heild meta, at sumt av tí serføroyska er vakrari enn blandið, t.d. *sjálvandi* fyri *sjálvfylgilt*, o.s.fr..

Heltn

Heltn

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Úrtak

Orðið *heltn* er ikki til sum felagsnavn í nútíðarføroyskum. Men tað er varðveitt sum navnliður í føroyskum staðanøvnum. Í greinini verður víst á, hvar í landinum navnið finst, og hvørjar formar tað kann hava. Borið verður saman við fornorrønt, norskt og íslenskt, og ljóðligar og formligar málbroytingar verða umrøddar.

Abstract

In modern Faroese the word *heltn* does not exist as a common noun. It is however preserved as an element in Faroese placenames. The article indicates where in the Faroes the name is to be found and the different forms it can take. Comparison is made with Old Norse, Norwegian and Icelandic, and phonetic as well as morphological changes are discussed.

Heltnarnar á Vágseiði

Stendur tú á Vágseiði og lítur suðureftir, sært tú nakrar naknar klettur standa upp úr sjónum tætt úti fyri Kleivini, sum er lendingin á Eiðinum. Hesir klettur nevast *Heltnarnar*. Í roynd og veru er tað eitt stórt samanhangaandi sker, og soleiðis er tað eisini teknað á kortinum (*Føroyar* 1:20.000, kortblað 502, 1998), men tað er ógvuliga ójavnt í hædd, og sjógvurin skolar javnan tvørtur um og ímillum kneysarnar, so tað kann viðhvørt síggja út sum fleiri sker ella klettur.

Navnið er við í navnalistanum sum lærarin Poul Næs í Vági (1863-1953) skrivaði fyri Det danske Stednavneudvalg í 1922, og aftur í uppskriftini sum ein annar lærari,

Johan O. Djurhuus (1904-87), gjørdi fyri Fornrannsóknar- og Staðanavnanevnd Føroya Løgtings árin 1945-47. Navnaformurin er í báðum uppskriftum tann sami, og hann vísir, at navnið er at fata sum bundið kvennkynsorð í fleirtali. Staðanavnið man innihalda eitt navnorð sum í eintali og óbundið man hava hitið **heltn*, men eitt tílíkt orð er ikki til sum felagsnavn (*appellativ*) í føroyskum nútíðarmáli. Men tað man hava verið til. Tí orðið er kent í norrønum máli, og tað kemur fyri í staðanøvnum aðrastaðni í Føroyum, og somuleiðis í Norra og í Íslandi.

Skiftandi orðformur

Føroysk orðabók (FO 1998) hevur kvennkynsorðið *heltn* (flt. -ir) við sum leitorð, men markar tað við stytttingini ”stn.” sum staðanavnalið, og hon lýsir tað sum ‘hellut lendi (í fjøllum)’. Í bók síni um staðanøvn í Norðuroyggjum hevur Chr. Matras eina grein um henda staðanavnalið (1932: 143). Christian sigur um *heltn* (kvk.) at ”Ordet kendes ikke fra Talesproget, men findes i Stednavne (i forskellig form) mange steder paa Færøerne. Er det samme som norr. *helkn* og *høkn* n. ‘stenet Grund, Klippegrund’”.

Á fornorrønum tykist orðið at kunna hava havt formar við skiftandi sjálvljóði. Sambært upprunafrøðiorðabókini *Íslensk*

orðsifjabók (Magnússon, 1989; sí eisini de Vries, 1977) kundi tað eita *helkn*, *hqlkn* og *høkn*, og tað hevur verið hvørkikyn (Magnússon sigur at tað er fleirtalsorð, men aðrar norrønar orðabækur, eitt nú Fritzner og Heggstad, nevna bara at tað er hvørkikyn, sama ger *Íslensk orðabók* (2002) og de Vries (1977), og dømini hjá Fritzner úr forn máli vísa at tað kann vera eintal). Annars kann verða nevnt at orðabókin hjá Fritzner hevur formarnar *helkn* n., *hæln* n. og *høln* n. og umsetur til 'ufrugtbar, stenig grund'. Tann hjá Leiv Heggstad o.ø. hevur *helkn* n. og *hqlkn* n. og umsetingina 'steingrunn, berg'.

Ein endurgjærdur frumgermanskur formur er **hallukīna-*, ein abstraktorðagerð til ein form **halluka-*, við *k*-eftirfesti. Rótin er tann sama sum í tí norrøna orðinum *hallr*, ið merkir steinur, og í *hella* og *helli*, og áðurnevnda íslenska upprunafrøðiorðabók hevur á íslenskum lýsingina 'grýtt svæði, hrjóstur, helluberg'. Hildið verður at orðið *hallr* upprunaliga hevur verið *u*-stovnur, og at norrønt tí hevur formin *hqlkn* ella *hqlkn* (við *u*-umljóði, sbr. got. *hallus* 'klettur'), men hevur skift stovn og kunnað verið *a*- og kanska eisini *i*-stovnur (de Vries, 1977; Magnússon, 1989). Nevndu keldur siga ikki við greiðum orðum um hetta er orsökina til at vit í norrønum hava formar við skiftandi sjálvljóði.

Vit kunnu staðfesta at tað er formurin við *e* í stovninum ið er varðveittur í føroyskum staðanøvnum, men við teirri broyting at *k* (í hjáljóðaraðfylgjuni *lkn*) er blivið til *t* (*ltn*), ein broyting ið vit plaga at nevna lokljóðslop (ella "klusilspring"). Harafrat hevur tað fingið kvennkynsform í føroyskum.

Hvørki broytingin til kvennkyn ella

broytingin av *k* til *t* er tó serføroysk. Navnið kemur fyri fleiristaðni í Norra, og har fær tað eisini kvennkynsform í fleirtali. Víst kann verða til *Norske Gaardnavne* XII (NG, 1919: 12), har garðsnavnið *Heltne* á Sogni er nevnt, eldri *Helknar* (kv. flt.). Eldri skjalfestir formar eru t.d. *Helknum* uml. 1360, *Holknum* uml. 1400, *Heltnæ* 1520-70, sbr. eisini *Helkna sókn* á Vestur-Øgdum o.a. og ein úttaluform sum *Heltnanne*. Eisini skal verða nevnt at *Norsk stadnamleksikon* nevnið *Hekfjellet* (fjall á Vestur-Øgdum), *Hekne* (garður á Heiðamørk) og *Heknebak* (stað í Norður-Trøndaløgum) og setur tey í samband við norr. *helkn* (hvk.). NG setur skiftið frá hvørkikyni (eint.) til kvennkyn fleirtal í samband við at navnið fer frá at vera natúrnavn til at verða tikið í brúk sum garðsnavn (bústaðarnavn). Í føroyskum kunnu vit so í øllum førum staðfesta at hetta navn ikki kemur fyri sum bústaðarnavn, men at tað kortini hevur skift yvir til kvennkyn, og at tað báði kann vera eintal og fleirtal.

Í Íslandi eru nógv nøvn sum innihalda henda sama navnið, flestu teirra áarnøvn. Áarnavnið *Hølná* er vanligt, við frábrigdunum *Hörkná*, *Hólná*, *Hörtná*, *Hölná*, og *Hölnalækur* er onkrastaðni. *Hólknið* er 'lítill stapi', og eisini er ein heiði ið hevur verið nevnd *Hólkna(r)*- ella *Hólknaheiði* (Vilmundarson, 1980). Sum vit síggja av dømum, eru formar við *t* eisini funnar í Íslandi. Eitt nú er *Hólná* í Jökuldali skrivað *Hölná* í 1840 (Múlasýslur, s. 62) og 1874 (s.st., s. 82), og tað sama er áin við sama navni í Hjaltastaðapinghá í 1842 (s.st., s. 191, sbr. eisini Vilmundarson, 1980: 12). Í íslenskum staðanavnauppskriftum eru tvær áir á Kappeyri á Fáskrúðsfirði nevndar

Innri- og Ytri-Hölnalækur (sbr. eisini Vilmundarson, 1980: 13).¹

Í seinri íslenskum hefur formurin *hólkni* (hvk.) tikið seg upp (sí t.d. Magnússon, 1989).

Onnur stöð í Føroyum

Vit nevndu *Heltnarnar* á Vágseiði. Men í Eysturoy, Kunoy, Borðoy og Svínoy finna vit eisini henda navnlið. Í Oyndarfjørði eitur ein heilur hagi nú á dögum *Heltnin*, tann syðsti hagin í bygdini, tann ið stingur seg suður ímillum Elduvík (Funningsfjørð) og Syðrugøtu (*Føroyar* 1:20.000, kortbløð 411-412, 1990-92). Nú er tað tað at hagarnir í Oyndarfjørði eru so nýggir sum sjálvstøðugir hagar, tí líka til 1964 lá allur hagin í bygdini í tveimum: *Norðara Helvt* og *Innara Helvt*, 16 merkur hvør. Taxatiónsprotokollin (1873) roknar framvegis hagan í Oyndarfjørði sum “et samlet Brug, men er for Tiden delt i 2 lige Dele, der dog ifølge oprettet Kontrakt atter kunne sammenlægges” (Taxatiónsprotokol 1873, B: 20). Við útskiptingini í 1964 fekk bygdin 6 hagar, og teir skuldu jú hava nøvn. Grundarlagið undir teimum nýggju høgum gjørdust “røktir” ella gongur ið høvdu verið frammanundan. Ein av hesum røktum kallaðist *Heltnin* og roknaðist til 6 merkur við 108 áseyðum (“Ágongan er 108 seyð,” sum tikið verður til í frásøgn frá útskiptingarfundum). Í somu fundarfrásøgn verður sagt at “Semja er um, at røktirnar, soleiðis sum uppgivnar av pørtunum, eiga at verða grundarlag fyri býtinum, og vil nevndin nýta hetta til býti av høgum,” (og aftur seinri: “Oyndarfjarðarhagi verður býttur í 6 partar sum fáa navn eftir uppskoti festaranna og eigaranna”). Enda-

liga avgerðin varð tann at Heltnin gjørdist 5-markahagi við 90 áseyðum (Frásøgn frá útskiptingarfundum).

Vit síggja her eitt gott dømi um tilvitaða nýggja navnagávu, sum er fyriskipað av almennum myndugleika. Samtykt verður at taka navnið á røktini og gera tað til navn á tí nýskipaða haganum. Men tað sigur seg sjálvt at heldur ikki sum navn á eini røkt er navnið primert. Upprunaliga er navnið eitt natúrnavn, t.e. navn á einum ávisum natúrfyribrigdi sum hefur eyðkent eitt ávist stað. Í dalinum sum bindur Oyndarfjørð saman við økið Millum Fjarða, er í uml. 250 metra hædd eitt fittliga stórt øki við naknari hellu. Tað verður nevnt *Á Klettum* (kortblað 411, eitt skelti við hesum navni er sett tætt við vegin). Hetta økið, ið er tað hægsta í dalinum, er mestsum í tveimum, eitt syðri og eitt norðari. Tað skilur eisini vatnið, soleiðis at herfrá og suðureftir rennur *Heltná* (ella *Heltnará*) og norðureftir móti Oyndarfjørði rennur *Laksá*. Tá ið geodetarnir máta upp og tekna hetta økið í 1897, nevna teir bæði hesi økir “Klettarnar”. Heimildarmenn í Oyndarfjørði nevna eisini alt hetta *Frammi í Regninum* (kortblað 412).² Geodetarnir tóku kortini ikki navnið *Klettarnar* við á tað prentaða kortið ið kom burtúr (prentað í 1900). Í staðin seta teir navnið *Heltnin* á eitt størri øki ella henda hálsin her á leið, hetta staðið har sum hagarnir hjá oyndfirðingum, fuglfirðingum og syðrugøtumonnum koma saman undir Heltnagjógv, sum er mark millum Fuglafjørð og Syðrugøtu (1. útg. 1900, 2. útg. 1941). Men tað áhugaverda er at tá ið uppmátararnir skriva navnið upp frá fólki á staðnum, skriva teir *Heltnar*. Eisini í uppritunum frá navnaviðgerðini er formurin “*Heltnar*”, men har er hann

útstrikaður og “Heltnarnir” (!) sett í staðin, men við viðmerkingini “Formen usikker”. Í tí endaliga listanum er *Heltnar* rættað til *Heltnin*, helst eftir ráðum frá V.U. Hammershaimb, tí í viðmerkingum frá honum til ymsar navnaformar skrifvar hann, at tað eitur *Heltnin*, sum er kvennkyn og er “en høj dal på Østerø” (í skjalatilfari frá geodetunum, 1899).³ Uppskriftirnar benda á at fleirtalsformurin *Heltnar* hevur verið til í livandi málbrúki tá, tí uppmátararnir høvdu neyvan funnið uppá hann av sínum eintingum. Tað tykist eingin ivi vera um at teir halda tað vera eitt sera vítt øki. Teir merkja tað á kortinum at vera økið fram við áunum báðum sum renna suður og norður gjøgnum dalin, t.e. Heltnará og Laksá, og tær seks ferðirnar teir merkja tað á kortið, brúka teir fimm ferðir formin “Heltnar”, eina ferð “Heltna” (hetta er ein annar uppmátari). Syðrugøtumenn nevna í dag økið í sínum norðasta haga, Norður í Haga, fram við ánni fyrri *Norðuri á Heltn*: “Tá ið vit koma norður um Ívarssteinar, eitur alt Norðuri á Heltn”.⁴

Eg fari at halda at tað er tað grýtuta hellulendið hægst í dalinum, tað ið skilur áirnar báðar, sum hevur borið *heltnar*-navnið av fyrstan tíð, men at navnið so við og við er komið til at fata um eitt væl størri øki, kanska í sambandi við seyðarøkt og tá sum navn á eini heilari røkt ella gongu. Navnið *Á Klettum* ella *Klettarnir* er so íkomið tá ið tørvur hevur verið á einum navni á tí avmarkaða økinum ið upprunaliga var ”heltnin”. Navnaformurin sum uppmátararnir hava skrivað upp, bendir á at staðið hevur hitið *Heltnar* (flt.), men at tað sum navn á røktini so við og við hevur fingið eintalsformin *Heltnin*.

Sum nevnt taka tvær áir seg upp við tær

upprunaligu *Heltnar*, og tann ið rennur suðureftir til hon kemur í Fjarðará, verður í dag nevnd *Heltná* (og er skrivað so á tí nýggjasta kortinum *Føroyar* 1:20.000, kortblað 411, 1990). Men uppmátararnir skriva hana altíð *Heltnaraa* (el. *Heltnaraajin*), t.e. *Heltnará* (sum tað eisini stóð á teimum fyrru málborðsbløðunum, 1. og 2. útg.). Hon er mark millum tann núverandi hagan *Heltnina* og tann norðasta hagan hjá syðrugøtumonnum, Norður í Haga. Upp eystur frá har hon tekur seg upp, er *Heltnagjógv*, ið er norðurmarkið hjá syðrugøtuhaganum móti Skarðhaga í Fuglafjørði. Vit kunnu ikki vita um fyrri liður í *Heltnará* og *Heltnagjógv* skal fatast sum hvørsfall eintal ella hvørsfall fleirtal. Hvørsfall eintal av *Heltn* skuldi givið *Heltnar*-, t.e. *Heltnará* og *Heltnargjógv* (í hesum seinra hoyrist *r* ikki framman fyrri hjáljóði). Hvørsfall fleirtal skuldi givið *Heltnaá* og *Heltnagjógv*, og har má tá *r* í *Heltnará* vera sekundert (innkomið fyrri at forða hiatus). Men **Heltnaá* kundi í roynd og veru eisini verið grundarlag undir forminum *Heltná* (sjálvljóðasamandráttur í hiatus), sum tykist vera tann einasti ið heimildarfólk nú vilja kennast við. Eisini Hammershaimb, sum umleið 1850 skrivaði nøvn upp í Eysturoy, skrifvar *Heltná* og í samansetingum *Heltnoyri* og *Heltnagjágv* (sic).

Sunnarlíga í Vágshaganum í Klaksvík – hagapartinum Útistovuhaga – er eitt stað ið Hans bóndi á Biskupsstøð í 1920’num hevur skrivað upp sum *Heltnin* (eint.), men sum Chr. Matras (1932) nevnið *Heltnir* (flt.), og Christiani nevnið – í sambandi við tað – eisini *Millum Heltna*. Sambært heimildarfólki hjá Christiani eru *Heltnir* “tvey enni útúr, klettarnir fram í erva” (Matras, 1932: 143).

Økið harímillum eitur *Millum Heltna* (*Føroyar* 1:20.000, kortblað 611, 1991). Staðið er í uml. 300 metra hædd beint norðan fyri Ritudal á vestursíðuni á Borðoynni. At navnaformurin eisini her er vøkkul, vísir tað at heimildarmaður sum greinarhøvundurin prátaði við í 1989, nevndi tað *Millum Heltnarnar*.⁵

Annars vísir tað seg her norðuri at *n* lætt kann falla burtur í endanum á orðinum, so at tað kemur at eita *Helt*. Harvið kemur navnið at falla saman við orðið *helvt* og kann vera blivið samanblandað við tað. Hetta síggja vit í dømunum í Kunoy og Svínoy. Nakað norður frá Kunoyarbygd, norðan fyri Skarðdal, sæst á kortinum (*Føroyar* 1:20.000, kortblað 512, 1994) navnið *Helvt*. Sambært Matras (1932) er tað ein rók uppi á einum hamri, og kalla kunoyingar plássíð *Norð(ur) á Helt* el. *á Heltnini* (Matras, op. cit). Sjálvur havi eg (í 1992) fingið navnið uppgivið sum *Í Helvt* (/helt/) og staðið lýst sum ”eitt enni, vallað omaná, hamar runt um”.⁶ Tað er í uml. 250 metra hædd. Allarsyðst á Svínoynni er *Heltnin* (*Føroyar* 1:20.000, kortblað 712, 1994). Eisini her hava formar við og uttan *n* komið fyri: *Heltnin*, *Heltin*, *Suður á Helt* el. *Heltn* (Matras, op.cit.). Svabo nevnið staðið í Svínoy í *Indberetninger*, men onkursvegna er skriftformurin komin skeivt fyri hjá honum, tí hann skrivur *Heldrun* (Svabo, 1959: 381). V. U. Hammershaimb skrivur *Heltnin* í einum staðanavnavalista frá uml. 1850. Somuleiðis geodetarnir í 1897, sum skriva *Heltnen* og *Heltnin*, sum teir siga vera tað syðsta nesið á Svínoynni. Ein kann ikki lata vera við at spyrja seg sjálvan hvat ið býr undir endingini *-un* hjá Svabo. Umboðar hon ein

eldri hvørjumfalsform í fleirtali (*Heltnum*), ella er hon dømi um samanfallið millum endingarnar *-in* og *-um*, sum vit kenna m.a. úr svínoyarmáli (tvs. skal lesast *Heltnin*)?

Hetta eru so tey nøvn har vit uttan størvegis trupulleika kenna navnliðin *heltn* aftur. Men eg fari kortini at halda at vit hava navnliðin í einum navni aftrat, einum navni sum tó er somikið broytt at navnliðurin ikki kennist aftur soleiðis beinanvegin. Í Hvalba er eitt stað sum á kortinum er skrivað *Hentlur* (*Føroyar* 1:20.000, nr. 404, 1997). Tað er á norðara armi á fjørðinum, niðuri í fjøruni undir Bjalvaskorahaga og beint innan fyri markið móti Úti í Haga. *Hentlur* er navnið á helluni í fjøruni. Brattin har uppfrá eitur *Hentlaskorar*, og innan fyri tær er *Hentlagjógv*.⁷ Helst hevur tann stóra hellan niðuri við sjógvin hitið *Heltnir*, sum við umkasti av hjáljóðunum *ltn* til *ntl* er blivið til *Hentlir*. Tað hevði tí helst verið rættast at skrivað navnið við endingini *-ir*. Men í hvalbiarmáli ljóðar *-ir* sum *-ur* í endingum.

Skoytt kann verða uppi, at uppmátarin hjá geodetunum í 1899 skrivur *Hentlør*. Í teirri endaligu viðgerðini er navnið tó strikað av listanum. Sambært eini viðmerking sigur uppmátarin, at *ø* er “dunkelt og ubetonet”, og lagt verður aftrat, at hvørki Hammershaimb, Friðrikur Petersen ella Rimestad kapteynur (ið stóð fyri navnaviðgerðini) hava nakra frágreiðing um upprunan til navnið.

Ljóðbroyting

Ljóðbroytingin (lokljóðslopið) frá *lkn* til *ltn* er lætt at greiða. Tá ið *l* og *n* verður formað í muninum, nertir tungubroddurin við tenn og/ella tannhald í yvirmuninum (t.e. ljóðini eru dental ella alveolar). Men *k*, sum

stendur ímillum teirra í raðfylgjuni *lkn*, krevur stongsul millum baktungu og bakgóm (*k* er velart). Stongsulin sum tungan ger, skal sostatt skifta frá tonnum/tannhaldi til bakgóm (velum) og fram aftur til tenn/tannhald. *t* hevur sama ljóðgerðarstað sum báði *l* og *n*, so við at seta eitt *t* í staðin fyri *k* slepst undan hesi rørslu aftur og fram: Tungufestið verður verandi í sama stað gjøgnum øll trý ljóðini *ltn*, og tá ið *n* kemur, er bara at lata bakgómin upp upp í nasaholuna (tann sokallaða eksplotiónin). Talan er tískil um ein úttalulætta. Lættnin er kortini ikki størri enn so at *n* í endanum kann vera í vanda fyri at detta burtur so vit kunnu fáa duplultformar (við *n* og uttan).

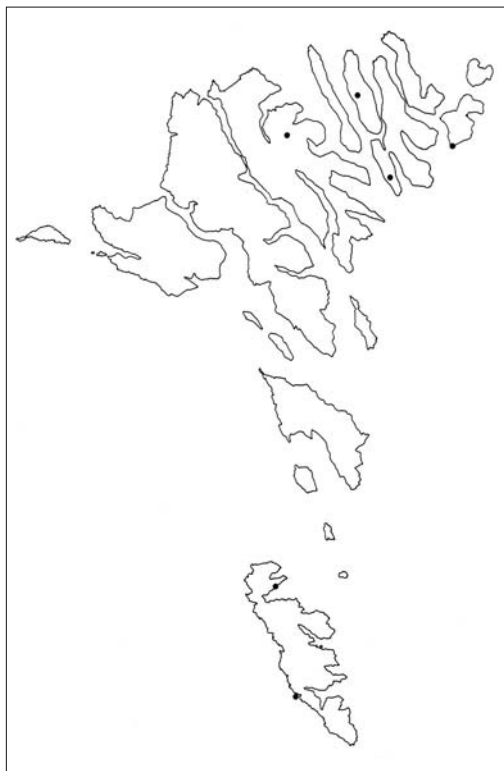
Broytingin *ltn > ntl* (í *Hentlir*) er í grundini ikki nakar úttalulættni. Ljóðini koma í øvutari raðfylgju, nasaopningurin verður gjørdur fyrst (*n*), og tá ið kemur til *l*, hendir eksplotiónin í staðin út til síðuna, millum tungu og kjálka (*l* er síðuljóð, t.e. lateralt).

Samanumtøka

Taka vit nú samanum, so finna vit seks støð í Føroyum við *heltn* sum primernavni. Hartil koma so sekundernøvn (relatiónsnøvn), sum hava primernavnið sum part av navninum (t.d. *Heltn(ar)á*, *Heltnagjógv*, *Hentlagjógv*, *Hentlaskorar*).

Støðini ið bera navnið, eru báði uppi í fjøllum og við strondina, og allastaðni er talan um støð við berari hellu ella kletti: í Vági nakið sker, í Hvalba hella við strondina og í Svínø eitt nes við brøttum, lágum bergi móti sjónum, í Kunoy og Borðoy mestsum enni við kletti í uppi í fjøllum og í Eysturoy hellusvað í haganum.

Hvat forminum viðvíkir, so er tað tann



Støð í Føroyum har sum heltn kann ávísast sum navnlíður.

við sjálvljóðinum *e* ið er einaráðandi í Føroyum, og somuleiðis við lokljóðslopinum *k > t*. Hartil kemur so í einum føri umkast (*ltn > ntl*). Í øllum førum tykist navnið vera kvennkyn. Men ivi kann vera um tað er eintal ella fleirtal. Bæði nøvnini í Suðuroy hava fleirtalsform (flt.-ending við ávikavist *-ar* og *-ir*). Góðar grundir eru at halda at staðið í Oyndarfjørði hevur verið brúkt í fleirtalsformi fyrr (*Heltnar*), men at tað er blivið avloyst av eintalsformi (*Heltnin*) sum navn á seyðarøkt og seinri hagaparti.

Í Kunoy er bara eintalsformur varðveittur, sama í Svínø, men tann bronglaði

formurin *Heldrun* hjá Svabo kundi møgula hugast at umboðað ein eldri fleirtalsform (í hvørjumfalli), men í 1800-talinum er eingin ivi um eintalsformin *Heltnin*. Eintalsformurin *Heltnin* er eisini formurin sum Hans á Biskupsstøð brúkar um staðið í Borðoyinni, men formar sum *Millum Heltna* ella *Millum Heltnarnar* benda á tvær *Heltnar* (*Heltnir*).

Sambært orðabókakeldum hevur orðið upprunaliga verið hvørkikynsorð. Men í føroyskum nøvnum er tað farið yvir til kvennkyn. Nær tað er hent, og hví, ber ikki til at siga. Navnið er ikki brúkt sum bústaðarnavn í Føroyum, so tað er ikki orsökini til kynskiftið.

Dømið í Oyndarfjørði kundi bent á skifti frá fleirtali til eintal, og tað kann vera hent í sambandi við at natúrnavnið er tikið í brúk sum navn á eini ávísari seyðarøkt.

Tvørrandi støðugleiki í grammatiskum formi stavar óivað frá at orðið ikki er eitt livandi appellativ og **heltn* tí ikki longur hevur nakað merkingarligt innihald í føroyskum.

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Óprentaðar keldur

Savns- og skjalatilfar á Føroyamálsdeildini.

Skjalatilfar á Matrikulstovuini.

Notur

- ¹⁾ Eg takki javnlíkametara fyri upplýsingar um nøvni­ni í Íslandi og fyri aðrar hentar ábendingar.
- ²⁾ Jógvan Høgenesen, Oyndarfjørði, 11. nov. 1989.
- ³⁾ Færøernes Kortlægning sigur annars “Navne­behandlingen er udført med Bistand af Dr. phil. Jakob Jakobsen” (Nørlund 1944: 43).
- ⁴⁾ Per Húsgarð, Syðrugøtu, 7. juli 1988.
- ⁵⁾ Símun Waag, Klaksvík, 7. apríl 1989.
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- ⁷⁾ Olivur Holm o.a., Hvalba, 1. mars 1996.

Tvinnir eru kostirnir

Um purismu í *Føroya kvæði*

Regarding purism in Føroya kvæði

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Úrtak

Í grein síni frá 1978, „Grammatical instability in Faroese Ballads and written Faroese“, letur hövundurin Michael Barnes spurningin um ritstjórnarav kvæðahandritum í prentaðu útgávuni av *Føroya kvæði* standa opnan til víðari kanning, har hann sóknast eftir meginreglum í hesum sambandi. Um hetta mundið var VII. bind av *Føroya kvæði* við m.a. frágreiðingum um hetta, ikki útkomið, og tiskil er høvi at kanna spurningin nærri betri nú enn áður. Kanningin hevur støði í trimum tilvildarliga valdum kvæðum, *Gongurólvs kvæði* (CCF 29 A), *Ólavi Riddararós* (CCF 154 A) og *Skrimslinum* (CCF 90 B). Hesi trý kvæði bóru øll á brá at vera broytt í flutninginum frá handriti til prent. *Gongurólvs kvæði* var munandi meir broytt enn hini bæði. Broytingarnar fevna ikki einans um ljóð, stavseting og morfologi, men eisini eru syntaktiskar og semantiskar broytingar gjørdar í mun til upprunahandritini. Hesar tykjast vera heldur tilvildarligar, eisini eftir at upplýsandi VII. bind varpaði ljós á einstakar av teimum spurningum, Barnes upprunaliga setti.

Abstract

The vast majority of the Faroese ballads is collected in the six-volume *Corpus Carminum Færoensium*, which many nowadays consider the standard edition of Faroese ballads. However, Michael Barnes' article from 1978 concerning grammatical instability notes that a number of emendations have been made in the printed edition, sometimes acknowledged, sometimes not. In any transcription from a manuscript emendations are to be expected, e.g. modernisation of the spelling when transcribed from

older forms of the language, but in the case of *Corpus Carminum Færoensium* there are also a number of syntactic and semantic emendations. This article explores the question of arbitrary emendations of *Føroya kvæði* by comparing the manuscripts of *Gongurólvs kvæði* (CCF 29A) *Ólavur Riddararós* (CCF 154A), and *Skrimslið* (CCF 90B) to their respective printed versions in the corpus.

Inngangur

Kvæði eru sum munnborin frásøguskaldskapur niðurarvað ígjøgnum fleiri øldir og ættarlið av manna munni. Á hendan hátt hava kvæðini “livað” í teirra tíð, og eru eisini broytt frá tíð til aðra. Frá einum skaldskaparligum sjónarhorni er tað at kalla skeivt at skriva upp kvæði, tí tey tá verða “fastfryst synkront”; soleiðis sum tey vóru, tá ið tey vórðu uppskrivað, og verða harvið forðað í at menna seg víðari. Hetta er eitt afturstig fyri kvæðini sum skaldskap. Hinvegin eru tílíkar uppskrivingar av stórum málsligum virði fyri millum annað málgranskarar, ið hava áhuga fyri synkronari (sam tíðar-) og diatopiskari (málforis-) málfrøði.

Tá ið farið varð av álvara undir at skriftfesta kvæðini seinast í 18. øld og í fyrri

helvt av 19., var hetta í roynd og veru byrjanin til eitt nýtt granskingarøki, kvæðagranskingina. Kvæði hava verið kannað við atliti at bygnaði, “miðlan”, yrking, uppruna, aldur, málsligum eyðkennum v.m., og tað verða serstakliga tey málsligu eyðkennini, hendan grein fer at snúgv seg um.

Kvæðini og kvæðauppskrivingin fáa ofta heiðurin av at hava verið orsökkin til, at føroyskt mál ikki fór fyrri bakka um aldar-skiftið 18./19. øld ella nakað seinni, og hetta hevur givið teimum eina støðu sum málvarðveitandi. Tað er eingin loyna, at fleiri orð og orðingar, ið eru at finna í kvæðunum, eru niðurarvað rættiliga óbroytt beinleiðis úr norrøna frummálinum, sum fyrri nógvar málfrøðingar er vorðið málsliga fyrirmyndin.

Undir framvøkstrinum av føroyska skriftmálinum frá um miðja 19. øld og fram eftir varð farið miðvíst undir at vinna hesum kvæðarøðum og øðrum orðum ta hevd, tey høvdu havt í forðum. Roynt var somuleiðis at lúka “málspillur”, serstakliga dansk orð, burtur úr skriftmálinum, ivaleyst í vónini um, at hetta fór at ávirka talumálið eisini. Kvæðini sjálvi høvdu eisini fleiri tílík orð við, ið kundu metast at vera dansk; elstu kvæðini eru mett at stava frá umleið ár 1300, tvs. áðrenn ein kann siga, at norrønu málini vóru farin at líkjast frá hvørjum øðrum.

Kvæðini innihalda eisini, vegna tess, at tey eru lyriskur skaldskapur, ofta “serligar” formar av orðum, og rím og rútmála hava eisini havt ein avgerandi leiklut, hvat viðvíkur orðasniði.

Tá ið farið varð at reinskriva kvæðini seinast í 19. øld, var endamálið ikki longur einans málvarðveitsla, men nú meira ment-

anarvarðveitsla, tó í tíðarinnar anda varð í hesum arbeiði lagdur dentur á at gera hetta “ensartet og sprogrigtigt”, fyrri at nýta orðini hjá innsavnanaranum Svend Grundtvig.

Ikki skerst burtur, at kvæðini eisini eru bæði episkur og lyriskur skaldskapur, og við at fara ov málpuristiskt til verka, er man í vanda fyrri at broyta hendan siðaarv á ein hátt, at niðurskrivaðu tekstirnir ikki samsvara við upprunaligu verkini.

Ein teirra, ið hevur fingist nógv við kvæðamál, Michael Barnes, letur hendan spurningin viðvíkjandi málbót og normalisering í mun til upprunahandritini standa rættiliga opnan til víðari kanning. Hann tekur soleiðis til orðanna:

Occasionally in the texts of that edition [*Føroya kvæði*] a word or a line is preceded by a star. Comparison with the diplomatic texts I have been using for this article shows that the star indicates an emendation. Most readers will probably assume, as I did, that where no star is found, no emendation, other than normalisation of the spelling, has been made. Unfortunately this is far from the case. [...] It seems to me unfortunate, to say the least, that the texts of what many will regard as the standard edition of the Faroese ballads should be so unreliable. The main, and [...] possibly the sole purpose of *Føroya kvæði* is to make available to readers the principal variants of the Faroese ballads. What then is the justification for a policy of arbitrary and silent emendation?

(Barnes, 1978: 231f)

Ætlanin í hesi grein er at taka hendan spurningin upp og gera eina meting av purismu – málbót í sambandi við normalisering – innan kvæðaútgávur, hvat viðvíkur ljóðfrøðiligari (fonetiskari purismu), orðasniði (ortografiskari purismu), bendingarformum (morfo-

logiskari purismu) og broyting í setningsbygnaði (syntaktiskari purismu). Harumframt er ætlanin at meta um, í hvønn mun hetta kann hava broytt kvæðini við atlit at innihaldsligum, t.e. semantiskum, broytingum.

Tað er ógjørligt í einari so avmarkaðari grein sum hesi at taka støði í einum alt ov stórum tilfari, so sum grundarlag undir hesum er valt at taka ávís handrit burtúr, og verða hesi samanborin við *Føroya kvæði*. Greinin kemur náttúrliga at fella í tveir partar; ein ástøðispart og ein sannroyndarpart. Í ástøðiliga partinum verður fyrst komið inn á søguna aftanfyri kvæðagranskingina og endamálinum/endamálunum við kvæðauppskrivingini, sum longu nevnt við í innleiðsluni. Síðani verður gjørt greitt fyri purismu, málbót og normalisering í samband við framvøktsturin av skriftmálinum.

Eftir hetta verða í sannroyndarpartinum nakrir ítøkiligir handritstekstir samanbornir við normaliseraðu útgávuna í *Føroya kvæði*. Viðgerðirnar eru bygdar soleiðis upp, at fyrst verður stutt gjørt greitt fyri skilmarking av hugtøkum. Síðani verða kvæðini viðgjørð hvørt fyri seg við atlit at broytingunum, ið hava staðist av normaliseringini. Til endans verður tikið samanum og niðurstøða gjørð.

Aftast í greinini er yvirlit yvir tey handrit og tær útgávur, nýttar hava verið.

Meginreglan í kvæðainnsavningini hjá Grundtvig var, at verkið skuldi verða “ensartet og sprogrigtigt” og viðgjørt kritiskt; heilar tekstformationir skuldu koyrast burtúr, um hesar áttu at verða mettar sum nýgerðir ella tiknar inn úr øðrum leivdum, men hann viðgongur, at hetta er nærum ógjørligt at gera við fullari vissu.

Eftir at verkið var liðugt, vórðu eisini skoyttir uppí tekstir, ið frammanundan høvdu verið saknaðir, yvirsæddir ella av misgáum ikki tiknir við frá byrjan av. Men harumframt metir Jørgen Bloch, at Sv. Grundtvig við vilja hevur valt at síggja burtur frá nøkrum verkum av átrúnaðarligum orsøkum: – *Jólavísa* og *Púkaljómur* (ið hevur motiv úr *Paradise Lost* eftir John Milton). Samanber eisini Rasmussen (1987: 67f).

Grundtvig hevði í roynd og veru 2 meginreglur (ella 3, um síðstnevnda meting hjá Bloch er røtt, men hendan er ikki av týðningi fyri hesa grein). Fyri tað fyrsta ætlaði hann at útgeva *Føroya kvæði* “ensartet og sprogrigtigt”, og harumframt ætlaði hann at fremja keldukritikk mótvegis nýgerðum. Havandi í huga, at kvæðini ikki altíð eru málsliga røtt frá uppskrivarans hond av, vil hetta slagið av meginreglu í roynd og veru í sær sjálvum vera nýskapandi – kvæðini finga eitt snið, tey ikki høvdu havt fyrr.

Áskoðanir á málrøkt

Svabo hevði einans talaða málið at halda seg til, tá ið hann uppskrivaði kvæðini. Tað er givið, at Schrøter og Jóannes í Króki í minsta lagi hava havt stavseting Svabos at dúvað uppá, og í hvussu er Schrøter tykist ávirkaður av hesum. Stavseting Svabos hevur tó í besta føri tænt sum eitt slag av leiðbeining; tað fonetiska stavsetingarprinsippið er eisini tað dominerandi í teirra uppskriving.

Heilt øðrvísi er støðan, tá ið Hammershaimb tekur við sum kvæðainnsavnari og -útgevandi í seinnu helvt av 19. øld. Í mun til teir undanfarnu hevur Hammershaimb ein

hollan kunnleika til norrøna fornmálið. Út frá hesum myndar hann eisini føroyska skriftmálið, sum við fáum broytingum er tað, vit kenna í dag. Við í sína *Anthologi* tekur hann eisini 38 kvæði og tættir, ið hann hevur normaliserað eftir sínari ortografi frá 1846. Tað er eingin loyna, at Hammershaimb við hesum setti sær fyri at restituera tekstir; hann endurgevur teir, sum hann heldur teir hava sæð út í samtidarføroyskum, tá ið teir vórðu yrktir.

Árini ímillum 1846 og meir enn hálva öld fram varð vígað fyri og ímóti hesi ortografi. Serliga var tað tjóðskaparrørslan og Føroyingafelagið seinast í 19. öld, ið tóku hesa stavseting til sín, men eisini har vóru ósemjur. Spurnartekin varð sett við grundarlagið fyri at nýta hesa arkaisku stavseting; rákið seinast í 19. öld var júst tað øvugta á øðrum økjum. Tann mest virði mótstøðumaðurin hjá Hammershaimb í hesum føri var Jakob Jakobsen, doktari í norrønnari filologi. Hansara áskoðan á skriftmálið var ávirkað av naturalistiska rákinum í samtíðini, har eitt ideal var, at man einans átti at endurgeva tað, sum man kundi eygleiða. Hann setti sjálvur fram eitt uppskot um stavseting, ið legði seg munandi nærri at tí talaða málinum enn Hammershaimbs, men viðgongur, at hetta vegna málförismunir ikki kann vera normgevingi fyri allar føroyingar. Hetta metir hann tó vera ein minni trupulleika, av tí at føroyingar sum heild skilja hvønn annanuttan trupulleikar. Um ortografisku stavsetingina hjá Hammershaimb sigur hann soleiðis:

I løbet af dette Aarhundredes første Halvdel har Begejstringen for Oldsproget og Oldlitteraturen

imidlertid været i stadig Stigen, og denne Begejstring over det nyopdagede Terræn giver sig en hel Del Udslag. Alt skal, saa vidt muligt, føres tilbage til Oldsproget, de skandinaviske Sprog hidtil saa ringeagtede Moder. For et af de Udslag, som denne Begejstring for Oldsproget har medført, regner jeg Hammershaimbs «normaliserede» færøske Skrivemaade, der i saa høj Grad nærmer Sproget til Oldnordisk eller, om man vil, Islandsk, der i Skrivemaade staar Oldsproget saa uhyre nær. [...] Mange vilde dengang med meget større Interesse lære at kjende de literære Skatte, som Færøerne gjemte, end de vilde studere selve det færøske Sprog [...]

(Jakobsen, 1957[1901]: 30)

Endamálið við at triva í hetta er ikki at víga fyri og ímóti ortografisku stavsetingini hjá Hammershaimb, men meiri fyri at vísa á, hvussu áskoðanirnar um skriftmálið verða fluttar aftur og fram ímillum norrønt (Oldsproget) og talaða málið sum ideal, og at Jakobsen metti Hammershaimbs hugtikni av fornmalinum víga meiri enn praktisk atlit sum grundgeving fyri at nýta hetta sum skriftmál. Ikkiuttan orsök hava Hammershaimb og Jakobsen verið mettir sum ávikavíst romantikari og naturalistur, umboðandi hvør sítt hugrák, ið gjørdi seg galdandi seinast í 19. öld.

Hvussu var og ikki, so varð tað Hammershaimbs stavseting, ið vann frama, og í ein stóran mun kann eisini sigast, at hansara puristiska áskoðan somuleiðis varð tikin til eftirtektar av eftirtíðini. Tá ið orðabókin *Føroysk-donsk orðabók* kom út fyrstu ferð í 1927-28, tók hendan støði í teimum serføroysku orðunum, meðan lánorðini nærum vórðu útihýst. Í endurskoðaðu útgávuni frá 1961 eru fleiri lánorð við, men hesi eru merkt við *talespr.* fyri “talesprog”.

Normalisering av *Føroya kvæði*

Í *Føroya kvæði* kann tosast um 5 sløg av broytingum, sum ritstjórnir hava gjørt móttvegis handritunum. Hesar eru 1) fonetisk normalisering, 2) ortografisk normalisering, 3) morfologisk normalisering, 4) syntaktisk normalisering og 5) semantiskar broytingar.

Fonetisk normalisering merkir broytingar av tekstinum, ið hava við sær, at ljóðligu viðurskiftini broytast. Hetta slag av normalisering er mest eyðsýnt, tá ið tað kemur til málførismunir, har upprunamálið nýtir eitt ljóð í einum ávísam orðasambandi, og skriftamálið eitt annað. Til dømis tá ið handritini í suðuroyarmálførum nýta teknið *e*, og normaliseraða útgávan nýtir teknið *æ*, ella har eitt nú bæði *eu* og *ou* verða skrivað *ó* og harvið umboðar meiri enn eitt ljóðvirði. Á hendan hátt hvørva fleiri bygdamálseyðkenni.

Ortografisk normalisering viðvíkir rættingum í stavsetingarháttinum, uttan at tað er neyðugt, at ljóðligu eginleikarnir broytast fyri tað, har møguligir skeivleikar í stavseting (orðabygnaði) verða rættaðir. Hetta er sjálvsagt mest vanligi formurin fyri normalisering, og sostatt skal hetta ikki verða lýst út í æsir. Heldur verður stórri dentur lagdur á at finna undantøk frá meginregluni, t.e. har *Føroya kvæði* annaðhvørt ikki hevur normaliserað eitt málsligt anomali, hóast tað kundi verið væntað, ella hevur normaliserað á ein óvæntaðan hátt.

Morfologisk normalisering merkir rættingar í bendingini; har orð eru bend skeivt í handritunum, verða hesi ofta (men ikki altíð) normaliserað. Til dømis hava handritini ofta lyndi til at skifta heldur tilvildarlaga millum eintalsendingina *-ar* og fleirtalsendingina

-a í hvørsfalli av navnorðum. Tá hetta verður rættað, er talan um morfologiska normalisering. Tað er greitt, at hetta í hesum døminum við hvørsfallinum ofta kann vera talan um feilskrivning; at uppskrivarin í fòrum ikki hevur hoyrt *-r* í útljóði. Tilíkt má allaroftast vera ein meting.

Syntaktisk normalisering merkir rættingar ella broytingar í setningsbygnaðinum, tvs. at ritstjórnin annaðhvørt er farin inn og hevur sett eitt ella fleiri orð (setningsliðir) afturat inn, ið ikki eru at finna í upprunahandritinum, ella hevur tikið ein ella fleiri setningsliðir úr, og annars altíð tá ið syntaksin verður broytt, t.e. tá orð verða flutt innanhýsis í setninginum.

Semantisk broyting merkir, at ritstjórnin hevur – møguliga vegna eitt slag av málsligari normalisering – gjørt broytingar í sjálvum innihaldinum av kvæðinum.

Gongurólvs kvæði í uppskrift Svabos (CCF 29A).

Sum nevnt hevði Svabo ongar ortografiskar rætningsslinjur at halda seg til, og sostatt byggja allar hansara kvæðauppskriftir á framburðin. Tó skivar hann altíð *eû*, tá ið hann skal endurgeva *ó* (eittans undantak er í ør. 99: *fjouna*), og *aa* fyri *á*, sum í fyrstu syftu kann líkjast norðoyarmálføri. Men hvørt *aa* er at uppfata sum langt *a* ([a:]) er tó ivasamt, av tí at Svabo var vágamaður. Munur er eisini á *aa* í t.d. *Maana* (mánad/mána; 3, 4, 86), *Aatjan* (átjan; 7) og *aa* í eitt nú *aarla* (árla, 12), *Haandum* (hondum, 58), *haatt* (hátt, 17). Í teimum báðum fyrra fòrinum er framburðurin [ɔa] ella [a:], meðan hann í seinna er minnir meira um *å* [ɔ], eins og í donskum.

Við fyrimynd í donskum skriftmáli skrivar Svabo eisini øll navnorð við stórum byrjanarstavi. Fyri í skrivar Svabo *uj*, fyri *ú* verður skrivað *ú*. Tvíljóðið *ei* [ai] verður endurgivið *aj*, *ey* [ei] skrivar Svabo *ej*, og *æ* [æa] skrivar hann *êa*. Sum navnháttarmerki ella infinitivsmarkør nýtir Svabo bókstavin *à* heldur enn danska og nútíðarføroyska *at*.¹ Long sjálvljóð verða skrivað dupult, t.d. *Hoon* fyri *hon* [ho:n]. Tó verður sjáldan gjørdur munur á stuttum og longum hjálfjóðum. Affrikatarnar [çç] og [ʃʃ], umboðandi ávikavist *kj*- og *gj*-ljóðini í nútíðarføroyskum, skrivar Svabo eisini *kj* og *gj*.

Fonetisk normalisering, sum eitt nú *setst* (17) og *ist* → *ytst* (94): – *t* er skoytt uppí, har tað hoyrir heima, tó ikki verður framborið í talumáli – og sum sæst av dømumum *Búspřitun* → *bugsprýtum* ([ʊæ:] → [u:]; 9, 10); *idla* → *ella* ([ɪ] → [ɛ]; 46); *Kølmirkri* → *kolmyrkri* ([œ] → [o]; 42), kemur fonetisk normalisering vanligu fyrri, har ivamál er í framburðinum.

Málføriseyðkenni verða rættað, sum eitt nú *Frendun* → *frændum* (34, 39). Skiftið millum *æ* og *e* í handritunum kann til tíðir tykjast heldur tilvildarligt, t.d. *Hændur* → *hendur* (33).

Orðið *ejgjast* er broytt til *eykast* (42), og hapax-orðið *Fréúskeáp* er broytt til *fróðskap* (1) í *Føroya kvæði*. Í báðum færunum eru ljóðbroytingar farnar fram; *gj* er vorðið til *k* í fyrri døminum, og *êu* er normaliserað til *ó* í tí seinna. Framburðurin, sum avspeglar av ónormaliseraðu stavsetingini, er tó varðveittur í nólsoyarmálføri. Hugsandi er, at hesin serligi framburðurin av *ó* hevur verið kvøðin fyrri uppskrivaranum. Hví orðið *Frosnir* (2), ið eyðsýnt er eitt mistak, verður

tikið við í normaliseraðu útgávuna óbroytt, er óvist.

Føroya kvæði rætta eisini Svabo, tá ið hann skrivar *ø* (ljóðskrivað [œ]; her at fata sum stutt allofon av *ó*) frammanfyri skerp-ing; *Sjøgv* → *sjógv* (23), *skøgva* → *skógvar* (6), *Høgv* → *hógv* (71).

Hóast Svabo rættiliga konsekvent skrivar *-un* í endingum, har fornmálið hevði *-um*, eru tó einstøk færi, har *-um* er at síggja: *Húum*, *Búum* (rímorð til hvørt annað; 83), *Aastum* (85), *mium* (90) *Frium* (91), *honum* (113) og *Færum* (114). Hetta er áhugavert, tí hann hevur neyvan hoyrt tað framborið soleiðis. Møguleikin fyrri, at hann hevur skrivað tað av eftir einum øðrum handriti, hevur verið nevndur í hesum sambandi.

Tær flestu ortografisku rættingarnar í *Gongurólvs kvæði* viðvíkja samansettum/ósamansettum orðum. Vanligt var hjá Svabo at skriva orð, ið nú á døgum verða uppfatað sum einstøk, samansett orð, í tveimum, og verður hetta í *Føroya kvæði* rættað til einstøk orð, serstakliga navnorð+navnorð: *Morgun Tuj* → *morguntið* (6), *Briggiu Spora* → *bryggjusporða* (11), *Havna-Lêa(i)* → *havnalag(i)* (13, 25), *Jøkjil strêadi* → *jøkil-stræti* (32), *Trølla Taatun* → *trøllatátum* (56), *Trødla Glajm* → *trøllagleim* (52), *Manna-Bajn* → *mannabein* (63, 64), *Hedlis-Gølv* → *hellisgólv* (71), *Hadlar Diir* → *hallardyr* (94), *Oxa-Lêar* → *oksalar* (72), *Oxa-Suju* → *oksasiðu* (73), *Trødla Bodnun* (78)/–*Botnun* (120) → *Trøllabotnum*, *Kobba Sinur* → *kobbasinur* (80), *Hamra Húum* → *hamrahúðum* (82)², *Roisnis Verk* → *roysnisverk* (77), *Hummar Kløgv* → *hummarkløg* (125), *Moiggja Land* → *moyggjaland* (83), men eisini sagnorð+sernavn: *Gongu-Rolv-*

ur/Gongu Rolvur/Gongu Rolv → *Gongu-rólv(ur)* (16, 20, 30, 36, 38, 42, 46, 57, 125) og sernavn+sernavn: *Lindini Mjaav* → *Lindinimjáv* (97, 100, 103 og 104). Harumframt einaferð í førinum fyriseting+fyriseting: *uj kjaa* → *ihjá* (81). Orð, sum møguliga av Svabo ikki hava verið uppfatað sum navnorð, verða eisini samansett við navnorðum: *maala Grein* → *málagrein* (34); *alduns Húir* → *aldunshúðir* (80).

Omanfyrirstandandi dømi eru øll dømi um málfrøðiliga rættar samansetingar, har handritið somuleiðis hevur rættar formar; í *Føroya kvæði* ræður tað einans um at seta teir saman. Í nøkrum førum rættar útgávan *Føroya kvæði* tó uppá formarnar: *Moyggjar Land* (gen.sg.) → *Moyggjaland* (gen.pl.; 121); *Vørilda ey* (gen.pl.?) → *vørildar eyð* (gen.sg., 31), *Moyggja-Navn* (gen.pl.?) → *moyggjarnavn* (gen.sg.; 95, 101), *Jøkjl-Stuj* (nom.sg.) → *jøkilstíg* (gen.sg.; 37). Hóast hesar rættingar allarhelst eru málfrøðiliga rættar at gera, átti ein at væntað, at tað varð viðmerkt í *Føroya kvæði*, at ein rætting varð farin fram, serstakliga í ivamálum, sum eitt nú *Moyggja(r)land*. Í øðrum førum tilskilar *FK* tó, hvørjar rættingar eru gjørdar: *Upsal Jادل* → *Uppsal[a]jall* (87), *Trød-Botn* → *trøl[la]botn* (24; skrivað *Trød[la]-Botn* í prentaðu útgávuni av *Svabos Færøske Visehaandskrifter*). Undrunarvert er tó, at hendan rætningslinjan ikki verður fylgd konsekvent.

Á sama hátt sum atskild orð verða sett saman, verða onnur frammanundan samansett orð eisini skild sundur. Serstakliga eru tað sagnorð í nút. 2. pers. + pers. fornavn. 2. pers., ið eru at finna samansett: *Kanstú* → *kannst tú* (68, 69, 71), *manstú* → *manst*

tú (89). Í einum føri er talan um sambindingarorð+hjáorð: *uxo* → *og so* (124), og serliga hjáorð+fornavn-samansetingin *táái/taai/taaji* → *tá ið* (56, 57, 88, 89, 125). Hetta er alt í samsvari við galdandi rættskrivingarreglur (tó varð formurin *kannst* í 1954 skiftur út við formin *kanst*).

Morfologisk normalisering: Hinvegin skrivur Svabo í handritinum *sêar tú* (92) og *tú sêar* (86), og hetta verður normaliserað til ávikavist *sært tú* og *tú sært*. Hetta er eisini rætt sambært galdandi rættskrivingarreglum (sí tó niðanfyri), men ein kann við røttum spyrja, hví hetta ikki verður gjørt í ørindi 91, har sagt verður “*Ee sêar Man aa Borgar Arm*”, og í *Føroya kvæði* “*Eg sær mann á borgararm*” og ikki “*eg síggi*”. Ein nærliggjandi frágreiðing er kanska, at formurin *síggi* í 1. persóni ikki líkist forminum av sama orði í 2. persóni nóg nógv til at hetta kann kallast tekstnær normalisering. Ein onnur frágreiðing kundi verið, at hetta økti um talið av stavilsum í ørindislinjuni. Hendan seinna áskoðanin er tó ikki at síggja í ør. 39, har orðið *Nørjis* við 2 stavilsum verður normaliserað til orðið *Nøríkis* við 3 stavilsum. Hvussu er og ikki, so er formurin *eg sær* vanligari enn *eg síggi* í kvæðatekstum. Og hetta sleppur eisini vanliga at standa ónormaliserað.

Hetta sama dømið (*sêar tú* → *sært tú* og *tú sêar* → *tú sært*) er eisini dømi um at handritini vísa á eina aðra bending í ávísimum málføri, enn ta almennu. Í suðuroyar- og sandoyarmálførum fær sagnorðið nevniliga ikki -t/-st-ending í 2. persóni í nútíð eintali, stendur tað eftir grundliðin. Bæði í Suðuroy og Sandoy verður orðið *at síggja* bent soleiðis í eintali: (*j*)*eg síggi, tú sær, hann sær*. Í Sandoy umfatir hetta eisini øvugt

orðaraðfylgjuna – *síggi eg, sær tú, sær hann* – , meðan í Suðuroy er hetta ikki at hoyra, men hinvegin ein meira skriftmálsligur framburður; *síggi (j)eg, sært tú, sær hann* (Weyhe 1996:108). Tá ið handritið hevur *tú sær*, er talan sostatt um eitt málføriseyðkenni, ið verður lúkað burtur av normaliseringini.

Sum heild dugir Svabo væl at skilja ímillum *-ir* og *-ur*-endingarnar í sagnorðum. Tó eru einstøk mistøk komin fyri: *siglur* (12), *missur* (32), *lujur* (56), *setur* (70, 71) og *livur* (122). Hesi eru øll rættað til ávikavist *siglir*, *missir*, *lýðir* (at *lýða* [á]), *setir* og *livir* í *Føroya kvæði*. Í einum føri skrivar Svabo *ajtir* (93) fyri *eitur*, hóast hann frammanundan skrivar *ajtur* (4).

Lýsingarorðið *vēan* (51), ið er ein analogiskur formur av kallkynsforminum *vænur*, er rættað til *von* í *Føroya kvæði*. Broytingin *Brēuur báðar* → *brøður báðar* (hvønnf.fl.; 75) er eisini røtt at gera, eins og *Halgun* → *halgan* (lýs.kallk.hvønnf.eint.; 79). *Birur* → *byrðar* (41) er eitt dømi um analogi innanfyri bendingarmynstur; orðið kann upprunaliga hava verið uppfatað sum **byrður* (kvennf.hvørf.fl.), ið aftur hevur verið analogiserað frá sterkt benda kallkynsforminum *byrðr* (hvørf.eint. Um hetta orðið, sí Iversen 1994:56). Samanber tó ør. 41, har handritið skrivar *Birar*. Hetta er dømi um, at ivamál hevur verið um bendingarformin.

Í ør. 70 verður *Pruju* broytt til *prýði*, og er hetta eisini eitt dømi um at flyta orðið aftur til sítt rætta bendingarparadigmi. Hetta kann tó tykjast óheppið av tí at orðið er rímorð til *síðu*. Tað sama ger galdandi í førinum *Knuggjar* (hvørsf.eint.; 41) → *kníggja* (hvørsf. fl.), har rættingin av hvørsfallinum

frá eintali til fleirtal gongur út yvir rímið við orðið *tríggjar*. Í ør. 88, har rættingin *mannar* (hvørsf. eint.) → *manna* (hvørsf. fl., rímorð til kenningina *Svannu*; 88) er at síggja, verður aftur eitt hvørsfallsorð í eintali rættað til fleirtal, hesaferð tó uttan at gera seg inn á rímið. Broytingin *hansa* → *hans* (40) kann fatast sum samandrátur av *hansara* ella samansett av *hann* + *sa*, har *-sa* hevur verið uppfatað sum ein bendingar- ending; hetta er tó óvist. *-sa* sum posessivur er í gerandismáli heilt vanligur, men ikki samansettur við persónsfornevni.

Aðrar smávegis rættingar eru at finna, sum eitt nú *høa* → *høgar* (43), *Deä* → *dag-ar* (82, 107), har talan allarhelst hevur verið um, at uppskrivarin ikki hevur hoyrt *r*-ið í útjólði.

Summi orð, sum í dag verða mett sum skeivt bend, sleppa tó at standa óbroytt í normaliseraðu útgávuni. Orðið *Vetur* (kallk. hvønnf.fl.; 78) er ikki broytt til *vetrar*. Á sama hátt er *Kongjins* (hvørsf.eint.; 11) ikki rættað til *kongsins*, men verður stavsett *kongins*. Hesin formurin er í roynd og veru meira vanligur enn *kongsins*. *Svøri* (1.pers. nútíð eint.; 73, 108, 117) er somuleiðis heldur ikki broytt til *svørji*. Tá ið handritið hevur *svørji* (95, 98, 101), verður hetta endurgivið stavrætt.

Stýrismeðvur → *stýrismaður* (4) er allarhelst rætt at taka við óbroytt í týðninginum *róðursmaður*.

Syntaktisk normalisering: Av og á, tá ið ávísir setningar ikki geva høpi, við tað at teir eitt nú mangla orð, at kvæðahandritið hevur verið ólesiligt osfr., setir *Føroya kvæði* heil orð inn. Hetta síggja vit dømi um í ør. 55., har *heji onnur* er broytt til *hevði [ei] onnur*

í *Føroya kvæði*; ørindi 82, har [uj] (*Mojggja Land*) er skoytt uppí, og ør. 112, har [var] er skoytt uppí. Hví júst fyrisetingin í er vald í ørindi 82, sigur søgan einki um; orðið *til* hevði verið rættari at nýtt. Í ørindi 121 er eisini orðingin *aa* (å) *Mojggjar Land* at síggja.

Semantiskar broytingar: Tað kemur fyri, at týðningurin av ávísum orðum og/ella orðingum er ókendur fyri kvøðaran og/ella uppskrivaran. Orðið *sejggjir* er broytt til *seggur* í *Føroya kvæði* í orðingini *seggur seg við grunnið veður bæði dag og nátt* (19). Hvat høpi er í hesum, er óvist. Tað sama ger seg galdandi við orðinum *rêa* (31), ið verður rættað til *ræð[u]* (*teir ræð[u] frá skipum ganga*). Orðið *ræ* í hesum føri skal tó helst heldur skiljast sum “avgera”; sbr. *Norrøn ordbok*, greinin *ráða* 3. Í ør. 50 er broytingin *tva* → *tó* at at finna, og orðið *umbora* (22) verður í *Føroya kvæði* endurgivið [h]umbora. Normaliseringin *nujur* → *ný[t]ur* (123) gevur heldur ikki nakra serliga mein-ing. Í ørindi 11 verður *gjiltu brandi* rættað til **gylta brandi* í *Føroya kvæði*. Tað er tó ivasamt, um Svabo hevur fatað orðið sum navnorð. Hann nýtir annars altíð stóran byrjunarstav í navnorðum. Her er broytingin í bendingini ávíst við einari stjörnu, og sama ger seg galdandi, tá ið kenningin *Svanna* skal endurgevast. Svabo skrivur hetta sum *Jumfru Sveâna*, og hetta verður endurgivið *jomfrú *Svannu* í *Føroya kvæði*.

Harumframt eru eisini broytingar farnar fram, ið broyta uppá sjálvt innihaldið í frásøgnini. Í ør. 72 fer eitt “málfrøðiligt kynsskifti” fram; *han* (hann) í handritinum verður til *hon* í *Føroya kvæði*. Tað er lítið sannlíkt, at hetta er eitt mistak, av tí at tað

verður endurtikið í ørindi 73, og tá ið Svabo skrivaði orðið *hon*, stavsetti hann tað altíð *hoon*, við duplimum sjálvljóði fyri at marka longd.

Eisini broytir normaliseraða útgávan tekstin í ør. 35: *Gudl o Fêa* verður rættað til *gull og silvur*. Og seinni síggja vit *lêar ikki adlan Tuj* → *lær ikki allan stund* (118), ivaleyst analogiserað frá ør. 119. Í ørindi 118 er síðsta orðið *Tuj* enn tá rímorð til *Skuj* (ský). Í ørindi 120 sæst eisini broytingin *tan hin sjenda* → *hann hin sjeýnda*, hóast upprunliga orðið *tann*, vísandi til orðið *vetur*, hevði verið málsliga rættari at nýtt. Hvat grundgevingin er fyri at gera tílíkar broytingar, ella um tær yvirhøvur eru tilætlaðar, kann einans gitast um.

Í *Gongurólvs kvæði* er sostatt heilt greitt, at nógvar broytingar eru farnar fram í samband við normalisering, bæði hvat viðvíkur vanligari normalisering, t.e. ljóðfrøðiligari og stavsetingarligari normalisering, men eisini á bendingar- og týðningarstigi eru farnar fram broytingar í mun til upprunahandritið. Farið verður heldur lætt um, tá ið komið verður fram á orð, ið ikki eru skillig, og tað kann tykjast sum um uppskrivararnir hava valt eina heldur lættkeypta loysn í fleiri førum. Í summum førum verður eitt rímorð “ofrað” til frama fyri málbótini, meðan í øðrum førum verður hildið fast við rímið heldur enn málsligu atlitini. Onkustaðni verða broytingarnar viðmerktar við stjörnu, aðrastaðni ikki. Í nøkrum støðum verða rættingar skotnar inn í hornklombrur, í øðrum støðum ikki. Eingin eyðsýnligur tummilfingurregul tykist vera fyri, hví málið verður bøtt í ávísam førum, og ikki í øðrum, og hví gjørt verður vart við nakrar broytingar

og ikki aðrar. Á næstu síðunum verður kannað, hvussu hetta sama ger seg galdandi í *Ólavi Riddararós og álvamoy* í uppskrift Schröters.

***Ólavur Riddararós og álvamoy* í uppskrift Schröters (CCF 154 A).**

Í mun til Svabo, ið als ikki hevði nakra føroyska ortografi at halda seg til, var Schröter eitt sindur betri fyri, við tað at Svabo í ein ávísan mun hevði gjørt eitt undangonguarbeiði á hesum øki. Tó so, Svabos stavseting var aldrin at fata sum ein skriftmálsnormalur ella ortografi – fonetiska meginreglan var enn framherjandi – men meira sum ein leiðbeining. Tann mest grundleggjandi munurin á Svabos og Schröters stavseting eru, at *ó* verður hjá Schröter endurgivið *ou*, sum hetta tvíljóðið verður framborðið í Schröters egna málføri, havnarmáli.

Fonetisk normalisering: Eins og hjá Svabo, so er stundum ivi um *e* og *i* í bæði herðingasterkum og herðingaveikum stavilsum; *gjivi* → *gevi* (herðingasterkt; 5); *aarin* → *ádrenn* (herðingaveikt; 27). *Haiu* → *heiði* (2) er dømi um, at bland eisini er komið ímillum *i* og *u* í útljóði, umframt at *ai* verður normaliserað til *ei*. Stutt *o* og *a* frammanfyri 2 hjáljóðum eru eisini komið í bland: *Tú tort* ikki *fletta* → *Tú tarft* ikki *fletta* (12).

Málføriseyðkenni fella burtur, *Fletta* → *flettað* (10), *Dansun* → *dansin* (11), *kjera* → *kæra* (33). Hetta síðsta kann tó neyvan við fullari vissu kallast eitt dialektalt eyðkenni. Møguliga hevði tað kunnað verið roknað sum sosiolekt, men tað er helst rættast at rokna hetta sum lánorð úr donskum.

Ortografisk normalisering: Schröter hevur einstøk orð, ið verða skrivað í tveim-

um, aloftast við bindistriku, og verða hesi rættað til eitt orð: *Laiga-Lind* → *leikalind* (3), *Elvar-Rann* → *elvarrann* (7), *Elvar-hus* → *elvarhús* (8), *Elvar-Fljou* → *elvarfljóð* (9).

Somuleiðis eru nøkur samansett orð at finna, og eru tey av sama slagi sum hjá Svabo, nevniliga 2. pers. nútíð eintal + 2. pers. persónsfor...: *Hoirtu* → *hojr tú* (27), *viltu* → *vilt tú* (17, 18), *ertu* → *ert tú* (31) og serliga hjáorð+fornavns-konstruktiónin *taaí* → *tá ið* (30), men eisini fyriseting + navnorð: *Uigjaar* → *í gjár* (35); *ujmorgjin* → *í morgin* (19, 21) og hjáorð + sagnorð: *Údkom* → *út kom* (10).

Morfologisk normalisering: Eins og hjá Svabo verður 2. pers. nútíð eintal av orðinum *skal* skrivað *skēal* (1, 16). Hetta er rættað til *skalt* í *Føroya kvæði*. At *hengur* er broytt til *hongur* (1) er dømi um analogi ímillum bendingar, har *hengur* allarhelst er analogiserað frá tí líknandi sagnorðinum *heingja* (ið eitur *heingir* í 2. og 3. pers. nútíð eintali).

Broytingin *spåa* → *spáað* (6) kann skoðast á tveir hættir: annaðhvørt umboðar *åa* langt ljóð ([ɔa:]) og vísir sostatt til ein form *spáð*, og um so er, er broytingin óheppin, bæði tí at talan er um eitt rímorð til *fræa* (*frá*), og tí at hetta økir um talið av stavilsum í regluni. Men í framburði fellir hetta seinna a' ið nærum saman við tí fyrra, og talan hevur helst verið um tvíljóð + *a* ([ɔa:a]). Hammershaimb endurgevur hetta *spáð*.

Í handritinum verður høvuðspersónurin einaferð nevndur *Óli* (*Ouli*; 39). Hetta er broytt til *Ólav*, sum í roynd og veru er ein skeivur formur, av tí at talan er um hvørfall eintal. At hetta ikki verður rættað til *Ólavur*,

er allarhelst fyri at varðveita talið av stav-
ilsum. Hammershaimb ger somu broyting.

Dupultbindingin *tujn Sjúrta*n (4, 5) verður ikki rættað til einkultbinding (tvs. *tín skjúrta*) í *Føroya kvæði*, sum ein kundi væntað, men verður endurgivin *tín skjúrta*n. Hetta er vanligt í kvæðamáli, og hevur sín uppruna í norskurum.

Heldur einki verður gjørt fyri at rætta “amputeraðar” formar sum *sjúk* (18) og *bleik* (34), vísandi til kallkynsorð, til ávikavist *sjúkur* og *bleikur*. Her hava ritstjórnarnir helst ikki viljað gingið rútmuni og ríminum ov nær.

Sjú vintur verður endurgivin orðarætt, *sjú vintur* (18, 19, 21, 22), og danisman *snublaji* (30, 33) somuleiðis endurgivin tekstnært, *snublaði*.

Heldur ikki hava ritstjórnarnir gjørt nakað við formin *Bûda* (37) og rímorðið til hetta, *prûda* (ibid.). Hesi verða snøgt sagt endurgivin *bûda* og *prûda*, hóast einki høpi er í hesum orðum í føroyskum.³

Bert eittans dømi er um syntaktiska normalisering; í einum føri verður eitt orð innsett, og hetta verður sett í hornklombrur. Í ør. 35 verður orðið [*sum*] skotið uppí. Hetta er gjørt fyri at gera setningin málsliga rættan, men ger tó tað, at ørindisreglulongdin verður økt við einum stavilsi.

Í normaliseraðu útgávuni av hesum kvæði í *Føroya kvæði* eru ikki nær námind eins nógvar broytingar at finna sum í *Gongu-rólvs kvæði*. Ein orsök til hetta kann sjálvandi vera longdin av kvæðunum, men framvegis má sigast, at talan ikki er um stórvegis broytingar aðrar enn tær vanligu viðvíkjandi stavseting. Í tí eina fòrinum, har *Føroya kvæði* setir eitt orð inn, verður hetta eisini

viðmerkt við at seta hetta í hornklombrur. Tó eru einstakar broytingar at finna, sum ikki verða viðmerktar, men hesar eru sera fáar í tali.

Hjá Hammershaimb er støðan – sum væntað – ein heilt onnur. Tað tykist sum um hann hevur tikið sær fullkomiliga friar ræsur til at samanseta kvæðið eftir egnum ynski, og er tað serliga ritstjórnarin av heilum ørindum, sum hann tekur burturúr og setir inn, sum loypur í eyguni. Tó er vert at leggja til merkis, at Hammershaimb í hvørjum einstøkum føri viðmerkir, hvar hann ger eina broyting, og hvussu hann ger hesa.

Skrímslið í uppskrift Jóannesar í Króki (CCF 90 B).

Ávísir munir eru at finna í stavsetingini hjá Jóannes í Króki í mun til teir undanfarnu kvæðauppskrivarnar. Ljóðið [æ] endurgevur hann stundum *æ*, stundum *a*, eins og í dag, og í einum føri sum *ae* (*dae*, ør. 1).

Um hetta einstaka kvæðið er at siga, at tað tó er eitt sindur serstakt. Við einum undantaki – orðinum *at* í 11. ørindi – er tað fullkomiliga leniserað (lokljóðini *p*, *t* og *k* eru viknað til *b*, *d* og *g*), *i* í næstsíðsta, herðingaveika stavilsi (penultima), sær ikki út til at vera viknað til *e*, sum annars er vanligt, og munurin á *-ir* og *-ur* endingum í sagnorðum samsvarar við ortografiina (tó eitt undantak í penultima í ør. 3: *davirin*), og einki stutt *ø* er at finna í tekstinum.

Fonetisk normalisering: Ein rætting, ið kemur ofta fyri, er broytingin *æ* → *ø* (*ö*); *jærini* → *jørðini* (6), *trælskum* → *trøllskum* (7), *færslu fjædl* → *førslu fjøll* (28) og tess rímorð *ædl* → *øll* (28), *vædli* → *vølli* (41), *hæggji* → *høggi* (22, 23), *værlid* → *vørlid*

(20, 36). Somuleiðis ger broytingin *e* → *ø* (*ö*) seg ofta galdandi: *qverki* → *hvørki* (9, 12), *gjerdar* → *gjørdar* (18), *qverjum* → *hvørjum* (24). Tó verður orðið *qveldi* (2, 25, 42) ikki normaliserað til *kvøldi* í *Føroya kvæði*, men verður endurgivið *kveldi*.

Eitt dømi um bland ímillum *e* og *i* í herðingasterkum stavilsi er eisini at finna; *idla* → *ella* (8), og orðið *veidgjir* (31) verður monoftongerað til *veggir* í *Føroya kvæði*.

Ortografisk normalisering: Fyrstu reglurnar *Tá var um ajn halgun dae / man mee rat um minna* (1) er broyttur til *tað var um ein halgan dag / man meg rætt um minna* í *Føroya kvæði*. Eisini koma broytingar sum *maa* → *man* (13) fyrri, umframt at eitt hiatusinnskot verður koyrt burtur; *touvast* → *tóast* (11).⁴

Heldur løgna orðið *cisfriugji* (16, 31), ið allarhelst sipar til timbur (við) úr cypress-trøum, verður skrivað **syprisvið* í *Føroya kvæði*.

Harumframt stendur *so fædl tajrra findi ad* í ør. 11. Her hava ritstjórnir av *Føroya kvæði* mett, at hetta eftir røttum eigur at vera *fundi*.

Morfologisk normalisering: Eins og í báðum omanfyristandandi kvæðunum, er hvørsfall eintal og hvørsfall fleirtal komið í bland í handritinum, og verður hetta rættað: *orar* → *orða* (8), *helja* → *heljar* (23), og somuleiðis er 2. pers. nútíð eintal aftur fyrri rættingum, *man* → *manst* (26). Eisini verða táverandi málsligar villur rættaðar, *purpurklajir* → *purpurklæði* (19, 34).⁵

Viðvíkjandi *uj fista* í sambandinum *taa fliid mar fram uj fista* (14), kann vera trupult at meta um, hvørt *uj* her er at fata sum ein fyriseting ella eitt afturbeint fornnavn. *Føroya*

kvæði velur fyrra møguleikan og endurgevur hetta *tá flyt mær fram í fyrsta*. Hammershaimb velir tann seinna og endurgevur hetta *Flyt mær fram ið fyrsta*.

Semantiskar broytingar: *Skrímslið* inniheldur fleiri heldur eksotisk orð, ið hava verið ókend á døgum Jóannesar í Króki. Hesi viðvíkja ríkidøminum, sum skrímslið skal lata bóndanum fyrri at hava vunnið talvið ímóti sær. Soleiðis eigur tað, sum uppskrivarin hevur hoyrt sum *peningsvirði* og hevur endurgivið *penings virði* (18) at verða *Fenix fiðri* (fjaðrar Fønix'). Vit eru í teirri hepnu støðu, at hesi ørindini viðvíkjandi eksotiska ríkidøminum verða endurtikin, og í ørindi 34 verður eisini skrivað *Fenix fiðri*. Ør. 18 er tó ikki rættað í *Føroya kvæði*. Tað er ør. 16 hinvegin, har *fugla bajni* → *filabeini*. Í endurtøkuni av ør. 16 stendur tó *fujla baini* (31) í handritinum. Normaliseringin av *ald-on sujn* (14, 29) verður somuleiðis markað við einari stjörnu, **aldinsvín*. Hvørt hendan normalisering er røtt, er ivasamt.

Eins og í *Ólavur Riddararós* og *álvamoy* inniheldur *Skrímslið* heldur ikki tað heilt stóra talið av broytingum í normaliseraðu útgávuni í *Føroya kvæði*, um berast skal saman við *Gongurólvs kvæði*. Tó eru einstakar at finna, men herav eru aftur onkrar markaðar við stjörnu. Óviðmerktu rættingarnar í útgávanum av hesum kvæði í *Føroya kvæði*, ið ikki eru annaðhvørt fonetisk ella ortografisk normalisering, eru nærum ongar, men tó er ikki heilt frítt.

Samanumtøka og niðurstøða

Tá ið takast skal samanum, kann ein illa annað enn taka undir við framsetingini hjá Michael Barnes um *Føroya kvæði*, tá ið støði

skal takast í teimum trimum kvæðunum, ið viðgjörd hava verið. Rættingar í tekstunum eru í umfatandi mun farnar fram, og ofta verður hetta gjørt óviðmerkt. Barnes metti tó, at stjórnan merkti, at talan var um eina málbót; sambært bd. VII av *Føroya kvæði*, sum ikki var komið út, tá ið Barnes skrivaði sína ritgerð, merkir stjórnan tó eisini, at uppskrivarnir hava roynt at gitt seg til upprunaorðið. Tó verður stjórnan *eisini* nýtt til rættingar, bæði stilistiskar og málsligar. Annars eru tað hornklomburnar, ið eru ætlaðar at umboða málfrøðiligar rættingar, útfyllingar av “lacuna” og tekstligar broytingar annars, ið skulu vísa á, nær rættingar í tekstinum eru farnar fram.

Sum ávíst, so rættar útgávan í *Føroya kvæði* tekstirnar fonetiskt og ortografiskt, t.e. tillagar tekstirnar til skriftmálið, men í har eru eisini fleiri dømi um, at bendingar eru broyttar og enntá at syntaksin av ávísium setningum er broytt við at seta orð inn, eftir eini meting um, hvat *møguliga* kundi staðið har. Og í førum verður farið so langt, at kvæðini í normaliseraðu útgávuni ikki samsvara semantiskt við upprunaligu handritini. “Málfrøðiliga kynsskiftið”, ið nevnt var í *Gongurólvs kvæði*, er tað mest framtraðkandi dømið uppá hetta í hesum trimum kvæðunum.

Tá ið hetta er sagt, so skal tó sigast, at hetta ikki er líka framherjandi ígjøgnum alla útgávuna, og varierar nógv frá kvæði til kvæði. Í teimum trimum kvæðunum, ið gjøgnumgingin hava verið, eru málsligu rættingarnar mest framherjandi í *Gongurólvs kvæði*, meðan tær í hinum báðum eru lutfalsliga fáar. Treyðugt so, hini kvæðini eru eisini munandi styttri (sbr. eisini við-

merking Barnes’ um munin millum tættir og kvæði viðvíkjandi málfrøðiligum stöðufesti; 1978:223), og frá einum fyrimyndarligum sjónarhorni áttu tilíkar als ikki at verið at funnið.

Hammershaimbs uppskriftir av *Ólavi Riddararós* og *Álvamoy* og *Skrímsslinum* eru eisini týðiliga merktar av einari puristiskari hond. Hammershaimb krógvar ikki, at hann roynir at endurgeva tekstirnar, sum hann, út frá sínum kunnleika um norrøna filologi, heldur at teir einaferð hava verið. Fyri at gera hetta, broytir hann uppá bæði ljóðfrøðilig og stavsetingarlig viðurskifti, bendingar, syntaks og merking. Tað má tó sigast til hansara fyrimun, at hann konsekvent viðmerkir tað, sum hann ger. Hevur hann broytt tekstin, verður tað viðmerkt í fótnotu, umframt tilskilað, hvat upprunahandritið hevði í staðin. Tað er saknur í einari samsvarandi rættningsslinju í *Føroya kvæði*. Tann veruleiki, at Barnes ikki eingong til fulnar fekk at vita, hvat ein stjórna við eitt kvæðaorð merkti, men gitti seg til tess út frá tí at hesi orðini ikki vóru heilt tey somu í ávikavist handriti og útgávu, vísir eisini á ein mangul frá útgevarans síðu – stjórnan var bara innsett uttan nakra undirbyggjandi frágreiðing og kundi markað eithvørt slag av óreglusemi.

Niðurstøðan gerst sostatt, at Barnes hevur grein í sínum máli, tá ið hann førir fram, at *Føroya kvæði* ikki altíð endurgevur upprunahandritini, men í fleiri førum broytir tey, í fleiri stöðum enntá uttan at broytingin gevur meining. Eingin yvirskipað rættningsslinja tykist heldur at vera fyri nær *Føroya kvæði* broytir tekstin; orð, sum eru broytt einastaðni, kann ein finna óbroytt aðrastaðni í normaliseraðu útgávuni. Tó tykjast ritstjór-

arnir sjálvsagt at vera meira afturhaldandi við at broyta rímorð enn onnur, men heldur ikki her er frítt fyri broytingum. Hetta er nakað, sum er óheppið í einum kvæðaverki, ið av teimum flestu verður mett sum ein autoritativ útgáva av autentiskum, tó stavrættum, kvæðatekstum.

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- ¹⁾ Í stavsetingaruppskotinum *Broyting skjýtur* dr. Jakobsen upp at gera hetta sama.
- ²⁾ Skal møguliga eftir røttum vera *havrahúðum*, tvs. húðum av geitarbukkum.
- ³⁾ Sannlíkt er, at orðið *prúða* merkir *prúð*, og formurin er ávirkaður av gl. donskum *prude* (hvørkikyn flt.). Hvat *búða* merkir, er óvist. Hammershaimb metir, at tað merkir *bú* (búgv, bústaður).
- ⁴⁾ Í nútíðarmáli *háast < þó at*. At *t* ikki er rættað til *h* í hesum føri, kann benda á trúskap móttvegis upprunahandritinum. Í *Færøsk Anthologi* nýtir Hammershaimb *tóat* fyri at endurgeva hetta sama.
- ⁵⁾ Í dag eru báðir møguleikar, *klæði* og *klæðir*, loyvdir.

Once Were Men

Masculinities among young men in the Faroe Islands

Einaferð vóru menn

Manslyndið hjá ungum monnum í Føroyum

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Úrtak

Hendan greinin lýsir fyra høvuðsbólkar av monnum í Føroyum eftir manslyndi teirra og sambandinum millum mansfyrirmyndir og (lut)mentanarligan kapital. Við at nýta egið tilfar frá kanningararbeiði (2003-04), umframt leysar lýsingar av ungum monnum úr miðlunum, er ætlan mín at kanna sereyðkennini í stílunum og samleikunum hjá føroyskum dreingjum viðvíkjandi ‘maskulinitetum’. Seinastu árin er áhugin fyri at granska menn, mentan teirra og (nýggjar) maskulinitetir vaksin nógv, og er hetta ein endurspeglung av broytingunum í kynskjakinum, eintáttaðu lýsingunum av kynsmunum og fatan samfelagsins av monnum og kvinnum, dreingjum og gentum. Greinin gevur eitt íkast til ástøðilig kjak og hugsanir um hvørjir ‘røttu’ menninir eru: hvussu verða teir allýstir, váttaðir og hvør er samfelagsstøða teirra? Spurningurin hevur við sær fylgjandi: í hvønn mun stuðla ‘macho’ og ‘maskulin’ virði mentanarliga kapital ungdómsins?

Abstract

This article presents four essential categories of young men in the Faroe Islands emphasising types of masculinity and the relation between male ideals and (sub)cultural capital. Using data from own fieldwork (2003-04) as well as popular media portrayals of young men I intend to trace major characteristics regarding styles

and identities of Faroese men in relation to ‘masculinities’. During the last years the interest in research on men, their culture and (new) masculinities has increased steadily, reflecting changes in gender discourses, gender stereotypes and society’s representation of men and women, boys and girls. This paper contributes to theoretical debates and reflections on who the ‘real’ men are: how are they defined, recognized and socially positioned? This questions leads to the following: in what degree do ‘macho’ and ‘masculine’ values contribute to young men’s cultural capital?

Introduction

Maður is the Faroese term for man, and ‘ein rættur maður’ is a ‘real man’ – a common way of defining men and masculinities. Masculinity has to do with ‘manliness’, the characteristics of an adult male, while ‘machismo’ is the strong (or exaggerated) “sense of masculinity stressing attributes such as physical courage, virility, domination of women, and aggressiveness” (Farlex, 2005). Being virile, energetic, and ‘untamed’ by culture are essential traits of some

stereotypes of modern masculinity, but the fragmented world of our times displays many contesting styles and types of masculinity, depending on the men's social, cultural, ethnic or religious background, as well as their age group (Connell, 2005). Young men belong to different subcultures with varied presentations of gender differences, intergenerational communication, sexual identities, and manliness (Whitehead and Barrett, 2001: 2-26).

What is masculinity? The nearest that we get to an 'answer' is to state that masculinities are those behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organizational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine (op. cit.)

Faroese society changed radically during the 20th century, especially during the last decades of the century, and is today regarded as a latemodern society, quite similar to other Nordic countries, even if the oceanic archipelago has kept crucial cultural bonds to its dim prehistory of maritime hunters (Gaini, 2006). Most young men still identify themselves with their ancestors, even if everyday life *anno* 2006 is very different from childhoods at the beginning of the 20th century and earlier eras. It is common to describe latemodern reflexive society as a fragmented and individualized system. The shift to latemodern society is associated to the growing scope of communication and cooperation between countries and regions around the globe (e.g. Bauman, 1998; 2000; 2004; Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1990; 1991; 1998).

My hypotheses is therefore that young people are encouraged – even forced – to emancipate from static primordial family and local community identity bonds, hence also determined to form their own cultural identity out of personal preferences and strategies. In other words people do not merely *belong* to cultures anymore, they actively *choose* cultural affiliation. I argue that all existing masculinities in the Faroe Islands represent subcultural adaptations to contemporary society and that all masculinities in different ways have roots in a Faroese cultural heritage, even if the global influence, as we will see, is stronger among the urban youth than the Atlantic cowboys.

This article opens with a presentation of the past centuries' Faroese men emphasising their working life and society's harsh natural environment.

Thereafter four categories of young men are portrayed: Atlantic cowboys, urban (European) youth, lonestars, and glocal pragmatics. The two main categories, the Atlantic cowboys and urban youth, represent masculinities in the dominant local and global youth cultures, while the two minor categories, lonestars and glocal pragmatics, either combine traits of the main masculinities or stay peripherally positioned outside mainstream culture. The categories are not *emic* but *etic*, as young Faroese men do not explicitly use the same concepts or definitions as I do, even if they indeed discuss the styles, values and symbols that are presented in this text. Investigating masculinities I delimit several types of Faroese men, all of them adaptations to latemodern society. Identity is never constructed a priori,

without any reference to social and cultural contexts, and the four groups in question represent different new steps forward in the North Atlantic maritime Europeans' walk through history (Andersen, 1979). Today young people have several competing representations and ideals of masculinity, all of them relating to 'non-masculine' and feminine identities as well as to the alternative masculinities.

In the end the differences and similarities among men and masculinities are discussed and analysed, leading to some concluding remarks on contemporary men's identities and cultural capital.

This article is based on the paper *Where have the 'Real Men' gone?* – presented at the Nordic Youth Education Seminar *Social, Cultural and Individual Capital and Identity* in Mikkeli, Finland April 3-6 2006.

Methodology

A nationwide survey (2003) providing me with essential quantitative data on Faroese youth cultures and lifestyles serves as background material and framework for this text's composition and main questions. The survey in question was a part of my anthropological PhD project. The survey includes all students from 9th grade (14-15 years old) at all the lower secondary schools (compulsory) of the Faroe Islands. Around 700 valid questionnaires were received in my survey, carried out with the assistance of Mr P. Weihe, which is an impressive quantity in the Faroe Islands. Semi-structured interviews with pupils from 8th grade in two schools in Thorshavn (2003-4) have also

provided me with minor amounts of valuable information for the analysis of contemporary masculinities.

Faroese youth research is a relatively new topic with only a few projects in its repertoire, making it a puzzling task to portray young Faroese men of the past. The data material shaping this article is therefore a mix of fieldwork notes, observations, local media texts (from television, newspapers and the internet), and general reflections on the social and cultural make-up of the Faroe Islands *anno* 2006. My historical perspective draws from well-known historical and ethnographic documents from the Faroe Islands – scientific and popular books, articles, essays, songs, ballads and other sources.

This text is discussing selected parts of the data from my PhD research, but is also a portrait of my personal reflections on certain societal issues characterizing Faroese society today. The empirical material openly presented in my text is very limited, too light to justify all my general points, and I consider the text to be a qualified starting-point for future in-depth research on young men's identities and cultural capital in the Faroe Islands. It raises more questions than it presents answers. I try out some basic theories by deduction, hoping to contribute to the understanding of the relation between late-modern society and masculine identities in the Faroe Islands.

Premodern society

Faroe Islanders were usually described as fishermen and sailors, sometime farmers, even whalers, but almost never as modern

individual citizens (e.g. Debes, 1990; 2001; Joensen, 1975; 1985; 1987). Most of the literature on the Faroe Islands focused attention on times past, ancient society, in the search of a lost European cultural heritage. In the spotlight there were dead (or at least almost vanished) customs and traditions, the ‘nature’ of the local language and culture, and the glorious modernization and industrialization of the fishing industry. The ancestors were the informants, past centuries the field, and the surrounding ocean the frame. Cultures as islands, the classic anthropological metaphor, is here to be taken literally. The cultural universe stretched to all physical and ideational parts of the archipelago, far from the European continent, and was in perfect symbiosis with the unfriendly oceanic nature.

The Faroese national identity [end of 19th century, FG] took shape in the midst of the transition to deep-sea, or smack, fishing. The Faroes were still a village society and most people still had their place within traditional Faroese industry, although it was diminishing in importance. This is one of the reasons that features of the peasant farmer culture could be encapsulated within the growing national culture. (Joensen, 1992: 156-157)

Faroese men climbed the mountains, fowled, caught bird eggs, whaled schools of pilot whales, cultivated small spots of arable land, raised sheep, and caught fish around the islands from small wooden boats (Joensen, 1987). The extreme climate, with gusts of wind and heavy rain, stormy waters and dense fog, made life in the Faroe Islands incredibly tough in the past. The weather’s unpredictability, showing all sea-

sons within the very same day, made non-flexible working or travelling plans completely unrealistic. The Faroe Islands were, an English author observed, “The Land of Maybe” (Norgate, 1943). The answer “maybe, depending on the weather...” is still very common. Faroe Islanders are, says Norgate (1943: 3), “ruled under despotism – the not so benevolent despotism of the weather [...] Maybe we’ll go fishing tomorrow – maybe we’ll try and do a bit of haymaking – maybe we’ll get married”. Men had to row out on the open sea and take hazardous risks to catch fish in order to support their families and survive. Many boats never returned. The unforeseeable nature of things made every day a challenge, every venture a threat, and every wife and mother at home a nervous character. It was indeed a question of destiny as nobody could escape nor ignore the powers of nature. Deep honest respect of the sea and mountains was unquestionable as “only a fool does not fear the sea” (old proverb).

Physical strength, patience, endurance and sang froid were among the most important qualities of men in traditional society. The survivor was a harmonious character with indomitable energy. Never did men express strong feelings and sentiments explicitly in public (if not under the influence of alcohol). The Nordic coolness dominated the surface, hiding potential inner conflicts and desperation, and hence (hopefully) helping people not to give up the fight and to do the work that had to be done. There were only a few thousand Faroe Islanders for centuries and everybody depended on each other. The total population was only 5.000

year 1800, but tripled to 15.000 year 1900, a growth primarily related to the introduction of industrial fisheries in the end of the 19th century (Joensen, 1985). Many small villages were very isolated, surrounded by wild waters and dangerous mountain slopes, and almost self-sufficient in food and all necessities of life. Faroese society, says the American anthropologist Dennis Gaffin (1996: ix), illustrates “how Westerners can adapt to a difficult environment and integrate their culture with it”. Gaffin, a cultural ecologist, studied the link between physical and cultural space in the village Sumba. Faroese men and fathers of times past influence to some degree masculinities of today; men were characterized by strong emotional self-control, strong local (and kinship) sense of belonging and identity, as well as the indispensable mastering of (practical) skills related to all kinds of activities in daily life – on sea, in the mountains, at home, in the village – that according to Lévi-Strauss (1962) is part of the ‘concrete science’ of premodern people.

“Once were men, Faroese men, proud descendants of brave Norse Vikings”, old people may orate to their grand-sons and grand-daughters nowadays, “who had everything they needed and lived happily under simple conditions”. There was no youth in our understanding of the concept as boys worked with their fathers, uncles and other men from the village already aged twelve or thirteen. Physical strength and maturity formed men. Boys and men were always involved in informal individual or group competition, but at the same time they worked collectively and depended heavily on strong alliances

and structured teamwork. Hence this competition never represented serious threats to the strong collective unity, as egocentrism and opportunism were heavily sanctioned by the surrounding community if they reached a critical level. Friendly competition was a game demonstrating qualities and skills, as men always wanted to test their strength, quickness, endurance, etcetera, like in play, but also their verbal sophistication, as storytelling and joking traditions are very strong in traditional Faroese culture. Verbal facility is highly valued (Gaffin, 1996). Making people laugh without provoking anyone personally and without boasting openly is an art that not everyone can claim to master.

Man was meant to be balanced, resist temptations and offences, still not accepting humiliating or insulting behaviour. He should not fight physically (except when boys fight for fun in play), never be aggressive and threatening, and never overreact shamefully and childishly when under any kind of psychological or physical pressure. This quite mild and soft character of men does not fit to modern stereotypes of hard-boiled macho fishermen (Minervudóttir, 2003). The ideal of stoic and calm men, seldom stressing over ‘trivial’ matters, details of daily life, belong to the ancient society of past centuries. Faroe Islanders were adapted to the brutal unfriendly nature, always confronting the storm and swimming against currents. Man was a hunter using his ‘untamed’ mind (Lévi-Strauss, 1962). What might seem contradictory at first glance is that Faroese men, according to some ethnographers, were soft and harmless, easy and

sensible, even feminine, without sexist stereotyped macho values, that are often associated to fishermen in other European regions (Minervudóttir, 2003). Self-obsessed people with swollen heads were undesirable and considered as a threat to the Faroese family and community. Society as a whole was indeed like a family; there was no place to hide from social control. Not even trees.

The high status of men mastering manifold practical skills and internalising concrete knowledge, learned by training and work with men in the community and matured through hard-gained experiences, made the 'handyman' and flexible winners of hunter society. The 'book of life' was more important for man than intellectual formal education with systematic abstract scientific knowledge accumulation. Man the hunter lived locally with the functional 'concrete' science as companion through the storms of life. Man was fisherman and farmer at the same time, without the cutting edges of the division of labour system of modern industrial states. The survivor, women and men, had to be highly independent and able to take care of most problems without help from professional specialists. The handyman is still a very important model for men and masculinities in the Faroe Islands. Faroese masculinities have been characterized by men who break borders and fix all kinds of practical problems by test and trial.

Atlantic cowboys

'Atlantic cowboys', a notion borrowed from Johan von Bonsdorff's entertaining Swedish book on the Faroe Islands entitled *Atlantens*

cowboys (1997), fits very well to the most powerful group of young men in the Faroe Islands. The maritime cowboys, a few thousand people, most of them living in villages and regional towns, have practised their peculiar masculine style for decades and it is only in the capital Torshavn (approximately 18.000 inhabitants) that the cowboys meet serious competition from urban youths and other smaller youth groups, even if they also hold a relatively strong influence on Torshavn's youth.

Atlantic cowboys, considered parochial and 'bygdasligir' (derogatory remark on village people and lifestyles) by urban youths, are from families primarily engaged in the fisheries on land and offshore and belong to what reminds of a Faroese working-class. No typical industrial working-class exists in the Faroe Islands and many cowboys have large personal incomes acquired from skilled and manual work on industrial trawlers; even politicians and private company executives cannot match these impressive revenues. Faroese fish is like the gold of 19th century Klondyke (Alaska) making a few very rich while others don't get anything out of it. Young Atlantic cowboys with fast money show high patterns of personal consumption; most of them don't bother saving money for the future or making investments in shares or real property, because they prefer to use money immediately on cool cars, parties, booze, music, gifts, etcetera in order to impress friends and have fun. Atlantic cowboys are notorious action-seekers that like to show off their special variation of extravagance and machismo in weekends, holidays and any other free

time without strict obligations and duties. Many are part-time playboys with strong local community ties. Their behaviour, attitudes and language, unpolished and provocative, does not make them liberal and innovative, as the cowboys in general are considered conservative and under strong local pressure of conformity.

The atlantic cowboy's horse is the car. A desperate cowboy would give his 'kingdom' for a car, and the cult of cars, involving most young people on the islands, has definitely highest value and prestige among the cowboys (Gaini, 2004). The cowboy's car has manifold functions: it is used to cruise through dark streets by night, to participate in hazardous street races, to get intimate contact to girls, to meet friends, to organize mobile parties with drinking and heavy music (Best, 2006). The Faroese car-culture resembles the subcultures of car-loving youths in Nordic rural areas (Mogensen, 2002; Vaaranen, 2005). "Tied is man without a boat", says an old Faroese proverb, but today it seems much more appropriate to say: "tied is man without a car". Young people want cars, not boats, and the cowboys highly value driving (fast) skills, technical (engine) knowledge and skills, and the horsepower and style of their cars. The car symbolizes a home – an alternative private room out of parental reach – where young people spend a lot of time. The car functions as young people's private space and the heart of many peer social networks. "Immersed in car cultures", says Vaaranen (2005: 14) referring to Finnish men, "young men give in to an elementary desire in Finnish masculinity: the desire to control horsepower. The cul-

tural dream of mastering a machine can be found even in the ancient Finnish myths of Kalevala...". Atlantic cowboys feel free and liberated while driving, even if the islands are small and the road distances hence short, and invest much time and money in their cars. Many cowboys consider it more important to possess a car than an apartment. Horsepower is an indispensable cultural capital in Atlantic cowboy masculinity; even if many young sailors spend most of their time on sea the car has to be shining and ready for high-speed cruising when the cowboy steps on land with his pocket full of money. Atlantic cowboys are probably the best 'handymen' on the islands today, always ready to change wheels of the car, paint a house wall or fix the old engine of a small boat. The practical 'concrete science' of Lévi-Strauss (1962), mentioned earlier, learned by doing and participation, has much higher priority than formal academic skills among most cowboys and is indeed linked to their masculinity.

I have motomania – I only get peace
in 5th gear
when my shining steel rushes first into goal
ah then life is good
I have motomania – if I slide
it doesn't matter
if only I have my car
then the world can be as it want

(from *Eg havi motomani*, Faroese song)

Atlantic cowboys, usually family-men even if their lifestyles at first glance may seem rebellious and temperamental, have relatively close and strong family bonds. They stay at their parents home as long as possible, not

finding it necessary to get their private house or apartment before marriage and children. Alone in the house, making dinner and washing clothes himself, is an unusual situation for a cowboy, and most likely, if the case, a desperate and completely unintended result of an unpredictable path of life. Most of their time is enjoyed together with family and a close group of friends from early childhood. The cowboys, even if they are some kind of action-seekers, favour stability and routine and avoid involvement in too many activities with strangers and foreigners. The same party with the same people is repeated week after week – and it is not considered as failure to actively reproduce this predictable leisure life cycle.

Weekend parties and drinking, essential activities in many young cowboys' lifestyle, is the main event gathering the friends and the topic discussed most intensely during the rest of the week. This reminds of the life of boys and men in Niemi's novel on a Northern Swedish rural community (Niemi, 2000). Everyday life symbolises just a break between climax: weekends. Monday to Friday is boring working time – nothing else is expected to happen. Friday and Saturday nights cowboys drink in small groups at home, then go out to the local disco or pub to meet friends and seek women. Sunday's agenda is, for many party-people, sleeping, football and, possibly, church attendance. Many cowboys are from religious families and live a kind of double life, being both macho drinking fisherman and Lutheran protestant with the Bible under the pillow. The machismo of the cowboys is not considered scandalous in local community, be-

cause the cowboys, as mentioned, are in general quite traditional and locally-oriented men without any ambition or wish to make a revolt in local community.

Atlantic cowboys are quite conservative culturally and detest the urban youth's 'feminine' styles and values. The cowboys believe that they are the true representatives of an authentic Faroese masculinity lost by others. The urban youth is, according to the cowboys, a weak, feminine, ridicule and unauthentic (artificial) group of men.

Some of the cowboys are explicitly anti-intellectual, disliking people with any kind of higher education or ambitions of taking higher education. Reading and studying are, according to many cowboys, non-masculine waste of time giving people strange ideas and useless visionary reflections. Reading and writing are passive non-physical activities threatening the identity, nature and virility of 'real' men. Some radical cowboys are also sexist, homophobic and racist, full of contempt and hostility towards society's minority and marginal groups. These attitudes – anchored both in a macho fisherman (and American cowboy) style and value-conservative protestant ethics – reminds of the British working-class boys presented in the sociologist Paul Willis' acclaimed book *Learning to labour* (1977). Willis' 'lads' and the Faroese cowboys do not tolerate individualist behaviour not fitting their narrow perception of boys and manliness. Many cowboys have a quite exclusive and categorical definition of 'real' men, consciously differentiating values, lifestyles and body language into contrasting male and female domains. You cannot have both or none –

there is no choice. There is only one acceptable male identity – the cowboy's.

The cowboys, greeting modern post-war consumer-culture, celebrate lifestyles based on the comfortable leisurely media-culture supporting their values and societal position. The cowboys are a product of Faroese society's developments towards a modern welfare society 1950-70, and didn't exist as category in premodern times, even if the cowboys indeed have loose cultural roots to past centuries (Gaini, 2004). In some respect the cowboys are closer to American suburban culture than to life in the Faroe Islands in the early 20th century. The cowboys dislike deep societal changes and propagate the safe, relatively isolated and non-radical family-based society. The cowboys distrust most critical intellectuals, controversial artists, and other public voices advocating alternative styles, youth cultures and masculinities in the Faroe Islands.

The cowboys are in general very satisfied with life and don't worry much about the future. Their simple way of life with family and close friends as centre of rotation seems very uncomplicated, peaceful and independent (Niemi, 2000). They do not search for alternative lifestyles or exotic cultural inspiration as they always prefer what they already know – what is safe and doesn't involve any risks or big sacrifices. Man needs his friends, family, community, house and car (and boat). Cowboys use their social capital to find a job, often manual and industrial, and are flexible and very practically minded when at work. Cowboys are, as mentioned, handymen building houses, fixing engines, slaughtering sheep, navigating

boats through strong currents on the sea and adapting easily to different situations. Cowboys have very strong ties to local community and culture, but are at the same time a product of radical societal shifts on the islands during the last turbulent decades.

Áki is living in a town in Eysturoy and has no plans of moving to any other place. He is 20 years old and lives with his parents in a nice and relatively new house with a beautiful view of the Skálafjørður. He has three younger siblings, two brothers and a sister, all living in the same house, and many relatives in the local community. Both parents are from the town, but Áki has indeed also close relatives in other parts of the Faroe Islands. His father is working on a big modern trawler and is therefore away from the family most of the time. The children don't see him very much. Áki's mother is not working. She is a housewife taking care of the small children. They children don't attend nursery school. Áki works in a fish factory in the neighboring village and has no plans of taking any higher education. He hopes to get a work on a trawler, like his father, in the near future, and his prospects are good. His father knows every man in the region and has been a member of the municipality's board for many years. Áki's mother is taken part in a local religious free church's meetings and activities every week. She has a good voice and is singing in the religious community's choir. Áki used to attend religious meetings with his mother as a boy, but during the last years he has participated in only a few religious activities. He has a car, a sporty Toyota, that he drives every night together with some close friends. They drive to the capital almost every weekend. But weekday nights they drive to neighboring villages to meet friends, buy some fast-food, rent a DVD movie, or just cruise while listening to music and talking in mobile phones. Áki is proud of his car, that he himself has fixed up as it was an old wreck

when he bought it less than a year ago. Áki has a girlfriend in another village, but they seldom drive together in his Toyota. He visits her regularly, but she is in her friends' car when she goes out. She, aged 18, is a student at upper secondary school in Eysturoy. She wants to continue her studies in Denmark next year. She is 'tired' of her small community. She thinks that the challenges and opportunities are too few in her local community. There are too few choices regarding lifestyle and working career. Áki tries to make her change her mind. He thinks that she is just trying to be like 'a foreigner' and that she should be happy to have what she already has – including him!

During the last years the cowboys have lost ground in Torshavn as the rough sexist fisherman style has lost recognition and by a growing number of young people is being associated with derogatory hillbilly and caveman stereotypes. The new times have changed the cultural trends in the Faroe Islands; personal life ambitions and educational and working career have increased considerably in value and relevancy regarding young men's identity formation and cultural capital. The fishing industry, still economically rewarding, is today associated with boring and dirty work without any interesting challenges by most teenagers. Hard physical work is not as attractive and interesting as it was earlier, as young people prefer creative mind work and modern social (leisure) lives that fishermen partly are excluded from. Labour and leisure have got a new meaning.

Urban (European) youth

Urban youth, the second category of masculinity, maybe less than two thousand peo-

ple in total, embraces a broad and variegated assembly of young Faroese men. The boundary between cowboys and urban youths is indeed not unambiguous, as many people are positioned in a grey area associated to both main categories in question. The concept 'urban' is here to be carefully interpreted with reservation, as urban youth also is to be found in towns and villages, at the same time as many young men living in the urban environment – Tórshavn – do not belong to this category. Urban refers in my text to specific styles and values that might be defined as urban in character. Also, urban refers partly to global urban youth culture influence, but this is also, as I will explain, a rough simplification of a complex issue. Urban youth is the Atlantic cowboys' main opponent and the groups clash in many discussions on manliness and masculine styles.

Urban youth is always up-to-date regarding popular culture movements and styles in fashion, keeping up with the times. Young urban men, even those living in small villages, associate their lifestyles to Western big city life. They are quite individualized and untraditional regarding behaviour and style, but don't feel less anchored in Faroese culture than the cowboys or anyone else. Most young urban men spend much money on hair-dressing, trendy clothes and expensive furniture for their room or apartment. Many also practice advanced lifestyle management avoiding the risk of undesirable incongruence in taste and style, hence demonstrating control, freedom and creativity according to the standards of urban lifestyle magazines (Benwell, 2003). Fitness and attractive physical appearance

have strong value as cultural capital among urban youths (Bro and Abegg, 2002: 31; Voss, 2005: 43-44). The boys are not ashamed of using the mirror on the wall, regularly investigating their appearance critically. Controlling the body weight through healthy diet and weekly sport activities is also very common today, even if some Atlantic cowboys argue that it is directly foolish and non-masculine to adapt everyday life to the 'corrupt' aim of limiting your weight.

So-called metrosexual men (concept introduced by Mark Simpson in 1994), a widely discussed group within the urban youth category, are quite vain and narcissistic and indeed admired by both boys and girls who like these 'asexual' men's image. David Beckham, an English football star, is the most famous person associated to metrosexuality. He is, it is argued, an incarnation (or even prototype) of the curious new phenomenon called metrosexuality. Metrosexual man is provocative and controversial as he liquefies categorical representations of gender differences and flirts with styles considered homosexual and deviant (Benwell, 2003). Also, metrosexual man experiments courageously with different ethnic masculine styles, as when blond David Beckham changed hair-style and, thereafter, thousands of young men around the globe copied him: they got afro-curls (dread-locks). Urban men are in general relatively tolerant regarding people's sexual and cultural identities, not propagating any rigid masculine identity considered the only 'authentic' option. Some of the urban youths are from relatively wealthy families with private enterprises and have therefore much money at hand to

finance their expensive urban leisure life and consumption. Many young men have large networks embracing people from many places and with manifold social and cultural backgrounds, making them feel more 'cosmopolitan' and sophisticated than the 'simple' cowboys.

Urban youth is partly alternative partly mainstream, its cultural subgroups being quite varied, still all of them are more peer group-oriented than family-based, more culturally individualized than traditional local. Many young urban men are very ambitious and focused regarding their future career, investing time and resources in higher education and specialized intellectual formation. They behold pretentious visions concerning future work, leisure and family-life. Some young urban men, associated to marginal unorthodox lifestyles, are stimulated by 'post-modern' youth styles from abroad. They like to travel to unknown destinations, wear colourful hippie-clothes, listen to underground music, and don't care much about mainstream fashion and appearance. They oppose the extreme consumerism and commercial cultural globalisation characterizing contemporary western societies. They are a mosaic of urban 'villagers' composed of activists, idealists and other subcultural characters. Urban youth is in general closer linked to global trends and movements than the cowboys. Urban men are very conscious about their future and freedom (of choice), about cultural identity formation and taste, and don't care very much about common gender-difference stereotypes. Their construction of masculinity is based on trends from the media as well as reflexive personal

interpretations of these cultural models (Christensen *et al.*, 2006).

Urban youth is less (culturally) conservative than the Atlantic cowboys, still characterised by a strong group pressure to adopt and imitate trends from media and popular culture, and hence their cultural capital keeps changing character and content. Urban youths masculinity is not reflecting the men's everyday life and family background in the same degree as the cowboys' manliness do.

Many urban boys like to cook and be at home; they like to go shopping, even to iron their clothes and to participate in parent-meetings at the children's nursery or school. They fit lifestyle magazine's 'new man' concept, that presents a soft and homely man with interests in traditional 'women's issues': the home, the garden, cooking, family parties, family holidays, etcetera. This issues, I have to point out, fit better to stereotypes of relatively modern women than traditional Faroese women. It is the 'responsible' and 'honest' man in contrast to the sexist and selfish macho man with aggressive and violent behaviour (Benwell, 2003). These are, indeed, stereotypes that don't really echo the differences between cowboys and urban youths in the Faroe Islands. Many cowboys are, as mentioned, family-men that spend much time with their kin. Their unpolished behaviour and vulgar attitudes may relate to their fisherman or working-class identity, not directly to any sexist macho style.

"Preoccupations with intimacy, friendship, the meaning of life, death, love, family, belonging,

sexuality, pleasure, the body and emotions are a development of the transformations of Western societies. TV talk shows become public lessons in a newly emerging language of intimacy and ethical decision-making. What were once the private, domestic languages of women are being projected into the public arena. Men's lifestyle magazines are both a part of this trend and a reaction to it." (Rutherford, 2003: 4-5)

Urban boys are in general very interested in leisure life, cultural style, appearance and individuality, while working life and local community integration is of secondary interest. Cars are not very important (Voss, 2003). Their preferences are associated to adventure, experience and social activities.

Petur is 17 years old and lives in Torshavn. He lives with his parents and a sister, aged nine, in an old small house in the Western part of the capital. Petur lived with his family in Denmark for six years, 1990-1996, before the parents decided to move back to the Faroe Islands. It took a long time to adapt to the Faroese society after many years abroad. Petur is a student at upper secondary school and is determined to move abroad, probably to England or USA, to study economics after graduation. He has travelled a lot in Europe and North America and has friends in many countries. He likes to live in Torshavn, but is not sure that he will come back after his university studies in foreign countries, because the islands are "so small" and many people "so narrow-minded", as he says. Petur is interested in modern arts, literature and movies. He participates in numerous discussions relating to his interests on the internet. He is also a notorious internet-poker player, even if he is not very proud about it. Until now his connection to the labour market has been very limited, as he only has working experiences from two-three summer work ventures in a supermarket and a fish factory. He avoids working, if possible,

because he doesn't like it very much, and he has "other things to do...". His father is from a village in the north and Petur likes to visit his old relatives in the peaceful village. He takes many pictures when he travels in the Faroe Islands and abroad. Petur and his friends like to drink coffee while discussing all kind of subjects ranging from Eastern religion and electronic music to the quality of food and new hairstyles. Petur has painted his friends and hopes to have his own exhibiton sometime in the future. He wants to study economy to understand how money rules the world. Not, he says, too become wealthy.

The urban boys group is composed of young men with very different styles and values, their main common feature actually being the opposition to the Atlantic cowboys masculinities.

Lonestars

Lonestars are in this text young men with very limited social contacts, spending most of their time at home. Young men living isolated in their media-rich rooms in apartments or family-houses is a global phenomenon, especially widespread in modern urban Japan, that wealthy modern societies, where lonestars are most common, have to take seriously. The young men are alone, but not necessarily, according to themselves, lonely. It is a deliberate isolation. The quiet and undisturbed life within the four walls is consciously chosen, but it is hopefully not planned as a permanent lifetime strategy. Many lonestars feel uncomfortable when they are in social gatherings and some are even afraid of people. They are, with varied severity, sociophobic and depressed. The lonestars have complex problems and it is a

difficult task to define this category comprehensibly.

Lonestars are not very numerous, probably a few hundred persons in the Faroe Islands, and because of their lifestyle also very invisible and peripheral, but they are interesting to study as they follow a very different path than the other masculinity categories in question. The Atlantic cowboys and urban boys have complementary female categories (some form of cowgirls and urban girls), but the lonestars don't have corresponding girl-comrades. The isolated youth phenomenon is predominantly a male issue. Very few girls, except persons with sever psychological illness, live alone in intentional isolation. "Stop the world", is the mute message of some lonestars feeling that they ride on another wave-length than the rest of the world (Loe, 2004). Lonestars are not, as often believed, lost cavemen without noteworthy practical or intellectual skills, even if their social capital and cleverness is relatively weak. Lonestars are often introverted, but not necessarily navel-gazing and unreflecting persons, as many of them use modern digital media to get detailed information on important societal developments and changes. They might even be experts in restricted specialized fields of knowledge. Lonestars are hence often potential masters of arts, technology or science in absentia. They know what the others do, but nobody knows what they are doing.

Lonestars believe that they are as masculine as anyone else; some even claim to represent fierce male resistance against a disintegrating and alienating society's 'feminisation' process in progress. Others, con-

trarily, claim that frustrating old-fashioned masculine ideals, forcing suppressive male homogeneity into effect, are hindering them to live free lives and boycott this brutal regime by voluntary resignation. They feel stigmatised and powerless, a negative process that accelerates when lonestars lose their position in the labour market, educational institutions and among peers, ending isolated without economic revenues or vital social networks. Lonestars are mute men dependent on relatives' charity. Is the lonestar's choice a flop or success? The answer depends on the person who is asked. Does he feel as a loser, a martyr or a winner? Lonestars are, as mentioned, often brilliant capacities within narrow fields of knowledge that are handicapped by fear and sociophobia, making many men to seek extreme security as strategy.

The Faroe Islands are small and considered family-based, making complete isolation, which is a real possibility in Tokyo and other large cities, almost impossible for any individual. Lonestars in the Faroe Islands usually stay at their parents home, a safe and peaceful place, where they have access to all modern facilities. In this respect it looks like a pleasant and carefree life without stressing and back-breaking competition. Lonestars, also Japanese, staying at their parents home, have at least contact to a few people living in or frequenting the home. Real tragedy could emerge if the lonestar was thrown out of the house, his secure structured universe thereby disappearing. Staying alone in a room with television, radio and a computer with internet access is not a problem *per se* for lonestars, but lack of

recognition and contact to girls is a big and, for most men, painful sacrifice.

Óli is around 24 years old and lives with his mother in a big house in Torshavn. He has two brothers, one living in Denmark and the other in a basement flat in the mother's house. Óli's father died approximately 12 years ago. Óli has always lived in this house and was for many years almost never outside the house. His whole world was inside the four walls of the house. His mother took care of the shopping, cooking, washing, and all other practicalities, while Óli slept, read books, watched television, listened to music, played games on the internet, and talked to the relatives and friends visiting Óli and, mostly, his mother. Óli's life has changed very much the last two years. With the help of his concerned brother he started to go out and today he has a full-time job in a shop. Óli was very isolated and quite depressed for many years, a situation related to the tragic death of his father while Óli was still a child, and didn't care much about any social activities or experiences. He was afraid and searched peace and safety. Night or day made no difference, weekend was an absurd concept, and the television was always turned on. He had no energy to engage in any project and looked quite untidy and absent-minded. His room was a big mess and always very dark – hidden behind tick carpets. His mother treated him like a baby and didn't make any effort to induce or force Óli to get out of the house. She wanted to protect him, take care of her 'poor' boy, and didn't want any psychologist or any other stranger to talk to Óli. But everything changed when he started to attend evening school courses with his brother. He got a new life, even if his social network is very limited and he doesn't spend evenings in cafés or bars. He relaxes in the sofa at home after long working days with new experiences every day...

In small-scale societies, like the Faroese, it

is practically impossible to live completely anonymously, and lonestars cannot change identity – become Atlantic cowboys or urban youth – without patience and big efforts. Lonestars can only be invisible at home, because as soon as they go out and enter any social gathering they get categorized and even stigmatised. For some lonestars it is easier to get life success if they take a big step and move out of the country, to a completely new environment, and get a fresh start with *tabula rasa*, than to try to integrate into local society.

Glocal pragmatics

Pragmatic young men are persons that move, easily and unimpeded, between the main groups – Atlantic cowboys and urban youth – according to personal strategies, even if they find it difficult to take the old-style macho-values of the cowboys seriously. They are flexible and practical men taking advantage of both groups depending on the context in question. Pragmatics should not be interchanged with persons positioned in the grey border zone between cowboys and urban youths. Pragmatic boys are not mixing groups, neither dissolving borders, because they are negotiators or *bricoleurs* dependent on both groups and their bipolar contrasts in order to enhance personal social status and reputation. They are clever postmodern opportunists without substantial ideologies to define their masculine identities. Some pragmatics are cultural chameleons avoiding threatening opponents through strategic harmless ‘outsider’ positions. Many pragmatics are foreigners

living in the Faroe Islands, but also Faroese men returning home after years in exile are to be found in the category. Glocal pragmatics are often persons in an unusual transitional phase of life – changing job, religion, residence, friends, etcetera – that emancipate them temporarily from strong social and family ties. Pragmatics might be foreign exchange students staying in the country for a year or less. Faroese pragmatics are very often career-oriented adventurers establishing untraditional alliances in their business ventures. They are spiders with invisible ever-changing social web systems.

Pragmatics are solution-oriented career-minded people, often very independent, self-confident and economically well-off, that combine local and global cultural identities and build bridges in Faroese society. Some of the pragmatics are aggressive materialists smelling money at long distance. The concept ‘bricoleur’, as Lévi-Strauss defines it, fits very well to the pragmatics, as they have the necessary cultural capital and practical skills enabling them to move around in society and even trigger deep societal changes. They are entrepreneurs with success in periods of societal growth and failure in depressions. Their curriculum is a roller-coaster. Their strength is, so to say, also their weak point. They are flexible, still very sensible. Pragmatics are in general progressive key-players in the formal and informal decision-making processes in society. The border region between the urban youth and pragmatics is quite fluid as many young people could be placed into both categories. Young academics, people with

higher education from Denmark and other countries, returning home after many years in foreign urban environments to make career in the Faroe Islands, a small society in transition, fit best to these categories. The pragmatics are those with highest visions and political cleverness, while the urban youths in general are more anonymous and 'conventional'.

The booming IT business is an interesting new economic sector with growing prominence, embracing men (and women) from most youth cultures in society. The IT business embraces cowboys, urban youth, pragmatics – even former lonestars. Some of the private computer engineering enterprises are run almost like traditional Faroese fishing vessels: strong masculine dominance (influencing the language and behaviour), a high degree of informal symbolic communication and networking, hierarchical structures, ruthless individual competition, etcetera. Pragmatics are not seldom creative inventors developing new products for new markets in IT and other latemodern businesses. Cowboys and urban youth are assisting the pragmatics in different working tasks. If a venture turns out to be unprofitable the pragmatics immediately start on a new business venture with new name and new partners. They erase their traces, change locality, and find new potential investors. They don't have any deep attachment or loyalty to local community.

Ingi is adopted from Asia but has lived in the Faroe Islands since he was about five years old. Before arrival to Torshavn he lived in Denmark for 2-3 years with his sister (also adopted) and Faroese parents. Ingi is today 35 years old and

has established his own family. He has a wife and two children. He loves to live in the Faroe Islands and wouldn't dream of moving to any other place. He likes to spend summer holidays in Denmark, like his parents did every year while Ingi was a child, but he shows no interest in travelling to other places... He spends most of his free time at home with his family. He is very happy and proud of what he has obtained in life: he has a good job, a family, a nice house, a big car, and all the electronic equipments (televisions, computers, stereo music systems, mobile phones, DVD-players, etcetera) that he is a big 'fan' and consumer of. He has a large social network, embracing people from many religious, social and cultural backgrounds in the Faroe Islands. He is a person that easily can speak to anyone he meets, that shows strong self-confidence, and that is quite egocentric, always calculating the maximum benefits he can get from any social interaction or venture. He is very conscious of his background, of his merits and failures, and always wants to be in total control of his own life. Ingi has, before he got married a few years ago, experiences from many different manual jobs and has had many different friends from manifold cultural environments. He has always been a kind of insider and outsider at the same time wherever he has been – flexible when in a new context, but also always ready to leave and change path of life. He feels best at home. His strong social capital, based on charm, good humour and the art of 'promoting' yourself, has helped him getting where he is today, as well as, not to forget, the economic security that his caring parents gave him as a young man. He always had money in his pocket, even if he used a lot of money on entertainment and luxury goods. He is a opportunistic survivor knowing how to become friend of the strongest and is considered as a loyal mate to many groups with different values and styles in society. He has, consciously, never put himself clearly into any caging category.

Pragmatic men would never define themselves as a group or category. They prefer to be outsiders working inside.

Conclusions

Faroese youths live in an advanced, open and media-rich society that – even if we call it latemodern – is in a fragile transitional phase with contesting interests, values and attitudes in loud public discourse clashes. Even if the youth is well-adapted to the challenges and opportunities of the new era, there are indeed groups in Faroese society distrusting and resisting globalisation processes guiding changes in society and culture.

The Faroe Islands are too small to embrace elaborated and demarcated youth cultures, even if most styles and symbols are present in society. Young people's family bonds and social networks are crossing sub-cultural boundaries so that young people often have connection and affiliation to several youth groups. Religion is also an important factor justifying values and lifestyles of teenagers. Young people actively engaged in free churches often make their own groups relatively isolated from others. Socially marginalized youth is also often organized as a separate youth group with limited interaction with other youth groups outside school.

Leisure is considered as an important capital in the life of people in latemodern society, and working and family life are supposed to fit into the leisure life; leisure activities are – if avoidable – not sacrificed because of possible working conditions. Many young people choose working careers directly linked to their youth leisure life.

Leisure is today even treated as some kind of learning arena and education, much prized by latemodern society that also gives formal education a very high priority. Learning is going on everywhere, e.g. in relation to new computer technologies where the children are more advanced than their teachers. This was unthinkable only a few years ago.

Tradition is an important capital in most contemporary youth cultures. It is often argued that cities are modern and global while villages (the periphery) are traditional and local. This might sound plausible but is rejected in many inquiries. "Villages are", says Fornäs, "also modern – it is a myth to think that they are a premodern reserve. New media have influenced life in rural areas as much as in big cities" (1994: 56, my translation). Geographical distance and urban-rural contrasts do not in themselves explain what the modern life of young people and adults is like, even if the information might give a vague idea of the situation. In high modernity, says Giddens (1991), remote events influenced by near-by events or the intimacy of self become more and more common. The situation is much more complex than often portrayed, because local and global, traditional and modern are in interplay and the flow of influence is going in both directions.

The four categories described above have interesting differences and similarities, but the groups' internal variation is, as demonstrated, significant. The groups of men are indeed mutually interdependent as analytical categories, as the definitions are based on structural contrasts as in most other

anthropological identity definitions – e.g. ethnic and national. Self-identity is based on recognition and ascribed identification. This is very clear regarding the main groups: Atlantic cowboys and urban (European) youth; they fight a symbolic cultural power struggle stressing differences “that make a difference” (Bateson, 1973). Even if the names ‘cowboys’ and ‘urban youth’ give strong associations to specific types of men I have not concentrated on extreme male identities and masculinities – e.g. hypermasculinity (Jensen, 2005). The categories in this text accommodate several subcultures. All categories involve rural and urban regions, local and global cultural influence, traditional and (late)modern society, sexist and tolerant attitudes, even if the patterns regarding these positions varies markedly depending on the masculinity category in focus.

Cowboys are neither premodern nor late-modern; they connect different eras unconsciously but have in general limited interest in history and folklore, as they are neither traditionalists nor intellectual cosmopolitans. They are provincial pragmatic working-class men waiting for holidays to bring action and adventure into life, thereafter happily returning to the conventional and safe order of life.

Urban youth is the most expanding group of men in the Faroe Islands. They are dominant among teenagers anno 2006 as their lifestyles have gained strong recognition and popularity through media in general and growing global influence on Faroese youth in particular. The proud Atlantic cowboys are becoming older and more peripheral, even if they still are very noisy in the pub-

lic discourse. The choice of music in public radio emissions is a good exemplification of this fact. These days the cowboys experience a severe power backlash as the fishing industry and manual work in general have become less attractive regarding future career preferences among young people. The cowboys are slowly becoming marginalized and squeezed out of the urban elite. Also, their widespread lack of formal education, which didn’t cause any noteworthy career problems earlier, is now handicapping the cowboys in their efforts to keep on the track. As diplomas from recognized education institutions become the prime factor defining a man’s value as manpower, ergo your destiny in the labour market, the local social networks and family capital fail to secure the Atlantic cowboy a glorious position in society. Their local capital is, so to say, over-run by national and global competition grounded on new formal standards. This development, producing new forms of social marginalisation, has strong parallels in rural areas in many other countries around the globe.

[A] focus on the concept of unmanliness allows for a deeper understanding of the emotional and personal costs that specific male ideals can cause individuals or groups of men. A man can never be sure of his masculinity, but must constantly prove his gendered value in order to be affirmed, both as a human being and a man by the surrounding world. The fear of being demasculinised and thus regarded as unworthy of the label ‘real man’ is something that is implanted in men from an early age [...] The fear of failing into unmanliness is thus present as a constantly accompanying shadow and as a hidden driving force underlying men’s objective

of upholding their male identity... (Ekenstam, 2005: 31)

Masculinities are changing and reflecting the social and cultural developments in Faroese society. The cultural capital securing prosperity and life success changes character. The four categories presented and analysed in this article could have been divided into several other independent categories, they are of course not 'natural' or eternal, but they illuminate the main social processes that the Faroe Islands, a society in transition, are piloted by. Once were men, gone now and substituted by several variations of the same men, influenced by manifold values and ideals from local society and global media. The stereotypes of gender differences, propagated through popular media, construct a masculinity that only a few men recognize. This article enlightens the masculinity debate from another angle.

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Internet Chatting in the Faroe Islands

New forms of communication among young people

Kjatt á alnetinum í Føroyum *Nýggir samskiftishættir hjá ungdomi*

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Úrtak

At nýta alnetið til kjatt hevur seinastu árin vundið størri og størri útbreiðslu millum børn og ung í Føroyum eins og í flest øllum øðrum evropeiskum londum. Kjattmentanin hjá ungum í Føroyum er merkt av heimligari til-laging av alheims kunningar- og samskiftistøkni. Tað almennið, sum serliga verður sett í samband við tað pre-modernaða samfelagið, risur upp aftur í nýggjum hami í cyberspace: kjattsamskiftið verður ikki stýrt av tí borgarliga almenninginum; tað er frælst og beinleiðis samskifti, leyst av teimum mentanarligu og politisku elitunum í samfelagnum. Henda greinin byggir á kanningararbeiði millum føroysk ungfolk 2003-04 og miðar eftir at dagføra tað heimliga kjakið um miðlar frá 1980'unum og 1990'unum út frá tilvísingum til nýggj granskingarúrslit úr ymsum londum.

Abstract

The use of internet for chatting has during the last years gained extensive popularity among children and young people in the Faroe Islands as in most other European countries. The youth chat culture of the Faroe Islands is characterised by local adaptation of global technologies of information and communication. The revival of the popular public sphere, which used to be associated with pre-modern society, is obvious in cyberspace: chat communication is not ruled by any “bourgeois” public sphere; it is free direct communication uncontrolled by

the cultural or political elites of society. This article is based on fieldwork among Faroese youth 2003-04 and aims to elaborate and update the local media debate of the 1980s and 1990s with reference to new research results from different countries.

Introduction

This article is based on data gathered in 2002-04 as part of my PhD project in anthropology. The material used in the text is a combination of qualitative and quantitative data from many sources but mostly from the internet (websites and chat-channels), semi-structured interviews among young people in Torshavn, questionnaires distributed at lower-secondary schools, and Faroese newspapers. Young people's chat culture and general forms of social communication is a field of research that regularly needs updating, because of the continuous changes in youth cultures and lifestyles as well as technological developments within the communication and information sector. Therefore, this article may seem partly ‘outdated’

already when published as the scene have changed a lot since 2004. Parts of the results presented in this text have been published in Faroese articles in 2005-06.

Modern media in the Faroe Islands

In the early 1980s television was introduced to the Faroe Islands. It started with a small private television company, mostly transmitting Danish emissions recorded on video tapes in Denmark and posted to the islands. The following years several other local private television companies were established before SvF (Sjónvarp Føroya), the Faroese National Television Channel, was established in 1984 (Forchhammer, 1998: 13). At the same time satellite dishes came to the islands, and the people of the Faroe Islands got access to many foreign television channels. SvF was therefore from the very beginning almost driven out by competition. An emotionally charged political debate about television's influence on the Faroese culture and children's everyday lives arose in this context. Articles and reports about the introduction of television in the Faroe Islands were written (e.g. Andreassen, 1981, Poulsen, 1980). The most comprehensive investigation compares children *before* television (1981) with children *after* television (1991-92) and concludes that television has a large influence on children's leisure time activities and culture (Forchhammer, 1998). The media debate in the 1980s in the Faroe Islands belongs to times past, because new technologies of information, including internet and mobile phones, have opened the way for forms of communication unthinkable twenty years ago. The television came

very late to the Faroe Islands, but computers (with internet connection) and mobile phones, on the other hand, came at the same time to the islands as to the rest of the Nordic region. Today almost all children and youths have mobile phones and are active internet users. At the beginning of the third millennium, Faroese youth belongs to the first generation growing up with television, computers and mobile phones.

Personal relations

The introduction of the internet to the Faroe Islands is an interesting development, because this electronic media doesn't have as is shown exactly the same function and character in small close societies as has been in larger societies. The Faroese folklorist Eyðun Andreassen says in his doctoral dissertation *Folkelig Offentlighed* (Popular Public Sphere) (1992: 296) that "in a small society like the Faroese the personal relations play if not a more important role then at least a clearer role than in large societies. The personal affects the debate on all levels, also the historical debate." Even if Andreassen refers to the debate in society before the introduction of television, the personal relations are relevant in relation to young people's use of internet e.g. chat and email. It is difficult to keep a potential anonymity as a chatter in the Faroe Islands, at least if you are chatting frequently, because most visitors on Faroese chat channels know or have heard of each other. In that way communication often turns out to be personal, even if its content doesn't necessarily reflect "ordinary" face-to-face communication. The visitors on the chat chan-

nels are from all villages and islands in the Faroe Islands even the most remote and isolated village communities, and therefore chatters can get in touch with people from all regions. Chatters in the Faroe Islands have very different motives and aims, but most of them are under 30, the majority are aged 16-24.

Birgitte Holm Sørensen, a Danish youth researcher, has defined chat as synchronous communication taking place on the internet; chat is also, she says, typically many-to-many communication, even if chat also goes on in closed “rooms” with one-to-one communication or few-to-few communication (Sørensen, 2001: 11). Faroese chat culture is widespread with hundreds of children and youths chatting every evening or several times a week.. To turn your computer on and enter a chat channel is, says Sørensen (*ibid*), “like entering a room where many talking people are placed, and where many conversations are crossing each other and at play.” There are many codes in the chat culture and a youth introducing himself/herself for the first time in a chat room can hardly hide that she/he is a novice.

Text

There are many common abbreviations in local and global variations used in order to save space and time in chat communication. Besides, chatters can shorten all long and complex words in their own fashion; generally, chatters just drop the endings of words if they expect that the counterpart will catch the meaning; or they choose to write words in phonetic script – as they are pronounced. Many of the youngest chatters,

aged 10-12, do obviously not spell correctly. Weak writing proficiency may disclose a young chatter pretending to be older than he really is. The youngest chatters therefore try to write correctly in order to hide their age.

A common abbreviation in Faroese chat is e.g. “klax” which means “Klaksvik” (a town). When a chatter tells that he is from klax, everybody knows what he means. Similar abbreviations are used about other towns and villages. Those wanting to appear as skilled and experienced chatters by using long English abbreviations have lists with so-called chat language at their disposition on Faroese chat channel homepages. These abbreviations are, however, with a few exceptions, so advanced that they seem comical and are almost never used. IMNSHO is for instance “In My Not So Humble Opinion” while ROFL is the abbreviation for “Rolling On Floor Laughing”. There are also many sign compositions supposed to express bodily expressions, movements and things. The most famous are the countless versions of smileys used to visualise the communication. Many English sentences and expressions, not least the vulgar ones, from films and music are used in Faroese chat. New slang is continuously developing, which every teenager on the internet has to be familiar with to be up-to-date in the chat culture. However, I have to emphasize, there are big differences in the language according to the age group or chat channel in question. Some of the new chat channels were established by grown-ups annoyed by children contacting them to chat about skateboarding, Eminem or next weekend’s local

children's disco. On the homepage of a popular chat channel people have been discussing the establishment of a new channel for the youngest chatters. The 16-20 year olds want to get rid of the 10-12 year olds "disturbing" them on the internet.

Communication

The first impression is always important, also when discussing chat. You measure the stranger through the content of the text and sometimes the linguistic level. Concerning one-to-one chat (private chat) there is a dialogue where the chatters start with some polite standard questions before finding out if they should aim at this conversation and continue or just say "bye, it was fun..." and then move on to the next person. Persons chatting with the whole channel, i.e. all the chatters can see and read their text messages, are often experienced chatters logging on every night and knowing most people on the channel. Some of the first information that chatters ask for are age, sex and location - the international abbreviation of the question being ASL. However it may seem quite aggressive or even desperate to confront your counterpart with ASL in the very first text line. Many chatters have nicknames (nicks) that identify their sex, age and location. A girl's name can be "Female20" or "Man Havn". These nicknames are very simple and clear, but some experienced chatters choose to use more complex and cryptic nicknames appearing totally incomprehensible to the outsider. On the Faroese chat there is e.g. a chatter named SyDrOnX. The youngest chatters often use, as also mentioned by Sørensen and Olesen (2000: 57),

their idols or fancy words e.g. "HotBabe" or "Shakira". These nicknames seem attractive to other young chatters, especially those of the opposite sex. Some chatters have several nicknames that they use on different occasions. The nickname may even contain explicit messages to the others on the chat channel; the chatter may when he for example takes a break from the computer to eat dinner but doesn't want to log out change from the name "Klax Girl" to "Klax Girl Away", thereby telling everybody that he or she is not reachable at the moment.

If you are not starting the communication with the ASL question then you write e.g. "hello, how are you?" or "hello, where in the Faroe Islands are you?" If you get an answer to your question, then the dialogue continues perhaps until the chatters know each other concerning age, sex and location as well as other facts. Chat sequences may be very short: two persons meet (on chat channels), exchange some personal information and end the dialogue. Chatters knowing each other well are also often having very short conversations and jump from one to the next the whole evening. As regards the youngest chatters, chatting is, for most of them, simply a pastime like playing PlayStation or watching DVD.

Categories

Chatters are as different as other people, even if they have common interests relating to the chat culture. They have basic technical knowledge of how to get access to the chat channels, which programmes to download and install on your computer (if you are chatting at home), and a social knowledge

of how to behave on the channels. Chat channels usually have – not only the Faroese channels – some “guards” supervising and controlling the communication, and chatters breaking the rules and customs are kicked out of the channels. It is e.g. not allowed to chat with nicknames that may seem offensive to other chatters. On the chat channel homepage novices find all the practical information necessary to start a venture as a chatter.

Many chatters aim at finding new friends or even a boyfriend/girlfriend on the chat channel. They hope to find people they can meet in real life. There are many so-called chat couples, and on the Faroese_chat homepage people often discuss who is going to be the chat couple of the year. There are many suggestions, often with both the nicknames and real names of the couple revealed! It is clear from this that many chatters are close friends in real life and therefore use the real names on the net without even reflecting about the anonymity of the persons in question. Many of the young chatters are from different islands and villages and would probably not have known each other without the chat communication. Through a combination of chat communication, meetings at concerts and night clubs, a large network of youths from the whole country is established.

Those trying to find a girlfriend/ boyfriend or sexpartner on the internet are often using weeks and months of chat communication before the first meeting in real life takes place. Typically the contact starts with chat contact once or a couple of times a week. When the partners feel relatively safe

and confident about each other, they may exchange email addresses; thereafter maybe digital personal pictures; and then the first big transition: phone numbers are exchanged (usually mobile phone numbers) and they start talking to each other. It may start with sms communication before they have gained the courage to call the other one. Now the planning of the place and time of the first meeting comes on the agenda. Many chatters have made hotmail addresses for this purpose; they can exchange email addresses without disclosing their real name. This email address belongs to the chat person and is in general not used for other daily communication.

More than chat

Every day there are new contributions in the debate on the chat channel homepages. Everyone visiting the Faroese_chat homepage is free to write his opinion in a contribution to one of the many parallel debates on the internet. It is also easy to start a new debate by establishing a new subject for discussion. Most contributions are from teenagers and very local in content. The chatters discuss school, villages, regions, sex, love, drugs, violence, religion, politics, specific persons, chat, etc.

It is very interesting to follow the lively discussions on the net, because Faroese youth is an almost invisible group in the societal debate of the Faroese media. The newspapers, radio and television don't give any priority to youth issues; young people feel excluded from the public space and take advantage of the possibilities of the new free media: the internet. On many youth sites on

the internet, not just the chat channel home-pages, young people can express their feelings and opinions freely and without adult intervention. It is a unique free zone for young people. The Faroese “popular public sphere” (Andreassen, 1992) is flourishing on the internet, hence didn’t – as usually argued – disappear with the premodern peasant society. The discussions on the internet are obviously independent from the rest of the public sphere, even if the youth is indeed influenced by Faroese television, radio and printed press. The difference is that on the net they have their own voice – without any censorship. Barbro Johansson says (in *Träffpunkt Cyberspace*, 1997: 48) regarding freedom and anonymity on the internet:

Here you can just be yourself and go home if you are tired...no excuses etc. because you just say bye and thanks for the day. Nobody sees how you look, you can saunter down to the chat in a track suit and twenty kg overweight and who cares? It is about talking dirty or airing something that happened during the day to which you want a clever comment, a little bit anonymous, you know.

(my translation)

Everybody can participate in the discussions on the internet, no matter what you look like or which position you have in society, and the language is in general youthful and rather vulgar – it reminds one of informal spoken language and slang. Even if the discussions on youth sites on the internet in general are open and free, they seem private and secret in content, because most young people would never have expressed themselves in a similar way in newspapers or in the physical presence of adults. Enter-

ing a discussion forum on the internet feels like listening to somebody’s private phone calls. The debates obviously touch relatively sensible subjects like homosexuality, violence or religion but also people e.g. a named teacher or chatter. Discussions may be too personal and ethically unacceptable as when two persons are spiting and harassing each other even if everybody has free access to the forum.

Latemodern society

Children and young people from the whole world are using the chat functions of the internet to experiment with their identities. A lot of research about identity work in cyberspace has been done: the game where people play that they are of the opposite sex in e.g. chat communication. Sherry Turkle (1995: 216) writes about a man that has changed sex on the net. He says:

...I wanted to experiment with the other side...I wanted to be collaborative and helpful, and I thought it would be easier as a female...As a man I was brought up to be territorial and competitive. I wanted to try something new.

Not only sex can be changed on the internet; you can also change ethnicity or age. In principle everything is possible on the internet; everything has a degree of coincidence (Lalander and Johansson, 2002: 91).

Young people are testing and turning down different identities, they acquire experience and choose what they feel fits best to their personality. Identity work is taking place on the internet but not exclusively on the net, because young people of today live in a society where they have to “create them-

selves” as cultural and social beings. Individuals are choosing identities and lifestyles from among many offers.

The reflexive identity work has got a new dimension on the internet. The internet gives you the opportunity to find information about anything you are searching knowledge about. Also, you can become a part of a network or club involving people from all parts of the world, no matter where you are located – geographically and socially. Traveling on the internet is easy, fast and effective, and the virtual voyage often leads to real travelling later in time (Lalander and Johansson, 2002: 94). The internet is connecting local and global, private and public, in interplay, and has in the Faroe Islands, e.g. through chat, changed the culture and forms of communication of children and young people.

Johansson says that “meetings in cyberspace are in many ways paradoxical events. Anonymity meets intimacy, closeness distance, authenticity construction, freedom responsibility” (in Sørensen and Olesen, 2000: 80). It is, most chatters say, exciting and non-committal to chat with strangers; it gives a special sense of freedom and creativity and opens for unique opportunities to experiment radically with identities. Some Faroese chatters live in small remote villages where there are almost only old people, and to these people the chat communication represents a way out of the local peripheral community to a community covering all the islands and villages. Young people are always searching for new contacts, impulses and experiences, and they avoid committing themselves to anyone or anything before they

have evaluated the consequences of the decision thoroughly. Gitte Stahl (2001: 32) says about Danish youth living under a bit different conditions than Faroese youth, that

It looks like an eternal search for new relations and new communities is taking place. Every time you enter a chat room or homepage and say hello, you say hello to new acquaintances. The superficial meetings may maybe for a short while become relations – friendly, sexual, confident – but these are easy to quit, without leaving any traces.

Local context

Faroese chat culture is based on the utilization of global technologies of information, the internet being the virtual youth community’s form of communication. The technology creates new possibilities, but it is adapted to local conditions by its users (Sørensen and Olesen, 2000). The individuals shape and domesticize the technology and are at the same time influenced by the same technology which frames and conditions the communication. Faroese chat is therefore not the same as Swedish or Icelandic chat; and even if we talk primarily about a virtual imagined community, Faroese chatters have their social community where arenas like concerts and youth clubs represent some of the physical meeting places. Partly, the social is connected to the virtual because of the close social ties in the Faroe Islands; since there are so few clubs and meeting places for young people, they can hardly avoid meeting each other sometimes in real life. Also, the social network is often connected to the chat culture,

not just in the Faroe Islands, because chat communication, according to several investigations, is primarily going on between friends and acquaintances (ibid). Those trying to be totally anonymous chatters do not participate in the community's social activities.

In many respects the virtual community reflects the real social society. As mentioned earlier, the personal relations are very important in the Faroe Islands, also after the introduction of internet and mobile phones. The chatters are very interested in knowing who they are chatting with and ask in detail where you come from, where you live, what you are doing, who you know, etc., until it becomes an almost impossible task to hide behind a mask. If you don't tell a lot about your real identity, the other chatters become impatient and end the dialogue. People want to know who they are chatting with. If you are from Torshavn, the capital with 18 000 inhabitants, then it is obviously easier to hide your name than it is if you live in a small village with 40-80 inhabitants. The personal relations – family, friends, colleagues – that define the Faroe Islander's role and status in society, and which are characterised by being close (emotionally and geographically) and strong can be interpreted as a contrast to the abstract and distant relations that connect a person to a national or international community or a community of interests. Chat is fascinating because you can get in touch with individuals located outside your geographical, social and cultural boundaries; chat can also be characterised as a limitless dangerous venture, an expedition into unknown territories.

Public sphere

The bourgeois public sphere, which Eyðun Andreassen relates to the twentieth century modern Faroese society, has with the new forms of interaction and communication that the technologies of information of today make possible (primarily the internet), lost its opinion-forming power on the cultural discourses in society. The popular public sphere, says Andreassen (1992: 117), is

...a part of the bourgeois public sphere, but it expresses itself outside this public sphere's primal fora, i.e. fora where the authorities and state control lie, and fora usually considered to present the cultural public in the bourgeois society.

During the twentieth century, especially after 1945, the Faroese society became increasingly centralised. Local variations in culture and traditions disappeared, Andreassen argues, as the development of the centralised state apparatus, based on bourgeois ideals, took shape and the nationalisation of the culture was completed. The popular public sphere is a local public sphere attached to a local culture. There was a fierce battle between the popular and bourgeois cultures, says Andreassen, up through the twentieth century, and televisions and satellite dishes, which were introduced to the islands in the 1980s, symbolised the death of Faroese popular culture. But in the 1990s the internet emerged which I think, is incompatible with the bourgeois cultural communication process, as this process goes from a central "sender" to "receivers" (all citizens) through a "medium" like e.g. television or radio (Andreassen, 1992: 120). The

internet is characterised by non-hierarchical collective forms of communication. In popular cultural communication “the whole process takes place in the ‘collective’, there is an immediate and direct connection between ‘sender’ and ‘receivers’ [...] and all communication in this ‘collective’ is based on immediate feedback” (Andreassen, 1992: 285). Dance and festival traditions are typical examples of popular culture in the pre-modern peasant community. All the involved persons take part in the creation and communication of the culture, and “the popular ‘collective’ creates its own art/culture” (Andreassen, 1992: 120)

Naturally, the communication in the old peasant community was not identical with the internet communication of the latemodern society. Chat communication is not physical, it goes on through advanced computer technologies, i.e. you are dependent on a computer to be able to chat. Many other limitations are at play in chat communication, where you use text and cannot observe the people you communicate with (except when you use a webcam). Internet is, anyway, a much more “popular” medium than television and radio, which communicate culture in a structured style and context and which is communication “taken out of the hands of people and handed over to professionals” (Andreassen, 1992: 15). The internet is not centrally directed and professionals are not controlling the interaction. The informal forum where people gathered to make community-related decisions was maybe starting to disappear when television and video were introduced to the Faroe Islands, but they flourish today on the inter-

net, not least regarding the chat communication of children and young people in the Faroe Islands.

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Constructing identities in children's cultures of consumption

Samleikagerð í nýtslumentanini hjá børnum

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Úrtak

Börn í vesturheiminum, eisini í færoyum, gerast meira og meira framkomin og vand sum brúkarar. Kortini er vitanin um, hvussu børn sjálv uppliva og samskifta um nýtslu í teirra mentanum, sera avmarkað. Hetta er fyrst og fremst orsakað av, at tað er sjónarhornið hjá teimum vaksnu, sum er grundarlagið, tá ið børn verða granskað. Í hesari grein verður tískil roynt at lýsa úr sjónarhorninum hjá børnum, hvønn leiklut nýtsla hevur, tá ið samleikin hjá børnum verður skapaður. Greinin hevur støði í einari etnografiskari kanning, sum varð gjørd í Skotlandi, og úrslitini verða nýtt til at vísa á øki sum kundi verið áhugaverd at granska í Færoyum.

Abstract

Children in the Western world, including the Faroe Islands, are increasingly sophisticated consumers. Yet, little is known about how children themselves experience and mediate consumption in their cultures. The reason for this is primarily grounded in the adult-centric approach which has traditionally been applied in research with children. Therefore, this paper attempts to understand what role consumption plays in the construction of identity among children from a child-centric perspective. The paper draws on an ethnographic study conducted in Scotland and uses these findings to map out some areas which usefully could be explored in the Faroese context.

Introduction

Considering the amount of time children in the Western world spend consuming i.e. choosing, shopping, exchanging, using, watching adverts and discussing consumer goods it is highly surprising that within the social sciences very little attention has been directed towards this important issue. Not until the past few decades have children's cultures of consumption become an increasingly critical issue for academics, marketers, social policy makers and various welfare groups. Therefore, as a major influence on daily life, consumption in childhood cannot be avoided by researchers.

Some have argued that for adults generally, market values and childhood sit uncomfortably together (Cook, 2005; Seiter, 1993), resulting in this field of research frequently being overlooked – or even avoided. This has led to a range of conflicting discourses surrounding children as consumers. Although there are variations, generally

speaking these can be categorised into two types of discourses: on one hand children are viewed as *powerful*, fickle and savvy consumers and on the other hand as *powerless* victims who are manipulated and misled. However, such evasions fail to recognize that life today, for adults and children alike, is always already inextricably embedded in consumption. Therefore, although consumption may not *wholly* define children it powerfully frames their everyday lives (Humphrey, 1998) and consequently, to ignore this ubiquitous aspect of childhood presents significant gaps in our understanding of children as consumers.

This paper argues that such inconsistencies in academic knowledge, public debates and general opinion are mainly centred on one explanation: research and academic discourse in this field is grounded in fundamentally *adult-centric* ideas of what it means to be a child consumer. Adult-centrism means that children and childhood have been researched and interpreted through adult frameworks applying adult concerns without attempting to gain adequate insight into the meanings that children themselves attribute to consumption.

Consumption and everyday life of children

Prior to defining children's cultures of consumption it is worth briefly examining the key concepts of this paper. The term culture is endlessly complex, however, for the purpose of this paper it refers to micro culture i.e. child to child/adult relations. Drawing on a range of definitions culture is here understood to be the values, activities, habits

and concerns through which people interpret and construct their worlds. Consumption as another key concept includes the processes through which consumer goods and services are created, produced, purchased and used (McCracken, 1988). Thus consumption is seen as a wide-ranging practice reaching beyond the actual use of a product. In this sense social processes are present in consumption and vice versa (Solomon, 1983); consequently, culture and consumption are inextricably linked. On the basis of these key concepts, children's cultures of consumption are defined as: *The processes by which the values, behaviour, concerns and attitudes, that children produce and share with others, are constructed through consumption.*

Nevertheless, children's cultures of consumption are not understood as something which exist independently of adult culture. Rather cultures are non-static, non-fixed dynamic entities which overlap and are inter-linked. Yet, there is something particularly interesting about what goes on in children's peer groups – as we shall see throughout this paper. However, at the same time it is clear that children's lives are firmly embedded in social structures. Therefore, the question is not only what role consumption plays in children's everyday interactions with others but also how children negotiate meanings within the given structures that are a reality of their own lives.

To date, most research with children has been grounded in the scientific consumer socialization framework. Scientific consumer socialization is the process by which children learn, develop and acquire consumer

skills (Ward, 1974). Since the central concern of scientific consumer socialization theory is that of children's consumer *development*, scarcely any attention has been paid to how children *experience* and *interpret* consumption in their daily lives. Instead scientific consumer socialization has focused on examining children's (lack of) consumer knowledge, abilities, competencies and understanding of consumption issues. This has left a gap in the literature on children's consumer behaviour and a misleading view of what children "do" with consumption. Fortunately, there has proved to be a slight shift in this "oversight" more recently. Such changes are evident in a very limited number of studies examining consumption from children's own perspective in recent years (e.g. Bannister and Booth, 2005; Bartholomew and O'Donohoe, 2003; Boden *et al.*, 2004; Martens *et al.*, 2004; Russell and Tyler, 2002; Tufte *et al.*, 2005).

This paper takes the standpoint that children are competent social actors worthy of study in their own right – not simply interesting to study through the process of socialization. In other words, it is not merely children's competencies, abilities and understanding which are interesting in the context of consumption. Rather, the meanings that children attribute to consumption in their cultures are of interest here – a view supported by Buckingham (2000: 155) who has argued that:

...it may make little sense to ask whether children understand the difference between television programmes and advertisements, or whether they are able to identify the persuasive

intentions of advertising in isolation. We need to consider much broader questions about their experience of consumer culture, and their place within it.

Therefore, by examining children's lived experiences, we are able to critique perspectives that define consumption as good *or* bad, and advertising toward children as moral *or* immoral. This critique centres on the belief that such perspectives unquestioningly reproduce simplistic binary opposites whilst failing in any way to contribute to a fruitful discussion on consumption in children's lives. In contrast to such simplistic characterizations of childhood and consumption, this paper will demonstrate that consumption is an integral thread in the fabric of social life (Solomon, 1983). Therefore, consumption can be many things (good, bad, empowering, disempowering, facilitating, engendering, socially divisive to name but a few) at the same time and at different moments, with a variety of social actors and within a range of social locations.

This paper will examine consumption in childhood through one particular, and highly significant, aspect of everyday understanding of oneself and others – identity. It will examine how children use consumer goods and consumption references to tell others about who they are – or wish to be. The focus will not be on determining whether consumption is good/bad, moral/immoral – consumption is evident in children lives already. Rather the focus is on how children use consumption in the construction of their identities.

Identity in the context of consumption

Identity is a heavily used term both academically and in everyday life; however, its meanings and definitions are conflicting and various. For the purpose of this paper a more specific idea of identity is helpful. Therefore, the broad definition by Jenkins (1996: 5) explains how the term is used here:

“Social identity is our understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others...it [social identity] too is the product of agreement and disagreement... [and]... is negotiable”

This means that childhood identity is not only about children's own view of themselves but how others view them. It is about uniqueness – how children consider themselves as *different* from others and about sameness – in which ways they consider themselves as the *same/similar* to others. As Jenkins (1996) pointed out, it is a product of agreement and disagreement. This means that the development of childhood identities is a social and collective process not simply determined by each individual or imposed by others. The interesting aspect here is how consumption objects/processes can be used, displayed and enacted in the construction of identity.

As children have become an important group of consumers they have increased opportunity of using consumer goods to construct images, which are frequently based on the same consumption resources as those accessible to adults e.g. media, brands, leisure etc. (Valentine, 2000). By implication children are faced with the same high-risk

choices associated with consumer society – constructing identities where they strive to gain the love or respect of others (Gabriel and Lang, 1995). Foucault argued that identities are constructed through context and situational factors and everyday environments. We also know that wider social structures such as age, class, ethnicity and gender shape identity (Marshall, 1998). This means that, when children construct their identities it is through continual encounters with various overarching structures and institutions such as the mass media, family, education system, language etc. (Kacen, 2000).

Research on consumption and identity

Turning firstly, to the literature generally (which has focused on adult consumers) on identity and consumption it has been acknowledged that material possessions play an important role in the sense of self (Belk, 1988; Dittmar, 1992; Solomon, 1983). More specifically Belk (1988) argued that possessions are regarded as part of the self or what he termed *the extended self*. This means that possessions become so heavily engrained in our worlds that they almost become a part of us. We use them to communicate to others who we are, whether it is through the clothes we wear, the car we drive, our home or even the food choices we make. Therefore, it is evident that the process of identity construction is heavily influenced by consumption. Essentially, consumption objects (both material and non-material) become symbols with which people communicate. For instance a BMW car is not merely functional – it connotes quality, wealth and success. Consequently, con-

sumption (both mundane and out of the ordinary) serves as a symbolic resource of great importance to individual and group identity construction (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998). The question is therefore, whether one can assume that this literature on identity and consumption equally applies to children as consumers.

In one study Kjeldgaard (2003: 285) found that youngsters are active in constructing their identities through consumption yet, the "...global and local structures also determine the resources and thereby the identity possibilities available". This means that when constructing their identities children cannot simply construct any identity of their pick. There are various structural aspects, such as where they live and the consumer goods available, which present them with a limited set of choices. Whilst this equally applies to adults there is no doubt that children's low power/low status position in society can present them with a whole different set of consumption limitations compared to adults.

Scientific consumer socialization

Research in scientific consumer socialization has produced a plethora of studies on issues such as children's understanding of advertising, the influence of parental communication on consumer development; shopping skills and product knowledge (see John, 1999 for a review). Whilst such studies are of value, much scientific consumer socialization research to date can be heavily criticised on a range of fronts. Firstly, because scientific consumer socialization focuses on development it becomes future-

orientated in nature paying little attention to children's consumption worlds at *present* (Archard, 1993). Secondly, whilst it is acknowledged that children are a group that may need special protection due to their low power status in society, the emphasis has been on children's *inabilities*, *incompetencies* and *immaturity* (Hill and Tisdall, 1997). Thirdly, scientific consumer socialization is based on theory which considers child development to be predominantly innate – or born with. In other words, children are theorized as *standard* or predictable beings (Dittmar, 1992). Lastly, consumer development is treated as a series of pre-determined developmental stages children progress through one after the other (John, 1999). The net result of this theory is a fixed linear model which does not deal with differences between children but assumes a universal model applicable to all children in all places. As a result writers from the scientific consumer socialization perspective have consistently failed to explore what consumption means to (especially younger) children despite the fact that social psychology has long acknowledged the importance of possessions to young children in their development (Dittmar, 1992). It is evident that to address these shortcomings and further understanding of children's cultures of consumption another approach is required. One such approach which stands in contrast to scientific consumer socialization is that of childhood studies which we turn to now.

Childhood studies¹ and identity

The importance of childhood identities has been addressed by numerous writers in the

field of childhood studies (Aydt and Coraro, 2003; Davis and Machin, 2000; James, 1993; Kelle, 2001; Thorne, 1993; Valentine, 2000). Some of the key findings from these writings are that children are acutely concerned with their identity within groups. In their peer cultures children work at constructing social relationships where they define themselves in relation to others. Fitting-in is essential, yet a degree of individuality is pursued (Ridge, 2002). It follows, that children in their cultures continuously must "...manage tensions between conformity and individuality" (Valentine, 2000: 258).

Jenkins (1996) made the distinction between primary identity and secondary identity. Primary identity he argued, are those identities established early in life such as gender. These are more robust and less likely to change. Secondary identities (e.g. profession), however, are generally established later and therefore, more negotiable, less fixed and more amenable to change. From these distinctions it is conceivable that for primary identities consumption may be used to display or communicate existing identities. On the other hand, consumption may be instrumental in constructing new/existing secondary identities; e.g. that of being a footballer.

Several authors within childhood studies have presented the primary identity of gender as one of the key identities for children (e.g. Aydt and Corsaro, 2003; Corsaro, 1997; James, 1993; Thorne, 1993). In an extensive study of gender in children's cultures Thorne (1993) argued that one major problem with much of the literature on children and gender is the pre-fixed notion of girls and boys

as being separate and different. The consequence, she argued, fails to take account of the within-gender variations as well as the impact of factors such as social class and ethnicity. It follows that girls and boys are not a group of people that fall into one of two groups but have complex identities constructed through a range of factors – including consumption.

Similarly emphasis is placed on the role of age in the construction of identity (Kelle, 2001; Wærdahl, 2005). It is believed that as they grow older children gain increased autonomy and more power to make decisions in matters affecting them. Therefore, age is an important identity for children due to its signalling value. Naturally, age is a constantly changing identity, however, in the short-term it is sufficiently stable to be an important identity *vis a vis* adults as well as other children.

In an extensive discussion on children and their relationships James (1993: 104) argued that the body is a key site of identity construction for children. She stated that "...relatively little critical attention has been given to children's own experience and understanding of the body as a signifier of identity". From her research James (1993) suggested that there are five significant aspects of the body which are important in children's identity construction. These are height, shape, appearance, gender and body performance (e.g. how fast one can run). It follows that children construct identities through various physical and social dimensions of who they perceive themselves and others to be.

Ethnographic methodology and the study of children

Traditionally the methodologies employed within the scientific consumer socialization paradigm are objective (thus researcher and researched have distanced social relationships) and are quantitative in nature (surveys and experiments). Therefore, they typically result in relatively short periods of time being spent with children. This means that researchers have little time to gather rich meaningful data about children as consumers. Frequently research does not even ask for children's own input about their lives, but focuses on parents as informants (e.g. Haynes, *et. al.*, 1993), furthermore, children may be (de)selected to participate in research based on their verbal (in)abilities (e.g. Derscheid *et. al.*, 1996). The implications are that children's voices are either not heard at all or at best *selectively* heard. Therefore, it is the task of researchers to design research and adopt methodologies ensuring the voices of children are not limited to those informants that are "easier" to research.

It has been contended by several authors (e.g. James *et. al.*, 2001; Rizzo and Corsaro, 1992) that ethnography is a central qualitative methodology within the childhood studies perspective. Ethnography is essentially a methodology of which the main feature is the search for patterns within everyday life and involves "...the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in peoples' lives for an extended period of time..." watching, listening and asking questions (Hammersly and Atkinson (1995:1). Therefore, ethnography as a methodology enables researchers

to adopt a child-centric approach within the setting of the child; in their world. In addition, prolonged engagement allows time and space for adult/child power relationships to be negotiated (Davis, 1998; Morrow and Richards, 1996). This means that researchers can work at reducing the power imbalance evident in child and adult relationships leading to a more open forum for children to communicate with the researcher. Furthermore, the time spent in the field presents opportunities to utilise several methods and provide different angles on the same phenomena. This is a powerful feature of ethnography which entails a process of developing or evolving over time (as the ethnography progresses) – essentially providing it with flexibility and a sense of self-correction (Eder and Corsaro, 1999).

Consent

From the childhood studies perspective children are considered competent social actors and have the right to be consulted and heard on matters that affect them (UN Convention on the rights of the child, Article 12). In this sense, consent is more than the agreement of gatekeepers to conduct research with children but about respecting children and their rights as human beings to say no (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988; Miller, 2000). Miller (2000: 1231) stated that "In order to consent or assent a person requires information shared in such a way that it is comprehensible". Therefore, the research was explained to children such that it was developmentally appropriate. Despite consent initially being provided by adults every effort was made to ensure that children un-

derstood the decision to participate in the research was theirs. Furthermore, consent was treated as an ongoing process where children could withdraw their participation at any moment throughout the research².

Sample

Gaining access to groups of children in their everyday lives can be difficult and therefore, schools are frequently used when conducting research with children (Thomas and O'Kane, 1998). Although much consumption takes place out with schools, it was decided that schools do, nevertheless, represent an opportunity to gather valuable data on children and consumption. The data was collected in one nursery and two primary schools. This is a form of convenience sampling, which is, according to Schensul (1999: 233), appropriate in exploratory research:

"Studies of adolescent behavior in general, for example, could be undertaken in the high school nearest to the researcher's office – with the usual cautions that such populations may not be representative of **all** adolescents in a given society".

The study concentrates on pre-adolescent children since these have largely been ignored (Buckingham, 2000; Hill *et al.*, 1996). Furthermore, it has been argued that particularly the middle years (from four to ten years of age) of childhood seem to have passed unnoticed to researchers (James *et al.*, 2001). Therefore, the age groups for this study were one group of pre-school children (ages 3-5), one primary two/three (ages 6-8)³ and one primary six (ages 10-11). For

the primary two/three and primary six age groups there were two groups from each age group. These comprised children from two areas with different socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, in total the study involved research in three settings in total (one nursery and two schools).

Sampling whilst in the field involved purposive sampling. In other words, samples were chosen to best enable the research questions to be answered. Ethnography provides the flexibility to utilise a range of purposive sampling due to the length of time spent in the field. Upon field entry and throughout the fieldwork heterogeneous samples⁴ were used to understand the key issues in children's cultures of consumption (Saunders *et al.*, 2003).

Agar (1996) suggested adopting a funnel approach where the ethnographer upon entering the field is open to learning a wide range of issues pertaining to the research questions. After some experience in the field the ethnographer can focus on central issues of importance in the culture. Childhood studies advocates this approach to avoid research that is driven by adult-centred research questions (Davis, 1996; Morrow and Richards, 1996). Another factor of importance was to identify those cases that deviate substantially from the average and explore these to ensure that data generated is not confined to the mainstream of children.

Authors in childhood studies have been criticised for ignoring the presence of adults and their role in structuring the world of children (Handel, 1990). Therefore, significant others that can shed light on children's cul-

tures of consumption such as teachers and parents/guardians were interviewed. These adults represent important informants because of their knowledge of the children being studied.

The study was carried out in central Scotland in two small towns where children were relatively restricted in their access to large retail outlets. Sunny Nursery⁵ (hereafter SN) is a privately owned nursery with children from mixed backgrounds (government vouchers⁶ were accepted by the nursery). Northern Primary School⁷ (hereafter NPS) with its 320 pupils, is located in a relatively deprived area in a small town. Waterside Primary school (hereafter WPS) has 220 pupils and is situated in a slightly smaller, but much more affluent village. However, both schools have a comparable distance to the large city. When comparing census data and the “Carstairs Deprivation Categories” (McLoone, 2000) with fieldwork data it was clear that the two areas represent children with relatively different socioeconomic backgrounds. The nursery on the other hand, represented children from mixed socioeconomic backgrounds – although it skewed slightly towards affluence.

Power issues in research with children

There are profound implications of the adult-child power barriers for the construction of researcher role in the field and these have been extensively debated in the childhood studies literature (e.g. Corsaro and Rizzo, 1988; Fine and Sandstrom, 1988; Graue and Walsh, 1998; James *et. al.*, 2001; Thorne, 1993). To understand the world through children’s eyes requires adults to

substantially reduce the asymmetrical power relationship – something which can only be achieved through careful consideration of the role the researcher adopts whilst in the field.

Adultist, supervisory and teacher-like roles, which have so often been adopted in research with children in the past, do little to reduce the social distance between adults and children. Furthermore, such roles are incompatible with the philosophy of childhood studies (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988). Rather a friend role was adopted where the researcher entered the setting and distanced herself from the authoritarian status which adults have vis-à-vis children – to the extent that it is possible for an adult. Thus the researcher did everything the children did, from sitting with them at their desks to eating lunch with them. Over time the children’s trust was gained and consequently; they spoke openly and frankly with the researcher, providing important insights into their worlds.

Whilst conducting fieldwork the most valuable moments of insight into children’s cultures of consumption were those away from the interference of adults. Therefore, time spent e.g. in the playground during break, eating lunch with the children and going on fieldtrips proved to be excellent opportunities for gathering data. To witness these accounts and have a valid presence during these moments the researcher played with the children, spoke with them and tried to be their friend.

Methods

The main methods used throughout the year-

long ethnographic study were observation, taped semi-structured interviews with children, parents and teachers, informal chats, gathering artefacts e.g. children's weekly diaries, going shopping, attending outings, events, classes, break and lunchtime activities and home visits to name a few. However, studying children of different ages presented the researcher with some challenges concerning the suitability of various methods for each age group. For instance, the youngest children were most comfortable expressing themselves whilst engaging in an activity such as drawing or playing – as other authors have also found (Hill *et. al.*, 1996). For instance the researcher would on occasions ask pre-school children to draw their favourite possession and ask questions about their drawings. Furthermore, listening to children's conversations during play and activities provided valuable data. The oldest group (primary six) on the other hand, could sustain longer conversations through e.g. interviews. Therefore, it was evident that methods had to be tailored to each age group. In this sense, the longitudinal nature of ethnography provided optimum opportunities for fine-tuning the methods employed.

Findings on identity in children's cultures of consumption

This section commences with an introduction to the topics used in the analysis of identity and children's cultures of consumption. The process of identifying these topics was iterative. It involved a constant evolvment and development of the topics based on what the children reported to be important to them and at the same time grounding the analy-

sis in previous research. The categories to be discussed in the findings on identity and consumption in children's cultures can thus be summarised as follows:

- Gender
- Performance of the body (physical and mental/ academic performance)
- Appearance of the body (physical e.g. height and shape as well as extra-physical e.g. grooming and clothing)
- Age (chronological age and social age)

Throughout the analysis data will be presented to highlight how consumer goods are directly used/displayed as resources in the construction of identity. Furthermore, verbal references to consumption are used to understand the significance of consumption in identity construction. It should be noted that the categories overlap; however, they have been treated separately for the purpose of clarity in the analysis.

Gender

The data revealed that even at an early age children have clear understandings of gender appropriate consumption behaviour. For instance at Sunny Nursery girls played in the home corner with dolls assuming nurturing roles – rarely with any input from the boys. Play areas in the nursery with relatively gender neutral toys (e.g. animals and jigsaws) typically had mixed groups of girls and boys whilst construction toys and cars were overwhelmingly used by boys. This said, gender is not always a significant factor for consumer behaviour. Different contexts, objects, people and places shape and influence the fluidity of gender boundaries. Further-

more, as will be discussed, not all children conform to stereotypical ideas of gender roles. However, it was clear from the data that consumer goods were important resources in the construction and communication of gender identity.

At the nursery children displayed strong views with regard to gender and toys. The children had clear ideas which toys were for girls and which were for boys. For instance they were clear which gender, toys such as Barbie, Action Man, Power Rangers and dolls were aimed at. Statements such as “*All girls like Barbies*” or “*Barbies are just for girls*” were common. Here the expressions are of girls as a group defined in relation to the other i.e. boys. These were stereotypical ideas of gender appropriate consumption; however, it was evident that some children less readily adhered to conventional gender behaviour. Girls were more likely to step outside traditional gender boundaries. For instance Maria (pre-school) liked playing with Spiderman dolls – especially changing Spiderman’s clothes. Evidently, although considered a boy’s toy, the Spiderman was adapted to fit in with Maria’s idea of playing with dolls i.e. changing the clothes (Fieldnotes, SN, pre-school, 22/5/02).

Despite less evidence of boys transgressing gender boundaries, one boy in particular at the nursery, Mark, loved dressing up, playing in the home corner (where boys hardly ever played) and taking on female roles such as being a princess or “super-girl hero” (as Mark himself described it). This met with some resistance among the children, both girls and boys, who reminded him

that (as they said) boys, do *not* wear dresses (Fieldnotes, SN, pre-school, 24/6/02). Verbally, staff at the nursery were not found to reinforce gendered consumption behaviour. However, the layout of toys and play areas at the nursery, in many ways promoted stereotypical gender behaviour. For instance the home corner or hair dressing area was closed off and not integrated with any other play activity.

One striking feature was the intense revulsion many boys in the younger age groups, i.e. nursery and particularly P2/P3, displayed towards what they perceived to be feminine consumer goods. They tried to distance themselves from everything they considered “girly”. When asked what programmes he liked Peter listed a few and then said:

Peter: Everything except (mentions the name of a programme).

Interviewer: What was that?

Peter: It’s a girlie programme.

Interviewer: Why do you not like it?

Peter: Cause it’s a girly thing. It’s got big hearts on it.

Tommy: Barbie’s and dolls is the most thing I hate. If I got one for Christmas I would saw the head off.

Interview, NPS, P3, Male, 18/12/02

This disgust with “girly” consumer goods was mirrored at WPS where the boys also spoke of destroying Barbie dolls. Therefore, it is clear that the need for these boys to distance themselves from items perceived to be overly feminine is expressed in their dislike for consumer objects associated with girls. Nevertheless the degree of accepted behaviour changed with people and context. One

mother explained that the only children who lived nearby their home were two girls from her son's (Alex) class. When playing at home with the girls Alex, (P3, NPS) agreed to games such as skipping, which he would not normally do at school. Therefore, to some extent Alex would modify the boundaries of what types of gender play he was willing to engage in – compared to how he played at school. Similarly, many spaces in the schools and nursery involved consumer goods that were considered to be relatively gender neutral such as jigsaws, bikes and animals. These objects were played with by mixed groups of children.

In the oldest age group (P6) the boys and girls were much less extreme in their perception of boys and girls things. Gender was still a key identity at this age, however, the way children used consumer goods to define themselves as boys and girls had changed. Many consumer objects of interest to this age group were *relatively* neutral such as CDs, mobile telephones, stereos and sports clothing. Nevertheless, boys and girls displayed different musical tastes and their choice of sports clothing was quite different. At this (P6) age, the data revealed there were still some clear boundaries between the genders, however, they easily moved into consumption territories that might not have been acceptable to younger age groups. For instance girls were interested in sport and boys increasingly concerned with their appearance (discussed in more detail later).

Performance

Performance in children's cultures of consumption can be described as the way chil-

dren (individuals and groups) perform or accomplish certain tasks of significance – whether they are physical or mental/academic activities. Although children are undoubtedly influenced by societal expectations of what activities are considered important, they too displayed their own criteria of what performance characteristics are valuable in the construction of identity.

The idea of performance implies a comparison of self to other. Recognizing how one is the same/different (and as in the case of performance: better/worse) compared to others is at the heart of identity theory. It was clear from the data that children start at an early age to compete with each other. At the nursery children would compete at anything and everything. E.g. who could drink the fastest? Who could jump the highest? Who had more food on their plate? Therefore, their understanding of their own unique personal strengths and weaknesses was less developed than with the P2/P3 age group who were much more selective in their choice of competitive activities.

Subsequently, by P2/P3 the children had some idea of their perceived performance abilities such as being good at football, reading or running. Furthermore, there were gender differences as it was evident the boys are more competitive at this age. Clearly, the school system contributes to identities constructed around performance abilities by emphasising which things are "good to be good at" e.g. academic activities. Furthermore, both schools divided the children into reading groups based on competency. At P3 in NPS some children were particularly proud of their reading ability. The first time

John approached me, he spoke of his reading the Harry Potter books and this was subsequently, mentioned on several occasions. Interviews with the teacher and his mother indicated that John's reading performance – and the praise he received, directly led to John perceiving himself as a “number one Harry Potter fan” (Fieldnotes, NPS, M, 13/11/02). This was reflected in the books John purchased (all the Harry Potter books), his bag and lunch bag – both which had Harry Potter symbols.

Based on interviews with parents, teachers, children and head teachers it was evident that expectations of academic performance at the two schools were different. The P6 children at WPS were more likely to have thought through what types of professions/positions they expected to hold later in life (which is likely to have implications on consumption patterns and resources). The head teacher at WPS had previously worked as a teacher at NPS and emphasised the difference in the children's background as far as academic performance is concerned – where WPS was more affluent and more academically advanced. However, the pressures of academic performance did not go unquestioned by some children as the following extract shows:

Andrew: All mums and dads say you should be like, a lawyer or a doctor.

David: I know they always say lawyer.

Andrew: Or a doctor.

Neil: Cause you get paid a lot.

Andrew: Or a vet or something like that. Someone that saves people.

Neil: Or be an orthodontist.

Andrew: But then I say like, if you're a lawyer

someone could think you would get the wrong decision and someone would get out of jail (sentence) and they might mug you or something and if you're a doctor and don't save someone then they can like sue you.

Interview, WPS, P6, Male, 10/6/03

In the above quote the children are discussing occupations, which highlights some of the ambitions parents have for their children. As Neil notes these ambitions are frequently related to financial resources. However, interestingly the children are questioning some of these occupations and able to identify drawbacks – they are displaying critical thought processes and not passively accepting parental ambitions.

In relation to physical performance, sport was of great importance to the children, especially the P6 age group. The children spent much time talking about sport, performing sport, admiring sport personalities and so on. The consumption implications were clear – those children who considered themselves “sporty” were much more likely to wear sports clothing. Interestingly, for girls being sporty was sometimes defined as a contrast to being feminine as the two examples indicate:

Mrs Cunningham: Mary is not girlie at all. She's into sports and she likes reading and all these kind of things.

Parent interview, WPS, P2, Female, 21/06/03

Katrina: Nearly everyone has sports bag for rucksack. We're really into sports. We're all tomboys.

Interview, NPS, P6, Female, 13/12/02

It was evident from the data that sports goods were significant as a resource in the

construction of identity. Yet, being “sporty” as the children described themselves was not confined to performing well physically but was sometimes referred to as a style of consuming clothes, bags and the like. In other words, some children identified with sports as a lifestyle, rather than necessarily being especially active in sports. However, when choosing sportswear; their contribution to sporting performance was of importance to the boys and girls. In the following example the girls were discussing just this:

Madeline: Yeah, like you need comfy trainers to be able to do sport.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Madeline: Cause if you have like...like I can't do sport in these cause they're just, you know they're not too comfy.

Ester: And I can't do sport in these at all. I met this man in Sport Soccer when I was choosing my trainers ehmm, I can't remember, it was one shop when I was choosing trainers. The man said that it needs to be flexible at the toes and firm at the heel.

Interview, WPS, P6, Female, 17/6/03

Therefore, children not only consider consumer goods as important in confirming their performance but in some cases, as being instrumental in assisting performance. Despite the importance of sports, especially in the P6 age groups, it was clear that not all children were interested in sport as a style or an activity – at least their interest lay not with the most popular sports such as football, dancing, golf etc. Gregory's identity for instance, was much more strongly linked to his ability to build things, most particularly Knex (a construction toy). He spoke of it many times and how he had been interested

in Knex for many years as in this extract:

Gregory: I've been doing Knex since I was two. I've done over 50 models with no instructions.

Interviewer: Just from your head?

Gregory: Yeah. And if people found Knex in a shop[which I had forgotten] they'd know it was mine.

Fieldnotes, P6, WPS, Male, 7/5/03

For Gregory his links with Knex are so great that people would know the Knex were his – even in his absence. This, along with the other examples, gives some indication of how children use consumer goods to illustrate how they perform, physically and mentally.

Appearance

The appearance of the body is a key characteristic of children's identity since it is, in material terms, the most visible. The appearance of the body is here taken to refer to both physical and extra-physical⁸ appearance. The former refers to height, shape (build) and other bodily features whilst the latter refers to the dressing up of the body e.g. through grooming and clothing. Throughout childhood and adolescence children's bodies experience dramatic changes; therefore the data reflects the importance of the appearance of the body in identity construction.

At nursery age children are very preoccupied with their height and frequently compared themselves to friends – discussing who was the tallest. This is closely linked to the fact that children are constantly reminded that they are little people – physically, and in terms of age. It is conceivable

that for children, becoming taller has great significance because of the natural link with getting older and therefore, becoming more independent. In the following example Mark, one of the younger preschool children, was due to get his turn to go swimming the *following* school term:

Mark was unhappy that he could not go swimming with the nursery. Janice, the teacher, said that when he is a little bigger he'd get to go, but for now he could go swimming with his mummy and daddy.

Mark: But I am as big as my Star Wars sword.

Fieldnotes, SN, Male, 26/8/02

As the extract shows, children do not always measure their height in comparison to other children but may use material objects – in this case a large Star Wars sword – to measure how much they have grown. Older children too (both P2/P3 and P6), were preoccupied with height and compared themselves to each other. However, at the P2/P3 age the children started to become more preoccupied with other aspects of physical appearance. By P6 the children paid much attention to body shape and facial features. For instance, during conversations P2/P3 children, girls in particular, described other girls as having “nice hair” and a “nice face”. Furthermore, body shape had already become an issue for some girls at P2/P3 age as the following example demonstrates:

Charlotte: Yes but sometimes when you see, you know at the Treader (shopping centre) and you see these people, these model people wearing these clothes in that big shop thing?

...

Charlotte: They always look ehmm, very not fat

when you see them and if you're quite fat then you think: Oh I'll look the same as that and when you get them (the clothes) then you don't look anything like it.

Interview, WPS, P2, Female, 19/5/03

In the above extract Charlotte is referring to how thin models look and how other bodies may look entirely different upon wearing the same clothing. This means that already at a young age children come to recognize that people can look very different despite wearing the same clothing. Furthermore the importance placed on being thin in many consumer societies is heavily marketed and which the children soon learn.

Extra-physical appearance (e.g. clothing and grooming) were highly significant for children in the P6 age group, and to some extent in the P2/P3 and nursery age group. Younger children had preferences for what they liked to wear. They often wanted to wear clothing with symbols that were meaningful to them. These symbols very often reinforced gender identities. Similarly, the boys in P6 at both schools were greatly concerned with appearance. This was especially manifested in their use of hair grooming products and deodorants. They displayed no shyness about discussing hair grooming etc. with statements such as the following:

Richard: Normally we spike hair up.

Matthew: Yeah put gel in.

Interview, NPS, P6, Male, 19/12/03

Andrew: I've not had my hair down in school for like four years or something so I'm not gonna put it down now. I just hate it down.

Interviewer: So what is it that you like about

having it up? Cause all three of you have got it/

Andrew: It's cool.

David: It's cool yeah.

Interview, WPS, P6, Male, 10/6/03

Therefore, it is evident that constructing cool identities was partially dependent on grooming. Clothing proved to be equally as significant as grooming. The P6 boys frequently spoke about various clothing styles such as "sweaty", "goth" and "baggies"⁹. The type of clothing deemed appropriate depended on the context with in which it was worn. The boys (from both schools) clearly distinguished between what they considered to be appropriate clothing for different occasions. They explained that for parties they dressed up, for school they wore uniforms, for skateboarding they put on baggy trousers and for golf they wore chinos trousers (playing golf was an activity the boys from WPS engaged in – a possible indication of the greater affluence of their socioeconomic background). There were other differences between the schools e.g. the boys from NPS were less likely to speak of specific clothing for various occasions (except for parties for which they wore designer brands). Furthermore, the boys from NPS were more likely than those from WPS to have jewellery (rings, necklaces etc.) signifying symbols of their favourite football teams.

Interestingly the girls generally, had a tendency to downplay the issue of 'looks'. They frequently indicated that looks were not important and made statements such as "going to school is not a fashion show" (Interview, NPS, F, P6, 10/12/02). Yet the girl's statements did not seem to correlate with their actions. They clearly did make an ef-

fort with clothes and hair. This was confirmed in interviews with parents (Parent interview, P6, NPS, F, 10/1/03) whilst other girls told the researcher directly.

Interviewer: But do looks matter for school?

Kathleen: Yeah they do their hair for school and put hairspray in.

Interview, P6, NPS, Female, 7/1/03

Kathleen: Most of the girls in our class: looks are everything.

Interviewer: What makes you say that?

Kathleen: When there's parties they come in all sorts of dresses

Interview, P6, NPS, Female, 7/1/03

Therefore, the data along with the above statements indicate that the girls were much more concerned with looks than they cared to admit. This may be linked to the girls' age. They were in primary six and therefore, on the boundary of their teenage years. It is conceivable that the girls had not quite reached an age where it was acceptable in the peer group to openly be concerned about appearance.

Nevertheless, there were several cases of children who were simply not interested in fashion, clothing, gel or other grooming products. Therefore, not all children use clothing and grooming in the same way as a resource for identity construction. Overall, it can be concluded that appearance is of key concern to the children in general and critical in identity construction. The physical body remains central throughout childhood; however, extra-physical appearance increases in importance as children get older.

Age

In research, age is generally treated as an important demographic variable. However, for children age is a significant element of individual and group identity. Children are grouped together in similar age groups from early in life; nevertheless, the data revealed that age hierarchy within same year groups was also of great importance to the children.

Observations in the nursery and school settings indicated that children face a constant uphill struggle as far as age is concerned. As they strive to become older and are granted more freedom they are reminded of all the things they are too young to do/get. For instance, in the nursery upon transferring from the *junior room* (approximately age three) to the *pre-school room* children were reminded how big and clever they now were. Yet, on arrival (in the pre-school room) they soon realized that they were at the bottom of the age hierarchy again (in view of the older children already in the pre-school room).

Children in all settings discussed growing up in terms of taking a positive step forward: *Steven: You don't want to be in P2 forever. You need to go on to High School, then university and then you get a job.* (Field-notes, P2, WPS, Male, 2/6/03). Frequently, social interactions centred on age and what films, magazines, games etc. children were permitted to have. Their current age was sometimes referred to as a limitation. However, the children displayed tactics for attempting to overcome age limits on certain toys as the following example shows:

Josh: You've got to be over 8 to build them and to launch them (Beyblades).

Interviewer: But Beth's not over 8.

Josh: I'm not over 8.

Interviewer: Where does it say that you've got to be over 8?

Josh: At the top of the box.

Interviewer: So how come then you get to do it anyway?

Josh: Just cause we can do it.

Hilary: Our mum and dad let us.

Josh: They don't even know it's 8+.

Hilary: I know.

Interviewer: Do they not?

Josh: We scribble it out.

Interview, P2, WPS, Male and female, 12/5/03

In the above extract Josh describes how parents don't know that Beyblades are intended for children over the age of eight. Hilary on the other hand indicates that parents know but don't mind. However, despite the importance of chronological age, social age was in many cases more central to identity construction. Social age manifested itself in children's desire to act older such as nursery-aged girls wearing lip-gloss or chewing gum. Frequently, children displayed a desire to distance themselves from more childish states by ridiculing programmes, toys, rides etc. as being "babyish" or being embarrassed to play with toys like Barbie. Interviews with parents revealed that there are certain activities children will engage in at home, which they would prefer their friends did not know about. One mother explained that:

Sally: He (Cameron who is in P5) will still watch Winnie the Pooh things with her (Maud in P2) but, you know if his friends ever found out he would kill me.

Parent interview, P2, WPS, male and female, 24/06/02

On one hand children may attempt to construct an identity using social age as an important resource, yet privately they enjoyed the freedom of engaging in the very activities they reject in public. In conclusion, it is evident from the data that age is a significant aspect of children's identity. School-aged children displayed great awareness of the age hierarchy within the class. More importantly, children were very aware of their age identity. They perceive their age identity to be central to the degree of control they have over their lives. Therefore, although it is impossible to *be* older than one actually is, it is possible to strive to act older and increase one's social age. The data has displayed that for both types of age identity (chronological and social), consumption can play a central role.

Discussion

Overall the most important finding pertaining to identity in children's cultures of consumption was the contextual influence on identity construction. Furthermore, with relatively few possessions in the institutional context children continuously work at constructing their identity with the material goods at their disposal e.g. bringing toys or other personal items to school.

Gender

Not surprisingly, throughout the study, evidence clearly emerged of the contextual dependence (e.g. who is present and where children are situated) of identity. In other words, there were times when gender was the central identity whilst other times age identity or performance identity became

more important – a view supported by other authors (Kacen, 2000). However, as Jenkins (1996) has also suggested, gender was found to be a *primary* identity (i.e. a more enduring, less changeable identity) which the current study also found as it structured much of what the children consumed.

The data presented evidence that already in nursery children displayed clear gender-based stereotyping of toys; furthermore, there was generally consensus on which toys were gender neutral. Later, in P2/P3, the boys in particular tended to demonstrate strong feelings of disgust towards dolls and other items they considered too feminine – a behaviour Thorne (1993) called rituals of pollution. Studies out with marketing (Aydt and Corsaro, 2003; Corsaro, 1997; Thorne, 1993) support this finding and go on to suggest that in neighbourhood social groups, gender is less significant than in institutional settings. Furthermore, Aydt and Corsaro (2003) have highlighted that gender segregation peaks at around 6-8 years of age – which corresponds with the present study. However, there are children who do not conform to stereotypical gender norms and prefer toys considered appropriate for the opposite sex. This behaviour, most especially when the “deviants” were boys, was subject to negative remarks by other children. In their study of social isolation among early adolescent groups Evans and Eder (1993) found one of the three factors that led children to be isolated was violating gender norms. Therefore, it is evident that gendered consumer behaviour can – already at nursery age, lead to negative reactions from others.

This means that it is important for practitioners to create an atmosphere/ethos of understanding and break down stereo-types. The institutional influences on constructing gender identity should not be underestimated as gendered spaces are frequently created by adults. For instance spaces such as “home corners” (as in SN) may contribute to constructing boundaries between genders. Furthermore, the influence of toy manufacturers and the mass media have long been blamed for promoting excessive gender stereotypes (Martin *et. al.*, 1999; Skelton and Hall, 2001). Yet, it is important not to simply blame manufacturers – children, parents, staff are all complicit in reinforcing gender stereo-types. Importantly though, children themselves do not always act in stereo-typical ways. The data demonstrated that their behaviour changes in different contexts e.g. play behaviour was more gender stereotyped in schools than in neighbourhood social groups. This suggests that there is something peculiar to schools and child-care institutions that needs to be addressed if stereo-types are to be countered.

Performance

Being as they are, less robust, identities relating to performance change to some extent between age groups and vary in importance between contexts. By the time they were older (i.e. reached P6) the children were much more aware of their strengths/weaknesses or likes/dislikes and therefore, utilised these in constructing identities. The structural influence of schools and the family entail that children learn about desirable achievements such as performing well aca-

demically or in sports. Evans and Eder (1993) too found academic achievement to be related to social inclusion. However, the children from the present study did not internalise this passively as they e.g. questioned the professions parents suggested were worth striving for.

Importantly, for some younger children (P2/P3) but especially for the P6 group, constructing a “sporty” identity did not necessarily entail performing well in sports. Sports clothing, bags and other equipment came to represent a lifestyle or image where the children enjoyed identifying with sport in general or sport celebrities in particular.

Appearance

Not unexpectedly, it emerged from the data that clothes, bags and grooming items were key consumer products in the maintenance/creation of appearance. Furthermore, there are clear links between appearance and gender since “...how we look is an extremely prominent cue for gender definition...” (Kacen, 2000). Therefore, appearance is important for children to communicate a range of meanings as well as assisting in constructing other identities such as gender, performance and so on. The reason is that appearance is highly visual which children carry with them at all times.

The most important finding pertaining to appearance is the insight this study provides into young boys and the emphasis they place on appearance. Much research on appearance or related topics tends to suggest that girls in particular are concerned with how they look. However, this study presented findings with young boys (P6) talking freely

and confidently about grooming products, clothes and similar products. Boden *et. al.* (2004) presented similar statements to this study in their research on children's fashion consumption. They argued that children (boys and girls) were aware of how peers may pass judgment on their fashion choices and therefore, chose items that were considered trendy or cool. However, as the present study further indicated, not all children are equally interested in their appearance. To some, other qualities or features are more central in identity construction e.g. performance abilities.

In their research on beauty images and advertising Boden *et. al.* (2004) suggested the norms for physical appearance are different for adolescent boys and girls. Furthermore, they argued that as a result of advertising and other agents of socialization girls are much more critical of their bodies. Whilst this may still be true the findings from the present study suggest that the norms for boys' physical appearance may be changing.

Age

In marketing studies with children, age is a demographic factor used to compare groups and their social and cognitive development. Not unexpectedly, however, as this study has shown, for children age is an important identity – also within same age groups. This finding is consistent with Kelle (2001) who found children of same age groups discuss what they perceive to be mature and childish identities. In society children are continuously reminded of their lower status and lack of power due to their age. Therefore, for many chil-

dren becoming older (actual age) and acting older (social age) has, predominantly, positive connotations. Whilst the marketing profession may have some insight into the importance of social age in relation to childhood consumption, marketing academics have paid little attention to this identity.

In her ethnographic account Kelle (2001) examined children's discourses of development and found that children continuously contest the age suitability of various activities. She found that children's construction of identities was closely tied-in with age. However, age was not merely a chronological unit of identification, it was inherently social. Close parallels can therefore, be drawn from Kelle's data and the findings of this study.

In their study on children's fashion consumption Boden *et. al.* (2004) found that children evaluated clothing and symbols on clothing based on age appropriateness. This is consistent with the present study where children talked of the age suitability of different toys – such as Barbie being for younger girls or changing bedroom wallpaper to display current consumption interests (e.g. from Bob the Builder to Power Rangers). In a similar vein Davies and Machin (2000: 174) suggested the consumption choices of television to be a clear indication of social age and found that when discussing programmes children negotiated "...a sense of no longer being 'babies'". Therefore, it is clear that consumption is an essential resource in the construction of age identity. Children can thus communicate with others through consumer goods their level of maturity or development.

Research issues on children's identity construction and consumption in the Faroese context

At present the Faroe Islands can only be described as an advanced society in terms of consumption and technology. Historically though, Faroese people have had less access to the range of consumption opportunities available in many larger countries. Arguably, this is due to two main factors: Firstly, the geographical location of the Faroe Islands (situated in the middle of the North Atlantic) means it is relatively problematic and costly to transport consumer goods to the islands. Secondly, the islands comprise a very small market (around 48,000 inhabitants) which means economic viability is harder to achieve.

Yet, despite the fact that consumption powerfully frames everyday life, research on this topic is practically non-existent for the Faroe Islands¹⁰. Furthermore, it is clear that not even at a legislative level have these issues been addressed. For instance the lack of a marketing law is symptomatic of the fact that the significance of consumption and consumer behaviour has not been acknowledged in the Faroe Islands to date. Therefore, marketing, consumer policy, globalization and social inclusion are but a few of the issues which should be of key concern in public discussion. It is therefore, all the more confusing why children as consumers are not more prominent in such debates. These include social policy concerning children, marketing to children and not least children's rights as consumers.

Being a consumer society the lives of children are increasingly embedded in con-

sumption, therefore, as a starting point it is important to understand the meanings that Faroese children attribute to consumption. Yet as the findings of this study indicated, context, not least the structural features of everyday life, is an important factor in shaping children's consumption meanings. Therefore, it stands to reason that researchers in the Faroe Islands must look to their own culture and context to gain some understanding of what consumption means to children locally. For instance are consumer goods significant resources for the construction of identity? If so, for which identities is consumption important and in which contexts? Does the nature of the Faroese market, as a more confined offering of consumption opportunities, impact on how children choose consumer goods to construct their identities?

Increasingly, the global media has become a reality for the everyday lives of children in the Faroe Islands. Many children have access to a range of television channels as well as the internet. Consequently, they find themselves watching the same programmes and the same advertising as children elsewhere. At the same time children *do not* encounter retail outlets, marketing, peers, schools etc. on a local level. Therefore, of interest to explore among Faroese children is the continual interplay between the global and local consumption contexts of children's lives and how these contexts impact on the identities they construct. Even further, within the Faroe Islands it would be interesting to examine the lives of children in small rural areas with little access to consumption compared

to those in more urban areas in the Faroe Islands.

Finally, to conduct child-centric research on consumption specifically (as well as more general topics) would promote understanding of what it means to be a child growing up in the Faroe Islands. This means attempting to understand how children in the Faroe Islands relate to, understand and appropriate consumption into their worlds. By furthering understanding of children's worlds adults can start to question the taken-for-granted assumptions of children's position in the Faroese society.

Conclusion

It is clear that children are active constructors of consumption meanings, yet the meanings that children attribute to consumption are diverse. In their cultures they creatively appropriate these meanings into their worlds and use them in identity construction. Time, place and situation impacts on *whether* consumer goods or indeed *which* consumer goods are important/highly valued by the children. Furthermore, social context, age, gender and individual differences all account for the fluidity and changeability of meanings present in children's cultures of consumption. This leads us to the conclusion that there are certain identities which are more powerful than others and therefore, more likely to impact on children's consumption.

The study provided evidence that children are more competent as consumption interpreters than previous literature would suggest. Throughout the entire research process it was clear that children were by

no means passive recipients of meanings conveyed or "fed" to them through advertising and other agents of socialization. However, the manner in which children of different ages used and constructed their identities through consumption varied. In other words, the significance of developmental factors cannot be ignored – rather it is obvious that children's abilities cannot be neatly categorised into stages, cognition and age.

On another note, more research is necessary which explores consumption in childhood from an ethnographic perspective – in a range of social settings and different contexts. The findings from this study have revealed that it is timely more research was conducted from a child-centred perspective – of which ethnography is an appropriate (albeit not the only) approach. Such micro-analysis enables a gradual building of recurring patterns that emerge as significant in children's cultures of consumption and provides a greater understanding of the dynamics and interactions that take place amongst children.

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- 1) In response to the general lack of knowledge about children throughout the social sciences, childhood studies has emerged over the past 20 years as an alternative approach to studying children. This paradigm consists of authors from various fields such as sociology, psychology, education and anthropology. Very briefly, childhood studies criticises the traditional approach (socialization) to theorizing childhood, arguing that it treats children as incompetent, incomplete and irrational. Childhood studies seeks to explore children as active social agents who are worth of study in their own right – rather than merely as subjects “in development”.
- 2) Children are taught to obey adults. Therefore, it is essential that researchers are acutely aware that children may express their reluctance to participate through other means than words e.g. through body language.
- 3) In the second school the primary three teacher was new and the school therefore, decided to grant access to primary two children instead of primary three.
- 4) Heterogeneous sampling involves collecting data that explains and describes the key themes that are observed in the research setting (Saunders *et. al.*, 2003).
- 5) The nursery school cared for children from a few months old to school-age i.e. 4/5 years old.
- 6) The UK government offers parents vouchers to assist with child care costs. These can be used in private as well as state-run nurseries.
- 7) Primary schools in the United Kingdom consist of the first seven years of schooling and are grouped from primary one to primary seven. The age range in which children are at primary school ranges from 4/5 to 12/13.
- 8) The term extra-physical is used to describe those aspects of appearance as being an extension as such to the body. Therefore, although clothing for instance, are material objects they are not in themselves part of the physical body.
- 9) These are all terms for particular clothing and consumption styles – described by the children.
- 10) Firouz Gaini is currently writing a PhD on youth culture in Tórshavn, Faroe Islands.

Village-dwelling

Understanding young people's reasons for settling in Faroese villages.

Bygdadvøl – hví ungfólk búsetast í føroyskum bygðum

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Úrtak

Leikluturin hjá bygðunum í føroyska samfelagnum broytist alsamt. Fyrr vóru bygðirnar rættiliga fjarskotnar, men nú eru tær mobilt samantvinnaðar við hvørja aðra. Hetta merkir í fyrstu syftu, at bústaðarsiðvenjan, ið er knýtt at tí at búgva á bygð, broytist. Men harnæst er tað eisini við til at máa støði undan vanligu fatanini av tí at búgva á bygð. Sum ung fólk gerast sera mobil – og noyðast at gerast sera mobil fyri ikki at verða aftúrúrsigld – verða partar av siðbundnu bygðafatanini varðveittir í myndunum hjá unga fólkinum. Sæð úr hesum sjónarhorni verður bygðin eitt sera tvígilt og enntá tvørsagt fyribrigdi, ið javnvigar millum siðbundni og modernitet; millum staðbundinskap og flytføri. Í greinini vísi eg eisini á at tað er hópisleyst at skilja millum býar- og bygðalívsformar í eini mobilari øld.

Abstract

The role of the villages in the Faroes society is rapidly changing. Whereas the villages used to be quite isolated they are now mobilely integrated with each others. This means firstly that the dwelling-practices connected to living in a village are changing, but secondly it also undermines the common perception of the village-dwelling. As young people become – and have to become so in order to not being left behind – very mobile, parts of the traditional village-perception still remain in the imaginations of the young people. Seen

from this point of view the village becomes a very ambivalent and even paradoxical phenomenon that balances between tradition and modernity; between place-tiedness and mobility. In the article I also discuss the lack of meaning in distinguishing between urban and rural life-modes in an age of mobility.

Introduction

People are imagining their settlement in the villages according to the territorial qualities of the villages, but are at the same time determined by the phenomena of modernity and mobility.

This can be stated as the essence of this article that investigates a range of aspects of young people's reasons for settling in Faroese villages. The article is based on the findings of the master thesis “The Imagination on the Dwelling” (Kristiansen, 2005, title in Danish: “Forestillingen om Bostedet”) where I investigate the subjective reasons for settlement based on a case study of the Faroese village Gøta, which is mentioned several times in this article.

This article starts with a historical intro-

duction to the Faroese village which turns into a discussion of the village as a concept.

Thereafter I present four central discussions of my thesis. These discussions are:

1. “Identity and the obligation to move back home” which discusses the changes of the “home” and the change in the relationship towards the “place” of dwelling.
2. “Dwelling myths” which discusses the importance of a discursive production of the place of dwelling in order to (re)produce the place of dwelling.
3. “Imagination on the future dwelling” which discusses how dwelling-practices become both segregated through space and globalized through mobility.
4. “Traffic and mobility, distance and proximity” which discusses a range of effects that traffic and mobility pose on to the relationship between distance and proximity.

The article ends with a conclusion that includes some views on the threats and opportunities that modernity and mobility pose to “village-dwelling”.

The village – reality and concept

“The village” has for a long time been one of the ground-pillars of the Faroese society, constituting the bulk of the social and economic structures of the country, as opposed to many other industrialized countries that experienced a massive urbanization of the society.

In the Faroes, the development of industrial capitalism has been based only partially on emerging urban areas, as the villages – in large – have managed to enter the

industrial age through an economic mixture of agriculture, fisheries and – later – community-supported fishing-industry. This has – in turn – meant that the vast majority of the traditional Faroese villages (“markatalsbýgdir”) have sustained a relative autonomy from the centres, which has again sustained the reasons for living in these villages. Even some of the newer villages (“niðurseftubýgdir”) have achieved a status as production-entities during the 20th century, and especially the village of Skopun on the northern tip of Sandoy, is significant on this account (Finnsson, 2005: 85). Most other newer villages have been subordinated to some larger settlement.

“The village” – both the traditional and the newly settled villages – has been understood largely as a community, or what sociologists use to term “Gemeinschaft” (Hovgaard, 2001: 78-79). This means that “the village” is frequently seen as the scenery of reciprocal social relations constituting the life in the villages and the production of these villages. This does by no means give justice to the complexity of the traditional village that many historians and anthropologists have pointed out during the last many decades. (Very differing aspects of the Faroese villages are discussed in Joensen, 1987; Andreassen, 1992; Bærenholdt, 1991; 1993: 143-54; Haldrup and Hoydal, 1993; Haldrup, 1996; Finnsson, 2005; Finnsson and Kristiansen, 2006). This is the reason why I consequently put the concept of “the village” in quotation marks.

Perhaps we ought to talk about “the village” in two ways: on the one hand “the-village-as-it-really-is” and on the other hand

the imagination of “the-village-as-it-is-supposed-to-be”. The actual “lived” village is not necessarily identical to the imagined village, i.e. the “perceived” and the “conceived” village – for completing the spatial triade of Henri Lefebvre (1991: 33-46).

“The village” has in a strange way become a myth, but a myth that is co-present in the contemporary reality, and therefore an aesthetic part of reality. What is important to state, is that even though “the village” can no longer be analyzed as a clearly demarcated entity, it is nevertheless semiotically demarcated in contrast to other villages – or in contrast to other “non-villageous” spaces such as the outfield (“hagi”) and the sea (“hav”). The village is in other words very related to concepts like “home” and “security”.

But even if “the village” as a concept still exists in people’s minds, it is important to state that the real villages of the Faroes are developing very differently in these years: First there are the villages of the periphery that are supposedly being extincted within a few decades, or at best will be transformed into part-time residential areas or vacational-areas, and thereby in many ways function as “heterotopias” or “places of otherness” (as e.g. in Foucault, 1986: 22-27), or places where escaping the modern is possible to a certain degree.

Second there are villages that still contain a lot of activity in both the agricultural, industrial and service-sector and can therefore fairly be regarded as communities of their own.

Third there are villages that are having success in attracting settlers because of their

relative proximity to other (“urban”) places, but that are largely emptied out of industries and services. These villages I prefer to refer to as “sleeping-villages” and they are fully dependent on their inhabitants traveling to other places in order to work and consume. The Faroese folklorist Eyðun Andreassen has put it this way:

“In the very past years [i.e. in the eighties] there has been a new tendency, as some of the villages that are situated in the immediate proximity of a larger village or town starts to grow. People settle in the home-village instead of moving and new [i.e. foreign] settlers move in that are otherwise not tied to the place. This is among others because of fair taxation, a more simple bureaucracy in the municipal administration, easy access to goods of the nature and the sea and cheaper building-plots, which by the way can be a scarcity in the larger plotting-municipalities; a problem that the small village can solve for the time being.” (Andreassen, 1992: 287-288, translated from Danish into English; my comments in parantheses)

This passage was written in the beginning of the nineties, and now – in 2006 – we see that this practice of people moving out to the proximate villages, but still interacting with the urban areas, has stretched its locale to cover most of the Faroese mainland. A locale is “[a] physical region involved as part of the setting of interaction, having definite boundaries which help to concentrate interaction in one way or another”. (Giddens, 1984: 375, see also 118-24, 164-5). When a locale is stretched, this also means that interactions is less concentrated than in traditional communities as e.g. the old Faroese villages.

An interesting fact is that the third type

of Faroese villages mentioned above is in fact very popular amongst settlers and should be seen as a high-quality alternative to living in the town; not necessarily as a second choice. Although the Faroes are increasingly urbanizing, as people tend to move into the towns, especially Tórshavn and Runavík, there is also (still) an “anti-urbanization” and – more important – a “counter-urbanization” going on. The anti-urbanization trend can be seen as a resistance towards urbanization and perhaps also as a “loyalty” towards the “home-village”. The counter-urbanization is – on the other hand – a transposing of the urban into the rural (or a “rural restructuring” as in Marsden *et al.*, 1993); a strategy for escaping the town-life in favour of the peaceful village-life without abandoning the functional belongingness to the town or the towns that the respective village is referring to and subordinated to. Naturally counter-urbanization is – as in the surrounding countries – primarily localizing in the relative proximity of the town(s). Counter-urbanization is – functionally spoken – a dispersed kind of urban sprawl creating a special kind of suburbs that maintain the charming village-morphology that thereby offer an authenticity that the newly developed suburbs (e.g. Hoyvík or Norðasta Horn in the outskirts of the capital Tórshavn) are not yet quite able to provide.

The interesting point is that the counter-urbanization is a phenomenon very much filled with paradoxes and ambivalences. The main two paradoxes, that are related to each other, are, firstly, that people settle in the villages because of qualities like peace, open-space and friendliness, but that at the same

time they are occupied with a post-modern “urban” life style which diminishes the possibilities (especially the time-resources) of actually utilizing the qualities of the villages, as a large part of the everyday time-resources is invested in everyday-travelling of many kinds. The other important paradox is that people settle in the villages in order to obtain peace and relaxation and a safe environment for their children, but that they at the same time become more dependent on the automobility, which is – in turn – a major source of stress in the everyday. This latter paradox is a very commonly studied problematic in countries such as England and Denmark, where mobility is in fact a necessity to the life of many modern people but at the same time a huge social and environmental problem, both in urban and rural areas (Uth Thomsen *et al.*, 2005). Summing up, therefore, the “village-dwelling” is compromised by a change in both lifestyles and daily routines and practices (e.g. commuting), which is putting the semiotic structures under pressure. The subjective dwelling-imaginings are not necessarily corresponding to the objective reality, and the result is that understanding young people’s reasons for settling in the Faroese villages becomes very complicated.

Counter-urbanization can not be explained solely through practical terms as e.g. “cost-benefit”. Of course the prices of petrol, the prices of land (or built houses) and the length of the distances are important when explaining the counter-urbanization. But there is much more to it than only economies.

The main idea is that the qualities of the

Faroese villages are in fact much more complex than they may seem at the first glance. The Faroese villages are not a bunch of houses “containing” similar people living in similar houses, as one might at first suppose. The socially coherent village is history, if it ever has been a fact. The village is increasingly a part of a larger context, and the increasing mobility in the society (and between societies) enables the village to extend its locale.

Following a Castells-inspired terminology, the Faroese villages are increasingly hatched on to the flows of the “Network Societies” (Castells, 2000) which in turn makes mobility (both corporeal, cyberreal and cognitive) a much more common strategy of life. From this perspective we also may be forced to operate with differential life-strategies or “coping-strategies” that go beyond the common territory-bound coping strategies and create an understanding of the interconnection and interdependence of the territory and the mobilities in modern societies. (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 2002)

Identity and the obligation to move back home

It has been a common proposition that Faroese youth is very eager to “move back home” after e.g. studies abroad (Arge, 2000: 37). The problem with this statement is that “moving away” and “moving back home” does not in every case oppose each other semiotically, especially not when we talk about youth from the rural areas. When people move away from a village there are three possibilities: they may move to another village or town in the region; they may move

to a village or town far from home; or they may even move abroad. In any case, if they have moved abroad they will have left the “home-village” and may consider moving back home. But now home is no longer necessarily the “home-village” but is often considered as the “home-land” (or even “the nation”). If a young couple starts talking about “moving back home” – i.e. from abroad – one can therefore not be sure that they want to move back to the home-village or the home-region. Very often they choose to move back to the capital Tórshavn, that is if they are able to enter the complicated and hugely expensive housing market in the capital.

Nevertheless there are also young people that choose to move back to the home-village. This can be explained both by socio-functional reasons like the family and the access to the reciprocal and socially based housing market that is so common in the Faroese villages, meaning that phenomena like relatives, religion etc. play a large role to one’s housing-chances.

The socially based housing market; i.e. the fact that that social bonds are crucial in order to enter the housing market, are in fact one of the elements of the popular governance (in Danish: folkelig forvaltning; in Faroese: fólkslig fyrisiting) in many Faroese villages. But another reason is that people really feel connected to the home-village through their identity.

In order to be attracted by the identity of a place, the place needs not only to have a recognizable identity; it also needs a positive identity. Following this notion a sustainable identity-formation needs a “real”

counterpart in order to survive the various tests that are posed by the critics and self-critics (external vs internal critics); the individuals that do not agree on the particular identity-formation but would like to modify the identity for what ever reason. Identity must be somewhat waterproof in order not to seem silly or anachronistic, but then again, identity is something that can be used as a strategic mean for obtaining a goal, e.g. a positive image or a good reputation. Identity is surely productive, but may under certain circumstances be “unrealistic” (as opposed to “realistic”) and may become a kind of “cultural makeup” instead of a productive counterpart of the dialectic of local development.

But even if settlers are attracted to places there are still very different ways of being attracted. There is an enormous difference between being forced to dwell in a place and to choose to dwell in a place. Theoretically – therefore – I have proposed to distinguish between a person being “place-tied” and being “place-connected”. (In Danish I use the words “stedsbundet” and “stedstilknyttet” and in Faroese I would propose words like “staðbundin” and “staðknýttur”.) When one is place-tied one is determined to belong to the given place “in eternity”. On the other hand, when one is place-connected one does not have to stay or move back but may keep up a belongingness from the distance or one may even patch together an everyday that is based on many different places that thereby become functionally integrated i.e. by commuting. As I mentioned earlier in this article, this latter strategy is very common in the Faroes today (see also: Holm, 2004).

This means that a community does not necessarily need to “tie” people’s loyalties in order to become a succesful place. The success of a village can also be ensured by “connecting” people to the village and drawing upon their resources for shorter or longer periods of time; more or less intensively.

Another important aspect is that “home” is not necessarily the place where one dwells. Home and dwelling are not necessarily the same in a rural Faroese context. “Home” is not always semiotically referring to the “place of dwelling”, but may in some cases be the “place of growing up”. In this way the concept of home may “stay” at the parents’ house even when the youth has moved into a new building. Off course the new house will transform into a home when the young people’s children start to talk about their home in a reflexive manner, but even then the grandparents’ house will function as “another home” or a secondary home, which also refers to the institutional importance of the grandmother or aunt for raising the children. Home should not be understood as a house, but rather as the practices that surround the dwelling; i.e. the dwelling practices which refers not only to “being permanently in a place” but also to the continuous “building of the home”, both physically and symbolically. There are a huge range of other practices than just “being in the house” that constitute the significance of dwelling in a Faroese village. A real village-home needs more than just the space within the four walls to become a “full home”. If we follow the german existential philosopher, Martin Heideggers notion on dwelling, we can state that dwelling in fact means

“taking care of” (Heidegger, 2000: 33-54), and if we should stay with Heidegger for a moment, this should mean that a home that isn’t taken care of is not an authentic home. Semiotically there is therefore some reason in drawing up a continuum on the “most authentic home”:

“Childhood-home > Selfbuilt home > Bought home > Rented home”

This continuum expresses that the childhood-home is more authentic than the self-built home, which is more authentic than the bought home etc. When moving out of the parents’ house the selfbuilt home is clearly characterized as the first priority, but circumstances may force one to buy a house instead – which is “good enough” – or even to accept living in a rented home, which is definitely not an acceptable permanent solution for an ambitious young rural family. In a strange way the rented home signals that one is permanently thinking of “moving away” and that one is therefore less loyal towards one’s community. Owning one’s own home is in deed a quite place-tying practice – if we were to follow the concepts presented above. Thereby the demand for home-ownership could easily be seen as a demand for settlers to become place-tied; to “settle”.

The generational shift – i.e. growing up and entering parenthood – is one of the major identity-projects of Faroese rural youth, but another important identity-project is the reflexive restructuration of the locale – e.g. village. This does not necessarily mean that the locale has to be extended geographically, even if this is very much the

case in the Faroes today – especially through commuting, but that e.g. the village needs to be re-understood and re-thought, following a notion similar to the “rural restructuring” as presented in e.g. Marsden *et al.* (1993).

The most common re-thinking of the village is that it shifts from a production-unity to a “coherent set of dwelling-relevant features”. Another possible re-thinking of the village is to de-construct the village and re-think it as a larger unity – or locale. In the introduction I presented this as a “stretch” of the locale made possible by automobility. But stretching locales has always been an issue, limited only by the available mobility-technologies. Historically most of the economic booms in the Faroes have resulted in (or have been a result of?) a construction of regional towns, where the most important cases are Klaksvík that was originally four small agricultural villages (Guttesen, 1996: 52-55; Nielung, 1968: 175-83); Tvøroyri, that is a unity of all the small villages around the Trongisvág-firth (Jóan Pauli Joensen in Guttesen, 1996: 92-3; Nielung, 1968: 174-5) and Runavík that is a unity of several of the small villages around the eastern side of the Skála-firth (Finnsson, 2005). Later we have also seen conglomerations of villages in Hvannasund (Bærenholdt, 1991; Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt in Guttesen, 1996: 56-9), around Sundalagið (Guttesen, 1996: 66-7) and in Gøta (Kristiansen, 2005). In this last case there has obviously been a clear shift from the old village-identity based on one of the three markatala-villages towards a united identity for Gøta as a whole. Today young people hardly speak about respec-

tively Norðragøta or Syðrugøta, as they are identifying themselves as “Gøtufólk” (people from Gøta). From this perspective Gøta has in many ways transformed into a minor town.

Theroretical extract: Traditionally “home” was a very located place, but in an age of mobility “home” is extending its locale, as dwelling-relevant elements of the everyday have become reachable especially through automobility. This also means that one is not tied to the dwelling-place but connected to the dwelling-place or rather: connected to a whole range of everyday-places, the dwelling-place being only one of several.

Dwelling myths

Identifying oneself to a place or – for sticking to the subject of this article – a village, means that one engages in a semiotic play that seeks to position the place in a positive manner. The most obvious semiotic tactic in this game is off course distinguishing one’s own place or village as opposite to some other place(s) or village(s). Most often it is one’s own place that “acts” (i.e. “is being put in action”) as the protagonist in this tactic and the “other” place that somehow is not quite as good as “us” or perhaps even “bad” (in some way or another). This kind of “village-nationalism” is very common, but comparisons with other places may even function as a kind of self-critique of one’s own village. If one feels that one’s own village is perhaps too conservative or too religious – or even too little religious – one may point to another village that does certain things better, meaning: “if they can, we also can”,

and – in turn – “we ought to do it too”. This quite simple distinguishing between different places is also followed by an institutionalizing of the “local virtues”. In this case people from Gøta (gøtufólk) are quite aware that they are friendlier and more open-minded than most other people in the region, but in order to be able to state that, it is also necessary that people in Gøta are in fact friendly and open-minded. There has to be a correspondence between practice and discourse, at least in the long turn. This means that one has to demonstrate through everyday-practice that one is friendly and open-minded, which off course – in turn – produces Gøta as friendly and open-minded, both practically and discursively. We might even want to conceptualize this as an interesting place-specific village-ideology of “cognitive goodness” which also has had the effect of people (so is said) drinking less than in other places and being more industrial than in other places. The myth further goes that this is the reason why Gøta is one of the richest municipalities in the Faroes, which then again is a proveable fact.

This is not just a specific phenomenon. Friendliness is in fact a part of the “brand” of many Faroese villages. Reciprocal friendliness is one of the main qualities one can utilize – and/or co-produce – when one lives in a village. This is off course more true in some villages than in others, but in a socially balanced village this is at least a virtue one may foster. At least there seems to be a need to explain the qualities of the village as opposed to the qualities of the town. The myth goes that people are much more friendly in the villages whereas in the towns people just

work all day long and hardly ever “mingle”. How true this myth is, is hard to estimate, but I have talked to a young woman from another region settled in Gøta who pointed out that people in Gøta are actually too occupied, and it isn’t possible just to walk into each other’s houses as they do in her homevillage (a more peripheral village outside the Mainland) where it isn’t as normal that women work a lot outside the house. Seen from this perspective Gøta may not be that “villageous” anyway. The friendliness and openness is not that authentic and reciprocal as it may seem at first glance; it has become aesthetic. Friendliness and openness should be seen as a part of the symbolic capital of the village; a part of the brand of Gøta and thereby of being from Gøta, being from Gøta in turn meaning that one is friendly and openminded and perhaps even “cosmopolitan”.

The mega-event of the G!festival; a large music festival situated in Gøta is – seen from this perspective – a “spectacle” (a concept that could partially be explained as an “eye-catcher”; something that is deliberately posed in order to attract attention) one can build one’s identity on, both by referring to it, but also by being a part of the social co-operation that makes such a mega-event possible in such a relatively small place. Furthermore Gøta has a fine recent history of relatively high-quality bands, including the national super-star Eivør Pálsdóttir.

The blooming cultural life is remarkable considering the smallness of the community. The greatness of the cultural life of Gøta and the smallness of the community is really an extreme semiotic reflection that cre-

ates an impressive image. One really gets the impression of a community that exposes everything it has in order to satisfy the spectator.

One important aspect of the dwelling is that it is indeed a place, but then again: a very special place. This does not mean that the dwelling is the only special place, but it is commonly one of a person’s special places. The Danish geographer Ole B. Jensen has conceptualized the importance of “place-images”, meaning both imaginations on the place – e.g. dwelling, but also the image of the place (Jensen, 1999: 25). What happens when a place is sufficiently packed with images in a coherent manner, they might even be constituted as a “place-myth”. In other words, in order to create a myth on one’s dwelling means that one has to engage in a collective imaging of the “dwelling-place” (in Danish: *bosted*). This is off course not necessarily a cognitive action, but will tend to become so as people become more reflexive (as theorized in: Beck *et al.*, 1994). Creating images, myths, discourses and narratives on the village where one already lives is just a start.

Myths can also be created on one’s home, even if it isn’t built yet. It is important when building a house that the place where one builds it is positively discoursivized. A positive discourse can be construed from whatever quality there may be available, but one frequent quality is off course the social community aspect, i.e. that the social coherence can be stated positively in one way or another. This both refers to the social quality of the people that already live there, but also to the people that are going to settle there in

the near future. In a Faroese village one will always be able to know (by gossip) which people will become one's neighbours, and as many of these people may originate from the same village that they settle in, they will naturally start to construe myths on their future neighbourhood when meeting at the supermarket, at the kindergarden (if they already have children of their own), at birthday-parties or in the sports- or knitting-clubs. It is interesting to see that young people start to engage in symbolic investments in their future home; an investment that may in turn yield social capital that can become useful in the future, both for practical reasons but also in order to sustain an ontological security.

Theoretical extract: The discursive production of dwelling-myths is an important part of the (re)production of the dwelling-place. Not only is it a way to rationalize one's own settlement; it is also an important identity-strategy. As mentioned in an earlier section settlement is an important part of the identity-formation. This is not necessarily something new, but in a mobile age it becomes an increasingly aesthetic and reflexive practice that is not only mediated through corporeal relations but also through myths and images that are reflected in e.g. the media.

Imaginations on the future dwelling

One thing is mythologizing a place or a village; another thing is what the concrete imaginations on the future dwelling might be. It is interesting to observe that one of the core imaginations is that it will become a good and safe place for the children. At

first this may seem obvious, as one should assume that a core element of (future) parenthood is taking care of the offspring. Nevertheless, looking at the reasons for this, one finds out that this seemingly altruistic rationale on giving the children a good and safe childhood is actually also an aesthetic quality of the (future) dwelling. It is not just the fact that the young settlers will be able to give their children a good and safe childhood that matters; it is also the embedding into an "aesthetic community" that matters, watching happy, playing children being one of the important aesthetic moments of a beautiful evening.

This aesthetic community is a guarantee that one will not experience social extravaganza that might jeopardize the coherent mythology of the place or even become an everyday-practical burden (dysfunctional neighbours etc.), i.e. not only an aesthetic problem, but even a practical problem. One often supposes that youth seeks social extravaganza and new social fields that are exciting and potentially emancipatory, but this is not the case for those who want to live in the village. For those young people that decide *not* to move away, settlement in a Faroese village is in many ways an investment in the safety of social conformity. Not because this is existentially necessary, but because it is "funny". "Funny" (in vulgar-Faroese: "skeg") may seem as a funny word to use in this context, but this is actually the term being used to describe the relevance and significance of the imagined reciprocal sociality, that has been ripped off from its origin of mutual dependency and distilled into imagination. This means that the social

conformity is most of all a positive quality of the (imagined) place and not an existential quality of everyday life.

What is at stake here is the entire concept of a village life-mode as proposed by e.g. Bærenholdt (1991: e.g. 345) who has defined four different village life-modes: “caring-peasant” (omsorgsbonde), “fisher-peasant” (fiskerbonde), “fish-worker” (firkerarbejder) and “caring-wage-earner” (omsorgslønarbejder). These life-forms were thematically typologized by empirical studies in the distant village-conglomerate Hvan-nasund/Norðdepil. I am heavily in doubt whether these life-modes can be transposed to the mobile reality of the mainland of today, where the villages are automobilely in access to the towns. When (or if) living in the village is only differing from living in the town from an aesthetic or/and a formative point of view, but is functionally integrated with the “surrounding” society (or societies), we should perhaps no longer keep up the distinction between village and town, that has been constituted as a major “social faultline” in the Faroes for several decades. The linguistic distinctions “town><village”, “new><old”, “modern><traditional”, “progressive><reactive” etc. that have been so predominant in the Faroese society – as in many other comparable societies – are perhaps loosing their substantial counterparts. There is no obvious reason why youth from a rural village should necessarily be more “conservative” than youth from the town. In practice most youth does share a similar set of cultural references, because of the nationwidening of youth-culture (e.g. through large festivals in stead of the old local fairs

and gatherings) and youth-education (as a large part of the young generations are now able to meet young people from other regions on a daily base, creating new networks that transcend the villages).

It seems to me quite clear that Faroese youth to day has – in large – escaped from the village-ties and is now acting on inter-regional, national or even international scales. If we accept the notion of the Faroese mainland constituting a network-city in the making, then the rural youth is in fact being integrated into the general life-mode of this network-city. Whether this should be seen as a rural or an urban life-mode (as distinguished by Thomas Højrup, 1989: 65-72) could be discussed for ages, but perhaps one should rather abandon any such “rural><urban”-distinctions and accept that the globalization is now reembedding the social structures of societies, hereby integrating most social contexts on a broader level.

From this point of view, living in a Faroese village today should therefore rather be seen as an aesthetic project, which allows us to talk about a “rural life-style”, being only one of many possible life-styles in the of society. Living in the village is most of all a result of dwelling-preferences (a concept borrowed from Ærø 2002). One chooses to live in the village, because one wants and/or likes to live in the village (aesthetically); not because one has to (existentially). One is connected to the village; not tied to the village. The village is a chosen (or imagined) community; not a community of destiny.

This does *not* mean that this chosen community is solely aesthetic or symbolic. Ac-

tually it is also quite practical, as the sameness enables people to ask each other for services and recognition, even if it might be in quite symbolic ways like lending sugar or eggs or doing minor practical favours: all things that are not existentially necessary to life, but are nevertheless “nice” or “funny” and therefore also increase the subjective everydaylife-quality.

Theoretical extract: When young people talk about their future dwelling they are at the same time reflecting on their life-styles and life-modes. But as the existential and the aesthetic dwelling-practices are being segregated spatially as an effect of the increasing mobility, the rural life-modes are losing their significance. Instead the young people now become a part of a globalizing life-mode which is segregated into several life-styles, e.g. a rural life-style. Dwelling practices then become an aesthetic choice and are no longer an effect of existential necessity.

Traffic and mobility, distance and proximity

The safety for the children is a very common argument for dwelling in a Faroese village. One of the main reasons why the village is suitable for raising children is that there exists (or there is an imagination on the existence of) a reciprocal sociality that thereby creates a social environment that may be both secure and hopefully also stimulating for the children. One central part of this sociality is of course the “grananny-institution” (“gra-nanny” is a compound developed for this article by the words “granny” and “nanny”, signifying that the

granny-role often correlates with the nanny-role) which functions as an extension of the core family, that becomes more important when the mother is being more and more integrated in the employment-market. The “grananny” is very often an older woman that has acted as a housewife most of her life and still does. The problem in all this is that as time goes by the grandmothers are also being integrated into the employment-market, as it is the children of the women that went working in the sixties and seventies that now are settling and having children of their own. The new grandmothers are therefore frequently employed and do not have time for taking care of children. This means that the gra-nanny-institution is no longer available to all young settlers, and therefore external child-care becomes more and more a necessary institution. Most larger and medium-sized municipalities have understood this functional shift and have given higher priorities to child-care (“dagrøkt”) or even kindergartens (“barnagarður”) on the municipal budget; some municipalities offering no less than child-care-guarantee to all citizens. The quality of the school is also a very important aspect when young people choose where to settle. Andrias Petersen, former member of the municipal board of Gøta has formulated this policy-complex like this:

It must be a guarantee that – if you live in Gøta – you will have your children taken care of. We have also done an incredible lot to the school. Now there is only a one-pathed school up to 7th grade, and there has been aimed at having a school with a good reputation where the children thrive and learn something and the physical

frames are good. Because this is also what modern families look at. It is one of the criteria... The criteria for settling, what are they? It is child-care, plots, the school and then the environment for the children to grow up in. That is what people look at when they are settling.

He proposes the concept of “modern families” – probably as a social opposition to the traditional family – and thereby builds his argument on a social change that is now demanding a change in municipal policies. One could say that in the Faroese mainland, where the municipalities are heavily intertwined – both functionally and cognitively – a high-quality child policy becomes an increasingly important competition-parameter in order to attract young settlers that have ambitions for having children – which should probably include the vast majority of the whole population of Faroese youth, even though there is no quantitative data available on this.

Another aspect that underpins the fact that the village is losing its functional importance on behalf of an aesthetic significance, is that functions like shops, service and employment lose their relevance. If you have good access to the “space of flows” (as in Castells, 2000: 404-408), as for instance the main traffic-ore, then you are functionally integrated to the extended region if you have access to the relevant “mobility-capital” (Urry, 2004; Kristiansen, 2005) as for instance the car.

When I was interviewing the young people settling in “Uppi við Garðagøtu” in Syðrugøta it struck me that it was not a problem that their village was virtually emptied out of functions. There is nothing you can

do in Syðrugøta but being there and enjoying your neighbourhood. One interviewee mentioned that it would be nice with a little store around the corner, but that it isn't really necessary as they usually buy what they need in the regional town Runavík.

Functions such as shops, service and employment have been distanced from the dwelling, whereas functions as child-care and the good local school are still relevant to be situated in the proximity of the dwelling-place. What we see is that distances are becoming a central part of many peoples' everyday-life, but that people are also able to cope with distances technologically and cognitively. Mobility becomes a central part of the structural reflexivity of people as the structures are geographically extended (Drewes Nielsen, 2005).

I would propose that we try to understand automobility not only as a mean for getting from A to B, but also as an extended part of dwelling. Automobility becomes an everyday practice, something that is totally routinized and filled with rituals and repeating every-day situations. Dwelling is not necessarily a territorial practice but may also be a mobile practice. One has to understand, that it is exactly these young people that are most competent to cope with distances as they have grown up with driving between places. Even the current youths' parents were used to automobility, as this technology became common already during the 70'ies and 80'ies (Kristiansen, 2005: 4, 85-7). On the other hand, the logic of mobility must be regarded as a problem for less-mobile people like children or elderly women that never obtained a drivers-license. These

elderly people are also cognitively used to be able to demand services within the locality, but nowadays these services are moving away from the villages and into the towns, or – as something new – become situated along the main-roads in ”malls” or service-clusters. Young people are able to reach these places, but children and elderly are quite dependent on either public transport or a relative that drives them from one location to another. One could say, nevertheless, that this is in many ways just another way of reembedding the social ties in the villages, as the different generations may no longer be productively dependent on each other, but are instead mobilely dependent on each other. It seems even to be the case that the new major social faultline of the rural areas in the Faroes is now drawn according to the access to mobility capital and not according to the access to production means. To be succesful in todays society does not only mean that you are good at your job (degree of professionalization and/or skills) but that you are mobile – both physically and cognitively – and are therefore able – if necessary – to pull up the stakes and search for new hunting grounds (for using two indian-metaphors).

Under all circumstances young people settle in the village because they have a “mobile life-style”. If these people did not fancy the automobile culture, they would not be able to live in a village like Syðrugøta; or rather: they would, but only if they were apt to adapt to this mobile culture. Living in the village and not being mobile might otherwise even result in social isolation and/or stigmatization.

Another aspect that should be mentioned is that this mobile culture is not only a commuting-culture, but also a leisure-culture. Even in the evenings the car functions as a space of leisure amongst young people that “cruise” (or “slice” – if it is in the Northern Islands) towards the various meeting points on the mainland. These meeting-points may vary over time, but the grill-house, the kiosk, the petrol-station or the central parking-lots are typical spaces for automobile social activities.

The question is whether such a mobile culture is sustainable over time. Research has shown that mobility surely is a central part of today’s societies, but that mobility also is a source of economic and social stress (Freudendal-Pedersen, 2005; Uth Thomsen, 2005). The question is whether people will afford to use several hours each day on commuting. A germ for an answer can be found in a polemic between two interviewees that did not agree on the centrality of Gøta in the mainland:

It [i.e. Gøta] is well situated. You can get anywhere. Fast to Tórshavn, fast to Fuglafjørð, now it will soon be [fast to] Klaksvík too. It is quite central compared to living in Fuglafjørð or Skáli.

Now I mentioned yesterday that they build row-houses in Hósvík, so one ought to live there. From there it is much faster to travel to Tórshavn, and seen from that perspective we [in Gøta] live almost as far away from Tórshavn as possible; you’ll just go to Fuglafjørð, then you are as far away as you can get, or perhaps Selatrað. So we are quite far away [from Tórshavn]. It takes twenty minutes longer to drive from Gøta [than from Hósvík, smk]. One will always want to avoid driving as far as

possible; when you say that Gøta is well positioned; I don't think it is well positioned, it isn't."

This ambivalency shows that the distance can become a problem over time, at least if you work in Tórshavn each and every day, as the latter interviewee does. At least it leads one to consider the alternative settling-possibilities in areas that are better positioned. On the other hand, if one's locale is within the region, this is not articulated as a problem, and there is surely a cognitive difference between fifteen minutes commuting within the region and fifty minutes commuting between or across regions. This leads directly to a hypothesis that will not be investigated in this article, but will be commented on in the conclusion, namely that an increasing centralization of service and business will – over time – mean that also the settlement-structures will centralize. There will surely be an adjustment period, but the question is for how long people in the rural areas will manage to cope with the mobility-stress.

Theoretical extract: Quite a lot of the features of "the village" have totally changed their functional relevance. It is no longer necessary to live in the proximity of everyday functions as the increasing mobility has made it possible to extend the everyday-locale. But this also means that less-mobile people living in a village become dependent on their mobile relatives or friends. Furthermore mobility causes a functional segregation of the different villages, some villages hereby becoming "sleeping-villages".

Perspectives on village-dwelling in the future

In this article I have presented some of the main imaginations on the dwelling amongst young people settling in the Faroese rural-ity. I have summed the discussions up in four theoretical extracts:

Traditionally "home" was a very located place, but in an age of mobility "home" is extending its locale, as dwelling-relevant elements of the everyday have become reachable especially through automobility. This also means that one is not tied to the dwelling-place but connected to the dwelling-place or rather: connected to a whole range of everyday-places, the dwelling-place being only one of several.

The discursive production of dwelling-myths is an important part of the (re)production of the dwelling-place. Not only is it a way to rationalize one's own settlement; it is also an important identity-strategy. As mentioned in an earlier section settlement is an important part of the identity-formation. This is not necessarily something new, but in a mobile age it becomes an increasingly aesthetic and reflexive practice that is not only mediated through corporeal relations but also through myths and images that are reflected in e.g. the media.

When young people talk about their future dwelling they are at the same time reflecting on their life-styles and life-modes. But as the existential and the aesthetic dwelling-practices are being segregated spatially as an effect of the increasing mobility, the rural life-modes are losing their significance. Instead the young people now become a part of a globalizing life-mode which

is segregated into several life-styles, e.g. a rural life-style. Dwelling practices then become an aesthetic choice and are no longer an effect of existential necessity.

Quite a lot of the features of “the village” have totally changed their functional relevance. It is no longer necessary to live in the proximity of everyday functions as the increasing mobility has made it possible to extend the everyday-locale. But this also means that less-mobile people living in a village become dependent on their mobile relatives or friends. Furthermore mobility causes a functional segregation of the different villages, some villages hereby becoming “sleeping-villages”.

These are all effects of mobility and modernity. The technologies of modernity allow an ever growing degree of mobility which “shortens distances”, thereby creating new everyday spaces and therefore also new everyday places.

In a strange way, therefore, “the Faroese village” is becoming an optional dwelling-community, and is no longer a community of destiny. What is interesting to state is that even if young settlers today are functionally independent of their extended family (or at least would be able to become independent, if they really wanted to), the extended family is still a quality that is lucrative. Even though there are surely many young people that “move away”, there are also young people who simply want to stay, even if they are working in some other town or even in some other region. It isn’t possible to state exhaustively why this is the case, but my empirical material suggest that the reason is aesthetic or that it simply is “funny” (I

have explained the complexity of this word earlier in this article) to be together with the people one knows and is comfortable with. In other words, what matters is that one can “feel” comfortable and self-affirmed by the village-dwelling.

“The village” is not a necessity, but a possibility. But this does not mean that the village is only aesthetic and not practical. In the beginning of this article I stated a range of aspects that make settlement in a Faroese village on the mainland a very practical phenomenon, such as cheap housing- and plot-prizes, the proximity of the extended family etc. Without these practical aspects, the village would probably not be chosen in favour of the town to the same significant degree as it is being chosen today. The fact is – to a certain degree – that the villages are a valid alternative to the town, but for how long they will sustain the population is hard to say. One thing is for sure: the village is no longer a phenomenon that can be understood as a separate production entity. Definitely not. Even though this is still a common perception of “the Faroese village”, any such understanding becomes more and more absurd as time passes by. It is necessary to understand the villages’ functional integration to the surrounding regions, and it will also be necessary to develop municipal policies that acknowledge the new role of “the village”. The work that needs to be done is both complicated and even paradoxical, as people are imagining their settlement in the villages according to the territorial qualities of the villages, but are at the same time determined by the phenomena of modernity and mobility. Therefore politi-

cians will need to understand both the aesthetic side and the practical side of “the village” and acknowledge that these are in fact co-productive.

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Distribution of Raunkiær's life-forms along altitudinal gradients in the Faroe Islands

Útbreiðslan av lívshættum Raunkiærs niðan eftir fjallasíðum í Føroyum

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Úrtak

Fyri at vita, hvar vøksturin í Føroyum skiftir frá at vera arktiskur til at vera tempereraður, kannaðu vit útbreiðsluna av lívshættum Raunkiærs niðan eftir fimm ymiskum fjallasíðum. Eisini kannaðu vit, hvønn týðning gróðrarlagið, LOI (gløðitap) og árligur miðalhiti hava fyri útbreiðsluna av lívshættum við hæddini. Okkara niðurstøða var, at tíðleikin av hemikryptofytum minkaði linjurætt við hæddini, tíðleikin av therofytum og geofytum vaks linjurætt við hæddini, og rásin, sum vísir tíðleikan av charmaifytum sum funktiún av hæddini hevur skap sum parabil, við lægsta tíðleikanum á 400-500 m hædd. Tíðleikin av hemikryptofytum samsvarar eins væl við lága gróðrarlagið sum við hæddina, men therofytarnir samsvara best við lága gróðrarlagið. Chamaefytarnir samsvara best við tann árliga miðalhitan, men geofytarnir samsvara best við LOI. Kanningin vísir, at lutfallið millum hemikryptofytar og chamaefytar broytist við hæddini, sum vøksturin skiftir frá tempereraðum til arktiskt eyðkenni.

Abstract

To study the shift from temperate to arctic vegetation

in the Faroe Islands, we quantitatively analysed the distribution of Raunkiær's life-forms along five altitudinal gradients. We further tested the importance of the non-climatic parameters of altitude, total vegetation cover and LOI (loss on ignition), and the climate variable of annual mean temperature in describing the abundance variation of life-forms. We found that as altitude increased, the abundance of hemicryptophytes decreased linearly; the abundance of therophytes and geophytes increased linearly; and the abundance of chamaephytes varied parabolically, with the lowest abundance around 400-500 m. The abundance variation of hemicryptophytes seems to be as well correlated with total vegetation cover as with altitude, while total vegetation cover was the best parameter to describe the variation in abundance of therophytes. Annual mean temperature was the most important parameter for describing the abundance variation of chamaephytes and LOI was the most important parameter describing the variation of geophytes. We concluded that the abundance relationship between hemicryptophytes and chamaephytes changed with altitude as the vegetation changed from temperate to arctic vegetation.

Introduction

In this paper, we investigate vegetation response along altitudinal gradients using functional types expressed as Raunkiær's life-forms.

The advantage of using functional types is that the diversity of species is reduced into a more manageable system, and there is minimal loss of relevant information. Such a system, where plant species are grouped together on the basis of similar attributes or functions into well-defined groups, can reveal similarities in the response of group members to environmental disturbance. Grouping of individuals according to similarities in attributes also makes it possible to compare areas with taxonomically different floras (Woodward and Cramer, 1996; Diaz *et al.*, 1999). A variety of functional systems have been established (Nobel and Gitay, 1996). These are commonly based on autecological characteristics such as morphology, physiology and phenology, demography, etc., or a combination of several characteristics (Box, 1981; Grime *et al.*, 1988; Kelly, 1996; Diaz, *et al.* 1997; Walker, 1997).

In recent years, plant functional classification has received much interest among ecologists studying the effect of global climate change on ecosystems (Diaz and Cabido, 1997; Gitay and Nobel, 1997; Hobbs, 1997). These classification systems have been used on a broad scale to describe global vegetation (Box, 1981; Prentice *et al.*, 1992), especially in climate change studies (e.g. IPCC, 2001), and, on a local scale, to describe the vegetation in a region (Diaz *et al.*, 1997; Grime *et al.*, 1997).

Altitudinal transects with steep climatic gradients are useful settings for studying the variation of functional types as a result of climate change. Various studies show that Raunkiær's life-forms vary along altitudinal transects (Gomez *et al.*, 1993; Mark *et al.*, 2000; 2001; Pavon *et al.*, 2000). This has also been shown for the Faroe Islands (Raunkiær, 1934; 1936; Hansen, 1972).

It is generally accepted that the effect of changing land use on most ecosystems is greater than the effect of climate change (Vitousek *et al.*, 1997). Therefore, it is important that the effect of land use also be taken into consideration in a discussion of global climate change (Diaz *et al.*, 1997). A number of different studies dealing with the effect of land use show that disturbances often promote certain life-forms and impede others (McIntyre *et al.*, 1995; 1999; Hadar *et al.*, 1999; Lavorel *et al.*, 1999). Studies of land use change and its effects have used functional characteristics such as Raunkiær's life-forms (Raunkiær, 1934; McIntyre *et al.*, 1995; Hadar *et al.*, 1999).

Raunkiær based his functional classification on the position of over-wintering tissue, which is an indicator of the ability of a plant to survive unfavourable seasons (Raunkiær, 1934). Using this system, he was able to find relationships between climate and life-forms in whole floras in different parts of the world (Table 1).

In this study, we investigate the abundance variation of Raunkiær's life-forms along altitudinal gradients in the Faroe Islands. In general, the vegetation in the temperate zone is dominated by hemicryptophytes, however, the abundance of hemi-

Major life-forms	Surviving buds	Main distribution area In relation to position of surviving buds and generalize distribution
Therophytes	seed, annual plants	Open areas, deserts and steppes, decreases toward the poles
Geophytes	buried in the soil	Dry climate, steppes.
Hemicryptophytes	soil surface	Temperate and arctic climate
Chamaephytes	< 0.25 m above the soil surface	Temperate and arctic climate

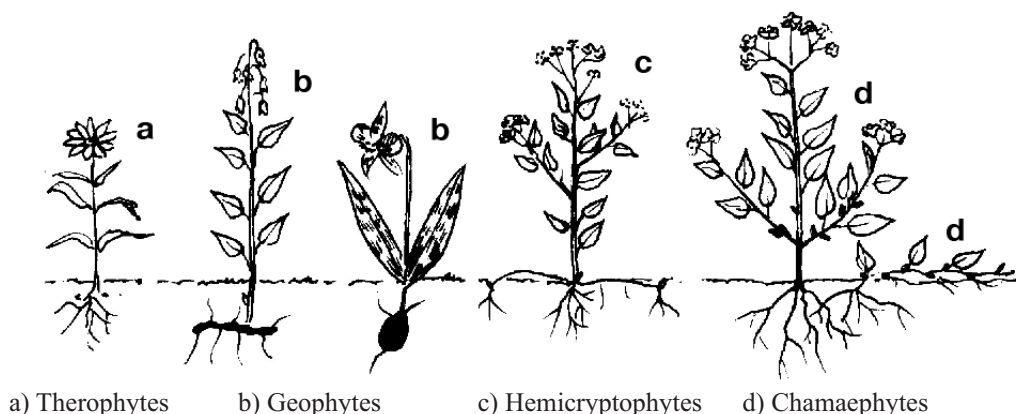


Table 1. Definitions of life-forms according to Raunkiær (1934), the surviving buds are in black on the drawings.

cryptophytes changes to favour increasing numbers of chamaephytes in the arctic zone (Raunkiær, 1934). Vegetational studies of the Faroe Islands have indicated a shift from temperate vegetation in the lowlands to arctic vegetation in the highlands (Böcher, 1937; Hansen, 1972; Fosaa, 2004). Studies have also shown a change in life-form abundances along Faroese mountain slopes (Raunkiær, 1936; Hansen, 1972). In this study, we use quantitative methods to verify these results and to determine the alti-

tude shift in vegetation zones. We also test the importance of climatic and non-climatic parameters on the abundance variation of life-forms.

Previous studies have given a general overview of changes in life-forms with altitude. These studies have, however, largely been qualitative and a number of questions remain unanswered: How do life-form abundances change with altitude in a quantitative manner? Is the shift from temperate to arctic vegetation abrupt or is there a broad tran-

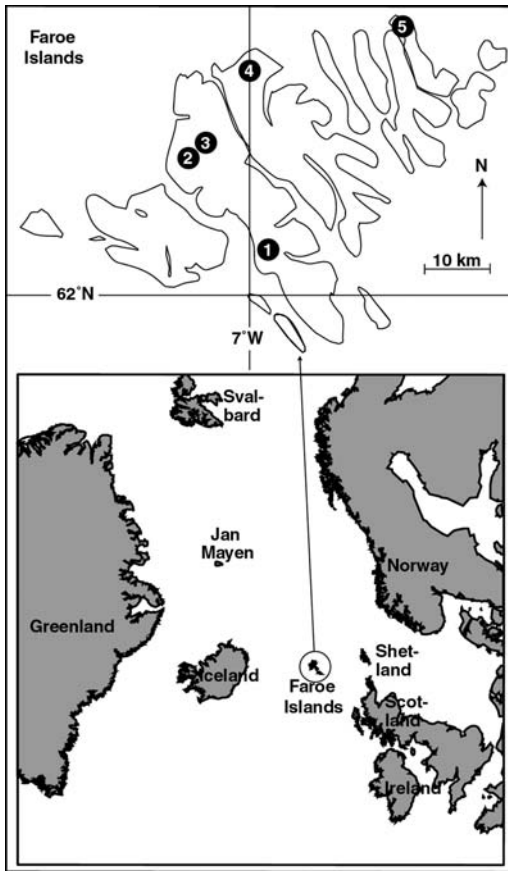


Fig. 1. Location of the Faroe Islands and location of the five studied mountains in the Faroe Islands: 1: Sornfelli; 2: Mosarøkur; 3: Ørvisfelli; 4: Gráfelli and 5: Villingardalsfjall.

relation between altitudinal change and life-forms in the Faroes and, in addition, the effects of climatic and other environmental parameters on Raunkiaer life-forms.

Material and methods

Study area

In the summers of 1999 and 2000, we sampled the vegetation on five mountains in the Faroe Islands along transects from a high point of 856 m a.s.l. down to 150 m a.s.l. (Fig. 1). Two of the mountains had north-facing aspects; one faced south; and two had southwest-facing aspects (Table 2). The longest transect was 4.0 km, while the shortest was 1.2 km (Table 2). All the mountains are grazed by between 34 and 49 sheep/km² (Thorsteinsson, 2001). The dominant vegetation types on the five mountains are *Racomitrium* heath and open grassland vegetation in the alpine zone (400–856 m a.s.l.); moist heath vegetation in the low alpine zone (200–400 m a.s.l.); and moist dwarf shrub heath in the temperate zone (up to 200 m a.s.l.) (Fosaa, 2004).

Sampling

A total of 538 meso-plots were sampled on the five mountains. The vegetation was sampled at 50 m intervals of altitude from 10 x 10 m quadrats (macro-plots). In each macro-plot, 8 smaller (0.5 x 0.5 m) quadrats (meso-plots) were randomly placed. The

sition? If so, then at what altitude? What parameters are responsible for the change? To what extent are these parameters climatic? The last of these questions stems from the original aim of our project, which was to evaluate how the vegetation might change in a global climate change scenario.

In order to answer these questions, we carried out quantitative sampling of the vegetation along altitudinal transects on five Faroese mountains. We also measured climatic and other environmental parameters on the transects. Here we report on the cor-

<i>Names of localities</i>	<i>Latitude</i>	<i>Longitude</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Maximum Altitude</i>	<i>Aspect</i>
1 Sornfelli	62°04'10'' N	6°57'25'' W	3.7 Km	749 m a.s.l.	N
2 Mosarøkur	62°11'05'' N	7°10'52'' W	4.0 Km	756 m a.s.l.	SW
3 Ørvisfelli	62°12'32'' N	7°09'17'' W	1.2 Km	783 m a.s.l.	N
4 Gráfelli	62°18'41'' N	6°59'48'' W	2.9 Km	856 m a.s.l.	SW
5 Villingar-dalsfjall	62°22'53'' N	6°33'13'' W	1.3 Km	841 m a.s.l.	S

Table 2. Details of the five investigated transects.

meso-plots were subdivided into 25 (0.1 x 0.1 m) micro-plots and the presence/absence of plant species was noted for each micro-plot. In this way, the abundance of species, ranging from 1 to 25, was determined for each meso-plot.

The total vegetation cover was estimated as the mean percent coverage of each meso-plot and the slope was measured. (Table 3).

One soil core (5 cm diam. x 10 cm deep) was sampled from each meso-plot after the vegetation had been removed.

Loss on ignition (LOI) was determined by ashing a soil sample at 550°C in a muffle furnace for three hours. The pH was determined with a Radiometer PHM 240 pH-meter after mixing dried soil with distilled water. (also see Lawesson *et al.*, 2003)

Soil temperature at 1 cm depth, was also measured hourly at 50 m altitudinal intervals during the years 1999 and 2001 using TinyTag data loggers.

To calculate the characteristic values, we computed annual values for five key parameters: the annual mean temperature (T_{av}); the mean temperature of the warmest month (T_{max}); the mean temperature of the coldest month (T_{min}); growing degree days (GDD), and the number of days with snow cover. GDD was calculated by summing the temperature excess over 5°C for all hourly observations in a year and dividing by 24 (Molau and Mølgaard, 1996). Number of days with snow cover was determined by taking the number of days with daily temperature ranges below 0.5°C and the mean daily temperature below 1°C. The two year period of measurement was from September 1999 to August 2001 for all the mountains except one, where we used the yearly period August 2000 to July 2001 (Fig. 1, locality 2). Details of the measurements and the results have been reported by Fosaa *et al.* (2001).

Altitude (m)		Slope	Cover	pH	LOI	T(ave)	T(max)	T(min)	GDD	Snow cover
150	Mean	27	86	5.0	50.4	6.2	12.5	0.8	1036	59
	Std. Error of Mean	3	4	0.0	1.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	16	5
200	Mean	15	86	5.1	54.7	6.1	12.7	0.9	970	79
	Std. Error of Mean	2	5	0.1	1.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	11	5
250	Mean	4	87	5.4	40.8	5.6	12.2	0.6	892	96
	Std. Error of Mean	1	3	0.1	3.0	0.1	0.3	0.1	29	5
300	Mean	28	76	5.5	34.9	5.5	12.1	0.5	882	99
	Std. Error of Mean	2	5	0.1	2.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	9	4
350	Mean	29	67	5.3	27.0	5.3	11.7	0.4	830	106
	Std. Error of Mean	1	5	0.1	1.8	0.1	0.2	0.0	11	4
400	Mean	17	54	4.4	31.1	5.0	11.4	0.3	778	113
	Std. Error of Mean	2	6	0.3	3.9	0.1	0.2	0.0	13	4
450	Mean	21	69	5.0	24.5	4.7	11.0	0.1	726	121
	Std. Error of Mean	2	6	0.2	2.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	16	3
500	Mean	17	57	5.7	16.4	4.4	10.6	0.0	675	128
	Std. Error of Mean	2	5	0.1	1.3	0.1	0.2	0.0	20	3
550	Mean	30	30	5.7	12.0	4.1	10.2	-0.1	623	136
	Std. Error of Mean	2	5	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.0	23	3
600	Mean	22	55	5.7	13.5	3.9	9.9	-0.2	571	143
	Std. Error of Mean	2	6	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.2	0.0	27	3
650	Mean	30	47	5.9	11.3	3.6	9.5	-0.4	519	151
	Std. Error of Mean	3	6	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.2	0.0	31	4
700	Mean	25	45	5.7	15.1	3.2	9.0	-0.5	449	158
	Std. Error of Mean	3	4	0.0	1.6	0.1	0.2	0.1	37	4
750	Mean	15	42	5.2	11.5	3.7	9.1	-0.6	475	160
	Std. Error of Mean	2	5	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.1	29	3
800	Mean	18	56	5.3	15.6	2.9	8.6	-0.8	432	161
	Std. Error of Mean	2	8	0.2	1.6	0.1	0.3	0.1	41	5
850	Mean	3	27	5.9	14.9	2.9	9.4	-0.4	529	170
	Std. Error of Mean	1	9	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.2	5	4

Table 3. Mean and standard error of the environmental parameters at all the altitudes studied.

Data analysis

All plant species recorded were assigned to their respective life-form based on Raunkiaer classifications following Ostenfeld's, (1905-1908) division of the Faroese flora. To assess whether our data was representative for Raunkiaer biological spectra for the Faroese flora, we calculated the number of vascular plant species belonging to each life-form type as a percentage of the total number of

vascular plant species on all the five studied mountains. This was then compared with the distribution of Raunkiaer's life-forms in the whole of the Faroese flora (Raunkiaer, 1934), allowing us to determine if the life-form data from our study showed the same trends and, thus, is representative of the flora in the Faroe Islands.

Correlations between life-forms and the environmental parameters were tested using

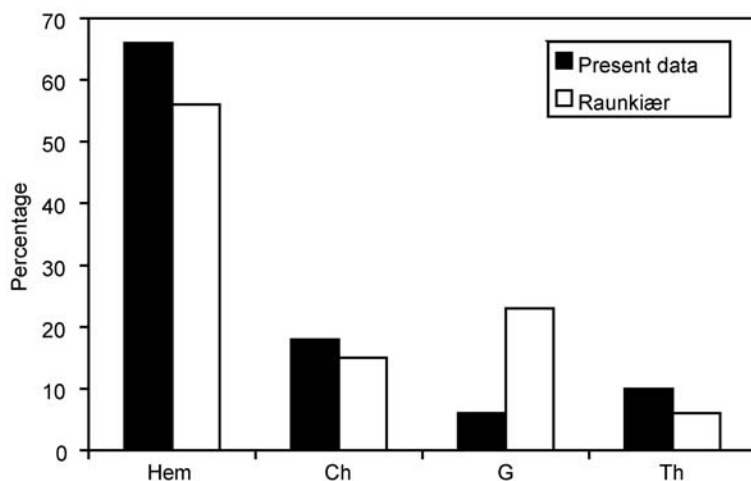


Fig. 2. The biological spectra of Raunkiær's life-forms based on the total flora in the Faroe Islands compared to results from the present study. The life-forms are given as % of total number of vascular species for each of the four life-forms.

Hem: Hemicryptophytes;
Ch: Chamaephytes;
G: Geophytes and
Th: Therophytes.

the Pearson correlation test (Table 4) and the results used to determine which environmental variables should be included in the analysis by choosing the variables that were least correlated to one another.

The altitudinal variation was determined by plotting the weighted abundance of each life-form against altitude at 50 m intervals and identifying the best first or second order polynomial to fit the data from an ANOVA table. If the coefficient of the quadratic term in the second order regression analysis was significantly different from zero, the second order polynomial was selected; otherwise, the linear regression was selected. Life-form abundances, expressed as percentages, were determined by dividing the abundance of each life-form by the sum of all life-form abundances in each meso-plot. The correlation of life-form abundances with each environmental variable was determined using the same type of analysis.

Results

The occurrence of life-forms as a percent-

age of species number from this study and for the whole flora of the Faroe Islands based on Ostenfeld (1905-1908) is shown in Figure 2.

Hemicryptophytes were found to be the most species-rich life-form with an average value of 66% in our study in contrast to 56% in the earlier study (Raunkiær, 1936). Chamaephytes also had slightly more species in our study, 18% in contrast to 15% from previous studies. There were significantly fewer geophytes in our study, 6% in contrast to 23%, while therophytes were more numerous, 10% in contrast to 6% in older study (Fig. 2). Thus, we found the same trend in total flora as in the older study, with the exception of geophytes, which were markedly less. The reason why geophytes are less numerous in our study is that many are rare species or they grow in lowland habitats which are less represented in our study.

The relationship between the life-forms in 50 m altitudinal intervals are shown in Figure 3. Here we can see that hemicrypto-

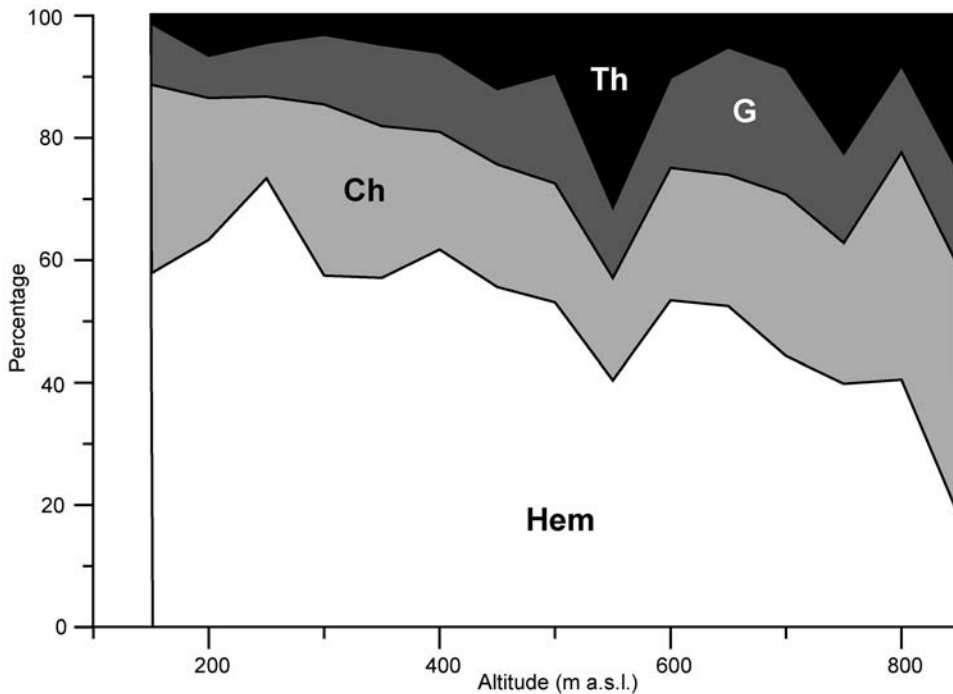


Fig. 3. Relationship between abundance of life-forms on the five investigated mountains, in altitudinal intervals. For abbreviations see fig 2.

phytes and chamaephytes are the most abundant life-forms.

The cross-correlation of variables are shown in Table 4. We find that both total vegetation cover and LOI were negatively correlated with altitude. All of the temperature-related parameters were also negatively correlated with altitude, except for snow cover. Using Table 4, and starting with altitude, the following sequence of variables would be slope, pH, cover, LOI, and the temperature-related variables. When fitting the life-form abundances against these variables, slope and pH did not yield significant fits, with one exception. Geophytes could be represented as a quadratic function of pH with a significance level $p=0.025$, but none

of the other life-forms could be fitted significantly ($p<0.05$) to pH, and none could be fitted to slope. In the further analysis, we therefore use altitude, cover, LOI, and the temperature-related variables.

Since the temperature variables are not independent variables, we choose just one of these parameters, annual mean temperature, for further analysis (Fig. 6).

The analysis of altitudinal variation (Fig. 4 a-d through 7 a-d) indicated that abundance of all the life-forms, except for chamaephytes, varied linearly with altitude, hemicryptophytes decreasing linearly, while therophytes and geophytes increased with altitude. Chamaephytes had minimum abundance around 400-500 m a.s.l.

Correlations	Altitude	Slope	Cover (%)	pH	LOI	T(ave)	T(max)	T(min)	GDD	Snow cover
Altitude (m)	1									
Slope (degrees)	0.015	1								
Cover total (%)	-.405(**)	-.109(*)	1							
pH	.169(**)	.111(*)	-.042	1						
LOI	-.681(**)	-.248(**)	.543(**)	-.088(*)						
T(ave)	-.855(**)	-.133(**)	.294(**)	-.158(**)	.602(**)	1				
T(max)	-.728(**)	-.105(*)	.248(**)	-.169(**)	.506(**)	.884(**)	1			
T(min)	-.803(**)	-.075	.301(**)	-.196(**)	.609(**)	.880(**)	.856(**)	1		
GDD	-.776(**)	-.114(**)	.224(**)	-.160(**)	.509(**)	.915(**)	.895(**)	.789(**)	1	
Snow cover	.760(**)	.124(**)	-.282(**)	.099(*)	-.513(**)	-.735(**)	-.491(**)	-.541(**)	-.765(**)	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4. Pearson correlation matrix and significant values between the environmental parameters.

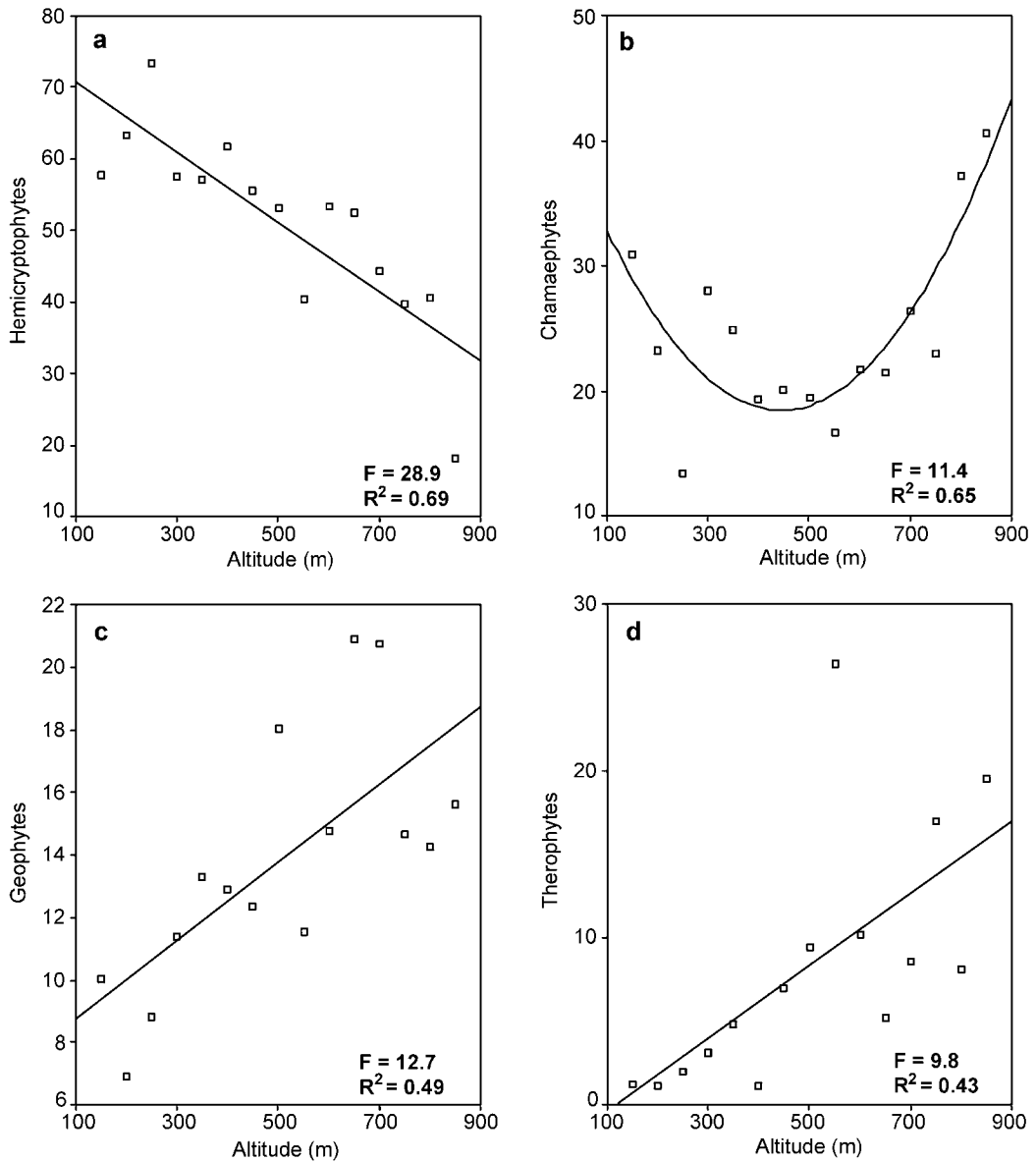


Fig. 4 a-d. Scatter plots of the abundance of each of the four life-forms in relation to altitude. The best first and second order polynomial to fit the data is based on the highest F value from a one way ANOVA. R^2 for each analysis is also shown.

DISTRIBUTION OF RAUNKJÆR'S LIFE-FORMS
ALONG ALTITUDINAL GRADIENTS IN THE FAROE ISLANDS

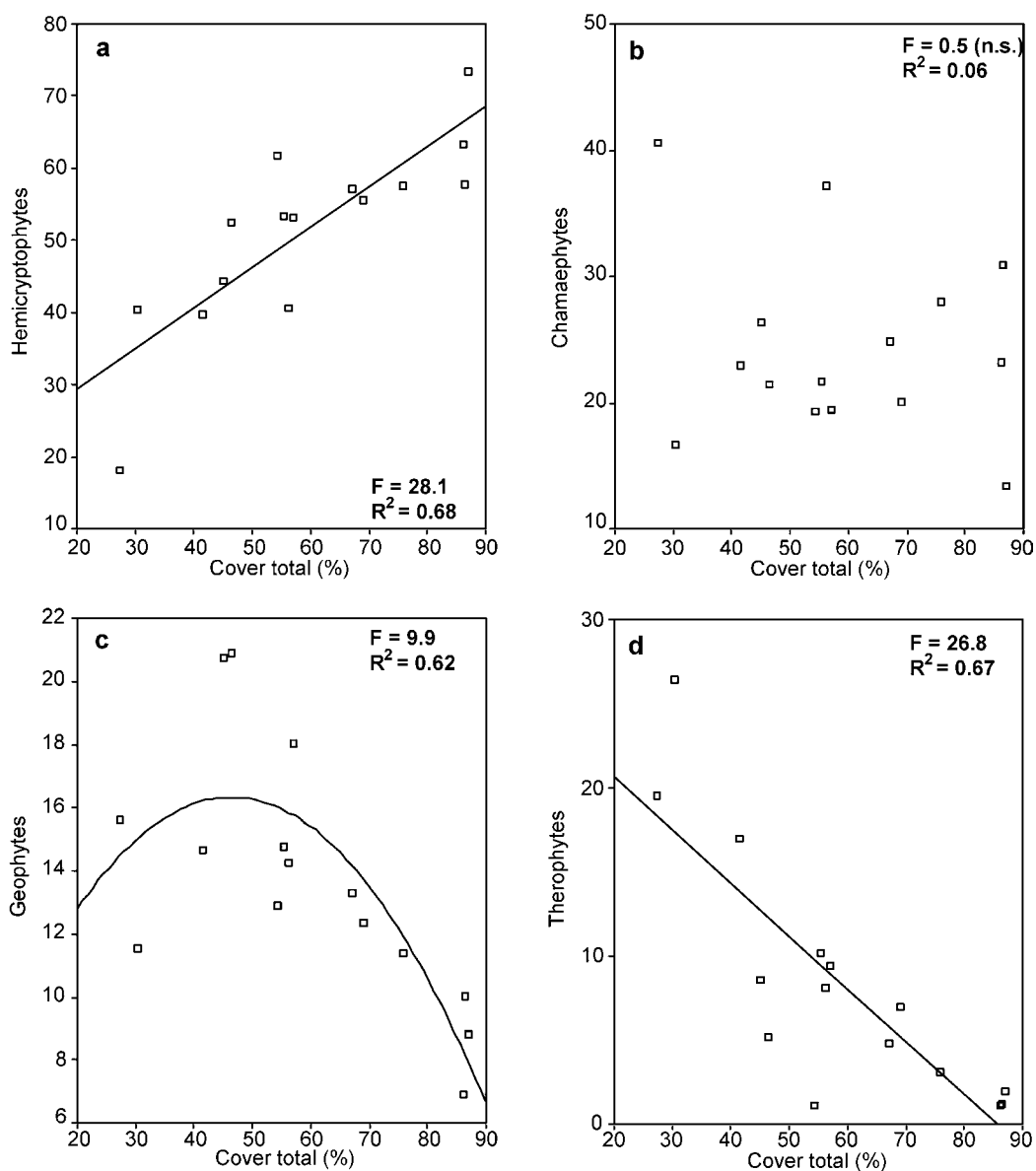


Fig. 5 a-d. Scatter plots of the abundance of each of the four life-forms in relation to total vegetation cover. The best first and second order polynomial to fit the data is based on the highest F value from a one way ANOVA. R^2 for each analysis is also shown.

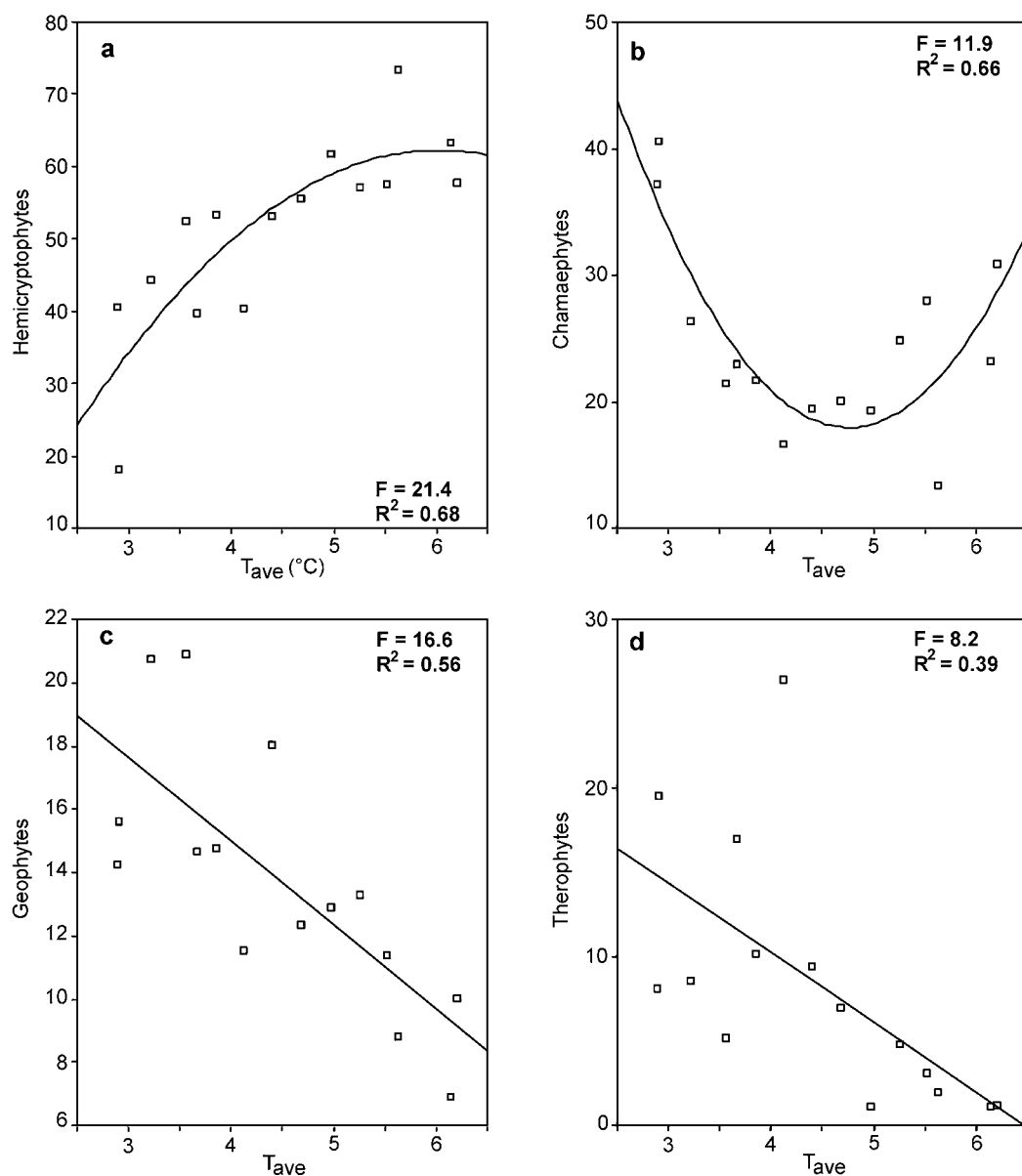


Fig. 6 a-d. Scatter plots of the abundance of each of the four life-forms in relation to T_{ave} . The best first and second order polynomial to fit the data is based on the highest F value from a one way ANOVA. R^2 for each analysis is also shown.

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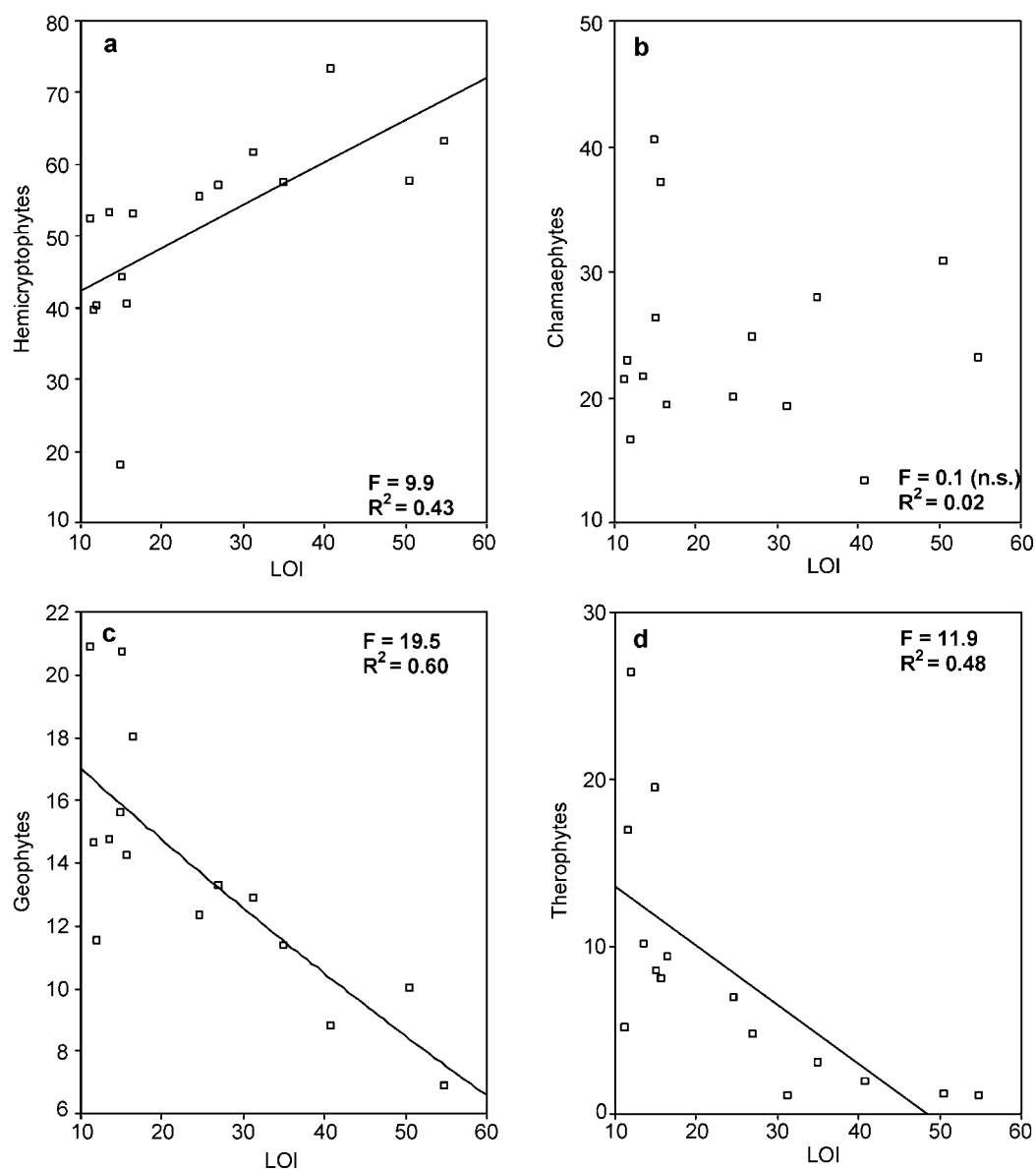


Fig. 7 a-d. Scatter plots of the abundance of each of the four life-forms in relation to LOI. The best first and second order polynomial to fit the data is based on the highest F value from a one way ANOVA. R^2 for each analysis is also shown.

To investigate which of the environmental parameters explained most of the variation, we compared the F values from the ANOVA tables (Figs. 4-7). Based on this criterion, total vegetation cover best explained the variation of hemicryptophytes and therophytes while temperature best explained chamaephyte variation and LOI gave the highest F value for geophytes.

Discussion

All the results are based on life-form abundances, which have been weighted so that the sum of all abundances for each meso-plot is 100%. This methodology has the drawback that the abundances of different life-forms are not independent. If some life-forms increase in relative abundance, others must decrease. Our main reason for choosing this strategy is the problem arising from the highly eroded areas that dominate parts of the Faroese mountainsides, associated with the decreasing vegetation cover with altitude (Table 3). By weighting the life-form abundances in the specified manner, we reduce the influence of vegetation-free areas on life-form abundance values.

Altitude does not appear to be the best parameter to account for the variation in abundance of all Raunkiær's life-forms along an altitudinal gradient. As seen from our results, total vegetation cover is correlated almost as strongly as altitude with the variation in abundance of hemicryptophytes, the most common life-form in the Faroe Islands. In relation to the other life-forms, we found that hemicryptophytes decrease linearly to the highest point on the gradient. This could, however, also be explained by

the fact that total vegetation cover decreases similarly with altitude.

The decrease of hemicryptophyte abundance with altitude was also found in grazed areas at high altitude in Australia by McIntyre *et al.* (1995). They found that increasing soil disturbance resulted in a decreasing number of species with vegetative reproduction, but no effect was seen on species without vegetative reproduction. This was verified in our study with the negative correlation of total vegetation cover on the abundance of hemicryptophytes. In other studies, hemicryptophytes were found to be less tolerant of grazing than species with subterranean over-wintering buds (Hadar *et al.*, 1999; Sternberg *et al.*, 2000).

The most important parameter describing the distribution of therophytes is also total vegetation cover. Fellfields, screes and other areas with unstable soils such as patterned ground are widespread in the alpine zone in the Faroe Islands (Fosaa, 2004). In such unstable habitats, therophytes are the dominant life-form, with *Koenigia islandica* as the predominant species, commonly being the only species in our meso-plots. In the Faroe Islands, the mountains are grazed from the lowlands to the mountaintops, (Brattaberg, *pers. com.*). Increasing disturbances due to natural causes also result in decreasing total vegetation cover with increasing altitude (Table 3). Soil disturbance has been found to reduce the species richness (McIntyre and Lavorel, 1994), which is also consistent with our results. McIntyre *et al.* (1995) found that light grazing increases diversity, while heavy grazing result in a higher proportion of therophytes. The

abundance of therophytes in the Faroes, increased significantly with increasing altitude, although the richness of this life-form decrease (Fig. 3). This result is consistent with Grime *et al.* (1988) and McIntyre *et al.* (1995) who found that therophytes increase in areas with low total vegetation cover and little competition from other species.

We found that chamaephytes had their lowest abundance between 400-500 m, and then increased with altitude. Geophytes increased linearly with altitude. The most important parameters describing the abundance variation of these two life-forms are annual mean soil temperature and soil loss on ignition, respectively.

Minimum chamaephyte abundance in the mid-mountain slopes can be explained by the disappearance of species such as *Calluna vulgaris*, *Empetrum nigrum*, *Vaccinium myrtillus* and *V. uliginosus* at the minimum abundance altitude (500 m), and increasing abundance of these chamaephytes above this elevation. It can, however, possibly also be the result of increased abundance of chamaephytes such as *Silene acaulis* and *Salix herbacea* above this same elevation.

Studies from other areas showed that geophytes are more resistant to grazing disturbance than both chamaephytes and hemicryptophytes, since their over-wintering buds are subterranean and they flower early, features which enables them to flower and set seed despite grazing (Hadar *et al.*, 1999 and Sternberg *et al.*, 2000). In other studies, geophytes were also found to decrease with altitude (Danin and Orshan, 1990; Gomez *et al.* 1993; Pavón *et al.*, 2000). Since geo-

phytes in this study represent only 25 % of the geophytes occurring in the Faroe Islands (Fig. 2), it is difficult to draw any conclusions about this life-form.

Conclusion

Returning to the first question posed in the introduction: How do life-form abundances change with altitude in a quantitative manner? We found a linear relationship between altitude and three of the life-forms. Hemicryptophytes decrease linearly; therophytes and geophytes increase linearly; and chamaephyte abundance changes parabolically with a minimum at the mid-mountain elevation.

The second question posed was: Is the transition between temperate and arctic vegetation abrupt, or continuous, and, if the former, then at what altitude? We found a shift in the abundance distribution of chamaephytes at 400-500 m a.s.l. The relative abundance of chamaephytes increases in relation to hemicryptophytes above this altitude. This indicates a change from lowland temperate vegetation, with hemicryptophytes as the dominant life-form, to arctic vegetation in the highlands where chamaephytes are more abundant than at lower altitudes.

The third question was: What parameters are responsible for the life-form changes and to what extent are these parameters climatic? Both non-climatic and climatic parameters seem to be correlated with changes in relative abundance of life-forms. Chamaephytes are an exception to this generalisation, as they are not correlated to total vegetation cover or LOI.

The high abundance of therophytes in the

alpine zone is seen to be due to low total vegetation cover, as therophytes are commonly found as the only life-form in unstable soils such as screes, fellfields and patterned fields.

We, therefore, suggest that the effect of environmental factors, such as soil disturbance, override the effect of climatic parameters for therophytes. Thus, disturbance of the soils due to reduced vegetation cover is most likely the best explanation for the high abundance of therophytes.

Acknowledgements

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Solitary ascidians (Tunicata, *Ascidiacea* and *Sorberacea*) of the Faroes

Stakir sjóbjølgar (Tunicata, Ascidiacea og Sorberacea) við Føroyar

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Úrtak

Allir teir støku sjóbjølgarnir, sum vóru innsavnaðir undir BIOFAR-verkætlanini eru rannsakaðir og navngreindir til lægstu møguligu flokkingsarskipan. Innan BIOFAR-verkætlanin byrjaði í 1987, vóru 24 sløg av stakum sjóbjølgum staðfest innan fyrri 200 fjórðinga sjómarkið. Eftir BIOFAR er talið økt til 36. Stakir sjóbjølgar eru staðfestir í 17 prosent av støðunum (225 av tilsamans 1325). Tólv eru staðfestir fyrri fyrstu ferð: *Ascidia mentula* Müller, 1776, *Styela atlantica* (Van Name, 1912), *Styela similis* Monniot, 1970, *Styela theeli* Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1921, *Cnemidocarpa mollispina* Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1922, *Cnemidocarpa mortenseni* Hartmeyer, 1912, *Polycarpa porculus* Monniot C. and Monniot F., 1979, *Molgula herdmanni* Bjerkan, 1905, *Molgula mira* (Ärnback, 1931), *Molgula occulta* Kuppfer, 1875, *Eugyra islandica* Millar, 1974, og *Asajirus arcticus* (Hartmeyer, 1923). Slektirnar *Cnemidocarpa* og *Asajirus* eru staðfestar fyrri fyrstu ferð á økinum.

Abstract

All the solitary ascidian material collected during the BIOFAR programme has been worked through and identified to lowest possibly taxonomic level. Before the BIOFAR programme started in 1987, twenty four solitary ascidian species had been recorded within the Faroese Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). The BIOFAR sampling has increased this number to thirty six. Solitary ascidians are recorded at 17% of the stations (225 out of 1325).

Twelve species were recorded for the first time: *Ascidia mentula* Müller, 1776; *Styela atlantica* (Van Name, 1912); *Styela similis* Monniot, 1970; *Styela theeli* Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1921; *Cnemidocarpa mollispina* Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1922; *Cnemidocarpa mortenseni* Hartmeyer, 1912; *Polycarpa porculus* Monniot C. and Monniot F., 1979; *Molgula herdmanni* Bjerkan, 1905; *Molgula mira* (Ärnback, 1931); *Molgula occulta* Kuppfer, 1875; *Eugyra islandica* Millar, 1974; and *Asajirus arcticus* (Hartmeyer, 1923). Two genera, *Cnemidocarpa* and *Asajirus*, are recorded for the first time in the area.

Introduction

Previous investigations on Faroese ascidians

The first species list with Faroese fauna was made by Svabo 1781 and 1782 (Svabo, 1959). At that time, the ascidians were placed within Mollusca. Although the molluscs are fairly well represented in the list, no ascidians were included. The earliest source on ascidians from the Faroes is the collections of the Zoological Museum of Copenhagen: a specimen of *Molgula complanata* (Alder and Hancock, 1870), identi-

fied by Steenstrup in 1858. The specimen was recorded from Miðvág, and might have been collected by Japetus Steenstrup who visited the Faroes in 1844 and took benthic samples around the islands from row boats (Tendal and Bruntse, 2001). The ascidians were categorized within the molluscs until the middle of the nineteenth century, but there are no ascidians in the mollusc species list of Mörch (1868). The first literature treating ascidians collected within the present-day Faroese EEZ is in a report of Herdman (1884) on the cruises of H.M.S. "*Lightning*" in August and September 1868 and H.M.S. "*Porcupine*" the year after. On each of the cruises ascidians were recorded at a single station out of a total of fourteen in 1868 and twenty in 1869. The sampling effort from these two pioneering cruises was concentrated around the Faroe-Shetland Channel, because of British oceanographic interests in the area at that time. Nearly a decade later from 1876 to 1878 a Norwegian Deep Sea-Expedition was accomplished with three stations within or close to the present-day Faroese EEZ, but no ascidians were recorded (Bonnevie, 1896).

Ascidians recorded in Vestmanna were identified by Klixbüll in 1880 (Hartmeyer, 1924). When these specimens were collected is uncertain, but some dredgings were done in 1878 and 1880 (the former year by C. F. Wandel) from the mail-ship from Denmark to Iceland and Faroes (Tendal and Bruntse, 2001); it is possible that the Vestmanna records are from one of these samplings. HMS "*Lightning*" visited the Faroes again in August-September 1882 and took benthic samples at ten stations at the south-

ern border of the Faroese EEZ (Carpenter, 1868). In two of these stations ascidians were recorded (Herdman, 1884). "*Fylla*" did some sampling in the Faroe-Shetland Channel in 1890; ascidians were recorded at two stations (Hartmeyer, 1923; 1924). In 1895-1896 twenty-two stations were positioned within the Faroese EEZ by the Ingolf Expedition (Bøggild, 1899), and ascidians were found at three of them (Hartmeyer, 1923; 1924). The fishery steam ship "*Michael Sars*", took several benthic samples within the Faroese EEZ in 1904 and recorded ascidians at 12 stations (Bjerkman, 1905).

The sparse number of samples from the latter half of the 19th century represents more or less coincidental occurrences of oceanic research vessels in the Faroese area on journeys with other destinations and purposes, and we must move well into the 20th century to find a large scale biological investigation of the Faroes.

Hartmeyer (1923; 1924) included most records from the Faroes until that time in his extensive work on the Arctic and boreal ascidians. Later in the 1920s a survey of the whole Faroese biota took place; the marine part was collected in 1924-1927. In autumn 1926 the fishery inspection vessel "*Beskytteren*" was employed for sampling and in 1927 "*Dana*". The results were published in "*the Zoology of the Faroes*" (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

Since the 1920s, a number of samples have been taken in the Faroese area e.g. NORBI (Monniot and Monniot, 1979), but in none of these have I succeeded in finding any ascidian record within the Faroese EEZ.

Gear	Stations		Solitary ascidians records			
	Biofar 1	Biofar 2	Biofar 1 No.	%	Biofar 2 No.	%
Anchor dredge (heavy)	-	1	-	-	none	0
Bottom trawl (Alfredo)	3	-	none	0	-	-
Bottom trawl (shrimp)	29	-	3	10.3	-	-
‘Sneli’ sledge	164	13	18	11.0	2	15.4
Grab	211	3	2	0.9	none	0
Hand sampling	-	52	-	-	none	0
Meiofauna dredge	17	-	?	?	-	-
Ockelmann-sledge	-	6	-	-	1	16.7
Scallop dredge	21	-	7	33.3	-	-
Rothlisberg-Pearcy sledge	75	-	19	25.3	-	-
Scuba dive (hand plucked)	-	436	-	-	75	17.2
Scuba dive (photo)	-	6	-	-	none	0
Triangular dredge (heavy)	212	44	45	21.2	none	0
Triangular dredge (medium)	1	86	none	0	49	57.0
Triangular dredge (light)	11	-	4	36.4	-	-
Underwater camera	29	-	?	?	-	-
van Veen grab	4	2	none	0	none	0
Total	777	649	98	12.6	127	19.6

Table 1. Number of stations, gear used, and number of solitary ascidian records in the BIOFAR programme.

Thus, there is a time lag of sixty years between the BIOFAR programme and any former record of ascidians in the Faroese area. The BIOFAR sampling was accomplished in the years 1987-2000 and the cruises were carried out by the research vessels “*Magnus Heinason*” (Faroes), “*Håkon Mosby*” (Norway), and “*Valdivia*” (Germany).

Above, I have emphasized the ascidian records throughout the history of marine biological investigations of the Faroe Islands. For a general overview, I refer the reader to

Tendal and Bruntse (2001) and Spärck (1928).

The BIOFAR programme

After 60 years without any Faroese marine biological investigation, a need to bring up to date the old knowledge and fill out the grey areas was appropriate.

The sampling was performed in two stages. BIOFAR 1 focused beyond the 100 meter depth curve and lasted from 16 July 1987, until 11 May 1993. After the comple-

tion there was a need to complement the investigations from the 1920s, which almost entirely had been within the 100 meter depth contour. This led to the BIOFAR 2 programme for which sampling took place from 19 June 1995 to 31 August 2000.

Results

In all 1,426 deployments (referred to as stations) were conducted during the BIOFAR programmes (Nørrevang *et al.*, 1994; Sørensen *et al.*, 2001). In addition, there were other deployments, used for special purposes, such as examination of the animal diversity associated with horse mussel beds (Dinesen and Ockelmann, 2005), containing stations that are not included in the announced stations lists.

Some of the applied gear was, however, not suitable for collecting ascidians: In the case of the Alfredo Bottom trawl the foot-rope either runs over these organisms, or they slip through the meshes. The hand sampling in the Far-Coast Project was performed on too shallow habitat for these organisms. Apparently, no ascidians were collected in the meiofauna dredge or observed in the BIOFAR1 photos. Excluding those stations, there are 1,325 stations; in 225 (17 %) of these solitary ascidians were recorded (Table 1).

The gear types vary also with regard to obtained quality of the samples. The specimens sampled with the bottom trawl and the scallop dredges were generally in critical condition, having the branchial sac filled with sand. The best quality, apart from the hand collected material, was obtained by the Rothlisberg-Pearcy sledge.

See Table 1 for an overview of the gear used, stations and records of the BIOFAR programmes.

Before the BIOFAR programme started in 1987, twenty four solitary ascidian species had been recorded within the Faroese EEZ. As a result of BIOFAR the number has been raised to thirty six (Table 2); this is an increase by 50 %. The twelve new species to the area are: *Ascidia mentula* Müller, 1776; *Styela atlantica* (Van Name, 1912); *Styela similis* (Monniot, 1970); *Styela theeli* (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1921); *Polycarpa porculus* (Monniot and Monniot, 1979); *Cnemidocarpa mollispina* (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1922); *Cnemidocarpa mortenseni* (Hartmeyer, 1912); *Molgula herdmani* (Bjerkman, 1905); *Molgula mira* (Ärnback, 1931); *Molgula occulta* (Kuppfer, 1875); *Eugyra islandica* (Millar, 1974); and *Asajirus arcticus* (Hartmeyer, 1923).

Only three of the species previously recorded from the area were not recorded during BIOFAR. These species are *Corella borealis*, *Pelonaia corrugata*, and *Halcynthia pyriformis*.

Two of the genera *Cnemidocarpa* and *Asajirus* have been recorded for the first time within the Faroese EEZ.

The total number of individuals that I have identified to species in this project is 1,944.

Species list

The list includes the following parameters for each species:

Good description: Recommended literature

<i>Ciona intestinalis</i> *	<i>Dendrodoa aggregata</i> *
<i>Corella borealis</i>	<i>Dendrodoa grossularia</i> *
<i>Ascidia callosa</i> *	<i>Polycarpa fibrosa</i> *
<i>Ascidia conchilega</i> *	<i>Polycarpa pomaria</i> *
<i>Ascidia mentula</i> **	<i>Polycarpa porculus</i> **
<i>Ascidia obliqua</i> *	<i>Boltenia echinata</i> *
<i>Ascidia tritonis</i> *	<i>Halocynthia pyriformis</i>
<i>Ascidia virginea</i> *	<i>Microcosmus glacialis</i> *
<i>Ascidella scabra</i> *	<i>Pyura tessellata</i> *
<i>Styela atlantica</i> **	<i>Molgula citrina</i> *
<i>Styela coreacea</i> *	<i>Molgula complanata</i> *
<i>Styela gelatinosa</i> *	<i>Molgula herdmanni</i> **
<i>Styela rustica</i> *	<i>Molgula mira</i> **
<i>Styela similis</i> **	<i>Molgula occulta</i> **
<i>Styela theeli</i> **	<i>Molgula siphonalis</i> *
<i>Pelonaia corrugata</i>	<i>Eugyra arenosa</i> *
<i>Cnemidocarpa mollispina</i> **	<i>Eugyra islandica</i> **
<i>Cnemidocarpa mortensenii</i> **	<i>Asajirus arcticus</i> **

Table 2. Solitary ascidians recorded from the Faroese EEZ.

(* = Species recorded from BIOFAR; ** = Species new to the area.

with good description of the species.

Previous records: Faroese records of the species prior to the BIOFAR programme.

BIOFAR station(s) and number of individual(s): Station number from which the species was recorded in the BIOFAR programme; the number of individuals at each station is indicated in parentheses.

BIOFAR area: The location of the BIOFAR records within the Faroese EEZ.

BIOFAR depth range: The depth range for the BIOFAR records.

BIOFAR temperatures: The temperature range (estimated or measured) from stations where the species was recorded.

BIOFAR water mass: A project, led by Håkan Westerberg of the University of Gothenburg in Sweden, to estimate the origin and location of the water masses

in the Faroese EEZ (Westerberg 1990). The abbreviations are: NW = Norwegian Sea Water; AW = Atlantic water; AI = Atlantic Intermediate Water. Westerberg's results are generally in accordance with the results of Hansen and Østerhus (2000) and Hansen (2000). For species that were not recorded in the BIOFAR programme, I have estimated water mass based on Westerberg (1990) according to location and temperature under 'EEZ water mass'. The purpose of relating water mass to each station is of particular significance to biogeography.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: The regional distribution in areas bordering the Faroes.

General distribution: The general distribution of the species.

General depth range: The general depth range of the species.

Remarks: Here, I have made remarks that I find relevant.

Class ASCIDIACEA

Order APLOUSOBRANCHIA

Family: CIONIDAE

Genus: *Ciona* Fleming, 1822

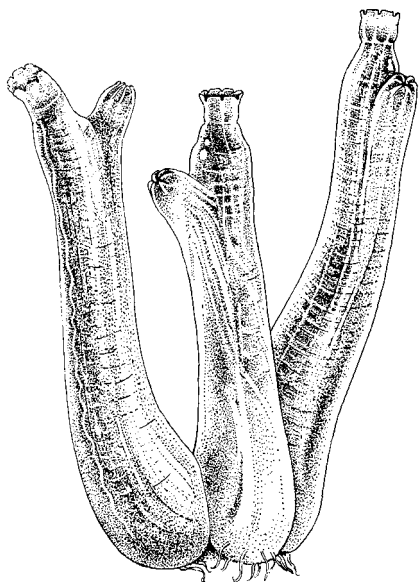


Figure 1. *Ciona intestinalis* (from Lützen, 1967).

Ciona intestinalis (Linnaeus, 1767)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1924: 90-104; Millar, 1953; 1966: 37-38, fig. 23.

Previous records: “*Diana*” 1884: Tórshavn (Hartmeyer, 1924). “*Diana*” 1884?: Tórshavn; Trongisvágur (identification by Fjelstrup in 1887); (Hartmeyer, 1924). “*Thor*” 1899: Off Borðuni 144 m; between Stong and Eystnes 180 m; Klaksvík 20 m (Hartmeyer, 1924); “*Michael Sars*” 1902: East of the Faroes 110 m (62°16'N-06°06'W); southeast of the Faroes 290

m (61°10'N; 05°46'W) (Bjerkman, 1905). “*Beskytteren*” 1926: North of the Faroes 82 m; Hvannasund 80 m; Funningsfjørður 60 m; Vestmanna; Sundini off Víkarnes 15-20 m; Nólsoy 180 m; Trongisvágur off Punthavn 8-10 m; Hvítanes 20-27 m; Ørðavík; Trongisvágur off Hvítanes 20-27 m; Vágsfjørður 44 m; Faroe Bank (61°08'N; 06°47'W) (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952). “*Dana*” 1927: Skálafjørður 58 m (62°07'N; 06°44'W) (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses):

89(1); 111(1); 118(1); 156(2); 158(1); 282(1); 303(1); 322(1); 327(1); 368(5); 373(1); 424(1); 484(1); 486(1); 544(2); 597(1); 604(2); 1006(2); 1014(1); 1027(1); 1030(2); 1139(1); 1140(1); 1162(1); 1163(1); 1198(1); 1199(1); 1201(2); 1204(1); 1205(1); 1216(2); 1235(2); 1237(2); 1239(2); 1242(1); 1245(1); 1377(1); 1413(1); 1431(2); 1434(4); 1451(1); 1453(1); 1484(2); 1506(1); 1517(7); 1521(12); 1543(4); 1562(8); 1587(4); 1590(1); 1595(1); 1597(1); 1606(1); 1610(1); 1612(9); 1614(1); 1625(11); 1632(1); 1636(1); 1637(5); 1638(2); 1642(3); 1644(1); 1662(2); 1664(8); 1665(2); 1674(1); 1675(2); 1676(1); 1710(1); 1746(4); 1750(8); 1789(1); 1791(7); 1797(4); 1801(34); 1807(3); 1808(1); 1811(1); 1813(1); 1815(2); 1818(1); 1837(1) (in addition to these records, a total of 29 individuals of *C. intestinalis* are identified, that cannot be located to station).

BIOFAR area: Shelf; Faroe-Iceland Ridge; Faroe-Shetland Channel; Faroe Bank slope; Wyville-Thompson Ridge, south western slope (Fig. 2).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-700 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 1.5 to 8.6 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear Island; coast of Norway; western coast of Sweden; Denmark; North Sea; coasts of France; coasts of Spain; coasts of Great Britain; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland (Millar, 1966); northern North America (Van Name, 1912)).

General distribution: All the temperate regions of the world.

General depth range: From lower part of the shore to more than 1300 m (Lützen, 1967).

Remarks: The six records from the deeper parts off the shelf (plateau) are noteworthy. *C. intestinalis* f. *typica* is normally replaced below 500 m by the two Arctic forms (*gelatinosa* and *longissima*), and although not all temperatures estimated (t.e.) indicate it, water mass with Arctic origin does sometimes occur in all

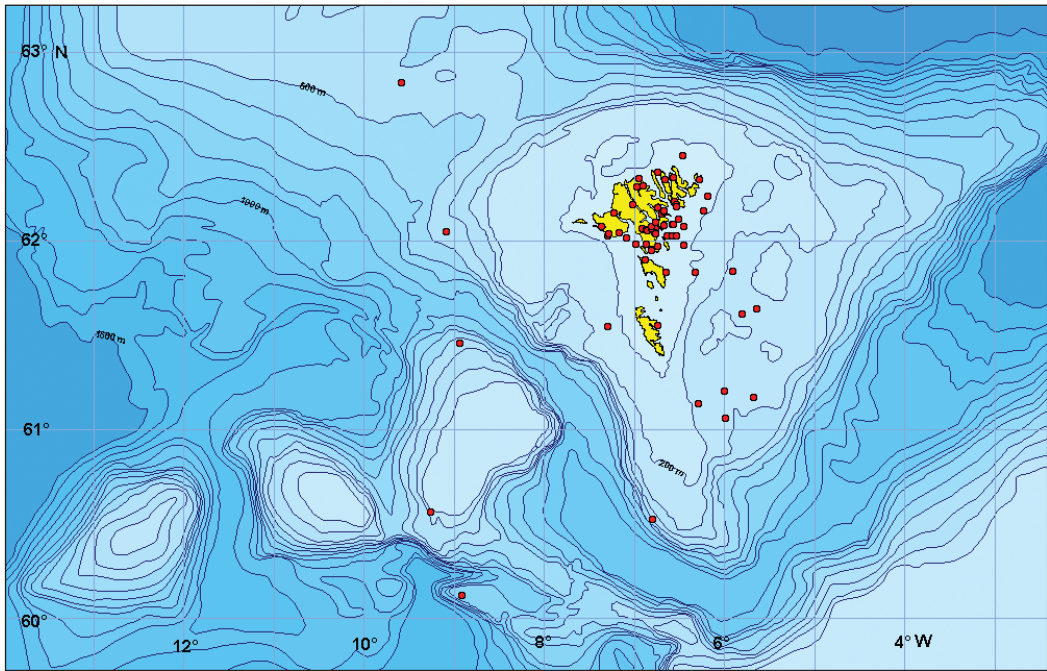


Figure 2. BIOFAR records of *Ciona intestinalis*.

of these six stations. The records from the Wyville-Thompson Ridge, south western slope at 700 m (t.e. 7.0 °C) and from the Faroe-Iceland Ridge 509 m (measured temperature -0.1 °C) have been revised by Dr. Lützen and identified as *f. typica*.

C. intestinalis is a European species that has colonized all the temperate regions of the world, by ship traffic dispersal (Hartmeyer, 1924; Årnbäck-Christie-Linde, 1934; Berrill, 1950; Brewin, 1950; Hewitt *et al.*, 2004). European origin is hypothesized based on restricted occurrence in harbours and marinas outside Europe in the early 20th century.

Previous records: “Fylla” 1890: On the Faroe-Shetland Channel slope, southeast of Suðuroyar Banki 459 m (61°23' N ; 05°04' W) (Hartmeyer, 1924).

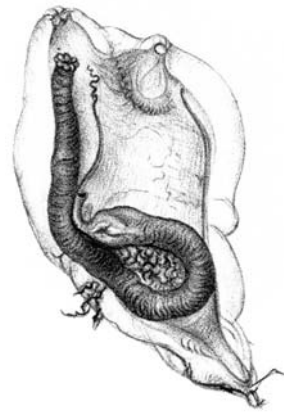


Figure 3. *Corella borealis* (from Traustedt, 1886).

Order PHLEBOBRANCHIA
Family: CORELLIDAE
Genus: *Corella* Alder and Hancock, 1870

***Corella borealis* Traustedt, 1886**

Good description: Traustedt, 1886; Van Name, 1912: 593-594; pl. 65, fig. 123; Hartmeyer, 1924:14-17.

BIOFAR station: Not recorded during BIOFAR.

EEZ area: Faroe-Shetland Channel.

EEZ depth range: 459 m.

Temperatures: If sampled in summer 4–6 °C (Westerberg, 1990).

EEZ water mass: AI (Westerberg, 1990) or East Iceland Current (Hansen and Østerhus, 2000).

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Faroes; western coast of Greenland, northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: As above.

General depth range: From 50–459 m (Hartmeyer, 1924; Millar, 1966).

Remarks: *C. borealis* is a rare species which presumably is indigenous to the Arctic region, from where it has been recorded only a few times (Kola Fjord, Svalbard, eastern and western coast of Greenland, and Baffin Island) (Traustedt, 1886; Hartmeyer, 1903, 1923). In addition there is one record (Herdman, 1891) from the boreal eastern Atlantic region (Faroe-Shetland Channel) and an uncertain record (Van Name, 1912) from the boreal western Atlantic region (near Cape Ann, Massachusetts); a small and mutilated specimen. The record from the slope of the Faroe-Shetland Channel is evidently a result of southern dispersal with the East Iceland Current or Norwegian Sea Deep Water.



Figure 4. *Ascidia callosa* (from Lützen, 1967).

Family ASCIDIIDAE

Genus: *Ascidia* Linnaeus, 1767

Ascidia callosa Stimpson, 1852

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1924: 41–53; pl. 1, figs. 15–16; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 55, fig. 35.

Previous records: “Beskytteren” 1926: Miðvágur (Ärn-bäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 1023(1); 1153(1); 1616(1).

BIOFAR area: Ørðavík; Kolturssund; Kaldbaksfjørður (Fig. 5).

BIOFAR depth range: 5–60 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Unknown.

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; coast of Norway; western coast of Sweden; Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966).

General distribution: Arctic basin; Bering Sea; Okhotsk Sea; Northern Pacific.

General depth range: From shallow water to about 300 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: The BIOFAR records seem to indicate that *A. callosa* is sparsely distributed in the Faroese EEZ. This trend is also apparent in Iceland, along the Norwegian coast, and the western coast of Sweden, while this species is not present in the southern part of the boreal eastern Atlantic. *A. callosa* is also rare in the Sea of Japan (two records). This species is, on the other hand, very common in the Arctic Basin, the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (Sanamyan, 2000); and *A. callosa* together with *Boltenia echinata* and *B. ovifera* make up almost fifty percent of the ascidian fauna in the Arctic waters of Canada (Tras-son, 1964). It obtains largest size in the higher latitudes (Hartmeyer, 1924).

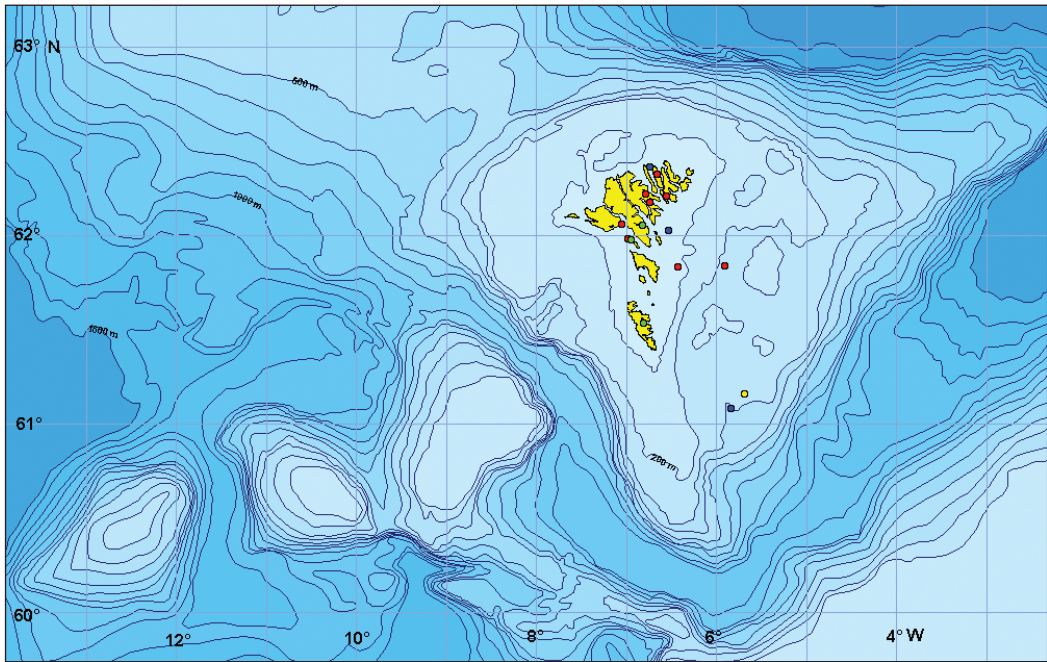


Figure 5. BIOFAR records of *Ascidia mentula* ●, *A. virginea* ●, *A. callosa* ●, and *A. tritonis* ●.

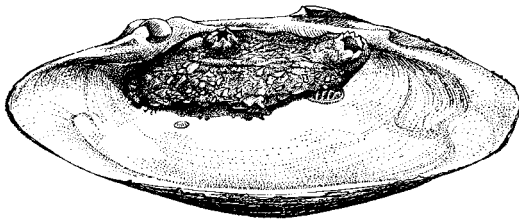


Figure 6. *Ascidia conchilega* (from Lützen, 1967).

Ascidia conchilega Müller, 1776

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1924: 75-78; Millar, 1966: 51, fig. 30.

Previous records: "Thor" 1899: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m, identified by Th. Mortensen (Hartmeyer, 1912). "Margrethe" 1913?: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m (Hartmeyer, 1924). "Beskytteren" 1926: East side of Haraldsund 20 m; southeast of Kunoyargalvi 10-15 m (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1952). Record from summer 1929: Kalsoyarfjørður (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 44(9); 48(1); 97(1); 106(1); 205(1); 223(1); 279(1); 283(1); 304(1); 333(1); 371(1); 475(1); 486(3); 529(1); 604(2); 621(3); 1607(3); 1630(1); 1642(1); 1664(1); 1667(1); 1705(1); 1744(4); 1747(2); 1750(3); 1791(1); 1797(1); 1799(1); 1800(1); 1801(10); 1814(1) (in addition to these records, 2 individuals of *A. conchilega* are identified, that cannot be located to station).

BIOFAR area: Coastal and off shore records mainly on the eastern part of the plateau. One record south of Bill Bailey Bank (Fig. 7).

BIOFAR depth range: 10-1061 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 3.6 to 8.1 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Coast of Norway; western coast of Sweden; coast of France; coasts of Great Britain; Shetland; Faroes (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *A. conchilega* is exclusive to the European area. It has its distribution in the Mediterranean, Lusitanian and boreal areas, being relatively common throughout its distribution area, the Faroe Islands included.

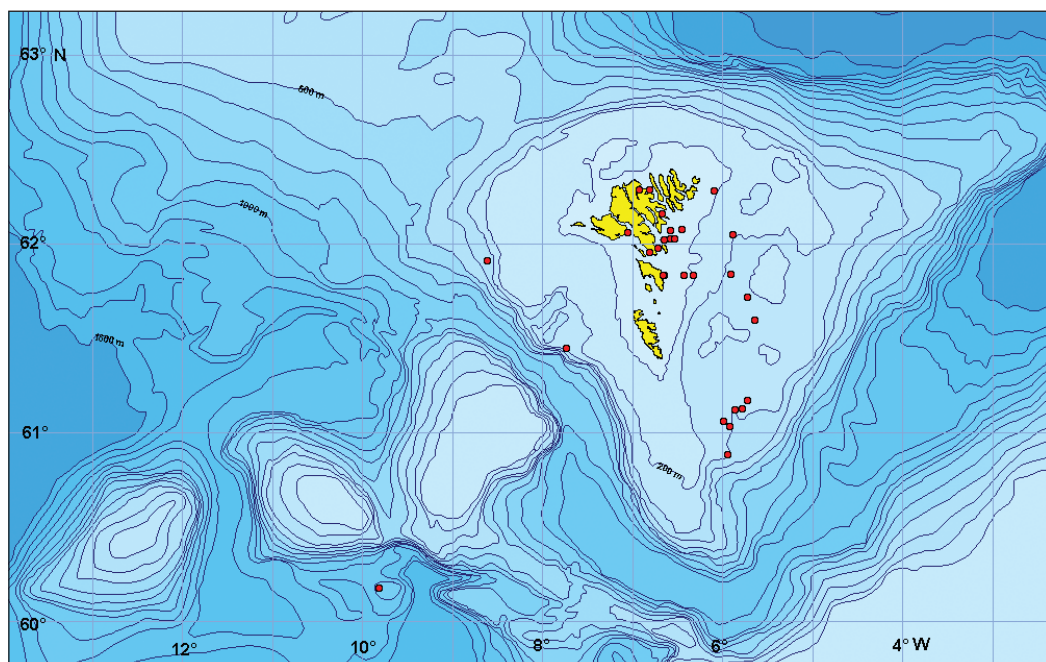


Figure 7. BIOFAR records of *Ascidia conchilega*.

General depth range: From lower parts of the shore to depths of more than 1000 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: Although common in the Faroes, this area, together with Tromsø in Norway constitute the northern boundaries of distribution for *A. conchilega*. In the Mediterranean it is only recorded in the western part (Thompson, 1932; Millar, 1966), a possible indication of recent introduction from the Lusitanian region for this indigenous European species.

***Ascidia mentula* Müller, 1776**

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1924: 71-75; Millar, 1966: 48, fig. 29.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 45(1); 368(1); 1801(1) (in addition to these records, 1 individual of *A. mentula* is identified, that cannot be located to station).

BIOFAR area: east of Munkagrunninum; Kalsoyar-fjørður; east of Nólsoy (Fig. 5).

EEZ depth range: 55-290 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 7.0 to 7.9 °C.

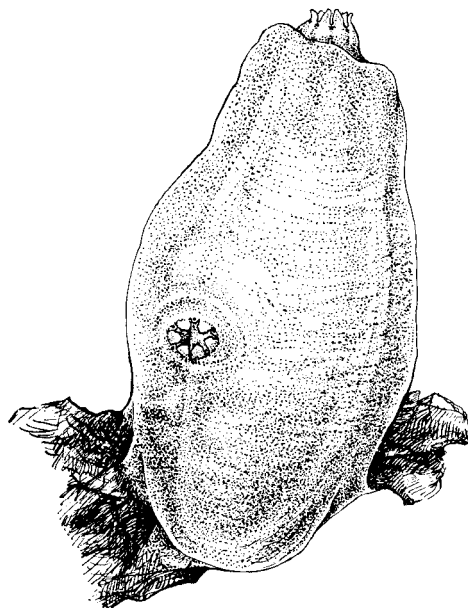


Figure 8. *Ascidia mentula* (from Lützen, 1967).

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Southern coasts of Norway; western coast of Sweden; coast of France; coasts of Great Britain; Orkney; Shetland; Faroes (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *A. mentula* is exclusive to the European region. It has its distribution in the Black Sea, Mediterranean, Lusitanian and boreal areas. The northern boundaries are the Faroes and Molde Fjord in Norway.

General depth range: It occurs from the lower part of the shore to about 200 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: During the BIOFAR programme, *A. mentula* was recorded for the first time in the Faroes. The locality south east of the islands (east of Munkagranninum) at 290 m of water depth is the deepest record hitherto.

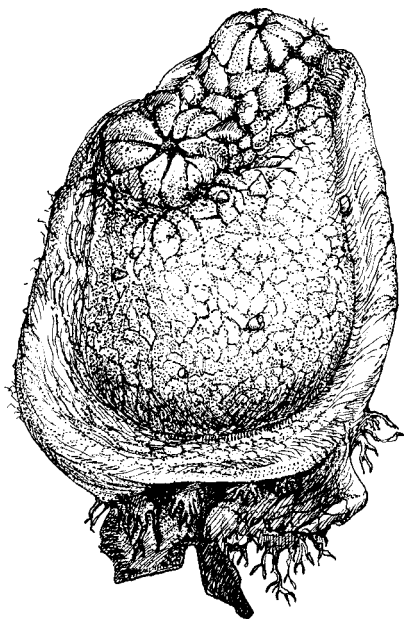


Figure 9. *Ascidia obliqua* (from Lützen, 1967).

Ascidia obliqua Alder, 1863

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1924: 57-68; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 55, fig. 34.

Previous records: Danish mail-ship 1878? Probably "Diana": Vestmanna 18 m (identification by Klixbüll in 1880 (Hartmeyer, 1924)). "Diana" 1884?: Local-

ity not specified (identification by Fjelstrup in 1887). "Diana" 1901: Vestmanna 9-23 m (Hartmeyer, 1924); "Michael Sars" 1902: Mýlingsgrunnurin 110 m (62°29'N ; 07°37'W) (Bjerkan, 1905); "Thor" 1904: Eastern slope of Faroe Bank 875 m (61°15'N ; 09°35'W) (Hartmeyer, 1924). "Beskytteren" 1926: North of Viðareid (1926); Hvannasund 80 m (1926) (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952). "Dana" 1927: Húsagrynnan 111 m (62°04'N ; 06°13'W); Norðhav-ið 82 m (62°65'N ; 06°22'W) (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 1(1); 33(1); 49(3); 56(1); 106(1); 111(2); 156(2); 163(2); 368(7); 371(3); 425(1); 474(4); 483(1); 1025(1); 1235(1); 1247(1); 1388(1); 1434(1); 1527(1); 1562(1); 1607(6); 1612(1); 1628(2); 1632(3); 1638(1); 1662(1); 1663(1); 1669(1); 1744(1); 1750(8); 1786(1); 1801(1); 1810(1); 1820(1).

BIOFAR area: Coastal and off shore records on the plateau east of the islands; one record from the Faroe-Iceland Ridge (Fig. 10).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-509 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 1.6 to 8.0 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear Island; coast of Norway; western coast of Sweden; northern North Sea; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *Ascidia obliqua* occurs in the Arctic region of the north Pacific from the Siberian Sea westward to Greenland and on both sides of the boreal Atlantic.

General depth range: From shallow water down to more than 1000 m depth (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: In northern Norway this species is one of the most common ascidians (Bjerkan, 1908) and *A. obliqua* is frequent also in the Faroes. It has the largest eggs within the family (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1934).

Ascidia tritonis Herdman, 1883

Good description: Herdman, 1883: 96-98; pl. 16, figs. 1-6; Hartmeyer, 1924: 68-71; pl. 1, fig. 18).

Previous records: "Triton", 1882: South west of the Wyville Thomson Ridge, 1042 m (59°51'N; 08°18'W) (Herdman, 1883; Tizard, 1883). "Michael Sars" 1902: Western slope of the Faroe Bank 750 and 840 m (61°07'N; 09°33'W and 61°08'N; 09°46'W respectively) (Bjerkan, 1905).

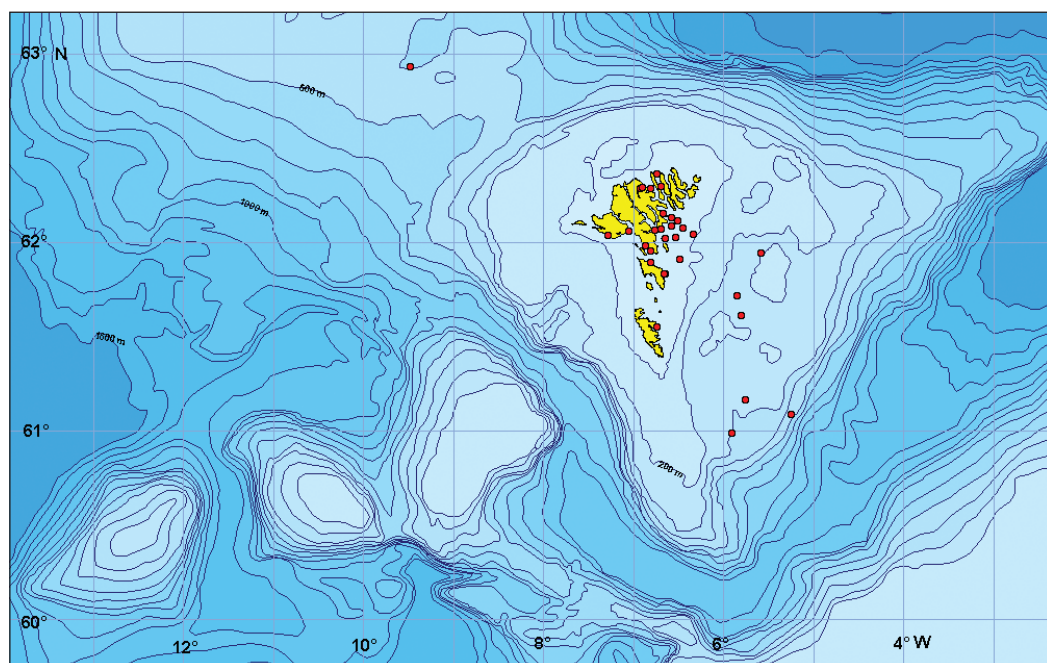


Figure 10. BIOFAR records of *Ascidia obliqua*.

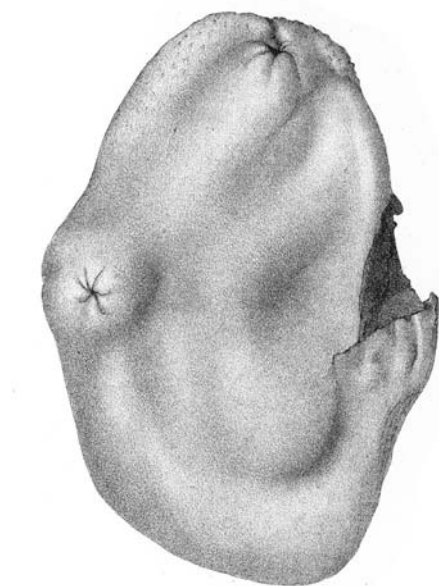


Figure 11. *Ascidia tritonis* (from Herdman, 1883).

BIOFAR station: 559(4).

EEZ area: Western slope of the Faroe Bank, and south-west of the Wyville Thomson Ridge (old records); west of Munkagrinninum (present study) (Fig. 5).

BIOFAR depth range: 254 m.

EEZ depth range: 254 to 1042 m.

EEZ temperature: Measured onboard on "Triton" to 7.6 °C; present study estimated to 7.90 °C.

EEZ water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Off Bergen, southern Norway; southwest of Ireland; Wyville Thomson Ridge; southwest of the Faroes; Reykjanes Ridge, southwest of Iceland (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: In addition to above it is recorded off the Azores (Monniot, 1974).

General depth range: From 254 (present study) to 1278 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: The specimens were recorded on the sponge *Stryphnus ponderosus*, and identified by Claude Monniot (Klitgaard, 1995). This is a rare species found mostly in deeper waters; the total of seven records is inadequate to ascertain its distribution area.

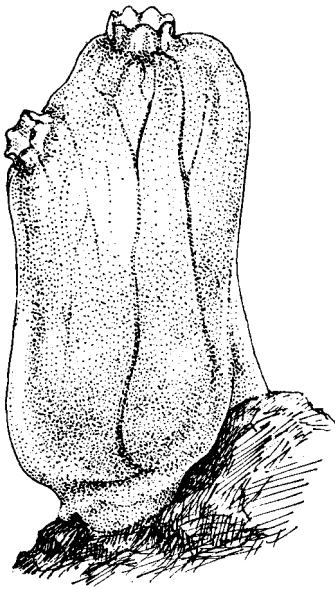


Figure 12. *Ascidia virginea* (from Lützen, 1967).

***Ascidia virginea* Müller, 177**

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1924: 78-81; Millar, 1966: 51, fig. 32.

Previous records: "Fylla", 1884: Locality not assigned (Hartmeyer, 1924).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 604(1); 1377(1); 1517(1); 1548(5); 1607(2); 1613(1); 1646(2); 1799(1); 1800(1).

BIOFAR area: Scattered coastal and off shore records on the plateau east of the islands (Fig. 5).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-260 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 7.3 °C (based on stn. 604).

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear Island; coasts of Norway; western coast of Sweden; English Channel; western coast of Great Britain; the western coast of Ireland; Orkney; Shetland, Faroes (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: In addition to above: The northern part of the central Mediterranean and the Lusitanian region.

General depth range: From shallow water to about 400 m depth (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: *A. virginea* occurs only in Western Europe;

the Arctic records are restricted to Svalbard and Bear Island.

Genus: *Ascidiella* Roule, 1883

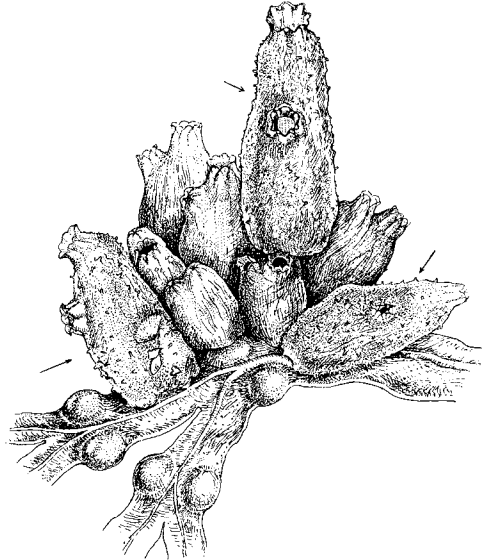


Figure 13. *Ascidiella scabra*. Individuals indicated with arrows are *A. aspersa* (from Lützen, 1967).

***Ascidiella scabra* (Müller, 1776)**

Good description: Millar, 1966: 58, fig. 38; Lützen, 1967: 83-84, fig. 32.

Previous records: "Fylla", 1884: Locality not assigned (Hartmeyer, 1924). Record from 1897 or earlier: Hvalvík (identification by H. Jónsson in 1897, (Hartmeyer, 1924)). "Thor" 1899: Klaksvík 20 m; Akraleiti 274 m; north of Nólsoy 180 m (Hartmeyer, 1912). "Diana" 1901: Tórshavn 22-29 m (Hartmeyer, 1924). "Diana" 1902: Tórshavn (Hartmeyer, 1924). "Dana" 1927: North of Sundalagið 27-30 m (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 43(9); 106(1); 152(1); 205(1); 371(3); 486(1); 1122(3); 1130(2); 1218(1); 1484(1); 1555(1); 1562(1); 1607(1); 1625(1); 1637(2); 1642(1); 1663(2); 1675(1); 1710(4); 1747(1); 1750(1).

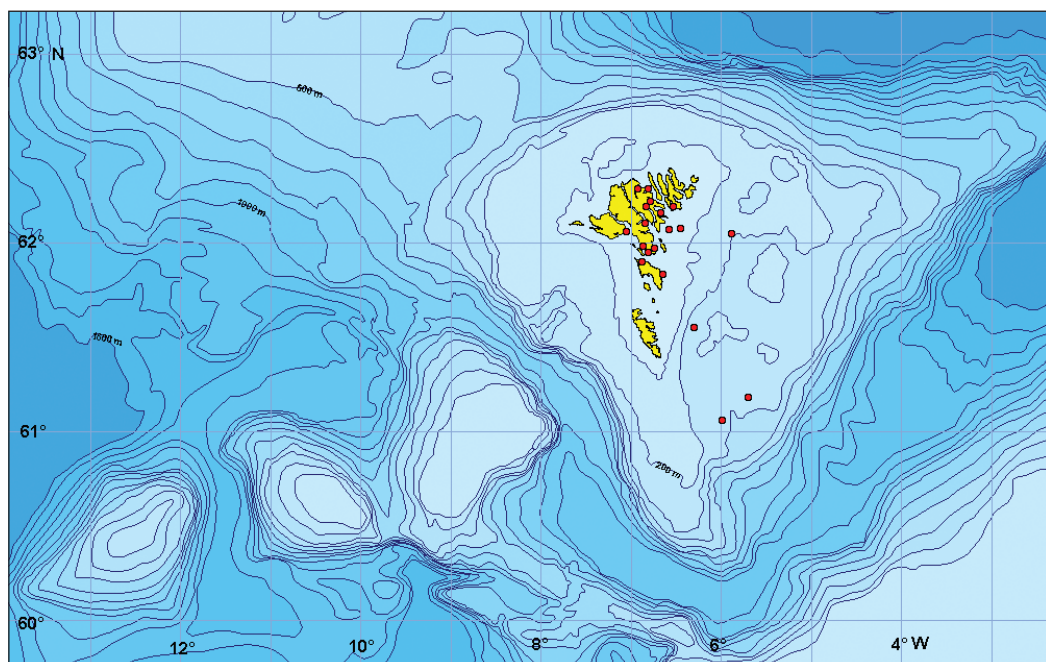


Figure 14. BIOFAR records of *Ascidella scabra*.

BIOFAR area: Mainly coastal records; a few off shore records on the plateau east of the islands (Fig. 14).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-300 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 6.7 to 8.1 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: *Ascidella scabra* has its area of distribution along the southern coasts of Norway south of Trondheim, western coast of Sweden, the entire North Sea area, the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, Shetland, and Faroes (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: In addition to above, it occurs along the coasts of the Lusitanian region; in the Mediterranean it occurs along the northern coasts, and it is recorded in the Black Sea.

General depth range: From shallow water to 400 m (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1934).

Remarks: Hartmeyer (1924) identified all the Faroese *Ascidella* records as *A. aspersa*; the two European forms were not regarded as different species at that time. Since subsequent records all are identified as *A. scabra*, I assume that the early records of Hartmeyer also are of the form *scabra*. Naturally, this

ought to be confirmed by re-examination of the specimens at the Zoological Museum in Copenhagen.

Aside from the European records, *A. scabra* was recorded in Nagasaki, south of the Japan Sea in 1861, and termed *Ascidella virginea* (Müller). A re-examination by Nishikawa and Otani (2004) stated that the specimens were identical with *A. scabra*; given the fact that the species never has been recorded since, the records of *A. scabra* in Nagasaki probably reflect an ephemeral occurrence.

Order STOLIDOBRANCHIA

Family: STYELIDAE

Genus: *Styela* Fleming, 1822

Styela atlantica (Van Name, 1912)

Good description: Van Name, 1912: 552-555; pls. 59, 60, and 68; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 70, fig. 45.

Previous records: None.

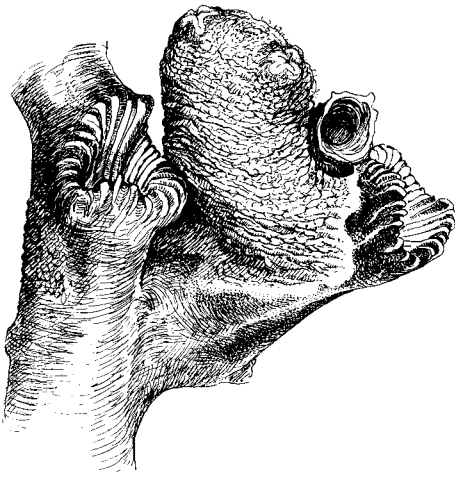


Figure 15. *Styela atlantica* attached to the coral *Lophelia pertusa* (from Lützen, 1967).

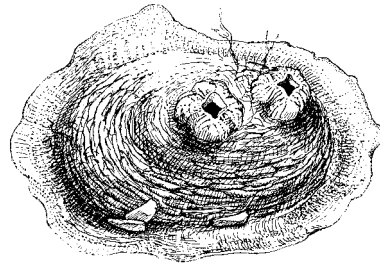


Figure 16. *Styela coriacea* (from Lützen, 1967).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses):
604(1); 1664(1).

BIOFAR area: Western slope of Sandoy Bank (of coast on the plateau east of the islands (61°50'N; 05°53'W) (Fig. 27).

BIOFAR depth range: 15 and 260 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated to 7.3 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: AW (Westerberg, 1990); EIW (Hansen and Østerhus, 2000).

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Hjeltefjord near Bergen in Norway; Skagerak; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: It is a strictly boreal species, occurring in all four northern boreal zoogeographic regions, i.e., it is amphi Atlantic and amphi Pacific.

General depth range: From 15 m (present study) to 750 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: *S. atlantica* is a rare species and the BIOFAR records are the first within the Faroese EEZ. Because of its rarity, it might have a larger distribution area than known at present; apparent absence from the Arctic could, e.g., result from low sampling effort.

***Styela coriacea* (Alder and Hancock, 1848)**

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923:220-234; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 65, fig. 41.

Previous records: Danish mail-ship 1878?: Sandavágur 9-36 m (identification by Steenstrup. Identified by

Traustedt (1880) as *S. rustica*) (Hartmeyer, 1923). "Diana" 1884?: Trongisvágur (identification by Fjeldstrup in 1887, (Hartmeyer, 1923)). Sampled 1897 or earlier: Skálafjørður 7-18 m (identification by H. Jónsson in 1897) (Hartmeyer, 1923). "Diana" 1898?: Vágsfjørður identified by H. Jónsson 1898 (Hartmeyer, 1923). "Thor" 1899: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m, identified by Th. Mortensen (Hartmeyer, 1912). "Michael Sars" 1902: Wyville Thomson Ridge 426 m (60°23'N; 8°55'W), east of Munkagrúnninum 290 m (61°10'N; 5°46'W) (Bjerkkan, 1905). "Margrethe" or "Thor" 1913?: Trongisvágur 0-4 m (identification by Strubberg in 1913) (Hartmeyer, 1923). "Dana" 1927: Vestmannaund 45 m; Ørðavík; Trongisvágur, between Pladen and Tjaldavíkshólm, about 20 m. "Hvidbjørnen" 1931?: East of Nólsoy 75 m (62°2'N; 6°29'W); east of Sandoy Bank 229 m (61°46'N; 5°05'W) (Thompson, 1931).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 156(2); 486(1); 589(2); 1022(2); 1543(2); 1605(2); 1612(10); 1615(6); 1620(1); 1628(1); 1659(10); 1663(1); 1664(29); 1665(5).

BIOFAR area: Scattered coastal and off shore records on the plateau east of the islands; one record from the Bill Bailey Bank (Fig. 17).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-272 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 7.0 to 8.4 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; coast of Norway; Kattegat; Sound; Belt Sea; Baltic to Bornholm; North Sea; northern coast of France; coasts of Great Britain; coasts of Ireland; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *S. coriacea* is widely distributed in

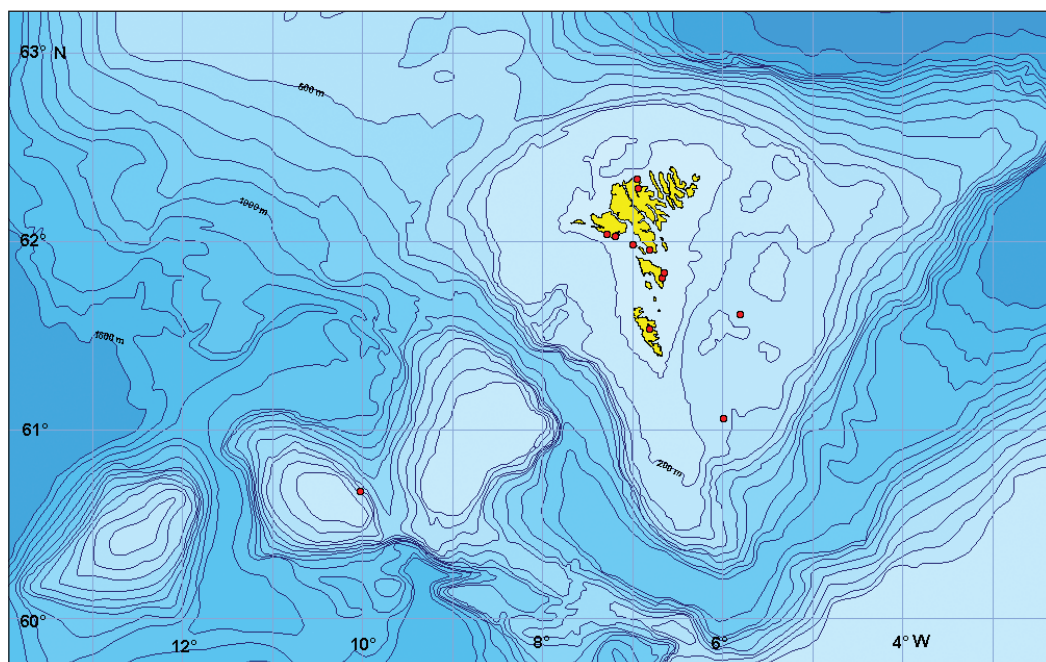


Figure 17. BIOFAR records of *Styela coriacea*.

the Arctic and all the northern boreal regions, and common within the Faroese EEZ.

General depth range: From shallow water to at least 600 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: *S. coriacea* has two forms of external appearance, a low dorso-ventrally compressed form and a tall, cylindrical form (Kjær, 1893; Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1922). This variation might be an expression of various environmental conditions, a point which is supported by the occurrence of all intermediate forms (Bjerkas, 1905; 1908). Moreover, the species is known to be highly contractile and able to change its shape greatly when alive (Van Name, 1912; 1945), hence the degree of contraction varies in preserved specimens; contraction occurs frequently regardless how careful specimens are relaxed before preservation (Gretchen Lambert pers. comm.).

Styela gelatinosa Traustedt, 1886

Good description: Traustedt, 1886: 429; pl. 36, figs. 8-10; pl. 38, fig. 27; Hartmeyer, 1923; pl. 1, figs. 9-11; Millar, 1966: 67, fig. 43.

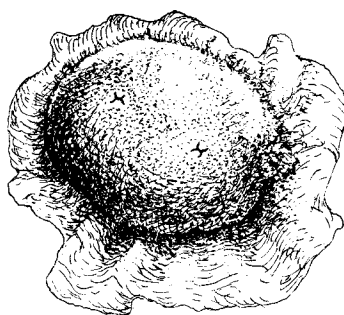


Figure 18. *Styela gelatinosa* (from Lützen, 1967).

Previous records: "Fylla" 1890: The slope of the Faroe-Shetland Channel 924 m (61°23'N;4°49'W) (Hartmeyer, 1923). "Michael Sars" 1902: Faroe-Iceland Ridge 480 m (63°14'N;9°46'W); Faroe-Shetland Channel 1130 m (60°19'N;5°06'W) (Bjerkas, 1905). Sampled 1904 or earlier: Southern end of the Faroe-Shetland Channel 588 m (60°37'N;05°42'W) (Michealsen, 1904 (in Hartmeyer, 1923)).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses):
425(1); 495(1); 1615(2).

BIOFAR area: Faroe-Iceland Ridge, and the channel between Faroe Bank and Bill Bailey Bank (Fig. 27).

BIOFAR depth range: 509 and 584 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 1.6 and 8.2 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: AW/AI.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; coast of Norway; Norwegian Channel; Skagerak; Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland (Millar, 1966).

General depth range: From about 100 m to 1300 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: The records from the channel between Faroe Bank and Bill Bailey Bank are the first records of this species on the western slope of the Greenland-Scotland Ridge, and the t.e. of 8.2 °C on these stations is the highest that hitherto is recorded for *S. gelatinosa*. This coldwater species has an Arctic distribution from western Greenland to the Kara Sea. In the boreal eastern Atlantic part of the Norwegian Sea the vertical distribution is confined to the slopes below 500 m, while in the Arctic it occurs at depths to about 100 m. (Hartmeyer, 1923). This probably reflects its ecological niche regarding temperature (see distribution map in Millar, 1966: 68).

The records on the Faroe-Iceland Ridge and between Faroe Bank and Bill Bailey Bank are textbook examples of overflow-dispersal. The occurrence of *S. gelatinosa* between the above mentioned banks supports oceanographical results that indicate an irregular overflow over the Wyville-Thomson Ridge and a subsequent westward flow caused by this overflow through the channels between the three banks southwest of the Faroes (Hansen and Østerhus, 2000). Records of *S. gelatinosa* in the Norwegian Channel and Skagerak are likewise a consequence of the penetration of the cold Norwegian Sea Deep Water into these areas.

Styela rustica (Linnaeus, 1767)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 196-213; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 67, fig. 42.

Previous records: Sampled 1870 or earlier: Locality not specified (identification by Müller in 1870 (1 specimen) and by Capt. Suenson in 1870 (2 specimens) (Traustedt, 1880). "*Diana*" 1884: Tórshavn (Hartmeyer, 1923). "*Thor*" 1899: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m (Hartmeyer, 1912); off Borðoyarvík 37-55 m. Identified by Th. Mortensen (Hartmeyer, 1923). "*Margrethe*" or "*Thor*" 1913?: Trongisvágur 0-4 m (identification by Strubberg in 1913) (Hart-

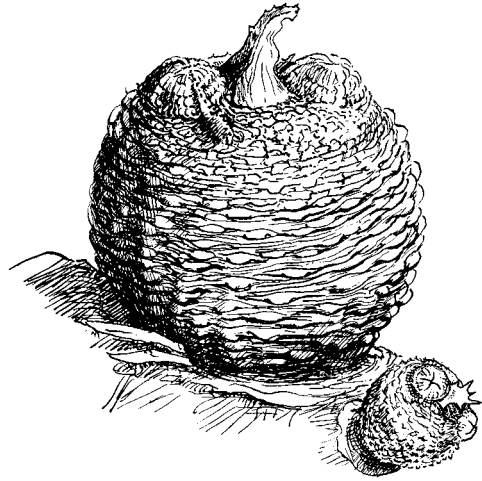


Figure 19. *Styela rustica* (from Lützen, 1967).

meyer, 1923). "*Beskytteren*" 1926: Sundalagið at Bátshøvda 6-10 m (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952). "*Dana*" 1927: East of Enniberg (62°27'N; 6°26'W); southwest of Svínöy 80 m (62°13'N; 6°23'W); off Gøtúvík (62°09'N; 6°37'W) (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 152(1); 370(1); 548(1); 1022(1); 1023(1); 1025(4); 1027(1); 1030(1); 1176(2); 1205(1); 1245(1); 1341(1); 1377(1); 1431(1); 1451(1); 1517(1); 1521(1); 1543(1); 1562(2); 1612(7); 1613(2); 1616(3); 1628(3); 1638(1); 1646(1); 1659(1); 1664(9); 1665(5); 1667(1); 1675(1); 1744(1); 1786(2); 1791(1); 1797(1); 1801(9); 1810(1).

BIOFAR area: Mainly coastal records in shallow water, few scattered off shore records on the plateau east of the islands (Fig. 20).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-300 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 6.7 to 8.2 °C (based on three BIOFAR 1 stations).

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear Island; coast of Norway; Skagerak to Sound; Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *S. rustica* is a circum-Arctic species. It is additionally found on both sides of the boreal Atlantic; on the Pacific side it occurs in the Bering Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the Sea of Japan; it is also recorded in the east Pacific south of the Bering Sea.

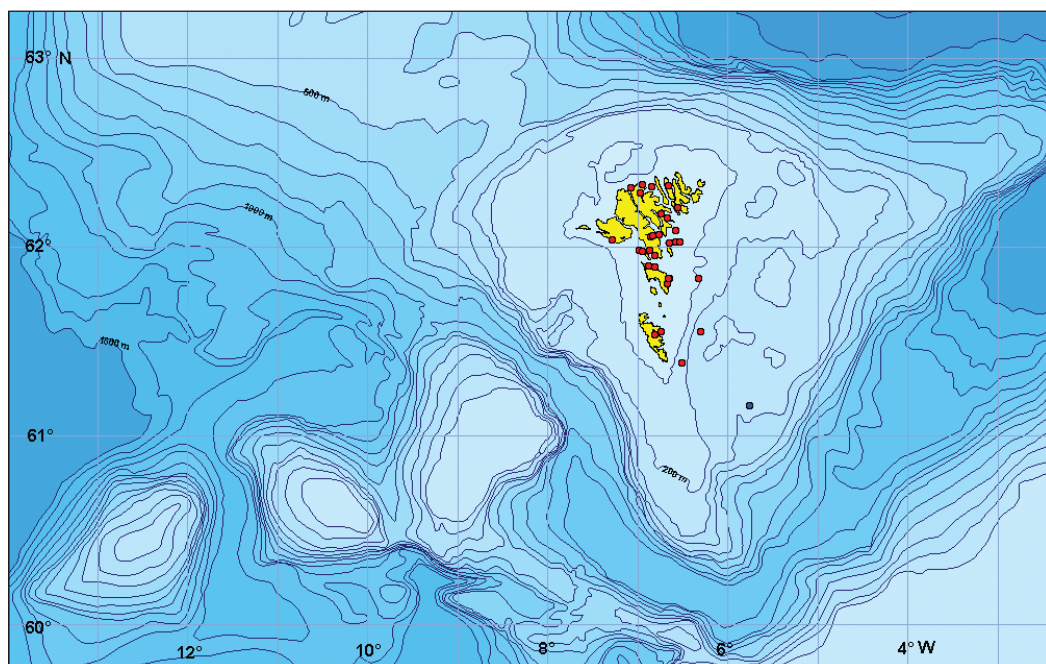


Figure 20. BIOFAR records of *Styela rustica* ● and *S. similis* ●.

General depth range: From shallow water to more than 400 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: The specimens found off the Kola Peninsula in the Arctic and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence between Pictou and Cape Bear in the boreal western Atlantic have a more rounded dorso-ventrally flattened body form contrary to the elongated cylindrical shape in specimens from other areas (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1922; Van Name, 1912). The reasons for these external variations might be ascribed variations in the physical environment and thereby exclusively phenotypic, or they may be caused by the same reason as mentioned for *S. coreacea* (see above), and thereby without genetic significance. Molecular analyses would state whether these specimens are different genetically from the typical form of *S. rustica*.

Styela similis Monniot, 1970

Good description: Monniot, 1969a: 1143; fig. 4 a-d + pl. I.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR station (number of individuals in parentheses): 476(1) (Fig. 20).

BIOFAR area: West of Munkagrinninum (Fig. 20).

BIOFAR depth range: 252 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated to 7.00 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Faroes, west of Ireland, and Bay of Biscay.

General distribution: Also recorded in Angola (33°22'S; 02°40'E).

General depth range: 250 to 4600 m (Monniot and Monniot, 1985).

Remarks: According to Klitgaard (1995), a single juvenile specimen, identified by Claude Monniot, was recorded on the sponge *Isops phlegraei* Sollas, 1880.

Taxonomic remarks: I have not examined the specimen.

A translation of Monniot's (1969a) description is as follows: Small specimens of *S. similis* are completely covered with foraminiferans, larger specimens in lesser extent. Up to 1.5 cm long; siphons are slightly projecting. The tunic is always delicate; it is sufficiently resistant on the dorsal side, whilst the ventral part that fixes the animal to the substrate is invisible and extremely delicate. The mantle contains muscles only on the dorsal side; also the mantle is invis-

ible on the ventral side. There are about 20 to 25 irregularly disposed tentacles of 3 to 4 orders. The dorsal tubercle is situated in a deep depression. The branchial sac of the large specimens has four folds; in younger specimens the forth fold is frequently rudimentary. The longitudinal bars of a 1.5 cm specimen were counted:

Dorsal lamina 10 **13** 7 **15** 9 **15** 11 **12** 4 Endostyle

There is in average two stigmata between the longitudinal bars. The branchial sac is globular. The esophagus leads to a fairly globular stomach with 15 to 20 longitudinal folds and a small pyloric caecum. The intestinal loop is S-shaped. Anus is lobed with about 15 fine glands. There is one gonad on each side of the body; a long slightly sinuous tubular ovary round the lower end of which are grouped 6 to 20 testicular follicles. The sperm channels join to form a single sperm duct. There are a small number of endocarps dispersed mainly dorsally. The atrial siphon is surrounded by small filiform tentacles.

Styela theeli (Ärnbeck-Christie-Linde, 1921)

Good description: Ärnbeck-Christie-Linde, 1921: 18-21; pl. 1, figs. 5-9.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR station (number of individuals in parentheses): 090(4).

BIOFAR area: Southern point of the plateau (Fig. 26).

BIOFAR depth range: 252 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated 8 °C.



Figure 21. *Styela theeli* (from Lützen, 1967).

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Faroes; Bergen and Hardanger Fjord, Norway; and Koster Channel, Sweden.

General distribution: As above.

General depth range: 252 (present study) to 640 m (Ärnbeck-Christie-Linde, 1921).

Remarks: Confusion remains regarding this rare species which resembles in some respects *S. coriacea*; it has been recorded at only three localities, all within the boreal eastern Atlantic.

Of external differences it is notable that *S. theeli* is larger in size and attached by the left side of the body. Of internal differences the main characteristic separating these two species is in the numbers of gonads (one on left and two on right side in *S. theeli*, and one gonad on each side in *S. coriacea*); also the form of (bent along a sharp angle in *S. theeli* whilst sinuously curved or L-shaped in *S. coriacea*) and size of the gonads (larger in *S. theeli*) are different in the two species. See Ärnbeck-Christie-Linde (1922) for a comparison between the species.

S. theeli was synonymized with *S. coriacea* by Monniot (1969b). In order to clarify whether Monniot is correct, a re-examination, especially of the gonads of these specimens is necessary. In relation to this it is worth mentioning that some rare specimens of *S. rustica* have duplicate gonads on one side, however, not considered as a separate species since it is considered that this is an abnormality (Karen Sanamyan pers. comm.).

In the near future, in order to determine the status of this species, I plan to re-examine the four specimens that were recorded on four dead *Lophelia pertusa* blocks (Jensen and Frederiksen, 1992).

Genus: *Pelonaia* Goodsir and Forbes, 1841

***Pelonaia corrugata* Goodsir and Forbes, 1841**

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 187-195; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 85, fig. 57.

Previous records: The Faroes referred to as a locality (Traustedt, 1880).

BIOFAR station: Not recorded by BIOFAR.

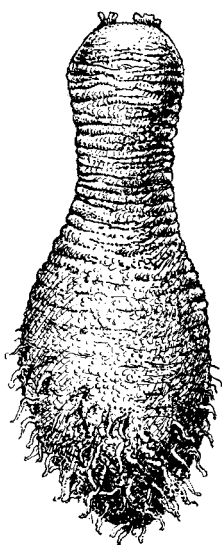


Figure 22. *Pelonaia corrugata* (from Lützen, 1967).

EEZ area: Kollafjørður and Skálafjørður (Nolsø, unpubl.)
EEZ depth range: 13 and 37 m (Nolsø, unpubl.).
EEZ temperature: Estimated 9-10 °C (Nolsø, unpubl.).
EEZ water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; coasts of Norway; western coasts of Sweden; North Sea; northern coasts of Great Britain; Orkney; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: Boreal western Pacific; Sea of Okhotsk; Bering Sea; Arctic basin; boreal western Atlantic; boreal eastern Atlantic.

General depth range: From shallow water down to 200 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: A certain Faroese record is only recently located (Nolsø, unpubl.). Traustedt (1880) referred the Faroes as a habitat of the species, but failed to specify the locality. His article is based on material from the Zoological Museum of Copenhagen. However, no individual of *P. corrugata* recorded from the Faroes exists in the museums collection. Traustedt did, on the other hand, identify a number of individuals that had been recorded from Iceland! Hence it seems that the Faroes were incorrectly assigned as habitat for *P. corrugata*.

Genus: *Cnemidocarpa* Huntsman, 1912



Figure 23. *Cnemidocarpa mollispina* (from Lützen, 1967).

Cnemidocarpa mollispina Ärnäck, 1922

Good description: Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1922: 28-29; pl. 2, figs. 23-26.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 19(1); 27(47); 29(1); 73(3); 168(2); 188(3); 271(2).

BIOFAR area: Scattered records off shore on the plateau east and north of the islands. One record from the northern slope of Faroe Bank (Fig. 24).

BIOFAR depth range: 170-990 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated 6.5 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: NW/AW/AI.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Kara Sea, Øresund (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1922) and Faroes (present study).

General distribution: As above.

General depth range: 15-100 (Gulliksen, 1974) and 170-990 m (present study).

Remarks: The location and water mass of Faroese records indicate that *C. mollispina* has an arctic area of distribution, rather than a boreal (Fig. 24). If so, the deep records from the Faroes reflect an example latitudinal submergence.

Dr. Francoise Monniot has confirmed my determination of the specimens.

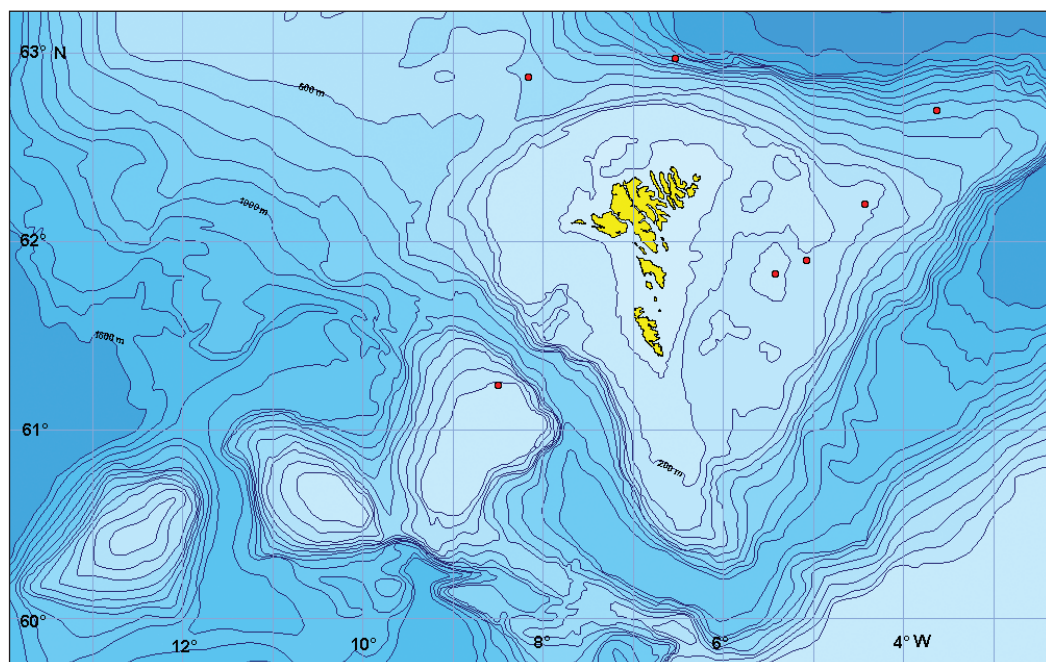


Figure 24. BIOFAR records of *Cnemidocarpa mollispina*.

Cnemidocarpa mortenseni (Hartmeyer, 1912)

Good description: Van Name, 1912: 565-567; pl. 61, figs.

98-100; Hartmeyer, 1923: 253-256; Van Name, 1945.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR station (number of individuals in parentheses):
692(39).

BIOFAR area: Lousy Bank (60°25'N;12°49'W) (Fig. 26).

BIOFAR depth: 300 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated 8.6 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Southern coasts of Norway; Skagerak; south west of Iceland; south eastern Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: Davis Strait; boreal western Atlantic; boreal eastern Atlantic.

General depth range: From 62 to 1064 m (Hartmeyer, 1923).

Remarks: This is a rare amphi-Atlantic species, which in the Arctic has been recorded only once at the southern entrance of Davis Strait (Van Name, 1945).

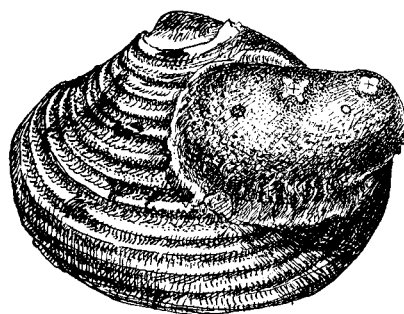


Figure 25. *Cnemidocarpa mortenseni* (from Lützen, 1967).

Genus: *Dendrodoa* MacLeay, 1825

Dendrodoa aggregata (Rathke, 1806)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 288-310; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 63, fig 40.

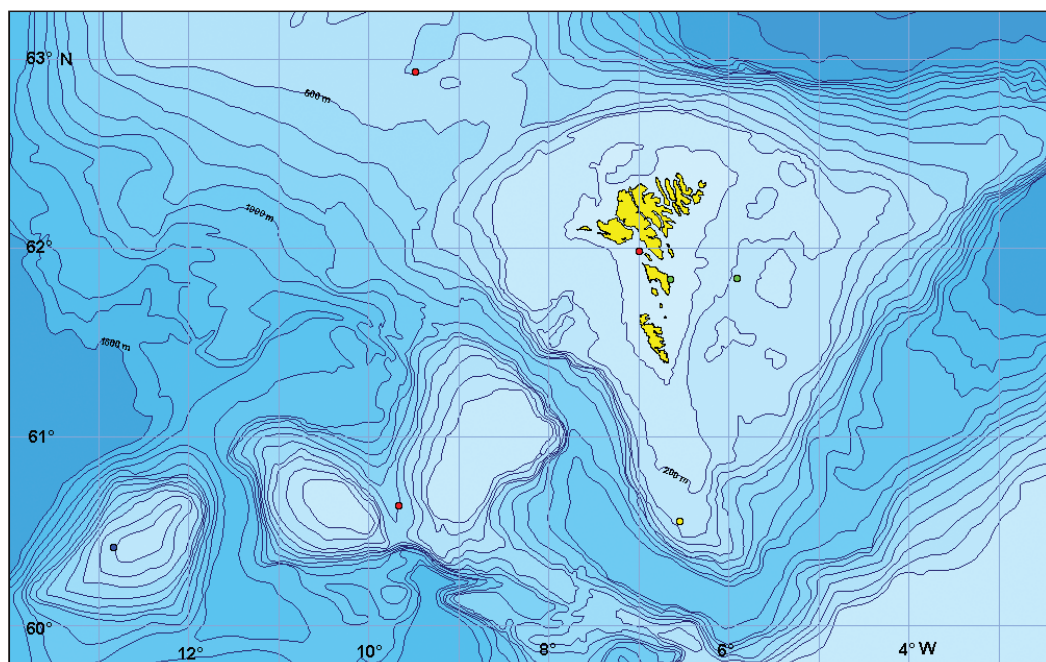


Figure 26. BIOFAR records of *Styela atlantica* ●, *S. gelatinosa* ●, *S. theeli* ●, and *Cnemidocarpa mortenseni* ●.

Previous records: “*Thor*” 1899: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m (Hartmeyer, 1912). “*Beskytteren*”: Locality not specified (identification by Müller in 1902, (Hartmeyer, 1923)). “*Michael Sars*”, 1902: Eastern slope of the Faroe-Iceland Ridge 550 m (64°58'N; 11°12'W); Faroe Bank 151 m (60°46'N; 8°10'W) (Bjerkan, 1905). “*Beskytteren*” 1926: North of the Faroes 70 m; off Gøtuvík (62°09'N; 6°37'W); Skúvoy 54–75 m (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 152(1); 156(1); 269(3); 279(2); 1234(3); 1616(1); 1628(8); 1632(1); 1663(2); 1664(1); 1665(98).

BIOFAR area: Coastal records; on the plateau (Dalagrynnan; Suðuroyar Banki; Sandoyar Banki); Faroe-Iceland Ridge (Fig. 28).

BIOFAR depth range: 5–510 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range 2.9 to 7.0 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear Island; coast of Norway (predominantly northern part); Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North America.



Figure 27. *Dendrodoa aggregata* (from Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *D. aggregata* is widely distributed in Arctic- and boreal waters. In the Arctic the species is circum-polar (Van Name, 1945) occurring also in the Bering Sea, where it is one of the most common ascidians (Sanamyan, 2000), and in the Sea of

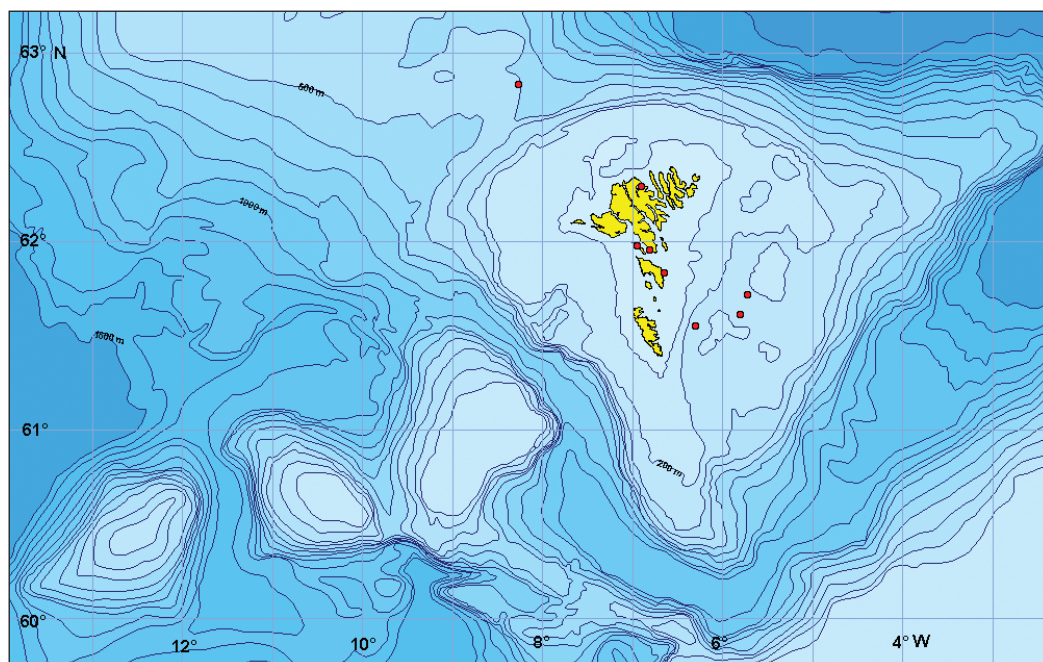


Figure 28. BIOFAR records of *Dendrodoa aggregata*.

Okhotsk. In the Pacific it occurs south to about 42°N in the Sea of Japan on the western side, while on the eastern side it has been recorded south to about Kodiak Island (about 57°N). In the boreal eastern Atlantic, the Faroes constitute the southern border of its distribution area.

General depth range: From shallow water to more than 500 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: The large species diversity in the Arctic of the genus *Dendrodoa* is notable. Of all known nine species of the genus *Dendrodoa* are eight (*D. aggregata*, *D. grossularia*, *D. carnea* (Rathke, 1806), *D. minuta* (Bonnievie, 1896), *D. annectens* (Hartmeyer, 1921), *D. lineata* (Traustedt, 1880), *D. pulchella* (Rathke, 1806) and *D. uniplicata* (Bonnievie, 1896) recorded from the Arctic, while *D. abotti* Newberry, 1984 is endemic to California (Newberry, 1984).

Dendrodoa grossularia (Van Beneden, 1846)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 314-330; Millar, 1966: 62, fig. 39.

Previous records: "Porcupine" 1869: Wyville Thomson Ridge, eastern slope 653 m (59°56'N;06°27'W) (Herdman, 1884). "Thor" 1899: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m, identified by Th. Mortensen (Hartmeyer, 1912). "Beskytteren" 1926: North of the Faroes 204 m; Funningsfjørður, 85 m; Skálafjørður, 7-14 m; Skálafjørður, 18-20 m; Sundalagi south of Ljósáir 20-25 m; Sundalagi off Skarvsøre, about 25 m; Trongisvágur off Punthavn about 8-10 m; Trongisvágur off Hvítanes, 20-27 m; Ørðavík; Trongisvágur, east off Tjaldavíkshólm 15-20 m (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 152(2); 156(26); 163(2); 281(2); 282(8); 357(2); 419(2); 466(1); 473(1); 482(2); 506(1); 507(2); 587(2); 602(1); 621(3); 1017(4); 1040(2); 1146(4); 1230(9); 1234(99); 1597(1); 1628(1); 1663(10); 1664(2); 1665(175); 1674(1).

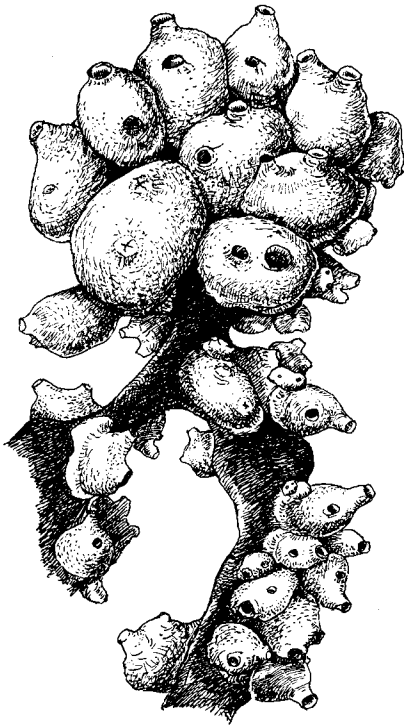


Figure 29. *Dendrodoa grossularia* (from Lützen, 1967).

BIOFAR area: Coastal records; off shore records on the eastern part of the plateau except for three records: One on southern and one on eastern slope of Faroe Bank, and one record on the western slope of the Faroe-Iceland Ridge (Fig. 30).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-702 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated range 1.0 to 8.5 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear Island; coast of Norway; western coast of Sweden; Denmark; English Channel; coasts of Great Britain; Ireland; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland; Jan Mayen; coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966). General distribution: Western boreal Atlantic; Arctic; eastern boreal Atlantic; Bering Sea; Sea of Okhotsk. General depth range: From the lower part of the shore (Millar, 1966) to 702 m (present study).

Genus: *Polycarpa* Heller, 1877

Polycarpa fibrosa (Stimpson, 1852)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 263-272; Van Name 1945: 254-256; pl. 2, fig. 6; Millar, 1966: 73, fig. 48.

Previous records: "*Lightning*" 1868: Western slope of the Wyville-Thomson Ridge 954 m (south of the Faroe EEZ 59°36'N; 07°20'W) (Herdman, 1884). "*Ingolf*" 1896: Faroe Island Ridge, eastern slope 847 m (62°45'N; 07°35'W) (Hartmeyer, 1923). "*Michael Sars*" 1902: Faroe Island Ridge 330 m (62°45'N; 07°35'W) (Bjerkman, 1905). "*Beskytteren*"? 1909: Northeast of the Faroes 1236 m (border of EEZ 61°42'N; 02°W) (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1952). Sampled 1923 or earlier: West of Sumbiargrynnu (61°22'N; 07°20'W) (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1952). "*Hvidbjørnen*" 1931: Norðhavið 104 m (62°28'N; 07°02'W) (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 56(1); 158(2); 167(9); 169(7); 170(2); 188(16); 299(5); 381(2); 382(30); 397(1); 418(1); 424(1); 473(2); 478(2); 489(1); 494(10); 690(81).

BIOFAR area: Scattered off shore records on the plateau and the slopes of the plateau. One record in the Faroe-Shetland Channel; on the Wyville-Thomson Ridge; between Faroe Bank and Bill Bailey Bank; Lousy Bank; north of Bill Bailey; and on the Faroe-Iceland Ridge (Fig. 32).

BIOFAR depth range: 77-1200 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range -0.85 to 8.6 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: NW/AW/AI.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; coast

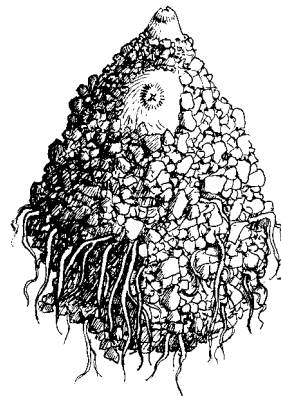


Figure 30. *Polycarpa fibrosa* (from Lützen, 1967).

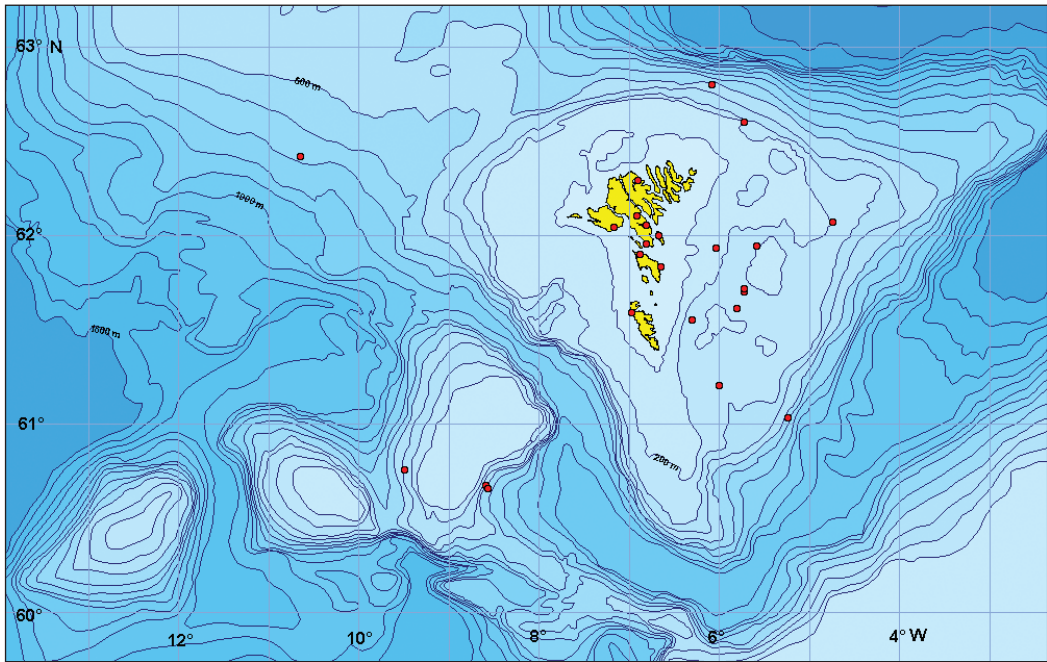


Figure 31. BIOFAR records of *Dendrodoa grossularia*.

of Norway; western coast of Sweden; Skagerrak; Kattegat; North Sea; coast of the Netherlands; coast of Belgium; northern coast of France?; coasts of Great Britain; Ireland; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: The boreal western Atlantic; boreal eastern Atlantic; Lusitanian; Mediterranean; and the Arctic.

General depth range: From low tide level (Berrill, 1950) to 1600 m (Lützen, 1959).

Remarks: *P. fibrosa* is also common in the boreal western Atlantic, where it probably dispersed either from the Arctic or the boreal eastern Atlantic, a topic discussed by Lützen (1959). The genus has a number of other representative species further south along the eastern coast of America in the Carolina region (Van Name, 1945); however, *P. fibrosa* is the only boreal western Atlantic representative *Polycarpa*.

Polycarpa pomaria (Savigny, 1816)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 273-283; Millar, 1966: 76.

Previous records: Danish mail-ship 1878?: The Faroes

referred to as a locality (Traustedt, 1880). "Triton" 1882: Northwestern part of the Wyville-Thomson Ridge 147 m (60°40' – 0°06'W) (Herdman, 1883; Tizard, 1883). "Thor" 1899: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m, identified by Th. Mortensen (Hartmeyer, 1912). "Beskytteren" 1926: Funningsfjörður 82 m; Hvannasund, 80 m; off Gøtúvík (62°09'N; 6°37'W); Trongisvágur, between 6 m Pladen and Tjaldavíkshólm, about 20 m; Trongisvágur east of Tjaldavík 15-20 m (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 43(4); 44(3); 100(1); 105(1); 106(4); 152(5); 156(33); 158(7); 163(19); 282(3); 322(2); 328(1); 368(1); 371(18); 372(12); 547(1); 548(1); 599(1); 604(12); 621(1); 1017(3); 1230(2); 1235(1); 1377(3); 1517(1); 1519(1); 1521(9); 1553(1); 1562(5); 1602(1); 1620(2); 1628(12); 1637(3); 1659(4); 1662(2); 1663(2); 1664(45); 1665(39); 1667(2); 1675(1); 1744(1); 1750(3); 1786(4); 1791(4); 1801(29); 1815(1); 1816(1); 1834(1).

BIOFAR area: Coastal records; off shore records on the plateau east of the islands; one record in the Faroe Bank Channel; one record on southern slope of Faroe Bank (Fig. 34).

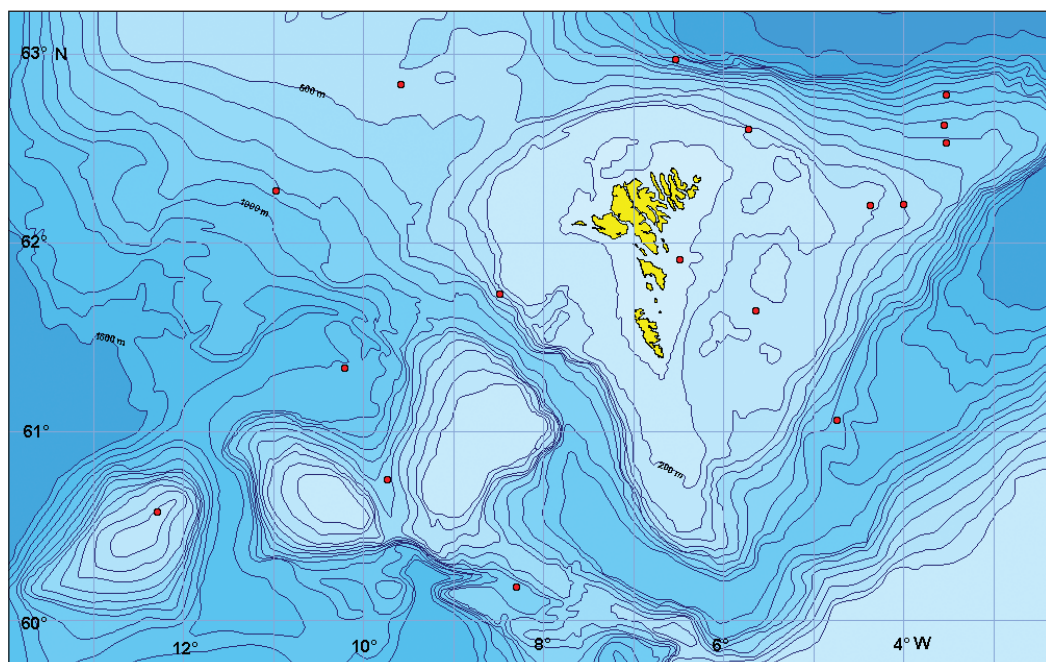


Figure 32. BIOFAR records of *Polycarpa fibrosa*.

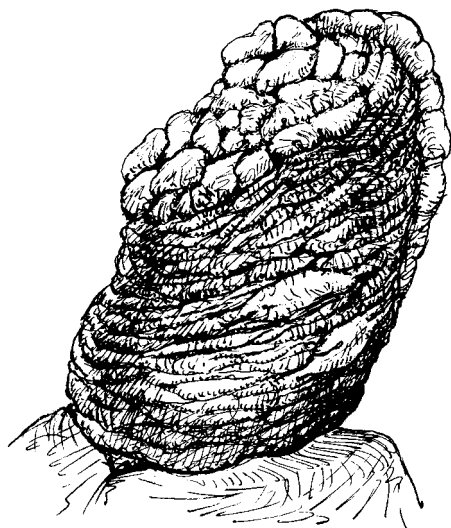


Figure 33. *Polycarpa pomaria* (from Lützen, 1967).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-400 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated range 6.0 to 8.4 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; coast of Norway; western coast of Sweden; Kattegat; Denmark; North Sea; coast of France; coast of Spain; coasts of Great Britain; Orkney; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: Boreal eastern Atlantic; Lusitanian; Mediterranean; and Svalbard.

General depth range: From shallow water to 450 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: The 'pomaria group', named by *P. pomaria*, is an ensemble of closely related *Polycarpa* species characterized by possession of a hard test without fibrils, featuring endocarps and polycarps scattered all over the inner body wall surface, and being attached to hard substrata (Vazquez *et al.*, 1995). Three species within this group are found in the three European regions: *P. pomaria*; *P. mamillaris* (Gaertner, 1774); and *P. scuba* Monniot, 1970 (syn. *P. rusticum*).

P. pomaria is the only species within the 'pomaria group' that with two records from Svalbard is

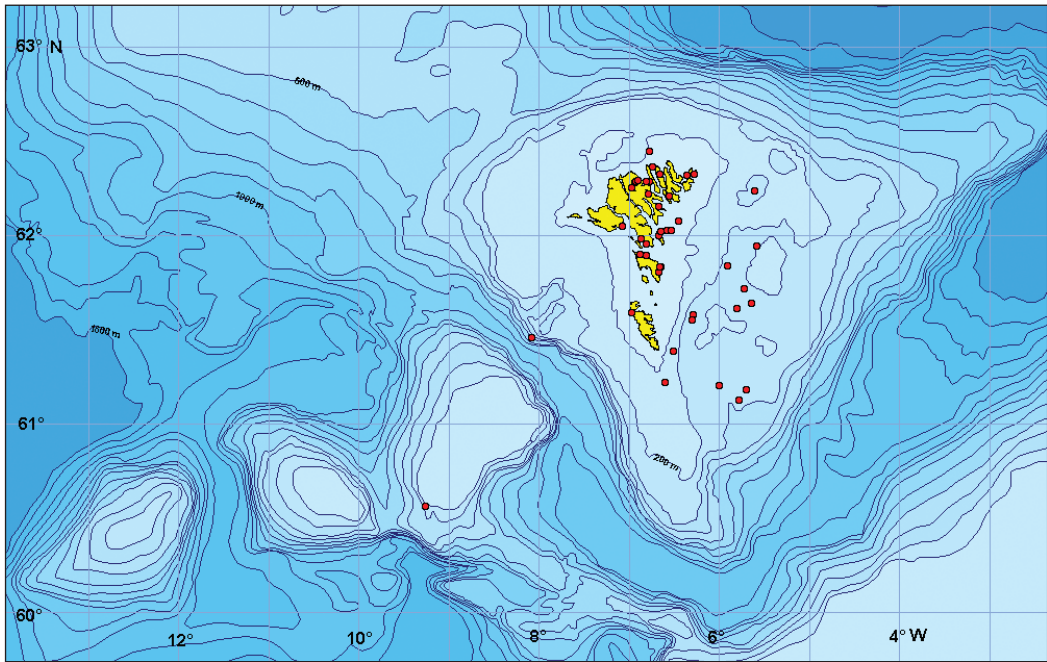


Figure 34. BIOFAR records of *Polycarpa pomaria*.

recorded in the Arctic region (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1922). Dispersal into this region most likely occurred via the North Atlantic Current.

P. pomaria and *P. mamillaris* are difficult to separate; see Vazquez *et al.* (1995) for a comparison between these two species. I did not identify the *P. pomaria* according to the instructions recommended by these authors, thus a re-examination is necessary to clarify whether *P. mamillaris* is present among the material.

***Polycarpa porculus* Monniot C. and Monniot F., 1979**

Good description: Monniot and Monniot, 1979: 568-569, figs 2 B-C and 4 B.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 376(1); 550(1).

BIOFAR area: In association with sponge occurrences (Klitgaard, 1995) on the northern slope of Suðuroy Bank and south of this bank (Fig. 36).

BIOFAR depth range: 250 and 251 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated 7.00 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Off Bergen, Norway; Faroes.

General distribution: Boreal eastern Atlantic, Lusitanian, and Mediterranean (each side of Gibraltar).

General depth range: From 250 m (Monniot and Monniot, 1979; present study) to 1163 m (Monniot and Monniot, 1988).

Remarks: The specimens were recorded on the sponge species *Thenea levis* and *Thenea valdiviae*, and identified by Claude Monniot (Klitgaard, 1995).

Family: PYURIDAE

Genus: *Boltenia* Savigny, 1816

***Boltenia echinata* (Linnaeus, 1767)**

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 149-162; Millar, 1966: 92, fig. 62.

Previous records: Danish mail-ship 1878?: Locality not specified (Traustedt, 1880). "Thor" 1899: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m, identified by Th. Mortensen (Hartmeyer, 1912). "Diana" 1901: Outer roads of Tórshavn 21-29 m. (identification by R. Höring in 1901, (Hartmeyer, 1923)). "Diana" 1902?: Off Mykineshólm 102 m; Vestmanna (identification by Ditlevsen in 1902, (Hartmeyer, 1923)). "Beskytteren" 1926: Off Gøtuvík (62°09'N;6°37'W); Skálafjørður, at the shore; Vestmannasund, 45 m; Vestmannasund, south of Egilsnes 20-25 m; Miðvágur; Trongisvágur, between 6 m Pladen and Tjaldavikshólm, about 20 m (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952). Sampled summer 1929: Kalsoyarfjørður (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 371(1); 1023(1); 1025(1); 1245(1); 1562(2); 1605(1); 1606(2); 1617(1); 1625(1); 1638(2); 1659(1); 1664(10); 1665(9); 1675(1); 1712(1); 1744(2); 1746(1); 1801(3); 1820(1).

BIOFAR area: Coastal records (Fig. 36).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-80 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated 7.9 °C (based stn. 371).

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear Island; coast of Norway; western coast of Sweden; Denmark; northern coasts of Great Britain; Orkney; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *B. echinata* is distributed throughout the Arctic and in all four northern boreal regions, i.e., it is amphi Atlantic and amphi Pacific.

General depth range: From shallow water to 350 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: There are two arctic *Boltenia* species: *B. ovifera* (Linnaeus, 1767) and *B. echinata*. The distri-

bution of *B. ovifera* extends from boreal western Atlantic, Arctic Canada, Greenland, Alaskan coast of the Arctic Basin, Bering Sea, and the Sea of Okhotsk. In Japan waters *B. echinata echinata* is replaced by the subspecies *B. echinata iburi* (Sanamyan, 1996), which does not occur sympatrically with the common *B. echinata echinata* (Sanamyan, 1996).

Genus: *Halocynthia* Verrill, 1879

Halocynthia pyriformis (Rathke, 1806)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 163-171; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 99, fig. 68.

Previous records: Sampled 1900 or earlier, locality not specified (possibly Icelandic specimen); Tórshavn (identification by Müller in 1900, (Hartmeyer, 1923)).

BIOFAR station: Not recorded by BIOFAR.

EEZ area: Tórshavn.

EEZ depth range: Not specified.

EEZ temperature: Unknown.

EEZ water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear Island; coast of Norway; Faroes; Iceland; western coasts of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: The species has a northern distribution, being found in the Arctic basin and in both boreal regions of the Atlantic.

General depth range: From shallow water to about 200 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: Two species are known from the Arctic and the northern boreal regions; a third is found in the Mediterranean, Lusitanian and Mauritanian areas. These three species (*H. aurantium* (Pallas, 1787), *H. pyriformis* and *H. papillosa* (Linnaeus, 1767)) form a close species complex, distinct in the number of gonads, a character which is not constant for each species (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1928).

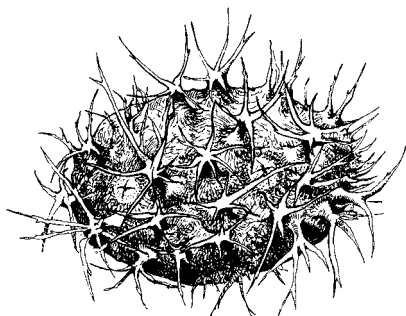


Figure 35. *Boltenia echinata* (from Lützen, 1967).

Genus: *Microcosmus* Heller, 1877

Microcosmus glacialis (Sars, 1859)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 178-182; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 94, fig. 64.

Previous records: Sampled 1886 or earlier: Wyville Thomson Ridge 792 m (60°06'N;08°14'W) (Herdman, 1886 in Hartmeyer, 1923).

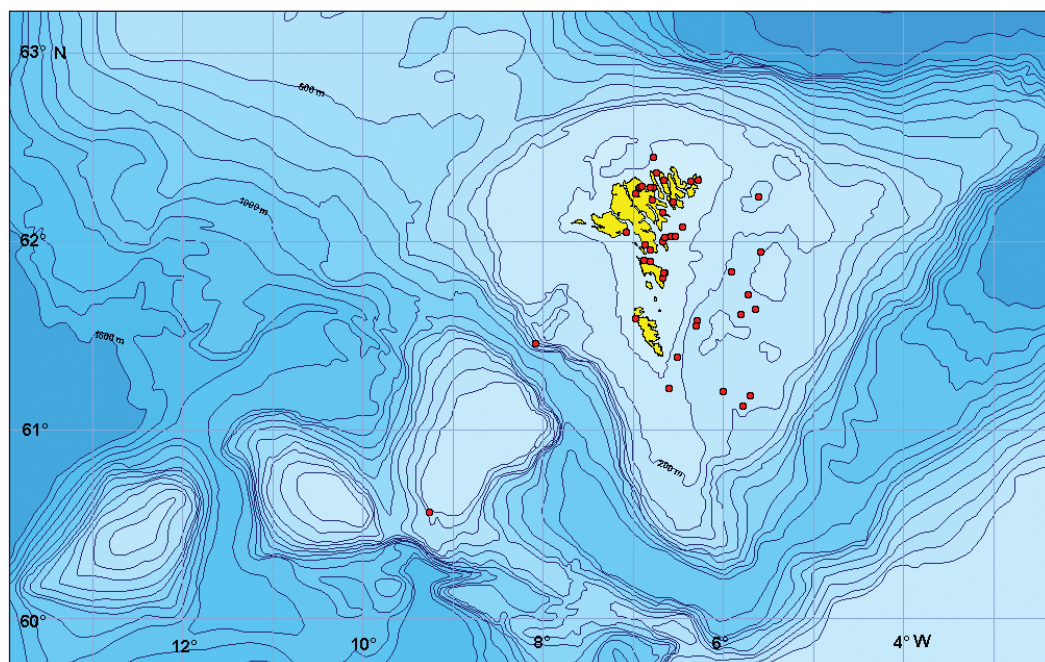


Figure 36. BIOFAR records of *Boltenia echinata* ● and *Polycarpa porculus* ●.

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses):
137(1); 228(1); 315(1); 424(2); 477(1); 478(1);
480(1); 1607(2).

BIOFAR area: A single coastal record; four records from

the Faroe-Shetland Channel; one from the Faroe Bank Channel; one from the northern slope of Bill Bailey Bank; and one record from the Faroe-Iceland Ridge (Fig. 38).

BIOFAR depth range: 52-1150 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated range -0.9 to 8.2 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly NW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Coast of Norway; Kattegat?; Wyville Thomson Ridge; Faroes; Iceland; south eastern Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *M. glacialis* is recorded on both sides of the boreal Atlantic and in the lower Arctic area in the vicinity of the boreal Atlantic (White Sea, N. E. Greenland, and Davis Strait).

General depth range: From shallow water down to nearly 800 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: *M. glacialis* is a rare species with scattered records. I cannot point out any close relative to *M. glacialis* within the genus.

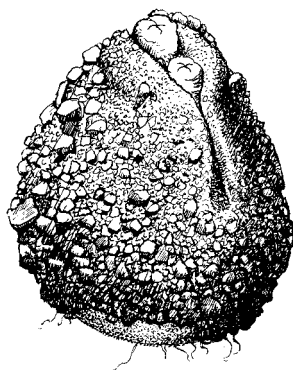


Figure 37. *Microcosmus glacialis* (from Lützen, 1967).

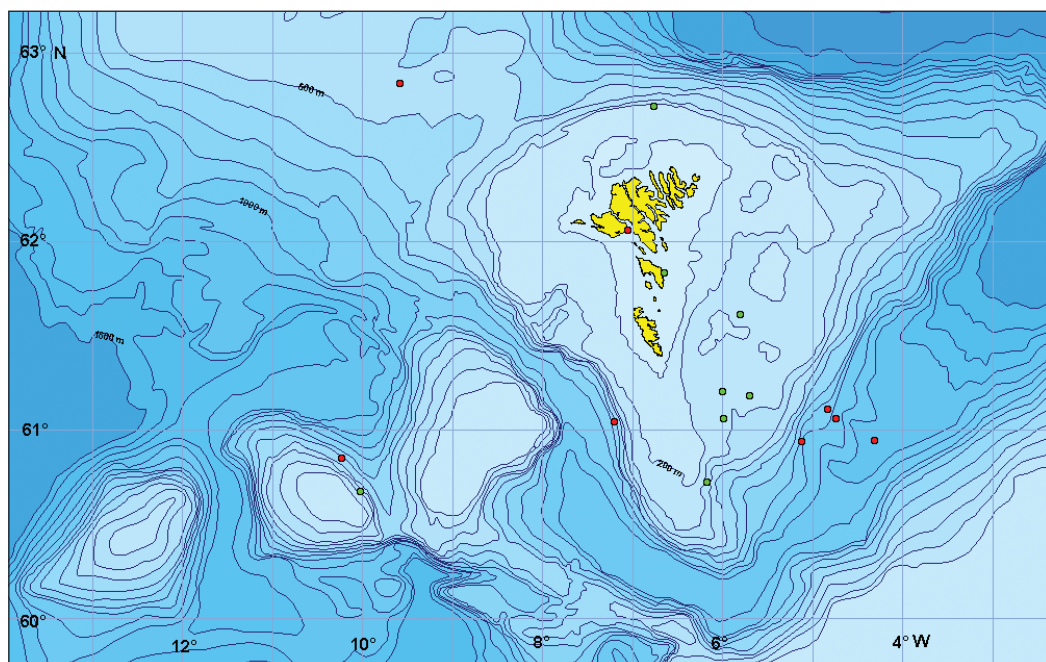


Figure 38. BIOFAR records of *Microcosmus glacialis* ● and *Pyura tessellata* ●.

Genus: *Pyura* Molina, 1782

Pyura tessellata (Forbes, 1848)

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 174-175; Millar, 1966: 96, fig. 66.

Previous records: East of Suðuroy Bank, 283 m (61°39'N; 04°45'W); east of Suðuroy Bank, 283 m (61°39'N; 04°45'W); south east of Nólsoy Bank, 158 m (61°04'N; 05°50'W); east of Sandoy Bank, 229 m (61°46'N; 05°05'W) (Thompson, 1930).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 43(2); 156(7); 191(1); 282(1); 286(1); 486(4); 589(4); 1664(1).

BIOFAR area: One coastal record; five records on the plateau south east of the islands; one on the eastern slope of Bill Bailey Bank; and one record on the northern slope of the plateau (Fig. 38).

BIOFAR depth range: 15-272 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Unknown.

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Southern part of the Norwegian coast; western coast of Sweden; Belt;

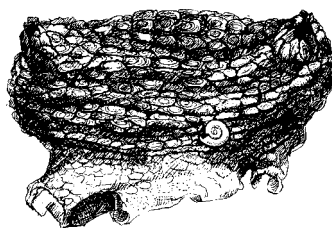


Figure 39. *Pyura tessellata* (from Lützen, 1967).

Kattegat; northern coast of France; southern and western part of Great Britain; Ireland; Shetland; Faroes (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *P. tessellata* is recorded in the southern part of the boreal eastern Atlantic, in the Lusitanian region, and in the Mediterranean Sea. In the Mediterranean it is only recorded from the southern coast of France.

General depth range: From the lower part of the shore down to about 300 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: *P. tessellata*, *P. squamulosa* (Alder, 1863) and *P. microcosmus* (Savigny, 1816) (= *P. savignyi*) are related members of *Pyura* with similar distribution. The three species are distinguished primarily by different number of gonads and folds in the branchial sac.

Family: MOLGULIDAE

Genus: *Molgula* Forbes, 1848

Before the BIOFAR project the number of *Molgula* species recorded in the Faroese EEZ was relatively low, a fact that had been noticed by other authors (Ärnbäck-Christie-Linde, 1952; Hartmeyer, 1923; Thompson, 1930). A doubling of the species recorded by the BIOFAR project (from three to six species) was therefore anticipated. The new EEZ molgulids are *M. herdmani* Bjerkan, 1905, *M. mira* (Ärnbäck, 1931), and *M. occulta* Kupfer, 1875.

Molgula citrina Alder and Hancock, 1848

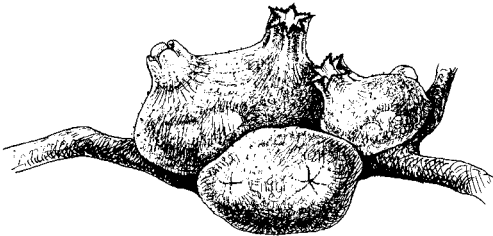


Figure 40. *Molgula citrina* (from Lützen, 1967).

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 97-105; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 108, fig. 76.

Previous records: East of Nólsoy, 75 m (62°02'30 N; 06°29'W) (Thompson, 1930).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 1628(3); 1638(1); 1665(2); 1670(3).

BIOFAR area: Four coastal records (Fig. 41).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-10 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Unknown.

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Norwegian coast; western coast of Sweden; Denmark; North Sea; Channel coast of France; coasts of Great Britain; Ireland; Shetland; Faroes; Iceland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *M. citrina* is recorded on both sides of the boreal Atlantic and in Arctic areas bordering the boreal Atlantic; Western Greenland; Svalbard; and White Sea.

General depth range: From shallow water to about 60 m, occasionally below 200 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: The phylogenetic analyses made by Huber *et al.* (2000) place *M. citrina* in the so called Roscovitae clade together with *M. echinosiphonica* Lacaze-Duthiers, 1877; *M. oculata* Forbes, 1848; *M. occulta*; and *M. bleizi* (Lacaze-Duthiers, 1877) (all endemic to Europe), and *M. pacifica* (Huntsman, 1912) (endemic to boreal eastern Pacific).

Molgula complanata (Alder and Hancock, 1870)

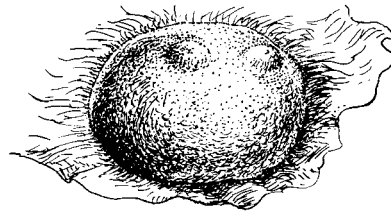


Figure 42. *Molgula complanata* (from Lützen, 1967).

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 76-83; Van Name, 1945; Millar, 1966: 104, fig. 72.

Previous records: Rowingboat sample by Japetus Steenstrup 1844?: Sandavágur 9-18 m. identified by Steenstrup 1858 (Hartmeyer, 1923). "Thor" 1899: Between Stong and Eystnes 180 m. Identified by Th. Mortensen (Hartmeyer, 1912). "Beskytteren" 1926: Vestmannasund 45 m (Ärnbäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 1017(4); 1019(1); 1022(1); 1130(1); 1592(2); 1602(2); 1612(8); 1638(1); 1663(1); 1664(1); 1665(6); 1706(1); 1750(2); 1801(14) (in addition to these records, 1 individual of *M. complanata* is identified, that cannot be located to station).

BIOFAR area: Mainly coastal records. A few records east off Stong and Eystnes (Fig. 43).

BIOFAR depth range: 5-65 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Unknown.

BIOFAR water mass: AW.

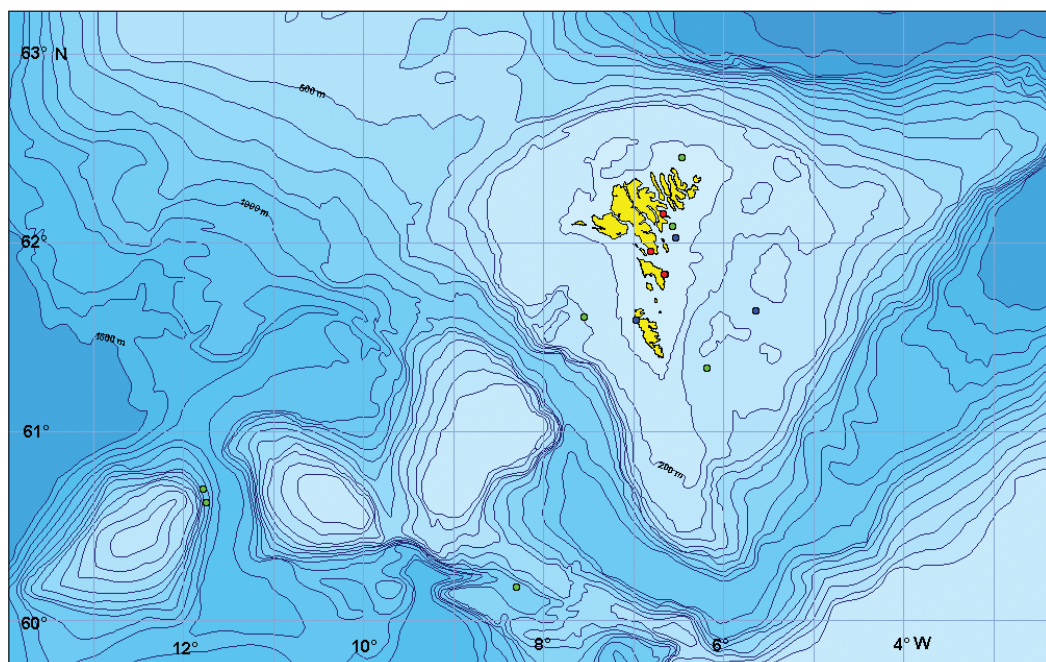


Figure 41. BIOFAR records of *M. occulta* ●, *M. siphonalis* ●, and *M. citrina* ●.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Norwegian coast; Skagerak; North Sea; English Channel; eastern coast of Great Britain; Shetland; Faroes; western coast of Greenland; northern North America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *M. complanata* is recorded on both sides of the boreal Atlantic and in the Arctic area in the vicinity of the boreal Atlantic (Svalbard; Murman Coast; White Sea; Barents Sea; Franz Josef Land; Siberian Sea).

General depth range: From lower part of the shore to depths greater than 500 m (Millar, 1966).

Remarks: The phylogenetic analyses made by Huber *et al.* (2000) suggest that two species: the tailed *M. complanata*, with Arctic and amphi-boreal Atlantic distribution, and the anural *M. tectiformis*, known, e.g., from the coast of Japan are closely related. *M. tectiformis* resembles, according to Nishikawa (1991), the three European molgulids *M. appendiculata* Heller, 1877; *M. simplex* Alder and Hancock, 1870; and *M. socialis* Alder, 1848, and also the Antarctic *M. hodgsoni*, Herdman, 1910.

Molgula herdmani Bjerkan, 1905

Good description: Bjerkan, 1905: 5-7; pl. 1, figs. 1-6; Hartmeyer, 1923: 84-86; pl. 1, fig. 1; Millar, 1966: 104, fig. 73; Monniot and Monniot, 1979: 569, figs 3, A and 4, D.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR station and individual: 491(1) (60°55'N; 09° 50'W, 986 m).

BIOFAR area: Northern entrance of the channel between Bill Bailey Bank and Faroe Bank (Fig. 45).



Figure 44. *Molgula herdmani* (from Bjerkan, 1905).

BIOFAR depth range: 986 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated 6.9 °C.

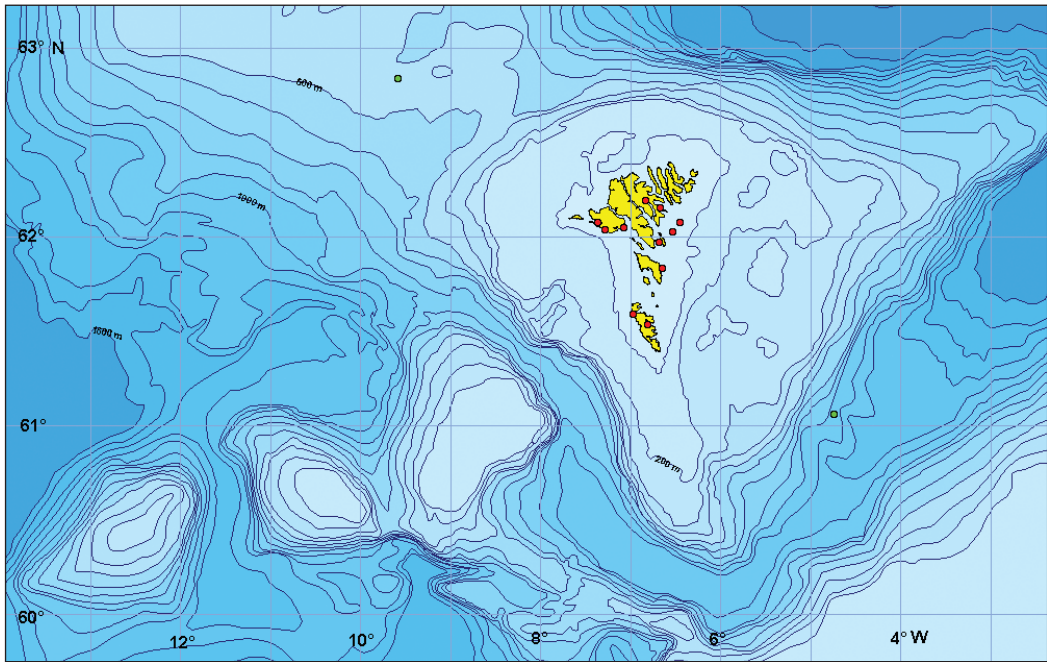


Figure 43. BIOFAR records of *M. complanata* ● and *E. islandica* ●.

BIOFAR water mass: AW/AI.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Lofoten and North Cape in Norway (Monniot and Monniot, 1979); north western coast of Norway; west of Wyville-Thomson Ridge (type locality) (Millar, 1966); south-west of the Faroes; possibly Svalbard (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1928).

General distribution: As above.

General depth range: In deep water to 1260 m (Millar, 1966); possible record from 18 m (Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1928).

Remarks: The tentacles of this species are characteristic: The 24 tentacles are 12 double feather-formed and very large, and the intermediate piece between them forms a nice curve. The finest branches of the tentacles constitute small finger-formed series. See Bjerkan (1905) for good description and illustration. The closest relatives of *M. herdmanni* are probably *M. romeri* Hartmeyer, 1903 and *M. kiaeri* Hartmeyer, 1901, having different shapes of the dorsal laminas as the most important distinguishing character, apart from the tentacles. I find *M. herdmanni* a potential member of the Roscovita clade.

The species is viviparous, but it is not known whether the larvae are anural or urodele.

The identification of the single specimen is confirmed by Francoise Monniot.

***Molgula mira* (Ärnback, 1931)**

Good descriptions: Monniot and Klitgaard, 1994; Ärnback-Christie-Linde, 1931.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 474(1); 901(4).

BIOFAR area: South east of the Faroes (south off Munkagrinninum, and the Faroe-Shetland Channel) (Fig. 45).

BIOFAR depth range: 241-246 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated 7.1 °C (stn.474).

BIOFAR water mass: NW/AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Trondhjem Fjord and southeast of the Faroes (Monniot and Klitgaard, 1994).

General distribution: *M. mira* is only recorded southeast of the Faroes (south of Munkagrinninum and in the Faroe Shetland Channel) and in the Trondhjem Fjord

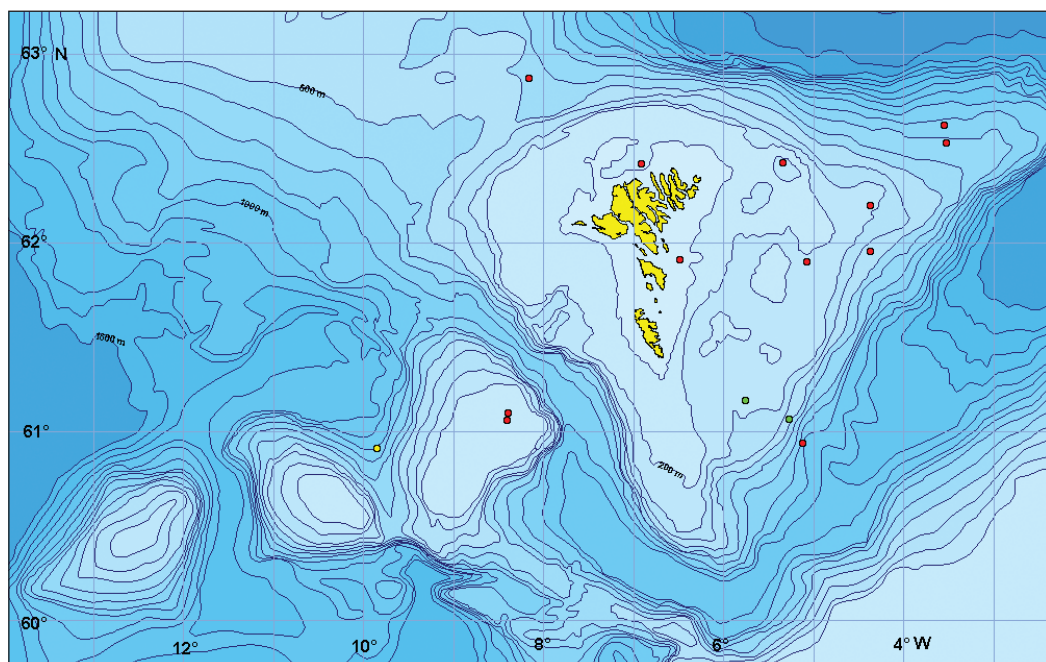


Figure 45. BIOFAR records of *Molgula herdmani* ●, *M. mira* ●, and *Eugyra arenosa* ●.

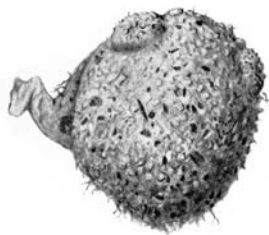


Figure 46. *Molgula mira* (from Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1931).

in south western Norway.

General depth range: From 246 to 400 m (Monniot and Klitgaard, 1994).

Remarks: *Molgula mira* is like *M. herdmani* a rare species apparently with a somewhat similar distribution area. The bathymetric range (246-400 m) indicates that this is a slope species.

It is notable, that all records of *M. mira* are associ-

ated with sponge records.

The phylogeny of this species is of interest, as it like *Eugyra arenosa*, has only one gonad, but like all other *Molgula* species the branchial sac has folds. *M. mira* is urodele and the branchial sac has, like several other molgulids, six folds on each side.

Molgula occulta Kuppfer, 1875

Good description: Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1928: 30-34; pl. 1, figs. 23-26; Berrill, 1950: 254-256, figs. 90 and 91, D-G; Millar, 1966: 110, fig. 77; Monniot, 1969c: 213-219, fig. 19-22.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 299(1); 514(7); 515(25); 542(4); 886(2); 887(1); 888(1+2); 1663(1); 1664(1); 1801(1); 1811(1); 1837(1).

BIOFAR area: Coastal records (Skálavík, Sandoy 5 m; Skálavík, Sandoy 15 m; east of Nólsoy 55 and 60 m; Høgnaboði, east of Eystnes 37-50 m; north of Kalsoy 102 m); on the plateau west of Suðuroy (Skeivi Banki 200 m); Wyville-Thomson Ridge (923 m); north east-



Figure 47. *Molgula occulta* (from Lützen, 1967).

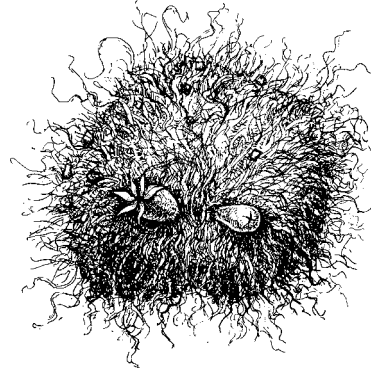


Figure 48. *Molgula siphonalis* (from Lützen, 1967).

ern slope of Lousy Bank (496 and 700 m) (Fig. 41).
BIOFAR depth range: 5-923 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Unknown.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Cost of Norway;
western coast of Sweden; Kattegat; Skagerak; North
Sea; English Channel; western coast of Great Britain;
Ireland (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *M. occulta* is found in the boreal
eastern Atlantic-, Lusitanian-, and Mediterranean re-
gions. In addition to this it is found in the Mauritan-
ian and the Senegalian regions (Monniot, 1969c).

General depth range: From shallow water down to about
100 m (Millar, 1966); 5-923 m (present study).

Remarks: Based on morphological comparisons the clos-
est relatives to *M. occulta* are *M. bleizi*, *M. oculata*,
and *M. siphonalis* (see Monniot, 1969c) and this is
also in agreement with the phylogenetic results
(Huber *et al.*, 2000), except for *M. siphonalis* which
not yet has been examined by molecular analyses.

One specimen deviates by having a ventrally oriented
oviduct and a highly reduced dorsal fold of the
branchial sac. Dr. Francoise Monniot has confirmed
the identity of this specimen.

Information on records from stations 886, 887, and
888 are from Dinesen and Ockelmann (2005).

***Molgula siphonalis* Kiær, 1896**

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 105-114; Van Name,
1945: 377-379; pl. 1, fig. 2 and pl. 6, fig. 3; Millar,
1966: 112, fig. 79.

Previous records: “*Thor*” 1899: Between Stong and

Eystnes 180 m. Identified by Th. Mortensen (Hart-
meyer, 1912). “*Beskytteren*” 1926: Vágur, 43 m
(Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses):
158(1); 1019(2); 1664(6); 1801(15).

BIOFAR area: Two coastal records (Hvalbiareiði,
Suðuroy 2-3 m; Skálavík, Sandoy 15 m); two records
on the plateau of the islands (east of Nólsoy 55-60
m; between Suðuroy Bank and Sandoy Bank 322 m)
(Fig. 41).

BIOFAR depth range: 2-322 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated 6.6 °C (based on stn.
158).

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly AW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Svalbard; Bear
Island; Norwegian coast; western coast of Sweden;
Faroes; Iceland; coasts of Greenland; northern North
America (Millar, 1966).

General distribution: *M. siphonalis* has the largest oc-
currence in the Arctic where it is found from the Kara
Sea in the east to Disko Fjord in western Greenland,
and one record is from the Bering Sea. *M. siphonalis*
is found on both sides of the boreal Atlantic and these
records are chiefly confined to the northern parts, al-
though southern records occur on both sides, *i.e.*,
Gullmarfjorden, Sweden (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde,
1928) and 41°49' N; 65°49' 30" W off the American
east coast (Van Name, 1945).

General depth range: From shallow water about 300 m
(Millar, 1966).

Remarks: *M. siphonalis* is probably indigenous to the
Arctic (Hartmeyer, 1923; Ärnäck-Christie-Linde,
1928; Thompson, 1930; Monniot, 1969c) and as men-

tioned above, the closest relatives are probably *M. oculata*, *M. occulta*, and *M. bleizi*, and together with *M. citrina* and *M. echinosiphonica* all these species probably belong in the Roscovita clade.

Genus: *Eugyra* Alder and Hancock, 1870

Eugyra arenosa Alder and Hancock, 1848

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 30-39; Millar, 1966: 118, figs. 83b and 84.

Previous records: "*Thor*" 1899: East off Bispinum 126 m; south of Mykines 126 m. Identified by Th. Mortensen (Hartmeyer, 1923). "*Diana*" 1901: Vestmanna; Funningsfjørður 21-36 m. Identified by Hörning 1901 (Hartmeyer, 1923). "*Dana*" 1927: Funningsfjørður 75 m (62°18'N; 06°53'W) (Ärnäck-Christie-Linde, 1952).

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 27(3); 56(5); 76(14); 77(3); 169(1); 170(5); 193(2); 271(1); 356(1); 359(1); 382(1); 480(1).

BIOFAR area: Mainly off shore records on the plateau east of the islands; two records from the ridge between the Norwegian Sea and the Faroe-Shetland Channel; one in the Faroe-Shetland Channel; two on Faroe Bank; and two records north of the islands (Norðhavið and Faroe-Iceland Ridge) (Fig. 45).

BIOFAR depth range: 99-808 m.

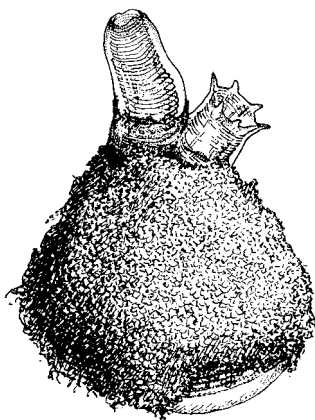


Figure 49. *Eugyra arenosa* (from Lützen, 1967).

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range -0.6 to 9.1 °C. BIOFAR water mass: NW/AW/AI.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Norwegian coast; Swedish coast; Skagerak; North Sea; English Channel; coasts of Great Britain; Shetland; Faroes (Millar, 1966).

General depth range: From shallow water (Hartmeyer, 1923; Millar, 1966) to 1152 m (Herdman, 1883).

General distribution: *E. arenosa* is confined to the three zoogeographic regions of Europe, the boreal, Lusitanian, and Mediterranean.

Remarks: Apart from Herdman's (1883) record from deeper waters *E. arenosa* is found only from shallow water to 150 m (Hartmeyer, 1923; Millar, 1966). The BIOFAR records suggest that the species is more common in deeper water than previously assumed.

Eugyra islandica Millar, 1974

Good description: Millar, 1974: 150, figs. 1-6.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 424(51); 478(1).

BIOFAR area: Faroe-Shetland Channel and the Faroe-Iceland Ridge (Fig. 43).

BIOFAR depth range: 509 and 973 m.

BIOFAR temperatures: Estimated range -0.80 and 1.5 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: NW and AI.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas distribution: Faroes (present study) and Iceland (Millar, 1974).

General depth range: The records from Iceland are from 10-15 m (Millar, 1974).

General distribution: As above.

Remarks: *E. islandica* seem to be an intermediate form of *E. glutinans* and the Arctic endemic *E. pedunculata* Traustedt, 1886 differing from the former by the number of gonads, and the latter by their structure (Millar, 1974).

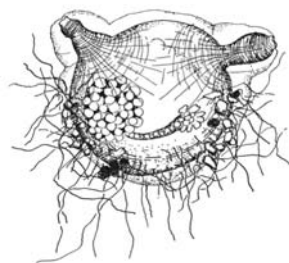


Figure 50. *Eugyra islandica* (from Millar, 1974).

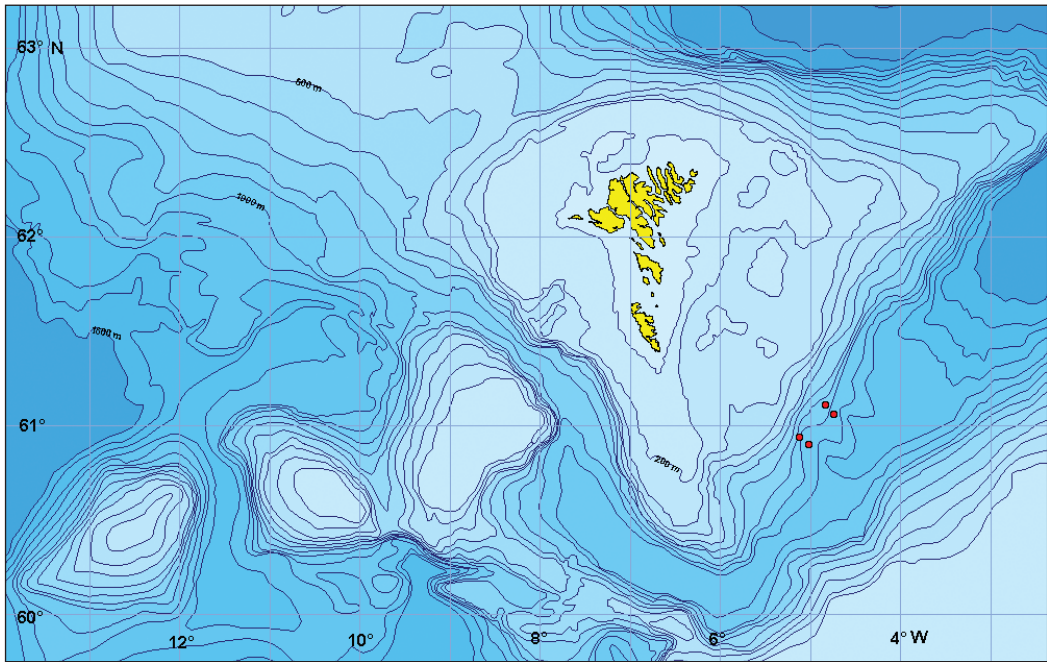


Figure 51. BIOFAR records of *A. arcticus*.

Class **SORBERACEA**

Family **HEXACROBYLIDAE**

Genus: *Asajirus* Kott, 1989

(syn. *Hexadactylus* Monniot, 1990)

Asajirus arcticus (Hartmeyer, 1923)

Common synonyms: *Hexadactylus arcticus* (Hartmeyer, 1923); *Hexacrobylus arcticus* Hartmeyer, 1923.

Good description: Hartmeyer, 1923: 133-137, pl. 1, fig. 5-6; Monniot and Monniot, 1990: 261-263, fig. 11.

Previous records: None.

BIOFAR stations (number of individuals in parentheses): 228(11); 478(17); 479(37); 480(6).

BIOFAR area: Faroe-Shetland Channel (Fig. 51).

BIOFAR depth range: 806-973 m.

BIOFAR temperature: Estimated -0.6 °C.

BIOFAR water mass: Mainly NW.

North Atlantic/Nordic Seas: Norwegian Sea; eastern slope of the Faroe-Iceland Ridge; Iceland Sea; and the Greenland Sea (Monniot and Monniot, 1990).

General distribution: As above.

General depth range: In deep waters from 806 (present

study) to 2538 m (Monniot and Monniot, 1990).

Remarks: The records from BIOFAR in the Faroe-Shetland Channel are the southernmost (60°54'N; 05°00' W, st. 479) and the ones from the most shallow waters (806 m, st. 480) until now.

Due to the small size of the specimens and since *A. arcticus* and *A. ledanoisi* are very much alike, distinguished mainly on the length of the sperm duct (longer in *A. ledanoisi*), Dr. Francoise Monniot has re-examined the specimens and confirms that all are very young and small specimens of *A. arcticus*.

Kott (1992) synonymized *A. arcticus* and a number of other related species with *Asajirus indicus*. I do not consider myself experienced enough to comment on the disagreement regarding the taxonomy of this difficult group, but I will, however, refer to these specimens as *A. arcticus*.

On to that, the validity of this class is questioned by some taxonomists. According to Kott (1989) all members of the family Hexacrobylidae belong to the class Ascidiacea, and she placed this family (the single family within Sorberacea) in the class Ascidiacea, Order Stolidobranchia. Kott's view is supported by Sanamyan (Karen Sanamyan, pers. comm.).

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Distribution of Woodlice (Isopoda: Oniscoidea) in the Faroe Islands

Útbreiðsla av gráum undir steini (Isopoda: Oniscoidea) í Føroyum

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Úrtak

Fýra sløg av gráum undir steini eru staðfest í Føroyum: *Trichoniscus pusillus* Brandt, 1833, *Ligia oceanica* (Linnaeus, 1767), *Oniscus asellus* Linnaeus, 1758 og *Porcellio scaber* Latreille, 1804. Í hesari kannning varð einki nýtt slag funnið. Á 48 støðum vórðu grá undir steini staðfest fyrri fyrstu ferð, so saman við eldri kanningum eru tey nú staðfest á 59 støðum tilsamans. Hesi støð eru sett á kort. Orðskift verður um útbreiðsluna.

Abstract

A survey of woodlice has been conducted. Species found were: *Trichoniscus pusillus* Brandt, 1833, *Ligia oceanica*, *Oniscus asellus* Linnaeus, 1758 and *Porcellio scaber* Latreille, 1804, and no new species were found. We were able to document the presence of woodlice in 48 new locations, bringing the total to 59. The distribution found is discussed.

Introduction

The Faroe Islands are located in the north-eastern Atlantic Ocean and comprise 18 islands. They have been free of ice since the Weichselian glaciation 9500 years ago, since when an immigration of plants and animals

has occurred. During the last 1100 years, dispersal by man to and within the Faroe Islands, has been in effect (Enckell, 1985). It is quite possible that man has been the vector which has transported some species of woodlice to and within the Faroes, e.g. in the ballast of ships with agricultural tools.

It is well known that exotic terrestrial invertebrates are accidentally introduced to the Faroes each year (e.g. Jensen and Sivertsen, 2004; 2005; Bengtson *et al.*, 2004). We do not know of any recently introduced woodlice.

Scharff (1904) published the first two records of woodlice from the Faroe Islands followed by Lohmander (1929) and Stephensen (1929) who worked a large material of terrestrial isopods and marine crustaceans (Isopoda and Tanaidacea) collected on the Faroes.

Ligia oceanica is a large species, about 30mm long. It is an amphibian and occurs



Figure 1. *Oniscus asellus*

mainly on rocky beaches under stones and rocks. When disturbed it can either disappear down between the rocks, or drop into the water. *Oniscus asellus* and *Porcellio scaber* are both about 10-15mm long. Both are rather common in deciduous woods and “hagi” (i.e. outfield); *P. scaber* also occurs in houses and e.g. birds’ nests. *Trichoniscus pusillus* is the smallest species in the islands, about 3-5mm long. It occurs in the same habitats as the other two terrestrial species. The three first mentioned species have a normal reproduction, but *T. pusillus* can also be parthenogenetic, implying that its capacity for dispersal after immigration is higher than for the others.

None of the isopods are pests; they are mainly nocturnal and not usually seen during daytime.

Woodlice are predominantly herbivorous (Hopkin, 1991).

According to Poulsen *et al.* (1998) woodlice are either called ‘grótlús’ or ‘grátt undir

steini’ in Faroese, but they are frequently referred to by different names. On the island of Skúvoy they are referred to as ‘veggjalús’ (which is actually the bedbug, *Cimex lectularius*) (*pers. comm.* Birgir Thomsen, Jóannis Mikkelsen). Complicating matter further, bristletails (*Thysanura*) are referred to as ‘veggjalús’ in the village of Hvannasund (*pers. comm.* Hans Jørgen Nysted).

Material and Methods

J-K. J. has systematically collected woodlice since 2001, over a five year period, and has been in contact with numerous people, which have assisted with collecting on all the islands, with the exception of Lítla Dímun.

All collected specimen are preserved in 70% ethanol (a few are slide mounted according to the method employed by Palma (1978). The collected woodlice were identified by J-K. J. using a stereo loupe and the key by Hopkin (1991).



Present study
Bengtson pers. comm.
Lohmander (1929) and Stephensen (1929)

Figure 2. The sites where four species of woodlice were found in the Faroes. Dots and circles represent positive finds.

Three of the four found species *L. oceanica*, *O. asellus* and *P. scaber* can be identified in the field, which is why only 485 specimens were collected of these species.

All species new to an area have been identified by collected specimen. Figure 2 shows in which locations species have been found in this study. It also includes those of Lohmander (1929) and Stephensen (1929) and Bengtson *pers. comm.*

Voucher specimens representing all the records, have been deposited in the collections of the Museum of Natural History, Tórshavn, Faroe Islands.

During 1978 and 1979 extensive fieldwork was conducted on the Faroes (Bengtson, 1979) resulting in check-lists of several groups of invertebrates, part of this material has not been published until now.

Results

The distribution of the species differ (Fig. 2). In the areas where it is found, *P. scaber* seems to be the most abundant, i.e. it is found in most locations. But it is absent from the central-north part of the Faroes, with the exception of one record from the village of Eiði prior to 1929. It has been found in three locations in the northeastern area, and in four locations in the northwestern area. *O. asellus* shows a similar distribution, with only one recorded location north of 62° 05' (prior to 1929).

Not many individuals have been found of *T. pusillus*. They seem to be evenly distributed, throughout the Faroes, but not much else can be deduced about the distribution. *L. oceanica* too seems to be evenly

distributed, but has been found in more locations than *T. pusillus*.

Discussion

No new species have been added to the lists of Lohmander (1929) and Stephensen (1929). The numbers of species from neighbouring areas are 37 in Britain and Ireland (Hopkin, 1991), 4 in the Shetlands, 5 in the Orkneys, 9 in the Hebrides (Harding and Sutton, 1985) and 7 in Iceland (Erling Ólafsson *in litt.*).

Woodlice are most commonly found in residential areas in the Faroe Islands. *T. pusillus*, having been found in 18, 19 and 22 locations, respectively, than *P. scaber*, which has been found in 41 locations.

The fact that we have been unable to find *P. scaber* in Kalsoy, Kunoy, Borðoy, Viðoy, could be due to oversight, but communication with local people confirm our negative results, and that woodlice are at least as scarce as in Fugloy and Svínø.

P. scaber was reported seen in the village of Húsar in the island of Kalsoy (Joan Isaksen *pers. comm.*) around 2003, but a thorough search in 2005 turned out negative. We have no explanation as to why woodlice seemingly are more scarce to the north of the Faroes.

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News and progress 2005

Nýtt innan vísindi 2005

The following scientists have defended a PhD Thesis in 2005:

Petur Weihe Dalsgaard

Isolation and structure elucidation of natural products from psychotolerant Penicillia

Ph.D.-thesis at the University of Copenhagen

Britta Fängström

Human exposure to organohalogen compounds in the Faroe Islands

Ph.D.-thesis at the University of Stockholm

Gudrun Gaard

Far fram um torg.

Ph.D.-thesis at the University of the Faroe Islands

Poul F. Guttesen

A thesis exploring the place and function of the Kingdom of God in the theology of Jürgen Moltmann and in the Book of Revelation

Ph.D.-thesis at the St. Andrews University, Scotland

Jóanes P. Hofgaard

Characterization og the cytoprotective effect of 6-aminonicotinamide against oxidative stress in cardiac cells!

Ph.D.-thesis at the University of Copenhagen.

Anna Maria Svabo Jørgensen

Vinna og leiðsla - professionalisering innan heilsuverkið

Ph.D.-thesis at University of South Australia

Jens Mortansson J. Nolsøe

Syntetic Studies Towards

Decahydroquinoline Alkaloids Utilising Small Rings as Synthons

Ph.D.-thesis at the Technical University of Copenhagen

Scientific publications about the Faroe Islands, 2005

Vísindaritverk 2005

This list for 2005 is compiled to show the scientific work going on within and outwith the institutions in the Faroe Islands. It should in this way be easier for the readers of *Fróðskaparrit* to have an idea of the different Faroese projects the scientists are working on and make it easier to acquire papers and books. The list also includes papers and books made by scientists outside the Faroese institutions, and whenever possible, the editorial office of *Fróðskaparrit* can provide contact addresses of the author(s). Moreover, this list also includes some papers missed out in pervious numbers of *Fróðskaparrit*.

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Scientific papers

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Heitið og navnið á hövundanum eigur at standa á fyrstu síðu saman við fullum navni og bústaði hövundans saman við teldupostadressu. Síðan kemur úrtak av ritgerðini, ið ikki má vera meira enn 175 orð, ið víðka um heitið uttan at endurtaka tað. Úrtakið vísir í stórum á endamálið við ritgerðini, greiðir frá arbeiðinum, staklutum og týðningarmiklum úrslitum og niðurstøðum. Umframt eigur enn ein samandrættur at vera tøkur til at týða annaðhvørt til føroyskt ella enskt alt eftir, hvørjum máli ritgerðin er á.

Best er um teksturin verður býttur upp í: Inngang, tilfar og mannagongd, úrslit, kjak og niðurstøðu, men onnur hugtøk munnu fara at verða góðtíkin. Í tekstinum verða altjóða skipanir og eindir nýttar (SI-Units, sum til dømis metur skrivaður m; Celcius-stig skrivað °C). Myndir: Talvur og myndir (eisini fotomyndir) eiga at standa aftan á tekstin, og frágreiðing um tær eigur at standa í mydatekstinum (ikki sum: ...sí tekst). Í talvunum eigur teigari (tabulatorur) at verða nýttur, ongantíð glopp. Myndir eiga at verða sendar í EPS-, TIFF- ella JPEG-formati, ella sum prent (fotomyndir – pappir ella diapositiv – ella sum útprentaðir grafar/myndir).

Í tekstinum eiga tilvísingar ikki at vera talmerktar, men navngivnar sum Joensen (1963), ella, tá ið tað liggur betur fyri, sum (Joensen, 1963). Er meiri enn ein tilvísing, eigur at verða skrivað soleiðis: Joensen (1963; 1970), ella: (Svabo, 1783; Joensen, 1963). Soleiðis eigur at verða víst til ávísar síður: (Joensen, 1963: 123-134). Soleiðis eigur at verða víst til tveir hövundar: (Joensen og Tåning, 1970) og soleiðis til fleiri enn tveir hövundar: (Enckell *et al.*, 1986). Longri niðri stendur tilvísing í fullum orðaljóði. Tilvísingarlistin eigur ikki at verða settur í nummarroð, men skrivaður í bókstavaróð, heitið á bókum í fullum líki, tíðarrit við teimum styttingum, sum tíðarritið nýtir í lötuni, so sum:

Benjaminsen, T. and Christensen, I. 1980. The natural history of the bottlenose whale, *Hyperoodon ampullatus* (Foster) In: Winn, H.E. and Olla, B.L. (eds). *Behavior of Marine Animals* 3: 143-158.

Enckell, P.H., Bengtson, S.-A., Douwes, P., Niklasson, M., Stille, B. and Wiman, B. 1986. The dispersal pattern of an anthropochorous species: Genetic variation in populations of *Lumbricus terrestris* L. (Lumbricidae) in the Faroe Islands. *Hereditas* 104: 253-261.

Svabo, J.C. 1783 (1959). *Indberetninger fra en Rejse i Færøe 1781 og 1782*. Selskabet til Udgivelse af Færøske Kildeskrifter og Studier. København.

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