Code-Switching in Historical TV-Series: A Comparison

between *Outlander* (2014-) and *Vikings* (2013-2020)

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1. Introduction

This thesis is a study of the use of code-switching in historical TV-series through an analysis and comparison of its use in two separate TV-series: *Outlander* (2014-) and *Vikings* (2013-2020). A qualitative method has been applied in order to analyse and interpret code-switching in seven select episodes spanning the first two seasons of *Outlander,* and nine select episodes spanning the first three seasons of *Vikings*. By utilizing established theory on code-switching and applying it to how it is employed in the TV-series, one can get a good framework for how code-switching is presented in historical TV-series and how they differ from each other in this aspect.

In recent years, the demand for historical TV-series has given rise to many new and popular history inspired series like *The Crown* (2016-)*, Reign* (2013-2017)*, Rome* (2005-2007), *Bridgerton* (2020-) and *The Last Kingdom* (2015-). A lot of these also include a diverse use of languages in order to represent different peoples from separate areas and to provide more realism, like Valyrian in the fantasy series *Game of Thrones* (2011-2019)*,* even though this show is primarily in English. A diverse set of people speaking a diverse set of languages, however, also affects situations in which languages have to be switched for different reasons. This phenomenon is what inspired this thesis.

In *Outlander* and *Vikings*, the use of multiple languages and varieties causes the characters to occasionally change the language they use throughout a conversation; in other words, they code-switch. However, by watching these shows it becomes clear that they do not do so in the same way. These differences are what will be looked for and analysed in this thesis.

Though the main aim of this study is to discuss how code-switching can be used in historical TV-shows, some questions will be applied to narrow it down slightly. Firstly, why do the characters code-switch? Secondly, how is code-switching presented? Thirdly, how does the code-switching differ between the speakers depending on their linguistic background, occupation, status and gender? These questions will be the basis for Chapter 4: Results, where details will be provided on the use of code-switching in both TV-series. Lastly, how does the code-switching in *Outlander* differ from the one in *Vikings*? This will be the main focus of

Chapter 5: Discussion, and feature a comparison between the analysed material from the previous chapter.

The theoretical framework will explain the basics of code-switching and introduce a model which will provide the framework for later analysis. In the chapter on methodology, the researcher explores how data was collected and how it will be analysed. It also shortly introduces the TV-series and talks about their language use. Chapter 4 goes through the findings and analyses based on established theory. The discussion chapter will contain a comparison between the information gathered on code-switching in *Outlander* and *Vikings* in the previous chapter. Lastly, a conclusion will also be provided.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Code-Switching

In order to discuss the use of code-switching in historical TV-series, some background information on relevant topics and theories are necessary. This includes a review of code-switching in daily and scripted discourse. This review will focus on the general attributes of code-switching and what types of code-switching we have and what affects it.

Even though there are multiple ways in which code-switching can occur in conversation, the general consensus of what defines the term is alteration between multiple dialects or languages within a conversation or across sentences (Auer 1998: 2). It is important to note that this definition is sometimes also applied to *code-mixing,* but for the sake of this thesis, these terms will be used interchangeably (Meyerhoff 2019: 133). This thesis will mostly focus on the use of code-switching through conversation, but in order to do so it is necessary to be familiarised with a theory which will be used as the basis of most of the information to come, namely the *markedness model*.

2.2. The Markedness Model

The markedness model (MM) was developed in 1983 by the American linguist Carol Myers-Scotton. The model suggests that when an alternation between two languages occurs, each of the languages is given a specific role in the conversation; one as the *marked choice* and the other as the *unmarked choice* of language. The unmarked choice is the language which is expected to be used in the context of the situation it occurs in, whilst the marked choice is the other language used during the conversation (Barnes 2012: 248). According to this model, code-switching is regarded as a cognitive choice the speaker makes at some level of consciousness to "choose one variety over another because of the benefits they expect from that choice, relative to its costs" (Myers-Scotton 1998: 19). In other words, though it may or may not be a conscious decision, when the speaker changes between codes, they do so intentionally because it helps them achieve a specific social goal.

For the time being, code-switching in film and media have no established theoretical traditions (Barnes 2012: 248), thus making MM useful, even if it is usually applied to informal, non-scripted speech. This thesis will apply the terms *marked* and *unmarked* choices of language to differentiate between the main and secondary language used in the conversations. In the next section, MM will be used to explain the motivations behind some instances of code-switching.

2.3. Types of Code-Switching

As there are multiple ways to code-switch, how a person chooses to do so will depend largely on the situation they find themselves in (Barnes 2012: 247). For the sake of this thesis, it is already assumed that the switch happens as a part of the conversation, and not as tag-switching, which is a switch in one word or phrase within a sentence or conversation (Esen 2019). This section will contain four reasons which motivate the occurrence of code-switching in conversation with related examples. It is important to note that this thesis will not contain every possible scenario in which code-switching can occur, but a few will be mentioned in order to provide a better understanding of the concept and a better framework for later analysis. The four examples mentioned will specifically be instances of code-switching related to the markedness model.

Firstly, there is the *sequential unmarked choice* of code-switching, which is when there is a switch from one unmarked choice to another unmarked choice. The unmarked choice, being the expected language, changes due to external factors, which then changes the balance of the conversation and what language the situation calls for. The external forces could be a new partaker, a new topic, etc. (Meyers-Scotton 2007: 336). Meyerhoff (2019: 129) uses the terms "situational code-switching" and "addressee-based code-switching" to narrow it down further, where the former is when the switching is dependent on where the person finds themselves, and the latter is when it is dependent on who the interlocutors are. Summarised, the sequential unmarked choice is when external factors demand a need for a switch between languages. The new language is now the main one of the conversation, and therefore the unmarked choice.

Next there is *switching as an unmarked choice*, a type of code-switching that incorporates changes in the unmarked choice without the motivation of external forces. This type of switching usually occurs in conversations between two bilingual participants in an informal setting (Myers-Scotton 2007: 336). There could be many reasons for this type of code-switching, but the most common reason happens seemingly at random due to the new unmarked language's ability to better articulate what the speaker wishes to say.

Now that an explanation of the two types related to a change from one unmarked language to another unmarked language has been given, it is time for a switch from an unmarked to a marked language, the first one being *code-switching as a marked choice* (Myers-Scotton 2007: 337). This type can be seen as a negotiation between speakers to find a new common ground, as in a new marked language as a footing for the conversation. This can, for example, be done in a solidary way or as a way to establish authority between speakers (Myers-Scotton 2007: 338).

It is important to note that code-switching as a marked choice occurs when the social identity factors are known, meaning that the unmarked choice is obvious to the participants. This, however, is not the case with the last type of code-switching, which is *code-switching as an exploratory choice presenting multiple identities*. In this type of switch, the participants are trying to find a common ground without knowing the relevant social identity factors of their interlocutors. It often presents itself when people meet each other for the first time and no unmarked choice is immediately obvious (Myers-Scotton 2007: 338). Auer (1998: 22) uses the term *discourse-related code-switching* (DRCS) to make a similar point, though with a different

definition: "the use of code-switching to organize the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance."

3. Methodology and Materials

This study will use a qualitative method of analysis of instances of code-switching in *Outlander* and *Vikings*. A qualitative study suggests that ideas should be explored and analysed thoroughly. In this study, a qualitative analysis will provide an in-depth analysis on how and why code-switching occurs in the scripted discourse of the TV-shows, rather than an overview of it. This will allow the researcher to explore and create their own hypothesis regarding the research questions.

As this study aims to compare how code-switching is presented in *Outlander* and *Vikings*, seven episodes of *Outlander* and nine episodes of *Vikings* will be analysed, providing nineteen instances of code-switching spanning two seasons of *Outlander*, and eighteen instances spanning three seasons of *Vikings.* The researcher, using the closed captions as a guide, created a transcript of conversations where code-switching could be observed. For *Vikings,* only some examples that were too similar or identical to those which had already been recorded were disregarded. The same was applied to *Outlander* with, for example, the use of the Gaelic word *sassenach* ('foreigner, outlander'), which occurs multiple times across predominantly English sentences. However, as *Outlander* has a lot more code-switching than *Vikings* in general, in order to analyse a relatively similar number of instances across both of the TV-series, the researcher picked the start of the first two seasons to show how the code-switching could potentially have changed from season to season; seven episodes from season one, and two episodes from season two.

By using the theory from Chapter 2 as a guide, the analysis bases itself on who the participants in the conversation are, how the code-switching occurs and what triggers it, but it will not be limited to the terms provided in that chapter. The information gathered in the analysis will then be used as the basis for the discussion where the series will be compared to each other.

3.1. *Outlander*

3.1.1. The TV-Series

Outlander is a fantasy-romance book series by Diana Gabaldon adapted to a TV-series produced in association with Sony Pictures Television. The TV-series was first released in 2014, and is currently in production of its sixth season. The show follows Claire Randall, an English combat nurse in World War II. After the war, on a trip with her husband to Scotland, she is mysteriously transported back in time to 1743 where she has to navigate through a new and unknown society, whilst facing trials of love, war, womanhood and much more. The first two seasons portray a fictionalized version of the Jacobite rising of 1745 in Scotland from its beginning to its end.

3.1.2. Language in *Outlander*

Outlander contains a very diverse selection of languages. As the protagonist is an English woman, and most of the other characters are English speakers as well, the main language of the show is English. However, there are multiple languages scattered throughout the series, some of them being (Scottish) Gaelic, French, Latin, some Native American languages, and even sign language. For the two seasons which will be covered in this thesis, however, English, Gaelic and French will be the main focus.

Language varieties, however, are also a central aspect of the series, specifically to show how the protagonist Claire, an English woman, differs from the Highlanders of Scotland whom she has fallen in with. Claire's English-English variety stands out as a clear contrast to the Scottish-English variety most of the people surrounding her speak. This highlights her foreignness, especially in a time of large quarrels between their respected countries.

However, questions regarding the authenticity of the language use in *Outlander* have arisen. Claire, being a woman from the 20th century, speaks a variety of Present-Day English. A problem, however, is that the other Brits she meets on her journey also seem to speak this variety of English, even though they are from the 1700s. In the 18th century, Early Modern English or rather Late Modern English would be the common variety spoken in England

(Melchers et al. 2019: 2). We can therefore conclude that the language use in *Outlander* is not completely historically correct; however, the show is putting in an effort to make it as realistic and believable as possible. For example, the Gaelic spoken by the Highlanders is actually Gaelic, and the Scottish-English variety is littered with Scots words to show its impact on the variety. Examples of Scots words frequently integrated into predominantly English sentences are *ken* ('know'), *wee* ('little'), *bonnie* ('attractive'), *lass* ('girl') and *braw* ('fine, good'). One of the most important Scots words which are borrowed by the Scottish characters is the word *sassenach* ('English person'), derived from the Gaelic word *sasunnach* ('Saxon'). The word holds high significance in *Outlander* due to its use as a term of affection for Claire by Jamie, who becomes her husband, even though it is generally a negatively loaded term (Scott 2013).

Interestingly, the series has chosen not to translate the conversations held in Gaelic in the closed captions. This is a deliberate choice by the creators to further indicate that because the show is portrayed from Claire's perspective, and because she does not speak nor understand Gaelic, the viewer should not be able to understand what they are saying either. It becomes easier for the viewer to sympathise and understand the situation if they are also excluded. The same thing occurs with the Latin, whilst the French is translated in the closed captions due to Claire's knowledge of the language. As mentioned above, the closed captions have been used as a guide for the transcriptions which are the framework of the analysis. Therefore, the Gaelic and Latin passages are not in the Appendix.

3.2.   *Vikings*

3.2.1. The TV-Series

Vikings is an action-drama TV-series produced by Octagon Films and Take 5 Productions. It ran from 2013 to 2020. The show takes us to the Viking era and to Ragnar Lothbrok, a farmer and warrior who wants to explore new lands. Throughout the show, the viewer follows Ragnar's journey from being a simple farmer to a king. The first three seasons of the show spend a lot of time on the relationship between the Anglo-Saxons and the Northmen, especially as the Northmen turn from raiders to settlers.

3.2.2. Language in *Vikings*

The most prominent language in *Vikings* is English, however, there are a lot of other languages throughout the show. Old Norse, Old English, Old French and Latin are only a few of the other languages included, but they are the only ones which will be discussed in this thesis.

To the viewer, English appears to be the main language of every country until you actually hear people speak to, or in the vicinity of, someone from another country. Old Norse and Old English are archaic languages which have a large role in the series as the actual native language of the most important characters. If the show follows the Northmen, they will usually speak Present-day English (PDE) with a Scandinavian-English accent. If the show follows the Anglo-Saxons, they will speak PDE with an English accent. What this means is that the characters are not necessarily bilingual (although some are), but that the show uses English to make the show more accessible, and the Old Norse and Old English to show what language the characters are actually speaking, and as a way to show the viewer that the characters from different countries do not understand each other. If an Anglo-Saxon speaks in the vicinity of a Northman whilst the main focus is on the Northman, the Anglo-Saxon will usually speak Old English.

Unlike *Outlander*, *Vikings* does translate every non-English language in the closed captions, even if the characters do not understand what is being said (with the exception of Latin). The Old Norse and Old English used in the transcriptions are therefore translated to English using the closed-captions.

4. Results

4.1. *Outlander*

As previously discussed, English is the main language spoken by the protagonist, Claire, and her surrounding characters in *Outlander*. The majority of the code-switching is, therefore, a switch between English and another language, usually Gaelic or French. This chapter discusses the instances of code-switching in *Outlander* according to which languages are part of the exchange. The first part provides an analysis on how the series uses Gaelic and English code-

switching in interactions, as well as on why the characters choose to code-switch. In the second part, French and English code-switching instances will be analysed to figure out why these types of code-switching occur.

4.1.1. Gaelic and English

The prominence of Gaelic in the series comes as a result of the group of Highlanders Claire falls in with during the first season, which is set in 1743. At this time, though the majority of Scotland spoke Scots, Gaelic was still the leading language of the Highlands (Melchers et al. 2019: 56). Several examples of characters speaking Gaelic fluently are scattered throughout the show. During a feast, the leader of clan Mackenzie, the clan Claire stayed with for the majority of the first season, makes a speech exclusively in Gaelic (Appendix 1: 5), and in her first encounter with the clan at the end of the first episode, the Highlanders are conversing in Gaelic. The majority of the Gaelic speaking characters appear to be bilingual with English, however, and the series makes it hard to tell whether the Highlanders of higher rank converse primarily in Gaelic or English. Even when speaking to each other, they often choose English over Gaelic (Appendix 1: 8, 15). We are also introduced to Highlanders who seem to be of a lower social class than those who Claire spends most of her time with, and during her unpleasant exchange with them, they also speak exclusively Gaelic (Appendix 1: 6). After the failed Jacobite rebellion of 1745, English gradually replaced Gaelic even in the Highlands, and few first language speakers of Gaelic remained (Melchers et al. 2019: 56-58).

The most noteworthy use of code-switching between Gaelic and English is its employment in situations where the Highlanders wish to exclude Claire from their conversations. In Episode 5, while on a rent collecting trip throughout the clan lands with the Mackenzie's, Claire even says in a voiceover: "What troubled me was that they were clearly using Gaelic to exclude me" (Appendix 1: 20). There are, however, multiple reasons why they could have chosen to exclude her. Later in the episode, the brother of the clan chief, who has been tasked with collecting rent, holds a small gathering where he jests with the tenants in English before abruptly switching to Gaelic to make a speech (Appendix 1: 8). In other words, he deliberately changes from one unmarked language to another mid-conversation. At this point in the series, Claire's travel companions are suspicious of her, believing she might be an English spy. Therefore, the main goal of Dougal's speech, which is to collect money for the Jacobite rebellion against the

English, should be kept away from her ears, and the ears of other potential English-sympathisers. He could also be using Gaelic as a way to encourage Scottish patriotism through straying from the language of their oppressor and encouraging the use of their own Scottish language. Also in Episode 5, the Highlanders are teasing one of their own in Gaelic. Ned Gowan, a lawyer who tagged along on the trip, temporarily switches to the marked language of his conversation with Claire by repeating a part of the Highlanders' conversation in Gaelic, but then translating the exchange to her, telling her that they are "encouraging him to have biblical relations… with his sister" (Appendix 1: 7). There is no specific reason as to why a supposed English spy should not hear what is said during this conversation, but the Highlanders still choose to speak Gaelic, even though they more frequently converse in English around each other. Whether this instance is in Gaelic simply for the sake of convenience could be a possibility, but another possibility is that they speak Gaelic in this instance to shield Claire, a woman, from their crude words.

To say that they only use Gaelic to exclude Claire specifically, however, would be incorrect. In Episode 2 of Season 2, Murtagh, Jamie's Godfather, who accompanied them to France, uses Gaelic in order to not be understood by the people around them. He draws a sword on someone who had maimed them in the past, but is told in English that to draw one's weapon in the presence of the King means death. Murtagh responds in Gaelic, saying "there will come a time" (Appendix 1: 19). Earlier in the same episode, Murtagh uses Gaelic to make a joke about slitting Charles Edward Stuart's throat in order to end the upcoming wars (Appendix 1: 15).

4.1.2. French and English

In Season 2, Claire and Jamie escape to France where they get to interact with the high society due to their temporary involvement with Jamie's cousin's wine business. The couple are both very competent, or nearly fluent in French, meaning their interactions with French first language speakers who are also competent in English usually result in many instances of code-switching across conversations. Consequently, the prominence of French in the series is a result of their stay in France and interactions with French first language speakers.

Code-switching between French and English usually occurs when a character speaks directly to Claire or Jamie. In these instances, the viewer are subject to many different types of code-

switching. The first time a French first-language speaker code-switches to English is in the second episode of Season 2, when Claire enters a shop. After hearing her asking in French if anyone is there, Raymond, the shop owner, opens the conversation in French, saying: "How may I have the pleasure of making myself agreeable to your pretty eyes, Madonna? You are English, yes?" When Claire confirms his assumption, he changes to what becomes the unmarked choice of language for the conversation, English (Appendix 1: 11). This is an example of switching as an exploratory choice, as the unmarked choice was not apparent when Claire first entered the shop. While attending a ball later, Claire takes part in a conversation with a few French women. The conversation starts out in French, but switches to English whenever the women are addressing Claire directly (Appendix 1: 18). In this case, they continuously switch between English and French, meaning both of the languages can be labelled unmarked. This is therefore switching as an unmarked choice done in an attempt at inclusion. In the same episode, we are also presented with an example of switching as a marked choice. Whilst he and Claire are attending a ball, Jamie is recognised by a former fling of his, Annalise. Jamie introduces Claire and Annalise in French, but every time Annalise addresses Claire, she does so in English. However, Claire responds in French, meaning English is only a marked language. All in all, as a contrast to Gaelic, which was used to exclude Claire, French seems to be used as a way to include her. However, as French-English attitudes in the 18th century were tense, one could draw the opposite conclusion from all of these interactions as well; the French may, for example, address Claire in English as a way to suggest that her French is lacking.

Finally, there are also some instances of tag-switching, a type of code-switching where only one word or phrase is switched across a sentence or conversation, was briefly mentioned (Esen 2019). This happens mainly during sentences that are chiefly in English. The speaker adds a French word or phrase to the sentence, and it is usually done with common French phrases. In the second episode of the first season, Claire is talking to Jamie about his name, which she has discovered is not his actual name, but "a *nom de guerre*, as it were" ('pseudonym') (Appendix 1: 1). In the Episode 2 of Season 2, an even more common French phrase is used. The shop owner, Raymond, says "*au contraire*" ('on the contrary') when Claire asks if he is friends with a man called Comte St. Germain.

4.2.   *Vikings*

The most important thing to note about language and code-switching in *Vikings* is that the characters themselves always speak Old Norse or Old English depending on which one is their native tongue. This causes code-switching in *Vikings* to be very confusing at times, as even though the characters speak Old Norse and Old English, the show does not necessarily portray it that way. As mentioned in Section 3.2.2, Present-day English (PDE) is the main language of the show. Every language is portrayed as PDE when that language is the focus point. Because of this, this chapter is divided into two sections: one on Old Norse and Old English to talk about when there is an actual switch between those languages during the series; and one on PDE, which will be about how the series uses PDE in code-switching instances.

4.2.1.   Old Norse and Old English

As remarkable as it sounds for a series which constantly changes between different groups of people who speak different languages, there is actually only one instance of code-switching between Old Norse and Old English which stands out. In Episode 3 of Season 1, the Vikings have just docked in England for the second time when they are met with a group of Englishmen who invite them to meet their King to start trading. The marked language of this conversation is Old English, and Ragnar is the only person who code-switches between Old Norse, to speak with his companions, and Old English, to speak with the Englishmen. While Ragnar is conversing with the sheriff, one of the Englishmen, his companions are continuously asking in Old Norse what the Englishmen are saying. Tension quickly arises between the parties due to their inability to communicate with each other properly, and it ends in a bloodbath where the Vikings are victorious (Appendix 2: 4).

For some time throughout the series, Athelstan (a monk who was taken captive by the Vikings during their first raid of Lindisfarne) and Ragnar are the only two people who are able to speak more than one language. Consequently, they are also the only characters who can code-switch up until the third season when Lagertha (Ragnar's ex-wife at that point) and Ecbert (the king of Wessex) also begin learning each other's first language. Many code-switching instances therefore base themselves on translations of what one group of people are saying to the other group of people. In the second episode of the third season, Lagertha asks Athelstan if he can

translate what she is asking in Old Norse to Ecbert in Old English in order for them to be able to communicate with each other. First, she asks why the king is accompanying the Northmen to see the lands which they were granted by him. Athelstan translates it to Ecbert, Ecbert replies, and Athelstan translates it back to Lagertha: "Yes, I am King. So what?" (Appendix 2: 11). A short time later, the same type of exchange occurs again (Appendix 2: 12).

4.2.2.   Present-Day English

The inclusion of PDE makes it necessary to add a new term: implied language. The implied language is the language which the characters are actually speaking, even though the series presents it as PDE. Most of the code-switching instances between Old English and Old Norse have already been discussed, meaning that the majority of code-switching instances in *Vikings* come from switches between PDE and another language. But it is vital to be aware that even though the characters are presented as PDE speakers, they are either speaking Old English or Old Norse depending on which group they belong to or who they are speaking to.

In Episode 7 of the first season, Ragnar and his crew have been invited to dine with the king to discuss the ransom for the release of his brother and for the Northmen to leave Northumbria (Appendix 2: 6). As King Ælle and the other Englishmen do not speak Old Norse, the implied unmarked language of the conversation is Old English, with a few instances of Old Norse in between when the Northmen are speaking to each other. However, PDE is the actual unmarked language of the conversation, as it replaces the Old English to make the show more digestible. As with most scenarios in *Vikings,* the code-switching in this instance happens because the Vikings are wondering what Ragnar and the king are talking about, and so Ragnar switches back and forth between PDE (which is implied to be Old English) and Old Norse. In the second episode of Season 3, Athelstan discusses his beliefs with an English woman named Judith in PDE. The implied unmarked language is Old English, as the woman he is talking to only speaks said language. Lagertha interrupts, asking in Old Norse what he is saying (Appendix 2: 16). Lagertha has to ask Athelstan what is being discussed in order to understand it, making a code-switching scenario necessary and inevitable.

So far, what has been discussed is easily digestible. There are, however, code-switching instances in the series where the characters are implied to be switching, but they are not actually

doing it. King Ecbert's son, Æthelwulf, meets up with Ragnar's band of Vikings and gives him the wristband Ragnar previously gifted to Athelstan.

As stated in Appendix 2: 8, the entire exchange is in English. However, Æthelwulf does not speak Old Norse, and Lagertha (at this point in the series) does not speak Old English. It is therefore assumed that as Ragnar turns to face Lagertha, he switches to Old Norse. Æthelwulf, knowing that the wristband belongs to Athelstan and hearing Ragnar say his name, replies in Old English even though he does not actually understand what Ragnar and Lagertha have just said. This situation is code-switching, but the series does not code-switch.

Even though this type of code-switching does occur, it is not common. What is common, however, is the opposite type of code-switching; instances where the characters do not actually code-switch, but the TV-series does. The first time code-switching is introduced in the series is also the first time the viewers are introduced to another group of people with a different first language than the Northmen whom the series has followed so far. A group of monks, including Athelstan, at Lindisfarne are staring out at sea at the storm and the approaching Viking ships. An exchange between Athelstan and another monk in Old English ensues. However, in the next scene, Athelstan and Father Cuthbert are discussing in PDE. As this is the first time the viewer is presented with another language, it is important to make it clear that the monks do not speak the same first language as the Vikings (Appendix 2: 1). The series, therefore, starts the interaction of the monks in Old English and then later changes it to PDE, but the implied language is still Old English. Later, during the raid of Lindisfarne, the Vikings are about to kill Athelstan when he shouts out: "Don't kill me!" in Old Norse. Ragnar questions how he knows their language, and Athelstan tells him that he has travelled to take the word of God (Appendix 2: 3). The second part of this exchange is in PDE, but Ragnar does not speak Old English yet, meaning their conversation is still actually in Old Norse.

As with Old Norse and Old English, *Vikings* also includes translations where PDE is used in exchange for one of the other languages. In Episode 1 of Season 3, Ecbert is explaining to Lagertha in Old English how all the land they see in front of them has been granted to the Northmen. Athelstan translates this to Lagertha in PDE. In the next episode, Lagertha requests Athelstan to ask the king "who used to farm this land he has given us." The rest of the exchange continues as a standard conversation where Athelstan forwards what is said back and forth

between Lagertha and Ecbert, where what he says to Lagertha is in PDE (but actually Old Norse) and what he says to Ecbert is in Old English (Appendix 2: 14).

5. Discussion

The results on how *Vikings* and *Outlander* use code-switching have already provided a few ideas on how the series are different from one another in this regard. Using these results as a foundation, this thesis can now look at what exactly binds them together and what separates them.

The most apparent difference between the series is the quantity of code-switching instances they contain. Across the first three seasons of *Vikings,* only seventeen instances could be observed. In *Outlander*, however, the thesis only included code-switching instances provided from Episode 1 to Episode 7 in the first season, and the two first episodes of the second season, totalling to 19 instances. If all instances of code-switching throughout only the first season of *Outlander* were to be included, 20 instances would have to be provided. Also, if taken into account that many code-switching scenarios in *Vikings* are not actually code-switching in the context of the character's situation, *Vikings* has even less.

Analysing code-switching in *Outlander* proved no tough task, as the only limitations were those provided by the definition. *Vikings*, on the other hand, did not prove as straightforward to analyse. By using the established types of code-switching, one could easily place all of *Outlander*'s code-switching into boxes: either they are one type or the other. However, due to *Vikings* containing a multitude of instances which are either not actually code-switching in the context of the show and a lot of interpreter translations, placing them into categories was a lot harder. Needing to separate what language they are speaking and what is the implied language also adds to its complexity.

The above mentioned differences base themselves on how the series use code-switching. Nevertheless, there is also a big difference in why the characters code-switch at all. In *Outlander*, the code-switching usually occurs either as tag-switching, or in order for the characters involved in the conversation to include or exclude other participants. The

Highlanders use Gaelic to exclude Claire, whilst the French seem to use English in order to include her. The code-switching in *Vikings* is also used to include people, but in a different way. Ragnar continuously has to code-switch between Old English and Old Norse in order to speak to the English kings without keeping his companions in the dark. *Vikings* also has the added reason where the characters need to code-switch in order to understand each other, as with the translation instances between Lagertha, Ecbert and Athelstan. The Highlanders in *Outlander* already often speak to each other in English, so code-switching in order for Claire to understand them is not necessary. Claire also speaks French fluently, meaning her French interlocutors have no need of changing their language to accommodate her either.

Differences aside, it is time to move on to the similarities. *Vikings* and *Outlander* both use a lot of code-switching as a marked choice, where there is an unmarked choice which is the main language of the conversation, and another which is added throughout but does not take over the conversation in any way. The most notable example of this in *Outlander* is in the first episode of the second season when the Comte St. Germain is angry at Claire for confirming the crew on his ship had smallpox (Appendix 1: 10).

The unmarked choice is French; English is the marked language. Why Claire chooses to switch to a marked language in this instance is debatable. One reason could be that she wishes to take control of the situation, and so she switches to her native language. Another could be that because she speaks of telling the truth, she switches to the language which best represents her and her truth: her native language. In *Vikings*, most of the scenes where Ragnar has to explain what is being said by the English to his companions are examples of code-switching as a marked choice, as the main conversation is still in English, but he sometimes switches to Old Norse to include his companions.

Characters being bilingual or at least somewhat proficient in a foreign language is highly necessary for code-switching instances to take place. In both series, code-switching only happens between speakers who fit this category. Most of the Highlanders seem to be bilingual with English, all of the French speakers are highly proficient in English, and Ragnar and Athelstan have acquired knowledge of the other person's language for different reasons: Athelstan because he is well travelled, and Ragnar because knowing Old English would help him forward his goals. Even in the instance of code-switching as an exploratory choice in *Outlander* (Appendix 1: 11), which usually occurs between a bilingual speaker and a

monolingual speaker, both of the speakers, Claire and Raymond, are highly proficient in each other's languages.

6. Conclusion

This thesis argues that the historical TV-series *Outlander* and *Vikings* do code-switching in very different ways, even though they also share similarities. The code-switching presented in *Vikings* is more complex than that of *Outlander* by not sticking to the types defined in the markedness model, differentiating between what the show presents and what is implied, and by somewhat straying from its definition through scenarios where there is no code-switching in the series, but the characters are code-switching. Seeing as the thesis is already very long due to its extensive topic and large abounding of materials, some relevant topics were emitted; like how the Vikings may occasionally use code-switching also if only other Vikings are present, namely in religious or cultural contexts (Evans 2017). The characters who code-switch in *Outlander* and *Vikings* do so in order to include or exclude other members of the conversation, but *Vikings* also uses code-switching as a way for characters to communicate with each other when that would normally be impossible. The most important factors as to why a character can code-switch comes down to their occupation (as with Athelstan's status as a monk) or their linguistic background (as with the Highlanders and their proficiency in English and Gaelic). Gender and social status do not appear to serve a large role in the use of code-switching in the context of the series, but looking at it historically, one could argue that it does play a part in whether a character is proficient in more than one language or not, especially in terms of their access to education.

A qualitative method of looking at this theory provides a good framework for analysing the how's and why's; however, a quantitative approach would allow for a more thorough examination of which types of code-switching are used and which ones are more common in historical TV-series. Also, the scope of this thesis made it so that a focus on language attitudes could not be provided. In order to better understand why the characters code-switch, a study including historical attitudes could be conducted, exploring the relationship between French and English speakers, and English and Gaelic/Scots speakers, during the 18th century, and how that relationship might affect code-switching. Also, a study specifically related to social factors

like gender, social class, occupation and linguistic background and how these affect a person's opportunities in acquiring proficiency in a second language would be helpful in that regard as well.

Overall, this thesis has shown that certain social factors, like linguistic background, do matter when discussing the use of code-switching in historical TV-series; the same goes for language attitudes, politics and cultural views. However, the most important observation is that not all historical TV-series use code-switching in the same way. Code-switching can express the opinions and values of a character, but also be used as an instrument to create realism in language use between people of different linguistic backgrounds.

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Appendix 1 (*Outlander*)

1:1. Season 1, Episode 2 [36:02]

Claire: "I take it your real name's not Mr. MacTavish."

Jamie: "No. No, it's not."

Claire: "A *nom de guerre*, as it were."

1:2. Season 1, Episode 3 [45:40]

Claire: "This isn't wood garlic. It's *Convallaria majalis*, "Lily of the valley.""

1:3. Season 1, Episode 3 [49:34]

Jamie: "If it makes you feel any better, Mrs. Fitz now calls you *Kallack Namiver*. "The miracle worker.""

1:4. Season 1, Episode 4 [7:12]

Claire: (English)   "I'll need to pick a horse for the hunt tomorrow. The laird wants a healer to go along just in case. Come along."

Rupert: (Gaelic)   [short comment]

1:5. Season 1, Episode 4 [17:30]

Colum: (Gaelic)   **"Tulach Ard!"** (High hill: Mackenzie Clan War cry)

Crowd: (Gaelic)   "Tilach Ard!"

Colum: (Gaelic)   [continues his speech]

Murtagh: (English)   [translates to Claire what Colum says] "The Mackenzies welcoming the men to Leoch. He hopes they had easy journeys. Also hopes that never a day will come when the clan's fighting men will have to draw iron, but if they do, he couldn't hope for a better lot than stands before him today to defend the clan's honor."

Crowd: "Aye!"

Murtagh: (English)   [continues to translate] "It is a right daft soul that would challenge the Mackenzies, weapons or no. And he's proud to be called their laird."

1:6. Season 1, Episode 4 [26:00]

Man 1: (Gaelic)	"Seallaibh again an seo." ("Look what we have here")	
Man 2: (Gaelic)	**"**Caileag na h-anoar." ("A lass on her own / a lonely lass")	
Man 1/3: (Gaelic)	[speaks]	
Dougal: (English)	"What the devil!"	
Man 2: (Gaelic)	[speaks]	
Man 1: (Gaelic)	[speaks]	
Dougal: (Gaelic)	[speaks]	
Claire: (English)	"Thank you. I should go. I shouldn't be here."	

1:7. Season 1, Episode 5 [3:04]

Claire: (English)	"What is it they're shouting over there?"
Ned: (Gaelic)	"Cuir do mhogan nad phiuthar."
Claire: (English)	"I'm sorry. I don't have any Gaelic."
Ned: (English)	"Well, my lady, they're teasing young Willie. It's his first time on the road with us and they're encouraging him to have biblical relations… with his sister."

1:8. Season 1, Episode 5 [22:00]

Dougal: (English)	"Aye, aye, the land's been good to ye this year. I hear you've had a braw harvest of oats."
Crowd:	"Aye."
Dougal: (English)	"Galloway, I can tell you've not been starving. You want to watch yer back around these drunken bastards showing a pair of paps like thon. Aye."
(Gaelic)	[makes a speech]

1:9. Season 1, Episode 7 [37:50]

Jamie: (English)	"I, James Alexander Malcolm Mackenzie Fraser, take, thee, Claire Elizabeth Beauchamp, to be my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forth, for better or for worse," [fades to another part of the vows] "-in sickness and in health… 'til death us do part."
Claire: (English)	"I, Claire Elizabeth Beauchamp, take, thee, James Alexander Malcolm Mackenzie Fraser, to be my wedded husband. To have and to hold

from this day," [fades to another part of the vows] "-in sickness and in health… 'til death us do part."

Priest: (English)   "Do you have the ring?"

Jamie: (English)   "Aye."

Priest: [speaks Latin]

Jamie: (English)   [whispers] "Say the words after me."

         (Gaelic)   "You are blood of my blood and bone of my bone. I give you my body so that we two may be one. I give you my spirit till our life shall be done."

Claire: (Gaelic)   [repeats what Jamie says]

Priest: (English)   "You may kiss your bride."

1:10. Season 2, Episode 1 [54:43]

Germain: (French)   "Have you any idea what you have done? Do you?"

Claire: (English)   "I have done nothing more than state the truth."

         (French)   "These men had smallpox."

Germain: (French)   "My entire cargo and my ship – will be destroyed."

1:11. Season 2, Episode 2 [8:02]

Raymond: (French)   "How may I have the pleasure of making myself agreeable to your pretty eyes, Madonna? You are English, yes?"

Claire: (French)   "My French betrays me."

Raymond: (English)   "Then I shall make it easier for you."

1:12. Season 2, Episode 2 [9:23]

Raymond: "Then I would suggest [deliberating]. Delphine, *s'il vous plait*. Yes, I would suggest "Valeriana officinalis" combined with a touch of "Humulus lupulus""

1:13. Season 2, Episode 2 [10:41]

Claire: (English)   "You're friends with the Comte St. Germain?"

Raymond: "Au contraire. You may, shall I call us, rivals."

1:14. Season 2, Episode 2 [12:29]

Murtagh: (English)   "Have you never seen two men practicing the art of the sword, eh? Clear off!"

(French)   "Go away! All of you! Or I will rip your balls off!"

1:15. Season 2, Episode 2 [25:33]

Charles: (English)   "And now I am in need of a woman. Or maybe two. Mark me, is she not a rare beauty? Che bella donna."

Murtagh: (Gaelic)   [joking] "Not too late to slit his throat."

1:16. Season 2, Episode 2 [38:30]

Jamie: (French)   "Claire, allow me to introduce an old friend, Annalise de Marrilac. Annalise, my wife; Claire Fraser."

Annalise: (English)   "Charmed, I'm sure. Let me congratulate you on having won such a strong, passionate man for a husband."

Claire: (Claire)   "Yes, I'm quite fortunate, aren't I?"

[conversation continues in English]

Annalise: (French)   "Jamie, how would you like to meet The King? Oh, you must. He's being prepared to make his grand entrance. I'm quite friendly with the Minister of the Royal Household. It's the perfect opportunity."

Louise: (French)   "It would be quite the honour."

Annalise: (English)   "You don't mind if I borrow your husband for a few minutes? Be at ease, I can only bring him to the door of the King's bedroom. The dressing of the King is a male-only affair."

Claire: (French)   "I wouldn't want him to miss that."

(English)   "Murtagh, you'll accompany them?"

1:17. Season 2, Episode 2 [42:02]

Man: (French)   "Your Majesty, may I present… Brack Terack of Scotland."

Jamie: (French)   "James Fraser, your majesty. If it pleases His Majesty, may I suggest he eat only porridge every morning."

The King: (French)   "Parritch? Pray tell, what is this parritch the man clamors about?"

Man: (French)   "I believe he means "porridge," your Highness."

The King: (English)   "Porridge, you say?"

Jamie: (English)   "Aye. It is the breakfast of choice in the Highlands of Scotland."

The King: (English)   "Is that so? Unfortunately, the King has never acquired a taste for peasant food."

Jamie: (English)   "Perhaps this would be the perfect time."

1:18. Season 2, Episode 2 [43:42]

Woman 1: (French)   "See that gentleman standing over there? That's Monsieur Toutine, better known as L'Andouille."

Claire: (French)   "Dare I ask why?"

Woman 1: (French)   "Because he is proven unable to keep that appendage in his britches whenever a pretty damsel is within reach."

Woman 2: (French)   "The latest is Augustine."

(English)   "Tell us, Madame Fraser, what do English ladies call a male member?"

Claire: (English)   "Well, I've heard it referred to as "peter." Though there are those who prefer "prick.""

Woman 2: (English)   "Prick."

Woman 1: (French)   "Is that the best they can do? How infelicitous to the ear."

Woman 2: (French)   "Yes, indeed. But then, what can one expect from the English? Theirs is such an unmusical language."

(English)   "No offense intended, my dear."

Claire: (English)   "None taken."

1:19. Season 2, Episode 2 [50:52]

Jamie: (English)   "Never draw you weapon in the presence of the King. It is death."

Murtagh: (Gaelic)   "There will come a time."

The Duke: (English)   "If that's an apology, and I do hope it is, I accept with all good grace."

1:20. Season 1, Episode 5 [9:17]

Claire: (English)   "What troubled me was that they were clearly using Gaelic to exclude me"

Appendix 2 (*Vikings*)

Abbreviations: OE (Old English), ON (Old Norse)

2:1. Season 1, Episode 2 [24:16]

Monk: (OE)   "Did you see that Brother Athelstan? Did you see that? Tell me you saw it."

Athelstan: (OE)   "Yes, Brother. Yes, I saw it."

Monk: (OE)   "It is written, and so it has come to pass. God help us, Brother Athelstan. God help us."

[next scene]

Athelstan: (English) "Father Cuthbert!"

Cuthbert: (English) "What is it, Brother Athelstan?"

Athelstan: (English) "We can all see the signs."

Cuthbert: (English) "Signs? What signs? Of what do you speak?"

2:2. Season 1, Episode 2 [36:04]

Monks: [prays in Latin]

Monk: (English)   "This is the end, the Son of Man cometh!"

2:3. Season 1, Episode 2 [39:30]

Athelstan: (ON)   «Don't kill me!"

Ragnar: (English)   «You speak our language? How do you speak our language?"

Athelstan: (English) "I've traveled. We are told to travel to take the word of God. Please, don't kill me."

2:4. Season 1, Episode 3 [39:44]

Viking: (ON)   "Ragnar, look over there."

Sheriff: (OE)   "Good people, welcome. Who are you? What do you speak?"

Ragnar: (OE)   "We are Northmen."

Sheriff: (OE)   "Traders?"

Ragnar: (OE)   "Yes. Traders. Yes."

Rollo: (ON)   "What is he saying? Who is he?"

Sheriff: (OE)	"I am the Sheriff here. If you want to trade, then you must meet our King Aelle. We will take you to meet him."
Rollo: (ON)	"What is he saying?"
Ragnar: (ON)	"He wants to take us to meet his king."
Rollo: (ON)	"It's a trap. Don't listen. They will kill us."
Ragnar: (ON)	"Wait. It might help us to go along with them. Wait until we find out where we are."
Viking: (ON)	"I'm with Rollo. I say we kill them."
Sheriff: (OE)	"Why are you arguing? We all want peaceful trade with our neighbors, whoever they are."
Brit 1: (OE)	"They are arguing amongst themselves. What are they saying?"
Brit 2: (OE)	"Offer them some money to go away."
Rollo: (ON)	"They're preparing some kind of ambush. Let's kill them and be done with it."
Sheriff: (OE)	"What are your men arguing about?"
Ragnar: (OE)	"We will come with you. Don't worry."
Sheriff: (OE)	"Come then. The royal villa is not far."
Viking: (ON)	"It's a trap."
Ragnar: (ON)	"Let's go with them."
Rollo: (ON)	"No."
Sheriff: (OE)	"What's the matter with him?"
Ragnar: (OE)	"He doesn't trust you."
Sheriff: (OE)	"Take this. Friends! In the name of God!"

2:5. Season 1, Episode 7 [12:00]

Rollo: (English)	"Who is this?"
Ragnar: (English)	"This? This is the King's brother. What do you say? Shall we go visit the King?"

2:6. Season 1, Episode 7 [20:25]

Floki: (ON)	"This table is very well made,"
Viking: (ON)	"So are the women."
Man: (English)	"The King."

Aella: (English)	"Ragnar Lothbrok, may I present my wife, Ealswith, and my son, Egbert."	
Viking 2: (ON)	"Cheers!" [pause] "Drink?"	
Ragnar: (English)	"Hello."	
Ealswith: (English)	"Go on now."	
Bishop: English)	"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen."	

[singing]

Viking 3: (ON)	"What a terrible noise."	
Viking 2: (ON)	"These people are so strange."	
Ragnar: (ON)	"Stop it. Stop making me laugh, I'm trying to be serious."	
(English)	"Shall we talk, King?"	
Aella: (English)	"Very well. What do you want for the safe return of my brother and for leaving my kingdom?"	
Ragnar: (English)	"Is he a priest?	
Aella: (English)	"He's a bishop of our church, a man of God."	
Ragnar: (English)	"I, too, have a man of God at home. Two thousand pounds in gold and silver."	
Bishop: (English)	"What did he say?"	
Viking 4: (English)	"How much?"	
Ragnar: (English)	"Two thousand pounds."	
Aella: (English)	"I do not think I heard you properly, Ragnar Lothbrok."	
Ragnar: (English)	"Two thousand pounds! In weight. That is the price."	
Aella: (English)	"I agree to the terms."	
Ragnar: (English)	"Good."	
Aella: (English)	"But first, you must return my brother."	
Ragnar: (English)	"When we receive payment, you shall have your brother."	
Ragnar: (English)	"You must give me time to collect such a vast amount. And in the meantime, you and your men must remain in your camp and make no further attacks on my people or their property."	
Ragnar: (English)	"Agreed."	
Brit: (English)	"Sire! How can we trust the word of a pagan?"	
Bishop: (English)	"Let me baptize one of them."	

Aella: (English)	"There is one further condition. I desire that either you or one of your companions agrees to be baptized into our faith. That way, I can make peace with a friend and fellow Christian, and not an enemy."
Ragnar: (English)	"You want one of us to become Christian?"
Aella: (English)	"Yes."
Ragnar: (ON)	"He wants one of us to become Christian."
Rollo: (ON)	"I will be a Christian."
(English)	"I will be Christian"

2:7. Season 2, Episode 3 [14:00]

Priest:	[speaks in Old English]
Athelstan: (OE)	"Hide!"
Priest: (English)	"You speak our language. How?"
Athelstan: (English)	"It doesn't matter. Just do as I say. Hide. Hide, or they will kill you."
Priest: (English)	"You are one of us."
Athelstan: (English)	"Once."
Priest: (English)	"Then I will tell you this: One day you will be caught. We will catch you and crucify you, for an apostate is the lowest and the vilest of all creatures in the eyes of God."
Floki: (ON)	"Oh. He's coming with us."

2:8. Season 2, Episode 8 [43:13]

Aethelwulf: (English)	"And my father also sends you this, as a token of good will."
Ragnar: (English)	"This is Athelstan's. I gave it to him."
Lagertha: (English)	"Then he is alive."
Aethelwulf: (English)	"Athelstan is waiting to see you at my father's villa."

2:9. Season 2, Episode 9 [32:15]

Ecbert: (ON)	"Athelstan has taught me some words of your language. Forgive me for not speaking properly. But we are here to make peace."
Athelstan: (English)	"King Ecbert desires me to set before you, outline possible terms of a treaty."

Ragnar: (English)   "What has happened to our people who chose to fight for Mercia?"

Kwenthrith: (English)"Unfortunately, the forces of my uncle and younger brother have prevailed. But if you, Ragnar Lothbrok, and you, Lagertha, would join with us, I am sure of victory."

Lagertha: (ON)   "What does she say?"

Ragnar: (ON)   "She wants us to fight for her for the throne of Mercia."

Lagertha: (ON)   "We came here to farm. She asks us to fight and to die for a quarrel which is not ours."

Ecbert: (English)   "Um, King Ragnar, I have given you land. Let me tell you the truth, as God as my witness, some of my nobles do not agree with what I have done. They are afraid. But I am determined to honor our treaty. In return, some of you, at least, must fight for Princess Kwenthrith."

Ragnar: (English)   "That is not part of our original agreement, but in good faith, and in hopes of creating a long and prosperous friendship, I will fight. But I cannot speak for the others."

Aethelwulf: (English)"I will fight, alongside these pagans. For Mercia."

Rollo: (ON)   "What are you saying, brother?"

Ragnar: (ON)   "I have agreed to fight."

Rollo: (ON)   "If my brother goes then so do I."

Ragnar: (ON)   "Bjorn?"

Bjorn: (ON)   "When the spring comes, and my blood heats up, I want nothing more than to raid and fight."

Thorunn: (ON)   "I will fight too."

Torstein: (ON)   "Between the plough and the axe, I will always choose the axe. You know me."

Floki: (ON)   "Mercia is not our quarrel."

Ragnar: (ON)   "It is part of something much bigger."

Floki: (ON)   "Not for us. Maybe for him."

Ragnar: (ON)   "Will you come or not?"

Floki: (ON)   "Yes, I will come. The fly always follows the dead meat."

Athelstan: (English)   "They have all agreed, except Lagertha."

Ragnar: (English)   "Earl?"

Ecbert: (English)	"Go and translate to Lagertha for me. In order to establish the settlement here in Wessex, I need the help of one of your leaders. A strong leader. Someone that my nobles will respect."
Athelstan:	[translates to Lagertha in Old Norse what Ecbert just said]
Lagertha: (ON)	"I will help you. My parents were farmers. Ragnar and I were farmers. I will help my people to plough and sow and harvest, and to make a place to live."
Athelstan: (English)	"She agrees to remain in Wessex to establish the settlement and to help farm the land."
Ecbert: (English)	"And you also must stay, Athelstan. You can speak for all sides. We need you. I need you."
Ragnar: (English)	"I trust you more than anyone else. I think you should stay."
Athelstan: (English)	"Then I shall stay."
Ecbert:	[toasts in Old Norse]
Everyone:	[toasts in Old Norse]

2:11. Season 3, Episode 2 [32:30]

Lagertha: (ON)	"Ask him why he is coming with us. He is a King."
Athelstan:	[translates in Old English]
Ecbert: (OE)	"Yea, I am King. King. So what?"
Lagertha: (ON)	"What did he say?"
Athelstan: (ON)	"He said "so what?""

2:12. Season 3, Episode 2 [35:50]

Lagertha: (ON)	"Ask him what he is staring at."
Athelstan: (OE)	"She says, what are you staring at?"
Ecbert: (OE)	"I'm staring at her.»
Athelstan: (ON)	«He's staring at you."
Lagertha: (ON)	"What for?"
Athelstan: (OE)	"What for?"
Ecbert: (OE)	"She is unlike any woman I have ever met. There are no Saxon women like her. I am infatuated by her. A shield-maiden. A warrior. A farmer. A mother. She is incredible."
Lagertha: (ON)	"Well, what did he say?"

Athelstan: (ON)   "He likes you."

2:13. Season 3, Episode 1 [41.28]

Ecbert: [speaks in Old English]

Athelstan: (English) "King Ecbert says that all this land is yours, from here to the horizon. There are many farms on this land for you to take possession of."

Ecbert: [speaks in Old English]

Athelstan: (English) "He wants us to live in peace. For that is the future for all of us now."

2:14. Season 3, Episode 2 [10:10]

Lagertha: (English) "Athelstan, ask the King who used to farm this land he has given us."

Athelstan: [translates in Old English]

Ecbert: [answers in Old English]

Athelstan: (English) "He confesses that he's had to remove several Saxon farmers from their lands."

Lagertha: (English) "Then ask him if they will not be hostile to us. And if so, who will guarantee the safety of our own farms and communities?"

Athelstan: [translates in Old English]

Ecbert: [answers in Old English]

Athelstan: (English) "He will personally guarantee our safety and security.

Lagertha: (English) "I thank the King from the bottom of my heart. It was always Ragnar's dream to find land to farm for our young folks, and to live peacefully with others. Now, it is my dream, also."

Athelstan: [translates in Old English]

Ecbert: [speaks in Old English]

Lagertha: (English) "What does he say?"

Athelstan: (English) "He asks if you are a free woman."

2:15. Season 3, Episode 2 [20:14]

Athelstan: (ON)   «King Ecbert has to return to his villa. But he has asked if we would accompany him, and stay there for a few days."

Lagertha: (ON)   "Tell him I agree. I need a bath."

Athelstan: (English) "She will come."

2:16. Season 3, Episode 2 [22:50]

Judith: (English)　　"And do you believe in this Odin?"

Athelstan: (English)　"I've had to ask myself, "What is belief?" My Lady."

Lagertha: (ON)　　"Athelstan, you are talking of Odin. What are you saying?"

Athelstan: (ON)　　"I love Odin. And I love Jesus Christ. What else can I say?"

Ecbert: (ON)　　　"I have another gift for you, Lagertha."

　　　　(English)　　"Stones are much easier to wear than earth."

Athelstan:　　　　[translates in Old Norse what Ecbert just said in English]

Ecbert: (English)　"May I? Beautiful."

2:17. Season 3, Episode 2 [37:50]

Ecbert: (English)　"Please tell Earl Ingstad how much I admire her and that she is always, always welcome at my hearth."

Athelstan:　　　　[translates in Old Norse]

Lagertha:　　　　[speaks in Old Norse]

Athelstan: (English)　"She says she likes the necklace. It's so beautiful that it must have been made by dwarves."

Ecbert: (English)　"We don't have dwarves in England."

Lagertha:　　　　[speaks in Old Norse]

Athelstan: (English)　"She says, "Of course you do. You just don't see them.""

2:18. Season 3, Episode 3 [9:20]

Lagertha:　　　　[speaks Old English]

Ecbert: (English)　"So you speak our language now?"

Lagertha: (English)　"I speak more than before. Not just because of Athelstan, but because of these men from Wessex, who have, uh…"

　　　　　　　　　[speaks in Old Norse]

Athelstan: (English)　"Helped us."

Lagertha: (English)　"Who have helped us with your blessing."

Ecbert: (English)　"I am gratified and pleased, as I'm sure King Ragnar will be pleased, also."