

***Regional Dialect Levelling and Language  
Standards: Changes in the Hønefoss Dialect***

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## ABSTRACT

This is a sociolinguistic investigation of regional dialect levelling and the role that standardised language plays for this particular type of dialect change. This study combines a quantitative variationist investigation of linguistic variation and change in East Norwegian cities Hønefoss and Oslo with experimental and qualitative studies of attitudinal data in Hønefoss. The aim of the study is to shed light on the role that standard language ideologies play for loss of localised dialects.

Varieties of East Norwegian spoken in the small city Hønefoss and the capital city Oslo are becoming increasingly alike. Oslo speech is an influential factor in the loss in Hønefoss of local linguistic variants in variables *3pl personal pronouns* and *<rd>*. The force behind the regional dialect levelling is not the Oslo dialect only, however. Overt and covert attitudinal data show that the influence is twofold and that the codified written variety of Norwegian, Bokmål, largely influences speakers' usage of local variants for linguistic variables *stress in loanwords* and *plural definite article suffixes*. The investigation considers linguistic ideals that speakers link to codification of language (correctness), education or the capital city and attest that language that can be linked to all these ideals is becoming more widely used in the East Norway region. Speech that can be linked to the codified variety Bokmål is an overt as well as a covert ideal to speakers in Hønefoss. Covert positive attitudes towards speech from Oslo are also found.

This study shows that the social and political context of language must be taken into account in the study of loss of linguistic features. The social meaning of language is crucial in informing us about the social mechanisms behind dialect change.

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## DEDICATION

*Denne avhandlinga er dedisert til Hønefoss by*

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## AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

The work presented in this thesis (unless otherwise cited) is solely that of the author. Parts of the analysis of loanword stress and pronoun variation, presented in sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, have been presented before at conferences in the UK and abroad. Corpus data from Norsk talemålskorpus (NoTa) are used for the analysis in this thesis with the kind permission from Tekstlaboratoriet at the University of Oslo.

# 1 Introduction

This study examines the linguistic change regional dialect levelling, the outcome of particular linguistic and social processes that manifests itself by increasing dialectal similarities within a geographical region. This investigation considers, in particular, the relationship between linguistic norms and speech varieties converging within a geographical region. This study combines a quantitative variationist methodology with experimental and qualitative methodologies to investigate language change and attitudes in the small city of Hønefoss in East Norway. A comparative analysis of linguistic variation is also conducted, using a corpus of collected speech from the Norwegian capital city Oslo.

A major concern of variationist linguistics in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century has been the influence that social change in industrialised society may have on linguistic change. A linguistic trend found across Europe is a decrease in structural distance between local varieties on the one hand and standardised varieties on the other (cf. Auer, 1998). In a number of locations across Europe we witness a supra-localisation of speech forms and subsequent loss of local linguistic variants (e.g. Williams and Kerswill, 1999; Pedersen, 2009). The forms that spread across regions are not always those codified in a standardised variety, however (cf. Foulkes and Docherty, 1999). Although codified varieties have become widely available by modern education systems and mass media, the role that standardised language plays in dialect change processes has not been investigated to a very large extent. In order to account for situations where local linguistic features are lost to supra-local ones, more information is needed about the influence from language norms and standardised varieties. Their role for dialect loss within geographical



regions is a topic that is understudied. This study contributes to advancing sociolinguistic theory by investigating in depth the relationship between language change in progress and standard language ideology (by which is meant, in this thesis, the notions that speakers hold about what a standard language is, represented by the norms expressed concerning correctness of language and the links between language and codification, the education system and the capital city).

The choice of location for this study is essential to the investigation's objective: a close study of the phenomenon regional dialect levelling and the relationship it has to standardised language. Hønefoss and Norway are chosen because of their ideal position in this respect. Hønefoss is a small urban area situated in the vicinity of the Norwegian capital city, Oslo. The sociolinguistic situation in East Norway, the administrative region Hønefoss and Oslo are located in, is similar to that found in many other European countries (e.g. Denmark and The Netherlands, c.f. Røyneland, 2009). Traditional local linguistic features seem to disappear in favour of supra-local ones, the result of which is the evolution of regional speech varieties (cf. Skjekkeland, 2005). Throughout the last decade, studies have indicated that adolescents in the East Norway region are abandoning local linguistic features in favour of supra-local forms (Kristiansen, 1995; Skramstad, 1999; Holland, 2001; Røyneland 2005). The process of regional dialect levelling in South East Norway seems linked to the status of the variety spoken in Oslo that Røyneland (2005) claims represents a linguistic ideal, or a norm, to speakers in other areas of the region.

Although the situation witnessed in Norway bears many similarities to dialect levelling in other European countries, the country's unique standard

language policies and official status of local dialects make the situation at hand complex. The current status of the Norwegian standardised language means the situation is different to that found in many other countries. Norway does not have a codified spoken standard, but two written standard languages. The two, Bokmål and Nynorsk, have variability codified within them. A person can often choose between two or more orthographic variants. The Norwegian standard language policies are fairly distinctive in this respect. Although no prescriptive spoken variety exists in Norway, certain dialects enjoy more social prestige than others and, if they exist, such socially prestigious varieties could presumably play an influential role in a situation of regional dialect levelling. It is relatively unclear from previous investigations what linguistic varieties constitute the linguistic norm in East Norway, however. Although the Oslo variety is widely believed to represent the most socially prestigious variety in the region (e.g. Skramstad, 1999; Røyneland, 2005), little empirical data has been put forward to support this claim. The current investigation is both a quantitative study of linguistic convergence between spoken varieties in Hønefoss and Oslo in East Norway as well as an experimental and qualitative study of the potential influence of prestigious linguistic varieties on regional dialect levelling.

This thesis is structured as follows: this chapter continues with three background sections, 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 considering the location in which this investigation is set and more background information about Norwegian language and the local linguistic variants studied in this thesis. Chapter 2 recounts the theoretical context within which this study places itself and considers earlier studies that deal with standard language ideology and regional dialect levelling in the European as well as a Norwegian context. The research questions are formulated at

the end of chapter 2. In chapter 3 methodological considerations and the approach taken for the current investigation are discussed. Chapter 4 presents the results of the linguistic, experimental and attitudinal investigations. The chapter also gives detailed background information about the linguistic variables: previous investigations of usage rates and indications of their social status in East Norwegian speech. Linguistic constraints that may have an effect on their variation will also briefly be discussed. Chapter 5 pulls the findings presented in 4 together and discusses these in light of the theoretical background presented in previous chapters. Finally, chapter 6 concludes the thesis.

On the whole, the investigation shows that standard language ideologies, the notions informants hold about what standard language is, are an influential force behind dialect change in East Norway. The influence of the linguistic variety spoken in a capital city on speech varieties in surrounding smaller urban centres is substantial. The results from this investigation also indicate that exploring the social meaning of language and speakers' linguistic norms are crucial in understanding dialect change.

## 1.1. The Setting of the Study: Hønefoss

The south-east of Norway, the administrative region *Østlandet*, here referred to as East Norway, is reported in literature to be experiencing a rapid spread of urban speech forms at the expense of rural dialect variants (Røyneland, 2009: 19). Studies of linguistic variation from as far as hundreds of kilometres from the Norwegian capital city have attested to a loss of localised (traditionally used in the local area) features and adoption of regional (used across local areas, in all locations within a larger geographical region), sometimes referred to as Oslo-like, linguistic features (e.g. Røyneland, 2005; Holland, 2005). Hønefoss is situated a mere 60 kilometres from the capital and is therefore likely to experience the same loss of localised linguistic features if this is, indeed, a sociolinguistic development that spreads across the geographic region. Figure 1.1 illustrates the location of Oslo and Hønefoss in the East Norway administrative region.



Figure 1.1 Map of East Norway, Hønefoss and Oslo

The term ‘region’ is not a straightforward concept, but Hønefoss and Oslo are part of the same dialectological area in descriptive literature from Norway (e.g. Christiansen, 1948; Johnsen et al, 1987). A region in this investigation is viewed as a geographic area that is larger than the local speech community at hand, but smaller than a national level. A region can be an

administrative or commercial construct (for managing health care or tourist industries, for example) or a cultural area whose communities share similar histories (see Hårstad, 2005 for an in-depth discussion of regions with respect to regionalisation of language). The region referred to in this investigation, including the areas Hønefoss and Oslo in East Norway, correlates with a linguistic area in which the traditional dialects spoken share certain linguistic features. Oslo and Hønefoss speech share typical East Norwegian dialect traits. They share the same phonological inventory and a large deal of the same morphological and syntactic system. The main linguistic differences between the traditional Hønefoss variety and other East Norwegian varieties are discussed briefly in section 1.3.

Hønefoss is chosen as the main setting for this investigation because of its geographical vicinity and relative linguistic similarity to Oslo. Spatial diffusion of linguistic features is identified as one of the mechanisms behind regional dialect levelling (cf. Kerswill, 2003) and small geographic distances may assist diffusion (e.g. Boberg, 2000). Some literature also suggests that large linguistic differences can create salience (discussed in section 2.3.2) in linguistic features (Trudgill, 1986; Kerswill and Williams, 2000), while salient features are likely to be the ones disappearing in a situation of dialect levelling (Trudgill, 1986). The close geographic distance between Hønefoss and Oslo and relative linguistic similarity between the two varieties spoken in the locations are therefore viewed as factors that can potentially facilitate regional dialect levelling.

### **1.1.1 A Brief History of Important Social Developments in Hønefoss**

The city Hønefoss was built because of its large waterways. The availability of lumber in the area and the transportation opportunities through the river Begna

were the foundation upon which the first large industries in the area were built. There is proof of settlement in the Hønefoss area from as far back as the 1300s but it was in the 17<sup>th</sup> century that the city started to develop rapidly. In this period of Danish colonial rule over Norway and the early stages of an industrial revolution, the waterfalls in the area attracted people who saw the opportunities for sawmills. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the settlement grew to a population of 175-350 people, varying with seasons and availability of work at sawmills and export opportunities for timber (Ropeid, 1952). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Hønefoss developed into a commercial centre: small enterprises developed in the area, like nail production in ironworks or tiles and brick manufacturing. The first school in Hønefoss was opened in 1752, and more were built in subsequent years.

In 1852 the town was given official city status in hope that it would promote its role as a trade centre to the rural areas around it. The application for city status sent to the government, states that the newly founded urban settlement could serve as the urban centre for approximately 53,000 people (Ropeid, 1952). At the time, however, the town itself only had a population of around 1,000 inhabitants, while the surrounding county was home to approximately 6,800. To give some indication of the background of the early inhabitants of Hønefoss, Ropeid (1952) notes that while in 1865 48% were actually born in Hønefoss, the remaining population came from the rural areas surrounding the city and 44 inhabitants had come from Oslo. No workers came from the western or northern parts of the country, but there were three foreigners who had made their way to Hønefoss (Ropeid, 1952). The city was therefore mainly populated from areas in close geographical proximity.

The population of Hønefoss in terms of numbers was stable in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although a fair number of people moved to the town, a great deal of people also emigrated to America during that period. Hønefoss was still dependent on the timber and the waterfall during this era, and new industries appeared mainly to produce wood pulp for paper factories in England. It soon became clear, however, that there was enough demand for Hønefoss to start its own production of paper. A paper mill was built, which today remains one of the largest employers in the city; *Norske Skog Follum*. The population growth stagnated at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and it was not until after the Great War that the second big wave of immigration came to Hønefoss. In the period 1931-1959 half of the population growth in the city was due to immigration.

Today the urban area of Hønefoss has some 14,000 inhabitants. Ringerike, the county Hønefoss is situated in, is geographically wide-spread but Hønefoss is its only major commercial centre. The number of inhabitants that live in Ringerike is some 28,000 (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2009). In 2009, 7.8% of the inhabitants in the county were first or second generation immigrants from abroad, and half of these were from countries within the EU (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2009).

Within the town of Hønefoss today are five primary schools, two lower secondary and two upper secondary schools. The university college HiBu (Høgskolen i Buskerud) has a branch in the city, where bachelor degrees are offered in law; IT; teaching and economics. The town is thus an important educational centre in the region. It is also the main commercial centre to the north-west of Oslo, and the last major urban settlement on the route from Oslo to Bergen in East Norway.

## 1.2 Norwegian Language: its History, Linguistic Facts and Codification

Norwegian is a North Germanic language spoken in Norway and on the islands of Spitzbergen and Jan Mayen to the north of mainland Norway. Norway has some 4.5 million people (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2009), and the number of Norwegian speakers is approximately the same number. This section will provide background on important historical developments that have influenced the Norwegian language, before giving some basic details about the standardised written variety Bokmål.

### 1.2.1 The Historical Development of Norwegian Language

This section is a short account of some political and social changes that have affected the development of Norwegian language through the last centuries. Four historical periods are distinguished in this study to describe this development. These are distinguished based on the overviews found in Lundeby and Torvik (1975) and Johnson et al (1987) and are the *Old Norwegian* period; the *Middle Norwegian* period; the *Dano-Norwegian* period and, finally, the *Modern Norwegian* period.

The developments of distinct Scandinavian languages can be traced back as far as 500 A.D. Research suggests that up to about 500 A.D. the varieties spoken in Scandinavia (modern Norway, Sweden and Denmark) can be classified as an *Ancient Nordic* variety, as they were very similar. Data from 500 onwards allow us to distinguish two varieties of Scandinavian language, referred to as *East Nordic* and *West Nordic* (cf. Torp, 2002) with West Nordic spoken in Norway and East Nordic in Swedish and Danish territory. The Old Norwegian period commences around year 700 (cf. Lundeby and Torvik, 1975). The variety spoken in Norway, Iceland and the Faroese Islands in the time span between 700-1350 is also referred



to as Old Norse. Certain linguistic changes took place in 11<sup>th</sup> century Icelandic and Faeroese, and Old Norwegian went through phonological and morphemic changes that did not occur on Iceland (Skard, 1972). From that time on the languages spoken in Norway, Iceland and on the Faroe Islands diverged.

Norwegian spoken today has gone through many changes from the variety that can be referred to as Old Norwegian. One of the most influential external changes on the language that happened during the Old Norwegian period was the introduction of the Latin alphabet with the arrival of Christianity in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, which facilitated usage of Old Norwegian as a written language. Later, from 1250 onwards, the immigration of German traders of the North Germanic Hanseatic League to Norwegian cities had an effect on language, as the traders became part of the social elite and introduced Low German to the higher classes (Mæhlum, 2002). In the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the plague that hit most of Europe also spread to Norway. This was fatal to much of the Norwegian cultural life, as clergymen, who were often the only literates in small places, became infected by the disease when burying the dead or comforting the ill. Before the plague, or the 'Black Death', Norwegian had been alive and well as a literary language, but in only a couple of decades this changed dramatically, and so the plague is an important factor in the process of change in the Norwegian language. This is also mostly noted as the end of the Old Norwegian period and marks the beginning of the Middle Norwegian period (c.f. Torp, 2002).

As economic development in the country stagnated in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Norway went into union with Denmark, a union which continued until 1814. Historically, the first two hundred years of this period can be referred to as the

Middle Norwegian period, as the language was no longer Old Norwegian, but also quite different to the variety that developed when the Danish influence later set in. The Middle Norwegian period in the development of Norwegian spans between 1350 and 1550. This period brought with it a complete loss of Old Norwegian as a written language and, towards the end, a complete switch to Danish as a written language. Importantly, although the written language went through substantial changes, rural Norwegian dialects only went through minor changes between the Middle Norwegian period and the end of Danish colonial rule in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Mæhlum, 2002).

From the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Norway was in union with Denmark and Sweden (the union with Sweden lasted until 1905). The linguistic signs of this union become especially visible later, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards (cf. Lundeby & Torvik, 1975). During this Dano-Norwegian period Danish took its place as the standard written language. One of the most important events that led to this happened early on in the period: the introduction of Protestantism through the Reformation in 1536. The Reformation brought with it the decision to translate religious texts into a language understood by the people (rather than Latin), or the national language, which at this time meant Danish in the colony Norway. Skard (1972: 19) writes that this is often seen as the most important even in the transition from Norwegian to Danish in the written culture. He also notes that although some traces of the Norwegian spoken language could be found in legal texts, religious texts from this period are written purely in Danish.

The fact that the Danish language was the written standardised language for a long period of time is generally believed to have had an effect on Norwegian

urban speech. It is important to note, however, that until 1814 when the union was dissolved; approximately 90% of the Norwegian population was still living in rural areas (Torp and Vikør, 1994).

During the colonial rule, Danish did not lack social prestige but the majority of the native Norwegian population used their local varieties. The language of the nobility and people of the higher classes was deeply influenced by Danish. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a new school system was introduced, which meant most people became literate. The texts that were read in schools were in Danish and this continued to be the case for decades after the dissolution of the union. Pupils' writing had to be purely in Danish, and Norwegian forms were often ruled out as writing errors (Lundeby and Torvik, 1975: 57).

The most influential language affecting Norwegian and Danish from outside during this period was Low German. The Hanseatic League had already been present in Norway for a couple of hundred years, and German had become one of the chief languages of the trade sector. Torp and Vikør (1994: 300) note that although the League lost much of its power during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, German remained a language of prestige for the Norwegian and Danish nobility. A number of the loan words investigated in this study were introduced during this period from French or Latin through German.

The union with Denmark was dissolved in 1814, but the Danish language remained a prestigious variety in Norway. In the period after Danish rule, (the beginning of the Modern Norwegian period) debates concerning the Norwegian linguistic situation were initiated. In the 1830s people occupying important cultural positions, among them the poet Henrik Wergeland, argued that the country should

have its own official language which was different from Danish. Opposing views were held as to how this new written language should come to existence, whether to create a new written norm based upon Old Norwegian or whether a written norm should be developed by making the Danish writing more ‘Norwegian’, i.e. more in line with the Norwegian people’s spoken language. This latter argument was in favour of the process referred to as *fornorsking* ‘Norwegianisation’.

During the 1840s and 1850s the grammarian Ivar Aasen travelled the country to collect data from speakers of rural Norwegian dialects. He wrote a grammar based on the data he had found. Data came from rural varieties that, as mentioned above, had changed minimally since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The grammar created by Aasen laid the foundation for the *Nynorsk* codification. Simultaneously, the process of ‘Norwegianisation’ of the Danish written standard that resulted in today’s *Bokmål* codification began. This change primarily took place by adapting Danish spelling to be more representative of East Norwegian phonology. The two different standard varieties of Norwegian are still retained today: one based upon the traditional rural dialects; *Nynorsk*, and one ‘Norwegianised’ standard based on Danish; *Bokmål*. Aasen and his contemporaries argued for a codified Norwegian spoken variety as well as a written one, and pronunciation dictionaries were published even into the 20<sup>th</sup> century for second language learners of Norwegian (cf. Torp and Vikør, 1994). An official spoken standard variety has never been established in Norway, however.

Language matters in official domains in Norway are dealt with by the independent advisory authority *Språkrådet*. This ‘language council’ offers advice to officials and individuals on matters concerning the written varieties Bokmål and

Nynorsk. *Språkrådet* gives pronunciation advice solely for the purpose of usage in the national broadcasting system, and then only to ensure that varieties used are intelligible to the general public (Språkrådet, 2001). There thus exists no other official normative or prescriptive pronunciation advice for the Norwegian language. A Norwegian dictionary, for example, does not give advice on how to pronounce lemmas, apart from occasionally marking word stress (as discussed in detail in section 4.2 of this thesis).

### **1.2.2 Bokmål: The Written Standard Used in Hønefoss**

The standardised writing norm Bokmål is today the written variety used by the majority of Norwegian people: 86% of primary school pupils in the country write using Bokmål forms (Språkrådet, 2007). Ringerike, the county Hønefoss is situated in, employs Bokmål as its official variety, which means that pupils attending schools in the county also have the variety as their official written norm. For this investigation, the potential influence of Bokmål on language change in East Norway will be investigated. Nynorsk is taught as a second variety in schools in Hønefoss from approximately the age of 13, even after children are introduced to English as a school subject. It is presumed, therefore, that the influence of Nynorsk on language change in Hønefoss is minimal.

The two written standards Bokmål and Nynorsk have undergone a number of changes since their development in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nynorsk has become more influenced by the Bokmål forms, but Bokmål has also removed itself drastically from the Danish language towards Nynorsk. In Bokmål Old Norwegian forms have been introduced to replace Danish forms in spelling. This is the case, for example, for postvocalic voiceless plosives that are now represented with <p, t,

k> (< and > are used in this thesis to correspond to orthographic representation) in Bokmål having replaced Danish variants <b, d, g>, in words like *gate* vs. *gade* ‘street’ and *kake* vs. *kage* ‘cake’. Also Old Norwegian verbal past tense suffixes <a> or <i> have been instated in Bokmål.

The attempted convergence of Bokmål and Nynorsk has brought with it a unique standard language situation in Norway with codified variability for language users in many linguistic environments. Both written standards have variability codified for a number of lexical items, especially in suffixes. Bokmål allows for variability in past tense verb suffixes and plural noun suffixes, for example. Grammatical gender can also be variable for certain nouns and a number of lexical items can either be represented in orthography with a diphthong or a monophthong as both variants are found in Norwegian spoken language.

There is a continuum of variants available to the writer of Norwegian, from linguistic features that are viewed as ‘conservative’ Bokmål to forms that are referred to as ‘radical’ (modern), that lie closer to Nynorsk and the subsequent radical and conservative forms found in the Nynorsk codification (cf. Røyneland, 2009). The conservative variants in Bokmål, some illustrated in figure 1.2 below, are forms that are used in Danish, or are more similar to Danish forms than the radical forms are (in the case of the Conservative Bokmål suffix <et>, the corresponding Danish form is <ede>). The radical Bokmål variants tend to be available in Nynorsk as well. This study will investigate how this variability is negotiated by users if a standard language influences dialect change. It will also investigate whether or not the two sets of variants hold different social meaning and prestige to informants in Hønefoss.

	‘Conservative Bokmål’	‘Radical Bokmål’
Plural definite suffix neuter nouns	< ene > ( <i>å<b>ene</b></i> ‘the years’)	< a > ( <i>å<b>a</b></i> ‘the years’)
Singular definite suffix feminine nouns	< en > ( <i>bo<b>ken</b></i> ‘the book’)	< a > ( <i>bo<b>ka</b></i> ‘the book’)
past tense suffix verbs	< et > ( <i>ka<b>stet</b></i> ‘threw’)	< a > ( <i>ka<b>sta</b></i> ‘threw’)
lexis with variable diphthong/monophthong	monophthong ( <i>ble</i> ‘became’; <i>ben</i> ‘leg’)	diphthong ( <i>blei</i> ‘became’; <i>bein</i> ‘leg’)
lexis with variable ju/y	< y > ( <i>dyp</i> ‘deep’; <i>myk</i> ‘soft’)	< ju > ( <i>djup</i> ‘deep’; <i>mjuk</i> ‘soft’)

**Table 1.1 Examples of Variability in Bokmål, variants associated with the Conservative and Radical codifications (based on Sandøy, 2006).**

### 1.3 The Traditional Hønefoss Dialect and Potential Linguistic Variables

To determine which linguistic variables the current study should focus on, two accounts of the dialect spoken in the Hønefoss area were used: Skulerud (1926) and Lyse (1976). These works do not describe the dialect spoken in the city of Hønefoss per se, but the variety spoken in the county, Ringerike. As Hønefoss is the central commercial area of the county Ringerike, it is likely that the varieties described in these works are at least somewhat representative for the variety that was traditionally spoken in the city. Both accounts are representative of the variety spoken in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Lyse (1976) describes the variety he speaks himself (in old age), whereas Skulerud (1926) describes the spoken variety of one young man at that point in time. Both accounts have particular focus on local lexis, but Skulerud (1926) also includes a phonological and morphological account of the Ringerike dialect.

Variants described as particularly typical of the Ringerike dialect in Skulerud (1926) and Lyse (1976) are predominantly the local variants for the negator (*itte* ‘not’), the question words (*håkken, hekken, vekken*, for ‘who’ or ‘which’ and *hå, håssen* for ‘how’) and the subject form of the 1sg personal pronoun (*je* for ‘I’). Local syntactic and morphological features described are the lack of pronoun case syncretism in the 3sg feminine and 3pl personal pronouns (usage of form *henner* as feminine pronoun and *dom* as plural form both in subject and object position), and the different suffix variants that are available in Hønefoss but not found in Oslo or in Bokmål ([a] and [i] rather than [ene], [e] and [t]). Of phonological features, word stress on initial syllables of lexis is mentioned as an especially predominant feature of Hønefoss speech (Skulerud, 1926). Furthermore,



certain vocalic differences are mentioned as different in Hønefoss (ablaut vowels in preterite and perfect verbs). Also, the retroflex flap ([ɾ]) for <rd> is reported used in Hønefoss by Skulerud (1926) and Lyse (1976).

The choice of variables for this project was made on the basis of the observations in Skulerud (1926) and Lyse (1976) in combination with the results and data presented in recent sociolinguistic studies from East Norway investigating regionalisation of linguistic forms (Skolseg, 1994; Kristiansen, 1995; Skramstad, 1999; Holland, 2001; Jahnsen, 2001; Røyneland, 2005). The phonological account of Urban East Norwegian by Kristoffersen (2000) was also used as background literature. Urban East Norwegian is put forward in Kristoffersen (2000) as a regional East Norwegian variety. Its phonological and phonetic descriptions therefore work as an indication of what might constitute regional East Norwegian variants in phonology.

Two local features described in Skulerud (1926) hold a peculiar situation in current East Norwegian varieties: initial stress in non-Germanic loan words and [ɾ] for <rd> in certain lexical items. These are both variants that have traditionally been available in large parts of East Norway (Kristoffersen, 2000). Kristiansen (1995); Jahnsen (2001); Holland (2001) *inter alia* indicate, however, that initial stress and [ɾ] are disappearing from urban areas. Instead, variants non-initial stress and [r] have gained popularity. These two phonological variable contexts are therefore highlighted as focal points for this investigation (and are described in 4.1; 4.2 and 4.4).

Lexical variation was excluded from the current investigation as it was an aim to elicit most tokens for analysis from interview speech. It would be difficult to

elicit the same lexical items multiple times from each person in an interview setting to sufficiently quantify variation for each individual. Instead a syntactic and a morphological variable were selected for the in-depth study along the phonological variables stress and <rd>. The 3pl personal pronoun environment was chosen as a syntactic focal point because of the interesting availability of variants found in East Norway. Three different variants are available for the three different varieties of interest in this study: [dum] is the syncretised pronoun variant traditionally found in Hønefoss; while [dem] is a traditional syncretised Oslo variant. Finally, a distinction between subject <de> and object <dem> is made in Bokmål (for more detail see section 4.3).

The morphological variable chosen for this study, the definite plural suffix, allows for a study of the usage of the same variants ([a] and [ene]) in two different variable contexts that are different only because of their different codifications in the standard language. Some plural masculine (and neuter) nouns have two suffix variants codified in Bokmål, while other masculine plural nouns do not (only [ene] is codified for these). In the Hønefoss local dialect, however, both groups of plural masculine nouns can be produced with definite suffix [a]. It is hypothesised (and discussed in more detail in section 4.5) that a difference in variation pattern between the two groups of nouns could be due to the difference found in codification. A study of a potential difference in suffix usage in plural nouns thus allows for an in-depth study of the effect Bokmål might play on dialect change in East Norway.

To summarise this chapter, the small town Hønefoss in East Norway is identified as an ideal location for a study of potential regional dialect levelling

because of its geographical vicinity to the capital city and other cities where previous sociolinguistic studies have indicated that local linguistic features are lost to supra-local ones. Informants in Hønefoss write using the Bokmål standard, which allows for a study of the relative influence this standardised language, and the linguistic norms associated with it, might have on the language change in progress in East Norway. Five linguistic variables are chosen to investigate the effect of Oslo speech and Bokmål on the Hønefoss dialect: word stress variation, variation in pronunciation of (r) in words with <rd> in spelling, 3pl personal pronoun variation, and variation between definite article suffixes /ene/ and /a/ in plural masculine and neuter nouns.

## **2 Literature Review**

This chapter discusses the study's theoretical framework and reviews previous work on regional dialect levelling. Standardised language and the ideologies attached to it will be discussed, and research questions for the study will be formulated. Focal points of this investigation: what regional dialect levelling is; how it works sociolinguistically; and what its relationship to language standardisation might be, will be discussed. Studies that deal with standard language ideology in general and in the Norwegian context are discussed, as are studies that deal more specifically with regionalisation, dialect levelling and the related processes divergence, convergence, accommodation and diffusion.

## 2.1 Introduction – What is Regional Dialect Levelling?

Section 2.3 reviews studies dealing with regional dialect levelling in detail. The basic concepts that lie as a foundation to this study will be introduced here, however, and a short introduction to regional dialect levelling is therefore briefly given along with a note about the potential role of standardised language on dialect change.

Regional dialect levelling is a term that can be interpreted in the light of a number of definitions. Trudgill's (1986: 98) definition of *levelling* is a reduction of linguistic variants available in a variety, the simplification of a linguistic system. This process is linked to that of *regional dialect levelling*, which has been defined as the outcome of both social and linguistic changes where localised linguistic variants are lost and supra-local, or more widely used, linguistic variants are spreading (Kerswill, 2003). Regional dialect formation is used to refer to the supra-localisation of whole varieties as well, a situation where regional varieties become distinctive and localised varieties lose their linguistic distinctiveness (Auer and Hinskens, 1996). Regional dialect levelling, or supra-localisation, appears to describe a situation where homogeneity has increased within a region. *Dialect levelling* has been defined in a near-identical fashion, as a situation where 'differences between local accents/dialects are reduced, features which make them distinctive disappear, and new features develop and are adopted by speakers over a wide area' (Williams and Kerswill, 1999; Kerswill, 2006). Norwegian dialectological and sociolinguistic literature uses the term *regionalisering* 'regionalisation' to describe the processes of supralocalisation of linguistic forms and/or increased homogeneity within a region (cf. Skjekkeland, 2005; Mæhlum et al, 2006). In section 2.3, the distinction between the definitions linked to regional

dialect levelling will be discussed in more depth and with respect to recent variationist literature. These definitions, however, all consist of either the supralocalisation of linguistic variants, or the increase of linguistic homogeneity within a region.

A number of factors presumably form the basis for the supralocalisation and increased homogeneity. Sociopsychological forces like inter-speaker accommodation (cf. Trudgill, 1986), or linguistic convergence or divergence (cf. Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 1991), where speakers model their language on the basis of their conversation partner, lie at the basis of a dialect levelling situation, as described in section 2.3. The term convergence can also refer to the increase of homogeneity between two varieties in dialectological literature (cf. Auer and Hinskens, 1996). This latter definition of convergence forms the basis for section 2.3.3, that compares the process with that of regional dialect levelling, as put forward in other literature. Increased mobility may lead to geographical diffusion of linguistic forms (cf. Britain, 2002) and there is reason to believe that there could be a relationship between social identity and regionalisation of language (cf. Røyneland, 2005; Llamas, 2007a). These two factors are also explored in more depth in section 2.3.

Section 2.2 considers the role of language standardisation for regionalisation of linguistic features, as this role is unclear from previous investigations. Milroy and Milroy (1999: 4) call for more focus on standardisation in linguistics:

Although it is necessary to insist on the priority of description, it does not follow from this that prescription should never be studied at any point. However, the reservation about prescription that is commonly expressed has, in practice, led to a general tendency to study language *as if* prescriptive phenomena play no part in language (Milroy and Milroy 1999, 4)

A number of studies have attested the spread, or regionalisation, of non-standard language features, for instance in the UK (Williams and Kerswill, 1999; Watt and Milroy, 1999; Foulkes and Docherty, 1999; Trudgill, 1999). Foulkes and Docherty (1999: 11-12) argue on the basis of findings in accent studies from the UK that

The emergence of influential non-standard varieties raises important issues concerning the ongoing status of the standard as a reference point for speakers, the social and geographical networks which facilitate influence and contact between varieties and the nature of the contact which is required for influence to take place. *What is certainly clear is that we no longer assume that speakers of non-standard varieties automatically orient themselves towards the standard* (Foulkes and Docherty 1999: 11-12, my emphasis).

Foulkes and Docherty (1999) thus question whether standard language is the main influence behind the regional spread of linguistic features in the UK. Discussions of language standardisation and language change from elsewhere, however, indicate that standardisation and dialect levelling are closely related processes. Kristiansen (1998) argues that it is standard language ideology that drives the loss of local dialects and spread of the Copenhagen variety, in Denmark:

...it is this standard ideology, and in the last resort of course the institutions, authorities, gatekeepers who defend and propagate it, that is the force behind what happens at the level of language use. It is this standard ideology which is to be blamed, or praised, as you wish, for the far-reaching Copenhagenisation of Denmark as a speech community (Kristiansen 1998: 127)

Similarly, in a discussion of the role of language standardisation and language spread, Ferguson (1988: 119) uses examples from Arabic and hypothesises that standardisation 'must be a type of language spread' as a standard variety is the

supra-dialectal linguistic norm. Pedersen (1999) also questions whether there really is a difference between standardisation and linguistic regionalisation.

The questions in this thesis centre on whether regional dialect levelling can be viewed as language standardisation, and how factors like convergence, divergence, regional identity, prestige, and spatial diffusion of linguistic features contribute to the process often described as regional dialect levelling. The following sections discuss literature dealing with precisely the issues mentioned above. Firstly, in section 2.2, some background literature about standard language and standard language ideology are presented followed by a review of studies of standard language ideology. Secondly, section 2.3 reviews earlier studies of regional dialect levelling, convergence and divergence, regional identity, and dialect levelling along with an evaluation of the importance of a number of previous studies from Norway. Finally, in section 2.4, the research questions are formulated on the basis of the entire review.



## 2.2 Standard Language

This section focuses on previous studies of language standardisation and its role in situations of linguistic change. It also reviews studies that attempt to define the term ‘language standard’, however. The current study aims to investigate, among other things, the effect of standardised language on sociolinguistic change. The concept of a standard language, or a standard spoken variety, is not easily defined. This can be illustrated by the case of Standard English, for instance, which in Britain alone has had different definitions at different points in history. A definition of a standard can simply be *a variety of speech that is codified* (Mugglestone, 1995: 13), a definition which is probably not the only one that English language users operate with today. Davis (1999: 71) discusses the relatively high importance of the Oxford English Dictionary for the view of what constitutes Standard English in Britain. The phrase Standard English itself was made popular by the dictionary and the proposals for it in 1858 (Davis, 1999: 71), and the definition of Standard English as ‘all the words in the Oxford English Dictionary’ is still fairly widespread, according to Bex (1999: 89).

Standard English has also often been viewed in relation to the English education system, and sometimes intrinsically linked to the universities at Oxford and Cambridge (cf. Watts, 1999). The role of schools in the development in language standards is important, and is also noted for Danish and Norwegian by Pedersen (2005), discussed in detail in section 2.2.2.

Another definition of a standard language identifies it by its lack of connection to a geographical location (Mugglestone, 1995: 8): a variety thus becomes a norm due to its supra-locality. Conversely, the standard language can also be viewed in connection with the capital: the case in 17<sup>th</sup> century England

where the standard language was linked to speech in London. The capital city, sometimes in combination with the university cities, was held as a linguistic norm and thus the location for speakers of the standard language in prescriptive literature of the time (Mugglestone, 1995: 14). The importance of a capital city in the development of a standardised language is also described by Pedersen (2009) who points out the importance of Copenhagen in the historical development of the Danish standard language. Deumert (2004) finds that in South Africa, Standard Afrikaans developed especially in middle class speakers, but also here the recurrent link is established (Deumert, 2004: 301) between standard language, high education and large cities.

Importantly, the view of what constitutes a standard language can vary through the course of history, and across regions. Standard language is perhaps best understood as an ideology in the way that Milroy and Milroy (1999: 19) portray it: ‘it seems appropriate to speak of standardisation as an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent’. The concept of standard language ideology and its relationship to language change in progress will be investigated in the current study. To allow such an investigation, however, the notion of standard language ideology must first be explored.

The concept of language ideology has been defined by Irvine and Gal (2009, 402) as ‘the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events and activities that are significant to them’. This definition is similar to those of Silverstein (1979) and Rumsey (1990) who define language ideology as ‘sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of

perceived language structures and use’ and ‘shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world’ respectively. However, these ideas, beliefs or notions described by Irvine and Gal (2009), Silverstein (1979) and Rumsey (1990) do not necessarily refer to views of standard language only. The ideologies described in linguistic anthropological work can have a much broader scope and are not restricted to ideas about what constitutes standard language. What standard language ideology has in common with language ideology, however (as will become clear from the discussion below), is a view that there is good and bad language. In this thesis, standard language ideology is defined as the ideas about good or bad language through a lens of the social factors that have historically been linked to language standardisation: codification, education, the capital city and socio-economic privilege.

A thorough account of standard language ideology, specifically in the U.S, is found in Lippi-Green (1997). Her definition of standard language ideology is

‘a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class’ (Lippi-Green, 1997: 64)

This definition of standard language ideology thus pin-points institutional support, the written language and the speech of the socio-economically privileged upper middle class as important components of the notion speakers hold about ‘standard language’. Lippi-Green (1997: 58) also summarises different definitions of Standard U.S English and notes that the variety is viewed as having no regional accent, is spoken by people in a particular geographical area of the U.S (variably the mid-west, far west or the north-west), is spoken by highly educated people, educators or

broadcasters. The variety can also be spoken by people who pay careful attention to their speech or by homogeneous groups of people who agree about what constitutes proper language. The variety is easily understood in all speech communities. Lippi-Green (1997:65) stresses, in particular, the authority held by the educational system over what constitutes a standard language and places education at the core of the language standardisation process.

A relationship between standard language ideology and language change was also attested by Lippi-Green (1994), showing a connection between the language ideology promoted by grammarians in Germany in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and linguistic variation in written texts from Nuremberg in the same period. However, even between speech communities speaking dialects of the same language (Milroy, 1999: 204-205), the ideology of standard language is variable, and so too are the definitions for standard language and standardisation. One must therefore explore the cultural background of language standardisation before studying the relationship between standard language ideology and language change. This is what the next sections of this thesis set out to do. Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 reviews two studies that deal with standard language ideology, its definition and development. One study, Milroy (2001), investigates the concept of standard language in detail and gives invaluable insight to ideas that lie beneath the term. The other study, Pedersen (2005), is a historical account of standardisation in Scandinavia that explains the contextual background upon which the current study is built. It also gives an account of the historical development of standard language ideologies and some general trends that can be identified in this development. Pedersen (2005) also provides a comprehensive account of why standard language ideologies in the three Scandinavian countries may be largely different, and is therefore important to the

current investigation. In sections 2.2.3 onwards the unique historical development of the Norwegian standardised language (discussed in more detail below) and the distinctive language policies found in the country today (also discussed in more detail below) will be reviewed. As will become clear from the discussion, a link between language and the components education, a high socio-economic status, codified language, and the capital city stand out as important parts of the discussion of standard language. For this thesis, a standard language ideology is therefore defined as notions held by people about the superiority of language due to its link with codification, education, socio-economical privilege or the capital city.

### **2.2.1 Milroy (2001)**

For a discussion of the effect that standard language has on language change, it is important to find a universally applicable definition of a standard language. This is what Milroy (2001) sets out to do. In a discussion of different definitions of standard languages and the implications the concept of the standards has had for linguistics as a science, Milroy (2001) raises points that should be carefully considered by all language scholars. He argues that much linguistic research is too biased by the standard language ideology held by researchers and that the conclusions about language reached by such investigations, in the worst case, could be flawed. Milroy (2001) mentions work in generative linguistics, particularly Chomsky & Halle's (1968) sole reliance of one pronunciation dictionary to account for English phonology, as examples of how a codified standard variety, or a standard language as employed by an author, is often taken to be representative of an entire language (Milroy, 2001: 544-545).

A standard language, it is argued, should be definable in objective terms which means in linguistic rather than social terms (Milroy, 2001: 531). The definition Milroy (2001: 532) reaches is structural invariance, or 'uniformity' within the linguistic system. His definition of a standard excludes most spoken languages, including varieties that are often thought of as 'standard'. Languages in use are variable on some level or other, and the definition of a standard language given by Milroy (2001) could therefore only apply to dead languages, no longer in flux through usage.

The very restricted definition Milroy (2001) provides does not impede his argument, however; the question that must be raised is whether a standard language really can exist. If structural invariance is the definition of a standard language, spoken varieties hardly fall under the description. Standard language is therefore not a reality, but rather a hypothetical construct, or even an ideology shared by groups of speakers. Crucially, speakers' own definitions of standard language are variably influenced by aspects of prestige, an aspect that is culturally, probably regionally, and potentially also individually, dependent. The implications of this for sociolinguistic research is a need to investigate these standard language ideologies, rather than assuming that one set of linguistic variants forms a linguistic norm for all speakers in a speech community. The question is rather whether this standard language ideology is measurable, and so, how it is measured.

Closely related to the notion of standard language in sociolinguistic theory is prestige. The prestige a standard language holds, however, is usually a specific kind of prestige that has developed in particular ways. Milroy especially mentions the development of a standard language ideology by linking one variety to the prestige held by a distinctive part of a population with social power (Milroy, 2001: 549). A

standard language ideology can also evolve connected to a nation's history and identity (Milroy, 2001: 549), and can thus be linked to nationalistic sentiments and the prestige affiliated to national belonging. This latter is particularly relevant historically for the Norwegian situation, as illustrated by Haugen's (1966) account discussed below, but not uniquely Norwegian.

Milroy (2001) argues that the interchangeable usage of terms prestige and standard in sociolinguistics does not provide us with scientifically sound results. The assumption that women use more 'standard' features than men, for instance, advocated in a number of sociolinguistic works (cf. Milroy, 2001: 533) is often based upon researchers' own standard language ideologies and idiosyncratic evaluations of the concept 'prestige'. A 'standard' is a term that can be identified objectively, by linguistic uniformity, but 'prestige' is unidentifiable, objectively speaking. Its dictionary definition is suitably vague: 'influence or reputation derived from achievements, associations, or character, or (esp.) from past success' (OED, 2009). Which achievements, character, or successes it is that prestige derives from is presumably changeable and dependent on social situations unique to the communities of interest.

A prestigious variety is not necessarily one that is part of the standard language ideology, either. Trudgill (1972: 194) argues that, in the UK, linguistic features not codified in RP are popular in Norwich because they hold prestige with certain groups of speakers: particularly males and young females. The increased usage of the alveolar variant for the linguistic variable (ing) cannot be traced back to influence from the overtly prestigious variety RP, where a velar nasal is the pronunciation norm. Rather, the linguistic form which spreads is overtly stigmatised (see also Chambers and Trudgill, 1998). It holds covert prestige and is made

popular by certain social groups and its prestige is not openly understood by members outside these social groups.

In an investigation of language change in progress, prestige can therefore be explored on two dimensions. On one dimension, one can investigate which linguistic variants hold prestige, and on another dimension one can investigate what type of prestige the variants hold, whether overt or covert. The focus of this investigation should, presumably, lie with language that has both types of prestige. The focus is language which is viewed as an idealised manner of speech and that has prestige that is accessible to a large number of people, the standard language ideology. This prestige could both be found in overt and covert attitudes. To find out whether the investigation of standard language ideology and its influence on speech change is feasible, literature that considers language norms and standards in Norway, and Scandinavia as a whole, are considered next. In addition to considering this literature, the following sections explore exactly what kind of prestige standard language ideology can be associated with.

### **2.2.2 Pedersen (2005)**

Pedersen (2005) is particularly concerned with the different types of prestige standard language ideologies are associated with, and the historical development of these ideologies. Her investigation provides a number of different views on language standardisation and, in this way, explores standard language ideologies in the same account. A historical account of standardisation in the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, is given in Pedersen (2005) illustrating



how standard language ideology and language planning issues have influenced sociolinguistic developments differently in the three countries.

Pedersen's (2005: 174-175) main definition of a standard language and standardisation is: 'In living languages standardisation is an ongoing process ... a full-fledged standard must be an omnifunctional language, able to fulfil a range of official roles, in addition to being a means of informal communication'. This rather wide definition given by Pedersen (2005) would thus contain spoken languages as well as written, but is not a definition that would necessarily differentiate between varieties that could be viewed as standard by the public and varieties that could be viewed as non-standard. The definition is therefore interpreted as a description of the standard language ideology as held by Pedersen (2005).

The standard language as defined by Pedersen (2005) is different from that of Milroy (2001) who based his definition purely on linguistic grounds. The Danish standardised language is a variety heavily influenced by orthography and the education system as well as being based on speech in the cultural and educational hub of the country, Copenhagen (Pedersen, 2005: 184). A standard is defined by its social role in this respect, and it is not questioned by Pedersen (2005) to which degree this idealised variety is actually spoken. Previous sociolinguistic studies of Danish do indeed show that the loss of local dialectal forms is widespread in the country and that certain linguistic features are spreading from Copenhagen to the rest of Denmark (for an overview see Kristiansen, 1998). There seems to be no difference between the influential force that causes loss of localised linguistic features in rural Denmark and the standard language, as described in Pedersen (2005).

A standard language was traditionally defined through the incorrectness of other varieties, rather than the correctness of one variety in Denmark (Pedersen, 2005: 178). Danish rural dialects were viewed as ‘corrupt’ varieties of language by scholars and this social role was inseparably linked to the high social status of the capital city in the country (Pedersen, 2005: 178). The capital, Copenhagen, has been the cultural and economic hub of the country throughout the centuries, and one of the varieties spoken in the capital in the 19<sup>th</sup> century developed into what Pedersen defines as a ‘functional standard language’ (2005: 178). The Copenhagen variety today, however, has linguistic variation like any other spoken variety and variation has been shown to be conditioned both by gender and style, for instance (cf. Pedersen, 2005: 187). The variety in the capital is not a homogeneous linguistic entity, and its status as a standard or norm is thus not based on linguistic uniformity.

After that of the capital city, the second factor that Pedersen (2005) links to the standard language ideology is education. The Danish standardised language can be traced back to a variety of public speaking, only used by educated members of society (Pedersen, 2005: 179). In the account, schools are pin-pointed as crucial in propagating the view that a spoken variety based on the written codified variety is ‘the language’ (Pedersen, 2005: 188), and thus the ideal language. We can summarise from Pedersen’s (2005) account that both the economically powerful capital and the education system are therefore factors that determine what constitutes the linguistic norms that can be linked to a standard language ideology.

As well as pointing out the social background for a standard language in Denmark, Pedersen (2005) gives a valuable comparison of standard language ideologies in the three Scandinavian countries. The backdrop and current situation

of standardised language is very different in Norway compared to Denmark (compare section 1.2). The effect of a standardised language on language change in Norway is disputed, as discussed in more detail in sections later in this chapter, presumably because of the non-existence of official norms concerning spoken language and the elevated social status of localised dialects. In Denmark, however, it seems an accepted truth that the standardised language has affected dialect change to a large extent. Norms concerning spoken language are openly available in Denmark and the standard language ideology widely accepted, at least as described by Pedersen (2005). The rapid industrialisation and increased mobility in Denmark is pointed out as a potential reason why the standard language ideology is widespread in the country (Pedersen, 2005: 188). She also notes that dialect levelling processes were attested in Denmark as far back as the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pedersen, 2005: 190), which sets Denmark very much apart from Norway when it comes to the development found in local dialects. At that point in time, Norwegian local dialects were idealised varieties of speech by parts of the cultural elite, and political involvement was eventually made to ensure these were maintained and treasured (e.g. Venås 1996).

The historical development of standardisation in Sweden and Denmark are, however, incredibly analogous according to Pedersen (2005: 193). Crucially, the difference between Denmark and Sweden on the one hand and Norway on the other is rather large. Like Copenhagen for Denmark, Stockholm played an important role in the Swedish spoken standard development (2005: 192). The school system in Sweden has been crucial in making the spoken standard a popular variety, as is the case in Denmark. The Norwegian situation is different on both accounts: Firstly, the variety spoken by the higher socio-economic classes in the Norwegian capital after

the dissolution of the union in 1814, was Danish. As will be discussed in more detail below, one of the most important ideas behind language planning, and conscious standardisation efforts in Norway after 1814, was nationalism. The spoken variety of the higher classes in Norway at 1814 was not a national one, but rather one of a colonial country. Although Danish may have constituted a linguistic norm in Norway, the local dialects held a much stronger position in Norway than in Denmark and Sweden (Pedersen, 2005: 194). Also, Oslo was only half the size of Copenhagen or Stockholm. Norway was also a more rural country than the rest of Scandinavia (Pedersen, 2005: 194). Finally, the schools in Norway were less powerful in spreading a standard spoken variety than in neighbouring countries, a fact discussed in more detail in section 2.2.3.2

All in all, Pedersen illustrates that ideals concerning a standard language can spread by increased mobility from a capital city as well as by education, and points out that differences in these respects have resulted in different sociolinguistic situations in Denmark and Norway. She also formulates her version of the standard language ideology and states that this should be an omni-functional language that fulfils many social roles.

### **2.2.3 Standard Language Planning and Policies: the Norwegian context**

To further discuss the relationship between standard language ideologies and dialect change in Norway, the history of language planning in the country must be covered in some detail. It is clear from the studies covered above that codification, education, the capital city, and social privilege are factors that can generally be tied to standard language ideology. The notion of codification and standardisation

through education especially needs further discussion for the Norwegian context, however. The official Norwegian policy for language lacks counterparts and therefore presents us with a unique context in which to study standard language ideologies. The historical details of the development of Norwegian language were given in chapter 1.2.1, where a short overview of political events was also presented. This section discusses the deliberate governmental interference on language matters in Norway, and puts these in a theoretical perspective.

The term *language planning* itself originally stems from a discussion of the linguistic situation in Norway and the official policies concerning it (Hornberger, 1989 referring to Haugen, 1959). In literature dealing with language planning, three types are often differentiated: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989).

The history of status planning of the two Norwegian written standards and the local dialects serves as important background to our later discussion about prestige of local dialects and regional dialect levelling, as well as providing an insight into a potential Norwegian standard language ideology. Status planning is the conscious intervention by government policy to allocate function to a variety (cf. Cooper, 1989: 99). The history of status planning for spoken varieties goes back some time in Norway. Local dialects were legally granted a high status as early as 1878 when Norwegian legislation mandated that teachers should adjust their speech according to that of school children, and that the children could speak in their local dialects (Sandøy, 2002: 309). The status planning of dialects thus resulted in legislation allowing them to be used in the Norwegian educational system. Status planning also affected the two written varieties Bokmål and Nynorsk at an early stage after the languages were developed. Governmental policies granted

the two written varieties equal official statuses in 1885 (cf. Venås 1992: 340), and their roles as standardised languages are equal in Norwegian society. The two languages are, and have always been, used to different degrees however (Språkrådet, 2007b).

Corpus planning, or the planning of language form (Cooper, 1989: 122), concerns the written languages in Norway to a much larger degree than the spoken varieties. As mentioned in section 1.2.2, the corpus planning efforts in Norway have been especially concerned with official orthography reforms and the policy of variability within the standardised languages. Both Bokmål and Nynorsk have variability codified in morphology and orthography in a number of words, an approach to corpus planning that is perhaps less common in a language standardisation process.

Spelling reforms are quite common for the Norwegians, with smaller adjustments made to the two standards almost every year for the last 30 years (cf. Språkrådet 2006). These are done to accommodate speakers of most dialects of Norwegian and to minimise the difference between spoken and written language.

Availability and usage of written languages and dialects in the educational system and in media also play a part in language planning, categorised by Cooper (1989) as acquisition planning. Media language and language in schools are presumably influential normative factors in Norway (Sandøy, 2003: 266 *inter alia*). As mentioned above, there is a policy to ensure that dialects are used in schools, and so there is acquisition planning for local varieties in place. In the national broadcasting cooperation NRK, the current policy is that speech used in their television and radio programmes should reflect the linguistic diversity present in the country (NRK, 2007), which in practice means that most, if not all, regional accents

are heard on national TV and radio. Local dialects are thus part of both the education and the media system. Language use in media varies from institution to institution, however, as pointed out by Ims (2007), *inter alia*. Fictional literature does not necessarily go through a standardisation process, but can be published in orthographical representations of local dialects. An overview of dialect writing in Norwegian can be found in Vikør (2004). The majority of literature published in Norway, however, is written in Bokmål, and more Norwegian literature is published in English than in Nynorsk (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2007).

Importantly, there has never been any status or corpus planning to achieve a spoken standard language in Norway. Corpus planning has concerned itself with spoken Norwegian only once (the counting system, described in section 2.2.4), and the aim of that reform was not to select one variety as standard. Previously, the national broadcasting system NRK has asked their employees to read Bokmål or Nynorsk and not use dialectal lexis or syntax, but this policy is no longer followed. There is a possibility, then, that speakers' ideas of what constitutes a correctness norm in speech is tied to their local variety, or that this ideology concerns written language only. The Norwegian media has, from time to time, paid attention to the fact that 'there exists no spoken Norwegian standard' (Jahr, 1984). There is no official pronunciation advice available for spoken Norwegian and this may also influence speakers' views of what constitutes the norm for spoken language and what does not.

Studies that investigate issues concerning the three aspects of language planning above for Norwegian are reviewed in sections below. Firstly we look at a study that describes status and corpus planning: Haugen (1966). Secondly a study investigating acquisition planning: Jahr (1984) and thirdly, a study that investigates

effects of the Norwegian corpus planning: Omdal (2004). In section 2.2.4, studies that look at the effect of standardised language on linguistic change are considered.

### *2.2.3.1 Haugen (1966)*

Haugen (1966) is the first extensive study of Norwegian language policies and planning in English. The study describes the unique standardisation process of Norwegian language, and explores the historical and political backdrop behind the development of Bokmål and Nynorsk since the dissolution of the union with Denmark in 1814. The account illustrates how the political climate in the emerging nation has influenced Norwegian language but also shows changes in language policy during the 150 years between 1814 and the 1960s.

Haugen (1966) views language planning in Norway as something that has always been linked to the country's political situation. The national romanticism and political autonomy were the basis upon which the discussion around language was based after the dissolution of the union between Norway and Denmark in 1814. Haugen (1966) focuses his account on how the aim for both language standards *Riksmål*, now Bokmål, and *Landsmål*, now Nynorsk, was to provide a Norwegian, rather than Danish or even Swedish, national language. In years to follow, the political discussion around language developed into one based on social, cultural and even geographical differences as the difference between Bokmål and Nynorsk became the focal point for language planning instead.

Haugen (1966: 276) concludes that it might be impossible to unite the two standard languages in Norway but that the language planning at least is done in a democratic fashion. His concerns for the future of Norwegian language planning lies especially with two issues: that English and other languages might pose a threat to both Bokmål and Nynorsk in the future, and that the inclusion of variability in



the written standards is inefficient for language users. The second issue he raises should be discussed in more detail here. Haugen (1966) criticises the ‘resistance of structure’ (the resistance to limiting variability further) in the standardised Norwegian written languages, and calls the outcome of the corpus planning approach with variability within Nynorsk and Bokmål ‘inefficient carriers of communication’ (1966: 289). This type of corpus planning is possibly not the most wide spread, but has some advantages that Haugen (1966) does not consider. For the case of Norwegian, the codification of variability in the written languages is indisputably linked to the status planning of Norwegian dialects and regional varieties. The variability in orthography and morphology found in Bokmål and Nynorsk is present to accommodate speakers of different dialects as well as making the two languages *less* distinctive from each other (many variants are allowed in both languages, and there is thus a substantial overlap of forms allowed both in Bokmål and Nynorsk) to form *one* Norwegian written language (Vannebo 2002). The variability is therefore available not to favour any one form in particular, but to cater for more language users across different dialects. A related reason why variability is available is that the policy behind language planning in Norway has been to base the standardised language on the varieties that are actually spoken in the country, a fact Haugen (1966: 301) notes himself.

For this study, the variability in the standardised languages is of crucial importance. If standard language ideology can be tied to the codified version of a language (cf. definitions of a standard given by Mugglestone, 1994; Lippi-Green, 1997; or Davis, 1999 in section 2.2.), the extensive codification of optional forms in Bokmål and Nynorsk is likely to constitute part also of the standard language ideology held by Norwegian speakers. A number of variants of the same linguistic

feature hold an equal status in corpus planning, i.e. feature in dictionaries as equivalents. Speakers of Norwegian may therefore be largely accepting of which linguistic features are part of the standard language. This point will be returned to in more detail in section 2.2.3.3. First, some more background to the acquisition planning of Norwegian is considered in a study by Jahr (1984).

#### *2.2.3.2 Jahr (1984)*

Haugen (1966) does not mention the aspect of Norwegian language planning that is perhaps the most exceptional; the policy accepted by the Norwegian government in 1878 that children's local dialect should be spoken in schools and that teachers should accommodate to children and not vice versa. This policy has presumably had some implications for the social status of rural dialects in Norway, and is discussed in great detail in Jahr (1984). A historical overview of political events and attitudes concerning the principle of dialect usage in schools is presented (Jahr 1984). It is noted how the governmental resolution concerning school language has been far from commonly accepted in all schools and during all times, and that there has been, on occasion, heavy resistance to letting children speak their vernaculars in schools (Jahr, 1984). This resistance is traced by Jahr (1984) to the belief that vernacular speech diverges from what is normal, and that a *standard* spoken language should exist in schools and be tied closely to the standardised written languages, Bokmål or Nynorsk (Jahr, 1984: 8). Jahr thus describes Norwegian standard ideology from an early point in time when language policy, to accept children's dialects in schools, went against the standard ideology held among many educators as well as lay people.

Interestingly, Jahr (1984) argues that the usage of vernaculars in schools is responsible, to a large degree, for the dialect diversity we find in Norway as

opposed to neighbouring countries Sweden and Denmark where such school language policies do not exist. This is also a point made by Pedersen (2005). Although it is hard to find empirical evidence that language policies in schools might have contributed to less dialect levelling taking place in Norway than in neighbouring countries, school policies seem a likely contributing factor to why local dialects are generally socially accepted in formal as well as informal social situations in Norway.

#### *2.2.3.3 Omdal (2004)*

Thus far in section 2.1.2, two points have been made about Norwegian standard language planning that sets it apart from language policy in many other countries: the fact that variability is extensively codified in dictionaries, and that the vernacular of school children is the norm in the educational system that teachers have to adhere to.

The last study considered in this section investigates the sociolinguistic effect of the relatively unique Norwegian corpus and acquisitional planning. Omdal (2004) points out that there is very little information available about the influence that variability in language standardisation might have on individual language users. His investigation focuses on usage of Bokmål and Nynorsk and the awareness among school children and educators of the codified variability in the languages. Pupils and teachers in training were asked to indicate in a test which written forms are allowed in Bokmål and which are not. Omdal (2004) finds that pupils do not have a clear view of all the variants that are available to them in Bokmål. More importantly, however, the study also finds that teachers do not have an extensive enough knowledge of which variants the pupils are allowed to use in writing. Even if certain forms are available in Bokmål that are identical to those used in the

children's vernacular, a different form is often used by teachers (as well as by pupils) because they somehow seem more formal or correct to these language users (Omdal, 2004). One form that is often mistakenly corrected by teachers as 'wrong' is the plural noun suffix <a> where <ene> is preferred in Bokmål writing both by students and student teachers (see also Omdal, 1999: 190). Variant [a] is used largely in Oslo speech (this linguistic variable is discussed in detail in chapter 4.5). Omdal (2004) concludes that the standard language policies that lie as a foundation to the planning of Bokmål and Nynorsk are not fully implemented in reality. Students are not made aware of the dialectal variants available to them in their written language (Omdal, 2004: 115).

What is suggested by Omdal (2004), Jahr (1984) and Haugen (1966) is that, for Norwegians, the view of what constitutes the standard language could be highly individual if it is based on the codified variety (which is likely based on studies covered in sections 2.2-2.2.3), and to a large degree, dependent on a person's acquired knowledge of the written varieties and its codified variability. It is thus safe to assume that the standard language ideology held by Norwegians could be more variable than those held in countries like Denmark or the UK. Bokmål and Nynorsk are, after all, the only Norwegian varieties that have undergone corpus, status, and acquisition planning. However, not all forms available in the codified languages are part of speakers' linguistic norms, and if the codified Bokmål is part of the standard language ideology there must be additional factors involved that prevent users considering all variants as equally standard. Before summing up this section on standard language and ideology, we consider some studies that look at the effect that codification or literacy may have on linguistic change.

#### 2.2.4 The Role of Standardised Languages and Literacy on Language Change

Language planning efforts, or standardisation, could presumably have an effect on language change. Standardisation is particularly implemented through literacy and general language education in the school system. In previous sections, the acquisition planning policies concerning the Norwegian education system have been discussed in some detail. This section focuses on a different aspect of education; the influence of spelling awareness on linguistic representation. Spelling, or literacy, are disputed as influences of language change (e.g. Labov, 1994: 345-346) but they have received relatively little attention in sociolinguistic studies of language change.

There is limited evidence that spelling and literacy affect phonology (especially phonological mergers, discussed in Labov 1994). A substantial amount of evidence exists about influence the other way i.e. the effect of phonology on reading ability (e.g. Wiggen, 1979; van Orden and Kloos, 2005). A supportive account for the influence of literacy on language change is given in Jespersen (1949) that explains English loss of /ai/ for <oi> in words like boil and poison thus: ‘the disappearance of /ai/ for *oi* in polite speech is no doubt due to the influence of the spelling’ (Jespersen, 1949: 330). Labov (1994: 345) argues that literacy can be a possible influence on language change, but that evidence for education and literacy in reversing phonological mergers, for instance, is nonexistent. It is noted in Labov (1994: 345), however, that schooling does affect the usage of certain linguistic features, like the representation of short /a/ in Philadelphia and New York, where teachers and literacy have contributed to youngsters using a lax, instead of expected tense, pronunciation.

Some experimental studies that attest the effect of orthography on phonology can also be found. Ehri (1993) provides numerous examples of this type

of influence. Experiments show, for instance, that knowledge of spelling affects detection of extra phonological segments in words such as ZICH and ZITCH (Ehri, 1993: 28). Knowledge of spelling also has an influence on syllable count, where subjects who know correct spellings are more likely to divide words such as *interesting* into syllables represented in spelling than subjects who do not know the correct spelling of the word (Ehri, 1993: 30). It is also assumed that learning to read teaches one to pronounce words in line with orthography and produce [fɛbɹəʊɹɪ] instead of frequently used [fɛbjəʊɹɪ] for *February* (Ehri, 1993: 28). Similarly, Taft and Hambly (1985) present evidence that the orthography of a word influences the perception of reduced vowels as full vowels in listener experiments. The cognitive and linguistic details of the effect of literacy on phonology are not fully known, but it seems probable that literacy has an effect on the way we process and even produce language.

The most comprehensive review on the effect of literacy on language change is probably Jahr (1989) who argues that language planning can effect linguistic change in three ways. First of all, language planning can halt or reverse an ongoing phonological change, secondly, a new feature can be introduced into the linguistic system and thirdly, phonology can change to become more in line with orthography.

Labov's (1994: 345) suggestion that literacy does not reverse phonological mergers is challenged with evidence from Icelandic in Jahr (1989: 107) where data from the 20th century suggests that mergers of /ɪ/ with /e/ and /ʏ/ with /ø/ were halted and reversed. The reason for reverse of the merger is most likely direct involvement from normative institutions, especially schools, according to Jahr (1989: 107).

In the 1950s a new counting system was introduced into Norwegian, the only occasion where language planning has concerned *spoken* Norwegian (Jahr, 1989: 101). Norwegian numbers from 20 to 99 were exclusively realised in the format ‘unit-tenth’, as in ‘one-and-twenty’, in the same way as modern German, until the 1950s when a counting system like the modern English, ‘tenth-unit’, as in ‘twenty-one’ was introduced as the standardised way of counting (Jahr, 1989: 102). Today, neither system is categorically used, but there is evidence the variation is stylistically constrained (Jahr, 1989: 104). This example thus shows that normative institutions are partly successful in implementing language change, but there is no evidence that the change from one counting system to another will ever be completed, and so whether language planning efforts are successful in removing a linguistic feature is still unknown.

Jahr’s (1989) example of how orthography affects phonology comes from data from the higher socio-economic classes in Oslo. It is argued that the change in written standard Norwegian that replaced <b, d, g> with <p, t, k>, implemented partly in 1917, had an effect on the spoken variety of the higher social classes in Oslo where voiced plosives became increasingly substituted with unvoiced plosives (Jahr, 1989: 110). This argument is not entirely incontestable, however. Importantly, the written variety replaced <b, d, g> with <p, t, k> because the majority of Norwegians used voiceless plosives (Lundeby and Torvik, 1975), and so the sound change among the higher classes in Oslo could simply have been a result of accommodation and contact with other varieties. The evidence presented in Jahr (1984), then, is by no means conclusive. Some indication is given that language policies through normative institutions, like schools, influence language usage. That being said, it is not possible to draw an absolute conclusion that a

written standardised language really influences phonology from the data presented in Jahr (1989).

### **2.2.5 Summary of standard language, ideology, and effects of standardisation on language change**

Standard language is better defined as an ideology than a realistic language variety. The linguistic forms related to the standard language ideology, however, are often the ones that have prestige through either a codified variety, the educational system, or the cultural and economical higher social classes and centres, i.e. capital cities. A standard language ideology is therefore notions people have about language that sounds correct, educated, socio-economically superior or capital city-like. Historical accounts also indicate that the standard language ideology can be linked to national patriotism in Norway. Rural traditional dialects and the Norwegian identity, rather than a Danish identity, could be potentially be viewed as idealised linguistic varieties (Haugen, 1966). Interestingly, studies (Omdal, 2004) show that variants in the standardised written language Bokmål that represent dialectal forms from these rural dialects are not used, or even known, by a number of students and teachers. One can thus infer that the codified variety is not the only thing that is part of the notions behind the standard language ideology.

Educational differences, socio-economic differences, as well as regional differences between capital cities and other locations have frequently been attested in sociolinguistic studies. The effect of codification through writing or language planning on language change is unclear, however. Although there is some evidence that writing influences spoken language, there are few attested cases of language change in progress being driven by a codified written language.



## 2.3 Regional Dialect Levelling

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, regional dialect levelling is a term with a number of definitions. All definitions involve either increased linguistic homogenisation within a region (a geographical area larger than that of the local community) (e.g. Boughton, 2005), or increased homogenisation together with supra-localisation of linguistic features (e.g. Kerswill, 2003). In this section of the review, studies are considered that deal with the background of these two aspects: processes that contribute to increased linguistic homogeneity within a region, and the supra-localisation of linguistic features. Specifically, literature is discussed which deals with dialect levelling and speech accommodation theory; diffusion of linguistic features; convergence (and divergence) of language; and regional identity and its effect on language use. Studies that investigate these issues in the Norwegian context are considered finally before the research questions are formulated.

### 2.3.1 Levelling or Regional Dialect Levelling?

Levelling and regional dialect levelling are clearly two related concepts. It is useful to distinguish between the two as different entities, however. This point is made explicitly in Kerswill (2003) who argues that ‘levelling’ as a term should be used as put forward in Trudgill (1986: 98): a progression of reducing the number of linguistic variants available in a variety. Regional dialect levelling, on the other hand, Kerswill (2003) argues, is a result of social and geographical processes. Kerswill (2003) thus places focus on regional dialect levelling as an outcome, rather than a process. The processes behind regional dialect levelling are identified as both diffusion and levelling in Kerswill (2003). Levelling and regional dialect levelling

are thus intrinsically linked, and levelling on a local inter-speaker level is at the core of regional dialect levelling.

Sociolinguistic studies of dialects in long-term contact often interpret findings in light of the theory put forward by Trudgill (1986), that fewer variants become available within a dialect, and, subsequently, between dialects, as a consequence of long term inter-speaker accommodation (cf. Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 1991: 5). Trudgill's (1986) account of language change starts with the individual language user and extends Bell's (1984) theory of audience design to account for why linguistic forms are diffused from one variety to another. At the individual level, speakers design their speech style in accordance with their addressee (Bell, 1984). Speakers thus accommodate to their listeners and could take on new linguistic features into their repertoire. The diffusion of linguistic forms between two speakers could, in the long term, result in increased variability within a dialect, and the forms that are the most 'marked', i.e. infrequent, in the speech community must subsequently be lost in a process of dialect levelling (Trudgill, 1986).

### **2.3.2 Spatial Diffusion of Linguistic Features**

Long-term contact between varieties and subsequent diffusion of linguistic forms are thus key features for a dialect levelling process. It is, however, not entirely clear what kinds of linguistic features spread. Neither is it clear what long-term contact entails and how intense a contact is needed to lead to the diffusion of linguistic forms (when speaking of diffusion in the context of regional dialect levelling, it is spatial, rather than lexical, as defined by Wang (1969), spread of language that is referred to). There are, however, a number of different ways in which spatial

diffusion of linguistic features can manifest itself. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998) present diffusion models that explain regional dialect change in the US, among them hierarchical diffusion, where one finds spread of linguistic features from larger population centres to smaller, or the opposite, contra-hierarchical diffusion. Wave-like diffusion, or contagious diffusion, where a feature spreads from one centre outwards, is yet another way in which linguistic features can move across space. This is attested, *inter alia*, by Boberg (2000: 20) who finds that the diffusion of pronunciation of (a) from the United States to Canada spreads to communities that are geographically closest to the border, before reaching other centres in Canada. Studies have shown, however, that the type of diffusion witnessed is reliant on a number of socio-cultural and physical factors (e.g. Bailey, Wikle, Tillery and Sand, 1993). These will briefly be discussed in sections below. Different linguistic features can also diffuse in different ways, and one geographical region can witness all types of spatial diffusion of linguistic features at once (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998: 148).

Bailey et al (1993) find that not all types of linguistic features diffuse by the same patterns, i.e. one form may spread from one community to another by a wave-like diffusion, while another may reach larger centres before smaller, geographically closer, centres. Nor do the same linguistic features necessarily diffuse to two different communities. The social meaning of the linguistic features is important for the adoption, or potential rejection, of these (Bailey et al, 1993). This social meaning is also referred to in Trudgill's (1986) account of dialect levelling. The features that are modified when there is competition between two variants are referred to as salient, or marked, features (Trudgill, 1986: 11).

As discussed in detail by Kerswill and Williams (2000), salience is a term that is employed in a number of different ways and its definition is sometimes circular. Trudgill (1986: 11) notes a number of factors that determine the salience of a linguistic feature, and these are both social and linguistic, e.g. a salient feature can be one that is socially stigmatised, or one that maintains a phonological contrast in a variety (Trudgill, 1986: 11). Kerswill and Williams (2000) conclude that salience is a relative phenomenon that can best be explained as a combination of extra-linguistic, or social, factors and language-internal factors, e.g. radical phonetic difference or low usage frequency. A language-internal factor is a pre-condition for a feature to become salient, but extra-linguistic factors are the subsequent causes of the salience (Kerswill and Williams, 2000: 91). Importantly, the factors that make a linguistic feature salient, or marked, enough to disappear, or be rejected, in a process of language change, seems relative to the community at hand.

Secondly, the type of contact needed for diffusion is considered. Trudgill (1974) uses a model of gravity, or a hierarchical model of diffusion, to account for the spread of linguistic forms from one geographical area to another, where larger communities in an area will take on new linguistic forms before others. This, again, is linked to the amount of contact with the outside world found in different communities, and rests on the assumption that the larger a community is, the larger this contact will be.

Diffusion of language thus relies on inter-individual contact, and the imminent issue is what kinds of individuals are in contact with people from other geographical areas. Milroy and Milroy (1985) deal with this in detail in their landmark study of linguistic innovations and social networks in Belfast. The usage

of /a/ and /ɛ/ in Belfast depends both on the speakers' gender and their ties within the social networks. Different degrees of denseness are identified by Milroy (1980) based on the number of links an individual has within their network. Close-knit, or dense, networks occur where members are in frequent contact with each other. These networks are also referred to as multiplex networks. In the opposite situation, where networks have a low density and are loose, members do not have frequent contact with all members of the network. These networks are also referred to as uniplex networks, which reflect the fact that members have one, rather than multiple, ties to the other members in the network. A member of a close-knit network has a lot of contact with the same members of the community, while more weakly networked members may exist that have some contact with multiple networks (cf. Milroy, 1980). Importantly, Milroy and Milroy (1985) find that individuals with weak ties in a social network may be linguistic innovators and spread their changes to 'early adopters' network members with more close ties, who may end up being the speakers associated with the linguistic innovation (Milroy and Milroy, 1985: 382).

Britain (2010) focuses especially on physical and social space as important factors that constrain or initiate the supra-localisation of linguistic features, and refers to this as spatial practice, rather than mobility (the two terms are used interchangeably in the current investigation). As pointed out in Milroy and Milroy (1985) mobility is one of the core elements in the creation of weak social networks, networks where speakers have infrequent social contact with a large number of people (instead of frequent contact with a smaller number of people). Mobility, or spatial practice, is what leads to contact between individuals, and it must therefore be at the heart of diffusion of linguistic features and thus also presumably, regional

dialect levelling. Spatial practice, as put forward in Britain (2010), involves a number of factors that are relatively new social innovations, many of them not older than half a century. Modern factors that affect individuals' mobility and therefore also the spread of linguistic features are, especially, increased movement both to and from urban areas in the last century, but also increased migration and commuting within regions are practices that could affect the spread of speech features (Britain, 2010: 197-199). Factors like moving to go to university, going out of town to do shopping, going on longer journeys for work and to visit family (Britain, 2010:197-199) are all relatively recent social developments that increase the modern individual's mobility and consequently make diffusion of linguistic changes more likely.

The arguments in Britain (2010) and Milroy and Milroy (1985) thus both concern the link between spatial practice and linguistic diffusion, and individuals' premises for spreading and taking on linguistic innovations. A main argument in Britain (2010) is that spatial practices should be investigated more in studies of language change. It is concluded in Britain (2010) that local dialects are unlikely to lose all distinctive features and that intra-regional diversity perhaps does not disappear as rapidly as expected. Spatial practices may be as important as other social factors in constraining or increasing dialectal variation, and should therefore be a topic of investigation in a study of regional dialect levelling. In the next section, a study is reviewed that considers the diffusion of linguistic forms across a large geographical area and the processes at heart of this diffusion.

### *2.3.2.1 Williams and Kerswill (1999)*

Williams and Kerswill (1999) is an empirical study of the supra-localisation of phonological variants in the UK. Their investigation considers young speakers from three locations in the UK: Milton Keynes, Reading, and Hull. The study shows an interesting situation where the usage rates of certain linguistic features, t-glottaling and TH-fronting, are very similar in adolescents' speech in the three locations across England (Williams and Kerswill, 1999: 161).

The patterns of linguistic variation found in Milton Keynes, Hull and Reading are not completely identical. There are, as expected, clear systemic and distributional phoneme differences between Hull and the two southern locations in the data. Also, more local features are retained in Hull while language change in Milton Keynes and Reading seem to have happened rapidly (Williams and Kerswill, 1999: 161).

Some criticism (e.g. Maguire, 2007) has come forward against the definition of dialect levelling in Williams and Kerswill (1999: 149):

A process whereby differences between regional varieties are reduced, features which make varieties distinctive disappear, and new features emerge and are adopted by speakers over a wide geographical area

Firstly, this definition is modified in Kerswill (2003) to apply to regional dialect levelling, rather than dialect levelling alone. Aside from the terminological ambiguity, however, Maguire (2007) points out that the second part of the definition above does not necessarily describe a situation of increased linguistic homogeneity. The diffusion of new forms from one area to another does not

increase homogeneity between these varieties unless the forms replace different dialectal variants. An increase of TH-fronting (the replacement of /θ/ and /ð/ with /f/ and /v/, respectively) in Hull, Milton Keynes and Reading does not increase the homogeneity between the varieties spoken in the three locations. The same variants are substituted with the same replacements in all these varieties of English.

Crucially, this means the definition of regional dialect levelling must incorporate an aspect in addition to spatial diffusion, or supra-localisation, of linguistic forms.

Regional dialect levelling is also reliant on the eradication of highly localised linguistic forms and the subsequent reduction of heterogeneity between varieties.

In Kerswill and Williams (1999), TH-fronting and t-glottaling (the replacement, or reinforcement, of /t/ with /ʔ/) are forms found to be diffusing from London to Reading, Milton Keynes and Hull in England. The linguistic features have similar usage rates in the three locations, but, interestingly, the social background for adopting these features in Hull seems different than in the southern towns Reading and Milton Keynes. Importantly, Williams and Kerswill (1999: 162) argue that adolescents in Hull retain local features due to close-knit social networks and fewer educational possibilities locally, at the same time as taking on linguistic features that are not RP-like to identify with national youth culture. Adolescents in all three locations are open to the linguistic innovations. This leads to usage rates that look identical across the locations, but the social background to taking on variants is variable from location to location. The density of social networks and linguistic identity are, importantly, identified as constraints on adoption of new forms by Williams and Kerswill (1999).



It can be concluded from this section about diffusion that the social background and mobility of speakers must be taken into consideration for the possibility of new linguistic features to spread, or for the possibility of loss of traditional features in a dialect levelling process (cf. Milroy and Milroy, 1985; Britain, 2010; Williams and Kerswill, 1999). In the same way, the social meaning of linguistic features must be considered to assess their possibility for becoming supra-local variants, or their ability to diffuse (cf. Trudgill, 1986; Bailey et al, 1993).

The next section concerns studies that investigate the second aspect of regional dialect levelling in particular, the increased linguistic homogenisation within a region. This is done in a contextual framework of linguistic convergence and divergence as defined, for instance, by Auer and Hinskens (1996) or Auer (1998).

### **2.3.3 Convergence and Divergence**

Two definitions of linguistic convergence are found in sociolinguistic literature in particular. One concerns convergence on the local speaker level, where language users accommodate towards each other on all linguistic levels (cf. Giles and Coupland, 1991: 63). Convergence in this sense part of the accommodation theory put forward by Giles, Coupland, and Coupland that explains accent, or style, shift as an adjustment to a conversational partner (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991: 5). Their definition of convergence is not the one employed in this investigation.

Rather, a definition that is put forward in social dialectological literature is used here for convergence. Convergence is defined here in more general terms to apply to varieties or groups of speakers and the changing of one variety towards

another. In Auer (1998) convergence is ‘the structural assimilation of the low (= dialect) to the high (= standard) variety’ (Auer, 1998: 1). Divergence is the decrease in structural similarity between two varieties. Convergence, as defined by Auer (1998), thus describes increased linguistic homogenisation between two varieties of different social status. Crucially, Auer (1998) introduces the standard language, the “high” variety which presumably refers to the most prestigious variety, as a key factor in dialect homogenisation. The difference between convergence and dialect levelling also lies in this, the incorporation of social values into the modelling of language change. Levelling, as defined by Trudgill (1986) does not concern itself with the social position of the different linguistic varieties. A study by Auer and Hinskens (1996) that deals with convergence within regions is considered next.

#### *2.3.3.1 Auer and Hinskens (1996)*

Auer and Hinskens (1996) set out to explain why convergence in Europe should be the focus of linguistic research in years to follow and argue that the trends found on the continent give ample opportunity to test claims of variationist and theoretical linguistics. Auer and Hinskens (1996: 1) give three main reasons why the regional convergence of linguistic varieties has not received a large amount of attention in historical accounts of language change. Firstly, language standardisation is a rather new invention; secondly, education has not been available for the general public before the 20<sup>th</sup> century; and lastly, mobility within and across national borders has increased massively the last century. Dialect convergence within regions is thus largely understood as a result of three social factors in Auer and Hinskens (1996), standardisation, education and mobility. It is not further explored in Auer and

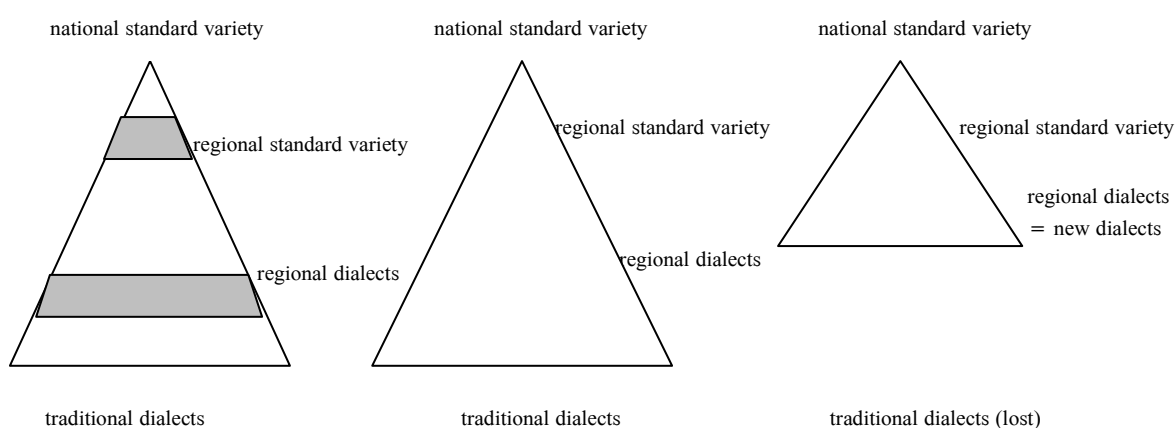
Hinskens (1996), however, what the standard language exactly is. It is therefore presumed here that the standard language ideology is tied the factors discussed in section 2.2: a codified national norm, linguistic variants that hold prestige linked with education or wealth, or speech used in the capital city.

The introduction of social values of varieties for the discussion of increased homogenisation between these allows Auer and Hinskens (1996) to differentiate between two dimensions of language change, the vertical and horizontal dimensions. Especially in the discussion of decreased heterogeneity within a region, this aspect of Auer and Hinskens (1996) is interesting. By visualising the social value of different dialects on a vertical dimension and the linguistic heterogeneity on a horizontal dimension, Auer and Hinskens (1996: 7, 11) present a model that can be applied to changes in progress between localised varieties, regional varieties and standardised, high-prestige, varieties. The model is reproduced in figure 2.1.

To explain this model, Auer and Hinskens (1996: 4) use examples from European languages. It is stated that two trends of language change are common almost everywhere in Europe, on the one hand cross-dialectal levelling, or convergence on a horizontal dimension where homogeneity between varieties of similar social status increases, and on the other hand, convergence by spoken dialects towards national standards or linguistic norms, vertical convergence. One outcome of this is that varieties around political borders diverge, while varieties within national borders converge, as is the case, for instance, for dialects on the border between The Netherlands and Germany, where there is an increase of heterogeneity between the Dutch and German dialects, at the same time as an

increased homogeneity between the dialects to different regional or national norms each on their side (cf. Auer and Hinskens, 1996).

The sides of the triangles in figure 2.1 present two different continua. The vertical axes runs from a standard to a non-standard variety. The horizontal axis represents linguistic variability and must be interpreted in the way that the further apart two varieties place themselves on the horizontal axis, the more different these are, structurally speaking. The standard language, as defined by Milroy (2001), is linguistically uniform and would be at the top of the triangle where the horizontal, linguistic variability, is non-existent. Auer and Hinskens (1996) thus allow for the modelling of two different kinds of changes that could be tied to increased homogeneity within a region and regional dialect levelling. Firstly, convergence of local dialects could happen towards a linguistic norm, possibly a standardised language, on a vertical dimension. Secondly, increased homogeneity could also come about because of increased contact between varieties that have the same social status, on a horizontal dimension.



**Figure 2.1 Horizontal and vertical convergence model from Auer and Hinskens (1996)**

The model in 2.1 shows firstly, to the far left, a situation where traditional local dialects (varieties modelled as a continua in the white model area, spoken in

smaller geographical areas) a regional dialect (the bottom grey area, a variety definable by speakers, a regional lingua franca, structurally similar to the local dialects but used in a much larger geographical area than the local dialects), a regional standard variety (the top grey area, a variety similar to the national standardised variety but with regional features, e.g. in phonology, also more heterogeneous than the standard variety) and a standard variety (a codified variety that works as a speech norm on national level) all exist within the same speech community. Note especially the grey areas in step one, where the regional dialect and the regional standard are modelled with internal heterogeneity, i.e. not as one fixed spot on the model. Speakers are aware of these varieties despite their heterogeneity, and they can be defined by users (Auer and Hinskens, 1996).

It is questionable whether the situation modelled in step one actually exists in a modern European speech community, and whether the model would be accepted by all speakers of one community. For Norway, a situation with four such distinct varieties is probably unlikely. One could argue that a local dialect, a regional variety and a standardised language could be delimited, but this definition of the varieties is problematic. The basic concept behind the model in figure 2.1 still remains relevant, however.

The middle step of figure 2.1 shows a situation where, presumably, increased contact has led to a loss of clear delimitations of the different varieties. On the community level, step two illustrates an ongoing change where two results are possible. The situation within a speech community could remain as in step 2 with a continuum of varieties on both a structural (horizontal) as well as a social (vertical) dimension. The situation could also become what is illustrated in the third

step of the model, to the far right in figure 2.1, a loss within the community of both structural and social differences between varieties. In the third step, the local dialects that were linguistically the furthest removed from the standard have become lost, modelled by a smaller space available on the vertical axis. The heterogeneity between the different varieties has also decreased, modelled by a smaller space available on the horizontal axis.

Auer and Hinskens point out that convergence on the vertical continuum can work both ways. A standard language can, for instance, become linguistically more like the local dialects through language planning, or increase its variability and move downwards on the vertical dimension. The space in the model between the varieties thus decreases. The opposite development could also happen with dialect divergence, and the varieties within the triangle could move apart on the two dimensions. Also, Auer and Hinskens (1996: 10) ask that the normative influences of urban varieties are investigated in more detail, implying their situation in the triangles may differ from those of local dialects.

The horizontal dimension in Auer and Hinskens' (1996) model is an interesting addition to the way we think about dialect change. The assumption that one variety is levelled towards simply because it is viewed as a more ideal way of speaking is not necessarily right. Britain (2010: 195) mentions that a linguistic feature may sometimes be taken on purely because it is spoken by the majority of speakers. In a situation with frequent contact between varieties that are not viewed as standard languages, horizontal convergence could describe just that.

Figure 2.1 (Auer and Hinskens, 1996: 7, 11) illustrates ideas behind increased homogeneity in a speech community well but is problematic in its

application as a model due to the assumption that the varieties within the triangle (depicted on continua within the white areas, or as grey areas) are homogeneous and focussed. However, the differentiation made between vertical and horizontal dimensions is a useful one. If we take the vertical dimension to mean overt prestige attached to a national standard language norm, we will have to account for two kinds of convergence for a local dialect within the triangle: convergence with other varieties that hold a similar amount of relative prestige, and convergence towards a variety held as much more prestigious. Adoption of a variant by a speech community where the variant is much used in surrounding dialects, but not in the most prestigious variety, can also be accounted for by the model. A distinction between convergence on the horizontal and the vertical dimensions can be made but only by investigating the social values of different varieties and linguistic features within a speech community, for instance with attitudinal data. Knowledge about the social values of different varieties is therefore key to understanding horizontal or vertical convergence, and presumably also the processes behind regional dialect levelling.

#### **2.3.4 Regional Identity**

In the sections above, studies about potential processes involved in regional dialect levelling have been discussed at a level above the individual speaker. Trudgill (1986) establishes that the diffusion of linguistic features and subsequent dialect levelling begin at the individual level. The discussion of regional dialect levelling and the processes behind it is therefore not complete without considering more in depth the individual's social motives for taking on new features or losing old features. Speakers' personal motivations for adopting regional linguistic features,

and attitudes and ideology that could constrain or allow regional dialect levelling are covered in this section.

The retention of local forms to index a local identity has been attested from the early days of sociolinguistic studies. Labov (1972) found in his landmark study of phonetic variables /ay/ and /aw/ in Martha's Vineyard that island inhabitants who had strong local affiliations would centralise the diphthongs to a much larger degree than inhabitants who did not feel a strong affiliation to the island. The social meaning of centralised diphthong thus seems to be linked with a local islander identity. The concept of deriving social meaning from usage patterns of linguistic variants is contested in Labov (2000). It is argued that a high usage of a linguistic feature within a local community could either be due to the feature being used to index a local identity, or it could be due to the fact that the people in small local communities talk a lot to each other and so their usage of certain features is an unconscious result of frequent communication (Labov, 2000 and Milroy and Milroy, 1985). Social meaning of linguistic features can be identified with attitudinal and perceptual data and can then be investigated in combination with usage rates. A methodology that incorporates attitudinal or ideological research together with a quantitative variationist approach is ideal for investigating the social meaning of locally and regionally used linguistic features.

A study that does this is Llamas (2007a), which shows how a change in patterns of glottalisation and glottaling of voiceless plosives correlates with a change in place identity in Middlesbrough, in the North East of England. The study describes a shift in the local identity in the Middlesbrough population, historically, from a Yorkshire to a Teesside to a Middlesbrough orientation. This shift in identity



is viewed in connection with results from an apparent time study of the usage of glottal and glottalised variants of the unvoiced plosives /p, t, k/. The glottalised variants are generally used to a large degree in Middlesbrough, and the accent has this in common with other North East varieties, including that spoken in Newcastle upon Tyne. In the youngest speakers, however, an increase in the usage of glottal /t/ is attested, a development that is not happening in Newcastle English (Llamas, 2007a: 601).

An interesting aspect of Llamas' study is that although the variants found in Middlesbrough are not unique to the city, they can be used to index local identities. The glottal variant of /t/ is used to a much larger degree in Middlesbrough than in Tyneside. The results indicate that Middlesbrough youngsters are using linguistic variants in the same way as Williams and Kerswill (1999) found in Hull youngsters, and that they are, in this way, participating in a trend found in youngsters across the UK. There are no indications that in Middlesbrough, glottal /t/ and glottalisation, especially of /p/, are used to index a national identity, even if glottaling of stops is found across the nation. The linguistic features are more likely to be part of a local, Middlesbrough, speech identity (Llamas, 2007a: 602).

Some very interesting attitudinal data are elicited in Llamas (2007a) and the methodology of the study (cf. Llamas, 2007b) is successful in exploring the in-groups and out-groups that speakers perceive. Among the Middlesbrough informants the attitudes about members of out-groups are variable, especially between age groups. Both the youngest and oldest informants object to being identified with 'Geordie' (Newcastle) speakers, identifying speakers from Newcastle as a linguistic out-group (Llamas, 2007a: 598). The results in Llamas

(2007a) indicate that who informants associate themselves with, and who they disassociate themselves from, could have a bearing upon choice of linguistic variants. Speakers' definition of their in-group is crucial data for a study of regional dialect levelling, as these help establish the social space that informants work with.

The identity questionnaire employed in Llamas (2007a) is a successful methodology for embedding a thorough social attitude analysis with a variationist study, and does not infer social meaning only from language usage, the method that was criticised by Labov (2000). Little is known about the individuals' motives for regional dialect levelling in Norway. Attitudes can perhaps be better predictors of language variation and change than traditional social categories like gender and income, for instance. Importantly, for a study of regional dialect levelling, questions of regional and local identity should be explored to better explain the language change in progress. Also, relevant social categories that constrain the diffusion of language, or linguistic homogenisation, may exist that methodologies like Llamas' (2007b) can explore.

### **2.3.5 Regional Dialect Levelling: The Norwegian Context**

Before research questions are formulated, a short section describing and reviewing some Norwegian sociolinguistic findings must be given. The studies below concern regional dialect levelling and social dialectology in the Norwegian situation specifically. These are studies that give the contextual data that the current investigation employs for its predictions about dialect change in Hønefoss. This section deals, chronologically, with modern studies of Norwegian that describe the current state of affairs and that are directly relevant to the changes found in Hønefoss. None of the studies are from Hønefoss, but most of them are situated in

the East Norway area. The detailed linguistic findings of most of the studies presented in this section are dealt with in the respective sections of the results chapter. Figure 2.2 show a map of southern Norway, with a rough indication of the administrative regions East Norway, West Norway and South Norway. The diameters of the bullets are somewhat representative of the cities' and towns' relative sizes.

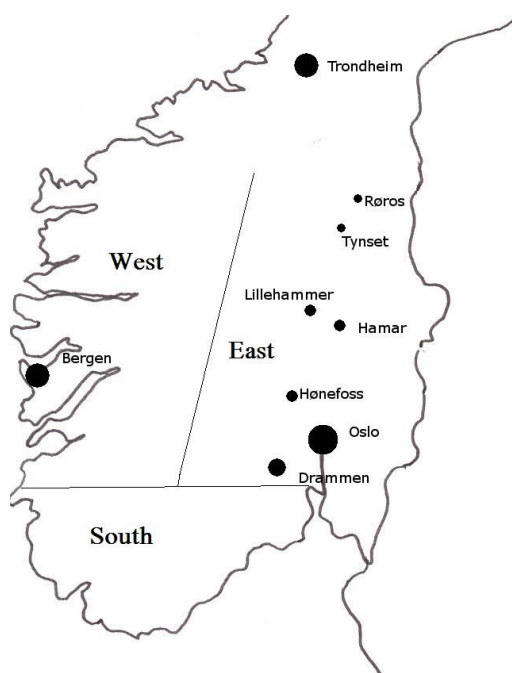


Figure 2.2 Map of the settings of studies reviewed in sections below

### 2.3.5.1 Oslo – *Talemålsundersøkelsen i Oslo (TAUS)*

The first large sociolinguistic study, or rather collection of studies, of an East Norwegian urban variety was *Talemålsundersøkelsen i Oslo (TAUS)* ‘the investigation of spoken language in Oslo’ from the 1970s. Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted from 1971-1976 in the capital, with 59 informants in different locations in the city. 21 articles, theses and books with sociolinguistic studies were published on the basis of these interviews (Tekstlab, 2009). Of these studies, three are of particular interest to the current investigation: Western (1977);

Jahr (1986) and Hanssen (1976), as they deal with three linguistic variables that are also present in Hønefoss (cf. Skulerud, 1926). All three studies find that linguistic variation in these features is constrained by age, gender and area of the capital. The specific linguistic findings of the studies will be dealt with separately in individual sections of the results chapters.

The studies conducted under the TAUS project use data from two distinct regions of Oslo, East and West. East Oslo is the traditional working class area of the city whereas West Oslo is, or was, home to higher social classes (cf. Jahr 1986). The studies based on the TAUS corpus work from the assumption that region (East or West Oslo) correlates with social class (low or high). The studies from Oslo attest that there are clear social constraints on variation in certain linguistic features in East Norwegian. More recent sociolinguistic research in the capital has concentrated on multi-ethnic speech environments, especially through the research project *Utviklingsprosesser i urbane språkmiljøer* (UPUS) (Svendsen and Røyneland, 2008).

Some effort was made during the 1990s to investigate the usage, or attitudes towards the linguistic variables that Western (1977), Jahr (1986) and Hanssen (1976) dealt with (variables also found in Hønefoss). These studies are briefly discussed below.

#### *2.3.5.2 Skolseg (1994)*

Skolseg (1994) is a small research project that investigates dialect change in Romerike, an area north-east of Oslo, approximately 50 km from Hønefoss. The study investigated speech from several smaller centres in the Romerike region. She conducted a quantitative analysis of data from 18 informants. Her study sets out to

find a correlation between the number of commuters from Romerike centres to Oslo and usage of supra-local linguistic variants (Skolseg, 1994: 269). Skolseg (1994: 269) states that there is no correlation between the two factors. Rather, small centres in Romerike seem to be influenced linguistically by medium-sized urban centres like Lillestrøm. Some of these larger centres, again, seem linguistically influenced by the capital Oslo. There are indications then of what is referred to in Skolseg (1994) as ‘urban jumping’, or of diffusion by the gravity model (cf. Trudgill, 1974; also discussed in section 2.3.2). There is, however, no systematic linguistic investigation of these claims in Skolseg (1994). The small study does not have a detailed analysis of how linguistic features spread from the larger centres to the smaller; the basis of this argument is made on impressionistic accounts. It remains unknown, therefore, on the basis of Skolseg’s (1994) study what the processes are behind the adoption of linguistic features. Identity and social background are not factors that are considered to explain the diffusion of forms from the capital city.

#### *2.3.5.3 Kristiansen (1995)*

Kristiansen (1995) investigates attitudes among adolescents in a large urban area to the south-west of Hønefoss: Drammen. The study looks specifically at differences in attitudes towards linguistic features that are believed salient in the community, and those that are believed not to be salient. Saliency is defined as awareness of the linguistic features and the social stigma attested by speakers of East Norwegian in previous studies. Differences in awareness towards different linguistic features are found, something that is not surprising. Interestingly, the attitudes of the adolescents within Drammen are fairly uniform, and the adolescents’ attitudes

towards localised variants are overall positive (Kristiansen, 1995). The study indicates that usage of localised features in urban areas outside Oslo could be retained, but there is *no* actual speech data from Drammen to base this assumption on.

#### *2.3.5.4 Talemålsendring i Norge (TEIN)*

In the 1990s an umbrella project to investigate sociolinguistic change in spoken Norwegian was initiated. The overarching theme was *Talemålsendring i Norge* (TEIN) ‘language change in Norway’. TEIN had 75 sociolinguistic research projects connected with it in 2000 (TEIN, 2001), a large number of which were small post-graduate research projects that dealt with varieties connected to a certain geographical area. Recent claims that local dialects are converging in East Norway and that a regional variety is developing (cf. Skjekkeland, 2005; Mæhlum et al, 2006: 162) are predominantly based on reports from the TEIN project. Some of the studies conducted under this project must therefore be taken into account. Of the TEIN studies, three are concerned with areas geographically close to Hønefoss: Skramstad (1999), Jahnsen (2001), and Holland (2005).

Firstly, Skramstad (1999) is an in-depth study of attitudes and linguistic norms in Hadeland, a county that borders Ringerike, where Hønefoss is situated. The locality located closest to Hønefoss investigated in Skramstad (1999), is Jevnaker, situated only 15 km away from the current study. Skramstad (1999) is the only sociolinguistic study conducted close to Hønefoss in geographical approximation, and is therefore highly relevant to the current investigation. Unfortunately, there is very little linguistic data in Skramstad (1999). On the other hand, the qualitative and attitudinal analysis is impressive. Importantly, there are

indications in Hadeland that linguistic features used in Oslo are employed there (Skramstad 1999). Attitudes towards linguistic forms in Hadeland are largely constrained by educational background and relative contact with Oslo (Skramstad 1999). The study of linguistic attitudes in Hadeland thus points to education and spatial practice as crucial influences in what is presumed to be dialect change in progress. There are very little linguistic data available to endorse Skramstad's (1999) claim further, unfortunately.

Jahnsen (2001), the second TEIN study to be considered, studies attitudes towards language in the capital. There had only been small-scale studies of the spoken varieties in Oslo until the initiation of UPUS in 2005, and the studies published from UPUS are concerned with multi-ethnic speech communities, discourse markers and strategies in adolescent groups (cf. Svendsen and Røyneland 2008). In general, there is relatively little research published about the usage of dialectal variants in Oslo speech, especially among older generations. Jahnsen (2001) does not investigate language usage, but considers attitudes towards linguistic features instead. 24 adolescents from one East Oslo and one West Oslo location were interviewed. The study indicates, through attitudinal data, that West and East Oslo varieties are converging, but there are no linguistic data to support this claim. It thus relies on accuracy of self-reporting of speech, something which has been disputed in a number of sociolinguistic accounts (cf. Preston 2002). The data presented in Jahnsen (2001), however, are interesting in establishing the social meaning that certain linguistic features hold in the capital, and these will be discussed in relevant sections of the results chapter.

The third and final small-scale TEIN study considered here is Holland (2001) that investigates the usage of ten linguistic variables in three locations in the province Hedmark located some 100 km north of Hønefoss. 12 informants were interviewed to investigate the usage of supra-local and regional variants in the city Hamar and the two rural settings Stange and Romedal, situated just outside the city in the same province. Unfortunately, few tokens were found for certain linguistic variables, and no substantial claims could be made for all the linguistic variables Holland considered. For the linguistic variables with a high token number, on the other hand, an interesting picture emerges. There is a substantial difference in the usage of local Hedmark variants between the four informants who live in the urban area, Hamar, and those that live in more rural locations in the province. The finding in Holland (2001) thus support Skolseg's (1996) finding that cities are at the vanguard in the usage of supra-local variants. Holland (2001) finds that social networks play an important role in constraining the variation, and that if a speaker has a network with many other speakers from urban areas, the usage of regional linguistic variants will be higher (Holland, 2001).

Overall there are few studies of usage of linguistic variables in the East Norway region, and no studies at all from Hønefoss itself. Many of the studies discussed above have in common that they are based on only minimal amounts of linguistic data. Future investigations in the area should therefore ideally be somewhat larger to make more substantial claims about the linguistic, not only the social, background to variation.



### *2.3.5.5 Hernes (2006)*

An aspect that many of the studies reviewed so far have in common is that they investigate speech of adolescents mainly. Although adolescents have been found to be initiators of linguistic change (Eckert, 2000; Chambers, 2003), there is a risk entailed with investigating one social group that is homogeneous age-wise. An important point that many Norwegian studies do not consider sufficiently is that their adolescent informants are at a school age where they would attend large provincial schools (16-19 years). The language of adolescents in a situation of regional dialect levelling could have fewer local features, for instance, because they are in touch with speakers from a large geographical area every day.

One study of the stability of adolescents' linguistic behaviour is Hernes (2006). The study tested the constancy of young people's usage of certain linguistic variants in real time through their adolescent years. The informants were all from Os, a small town situated outside the second largest city in Norway, Bergen, on the west coast of Norway. Hernes (2006) reports on usage of West Norwegian regional variants in the speech of 17 adolescents at three points through the ages from 15 to 20. Large degrees of inter-speaker variation is found in the data from the five years: 6 of the 17 informants remain relative stable, with less than 5% change in usage of linguistic variants from 1997 to 2003 (Hernes, 2006: 190). Two informants use considerably fewer levelled variants in 2003 than they did in 1997, but the majority of the speakers, 9 of 17 in the study, use more regional, or levelled, variants in 2003, at an age of 20, than they did in 1997 (Hernes, 2006: 191). Importantly, Hernes (2006) indicates that adolescent speech is not always reliable as a basis of language change claims. The study thus indicates that in a situation of regional

dialect levelling speakers of older as well as younger age groups should be investigated within the same speech community.

#### *2.3.5.6 Røynealand (2005)*

The final study reviewed in this section is the most substantial study of dialect change in progress in East Norway of recent years. Røynealand (2005) undertook a study of language variation in the two East Norwegian towns Røros and Tynset that lie 50 km apart, some 350 km north of Hønefoss. The setting of the study is not in the direct vicinity of the current locality, but the results and the interpretation of them are crucial as background to this study. The study was conducted as part of the TEIN project, and focuses on the sociolinguistics of regional dialect levelling in the two locations in the north of the East Norway region.

The investigation of speech in Røros and Tynset is concerned mainly with adolescents' usage of 15 linguistic variables and the correlation of the usage of these with 12 social variables: age; gender; academic background; type of school; parental background; plans for the future; whether inhabitant of town centres or not; group belonging; attitudes to the local area; attitudes to urban areas; attitudes to the home place; and, finally, attitudes to the local dialect. The analysis is done on data from 27 adolescents and 10 adults in the two locations. The investigation of adolescents is thus combined with a study of older speakers in Røynealand (2005). The results show a consistent difference between the speech of the older and younger speakers, especially in Røros (Røynealand, 2005: 405), interpreted here as language change in apparent time. This is supported with a thorough investigation of identities, networks, and individuals' total dialect usage.

The loss of localised linguistic features for supra-local East Norwegian forms seems significant, especially in Tynset. Røros speakers converge towards the urban centre Trondheim to some degree, but relatively speaking, the usage of localised features is more widespread in Røros than in Tynset (Røyneland, 2005). The difference between the two settings of the study can partly be explained by their respective local culture and tradition. Røros is a UNESCO world heritage site with a strong local culture that many are proud of, whereas Tynset does not hold a similar position of cultural wealth (Røyneland, 2005).

Crucial for the current study is the standard language ideology illustrated in Røyneland (2005). The triangular model presented in Auer and Hinskens (1996; fig. 2.1 above) is adapted by Røyneland and used to describe convergence in Tynset and Røros. The force behind the language change is interpreted as the standard spoken language (Røyneland, 2005: 390). The usage of the term ‘standard’ seems biased by Røyneland’s own standard language ideology. It is not entirely clear whether a spoken version of Bokmål or an Oslo dialect is meant by the term. Indeed the two terms are used interchangeably (Røyneland, 2005: 147, 532) without a clear exploration of what speakers’ standard language ideology might entail. On other occasions in the study, however, the varieties Oslo-speech and standard are viewed as two different linguistic entities (Røyneland, 2005: 88). Interestingly, Røyneland (2005, 92) finds that attitudinal data from Røros and Tynset imply that Oslo speech is an unmarked variety, without dialectal features. This gives some evidence that the capital’s variety is part of the standard language ideology in the small towns. However, this is subsequently assumed to be true for all speakers in the two locations (Røyneland, 2005: 535), but is not investigated in more depth in the study.

Røyneland (2005) employs an explorative statistical method for investigating the relationship between the social and linguistic variables in her data set, correspondence analysis. The model used visualises the relative distances between the variables and connections between speakers; variants and social categories can be explored. Crucially, it is the relationship between social identity and linguistic features that Røyneland (2005) focuses a large part of her discussion on. She finds that adolescents with different social backgrounds display different linguistic behaviour. Parental background (whether parents are local to the area or not) correlates, for instance, with usage of the local postalveolar variant for variable (sk). There is a clear correlation between positive attitudes towards the dialect and the local town, and the usage of localised linguistic features in Røros and Tynset (Røyneland, 2005: 486). Røyneland calls for more research of the correlation between social attitudes, linguistic identity, and language use in Norway; and stresses the importance of investigating more urban areas to see if the social meaning of linguistic features are uniform (Røyneland, 2005: 542). It can be concluded from Røyneland (2005) that the social meaning of linguistic variants is important in a situation of dialect levelling, and that this must be explored to be able to comment upon the background of why localised dialectal features disappear and supra-local ones are adopted, as is the same point made by Bailey et al (1993), discussed in section 2.3.2.

### **2.3.6 Summary of studies relating to Regional Dialect Levelling**

This section has explored different processes that can contribute to regional dialect levelling, a situation that can be described by an increased linguistic homogeneity within a region as well as the diffusion, or supra-localisation, of linguistic forms. A

number of processes have been identified to contribute to regional dialect levelling, namely speech accommodation, dialect levelling, diffusion, convergence, and adoption of certain social identities. These processes have also been identified in Norwegian literature and studied to some extent in the East Norwegian area before. There has not been an in-depth investigation of the combination of the factors above with a study of the relationship between standard language ideology and dialect change, however. Understanding the importance of the social meaning of linguistic features in a situation to regional dialect levelling could also be crucial. This study therefore aims to combine a study of these factors in a comprehensive view of dialect change in East Norway, combining a qualitative and experimental study of the perceptual value of linguistic features and language attitudes with a quantitative study of free speech and reading data. Special attention will be given also to particular kinds of social values of linguistic features that can form part of a standard language ideology (as defined above in this chapter), to evaluate the role that linguistic norms tied to this ideology play for regional dialect levelling. In the following section, research questions are formulated on the basis of the studies considered here in section 2.3 and in section 2.2.

## 2.4 Research Questions

Previous sections have considered studies of standard language ideology, language planning, and regional dialect levelling. Research questions for the current study are formulated on the basis of the findings in these studies and the review.

Firstly, a quantitative analysis of language change in apparent time is conducted in Hønefoss. Based on recent literature (e.g. Skjekkeland, 2005; Mæhlum et al, 2006), there is reason to believe that there is a process leading to increased linguistic homogenisation going on in East Norway, that regional dialect levelling is present. The first research question can thus be formulated: *Is the Hønefoss variety becoming increasingly similar to other East Norwegian varieties?* To explore this, apparent time data is collected from Hønefoss to compare with previous studies in the areas around the city. Data is also analysed from the capital city to form a basis for a comparative study of usage rates for five different linguistic variables to determine whether the varieties of Hønefoss and Oslo are, indeed, becoming more alike. If this increase in homogeneity coincides with the adoption of new non-localised features in Hønefoss, regional dialect levelling can be attested.

The second question is *how does linguistic variation pattern across social categories age, gender and educational level in Hønefoss?* Both the diffusion and loss of linguistic features starts at an individual level. To further our knowledge of regional dialect levelling, it is important to explore the social background of the individuals who drive this language change. The relative effect of social backgrounds like age and gender are investigated. The difference between adolescents who attend local and regional schools is looked at in detail to investigate whether type of school affects usage of regional variants. Crucially, the

role of education is considered in depth. This is not only a factor that somewhat determines a person's social position, but is also intrinsically linked to a standard language ideology and identified as such in a number of studies considered in section 2.2. Individuals with higher education may have different correctness ideals than speakers with a lower educational level, and this may affect their usage of the local dialect.

The role of standardised language and the standard language ideology as a whole seems overlooked in studies that consider dialect change in progress. Auer and Hinskens (1996) incorporate standard language into their model of dialect change, but it is unclear what this standard language really entails. Milroy (2001) calls for a more careful approach to the usage of the term 'standard language', and suggests exploring standard language ideologies instead. From the literature considered in sections 2.2 and 2.3, it is unclear what the role of standard language might play in a situation of dialect levelling. Auer and Hinskens (1996) model the standard language as a crucial element in a situation of dialect change in Europe, while Foulkes and Docherty (1999) note how the standard language is not the only driving force behind the dialect change in the UK. Norway is a country with unique language policies that serves as a perfect backdrop to explore the effect of standard language ideology on actual dialect usage. The goal of this current study is twofold as concerns standard language. The third research question, one of two questions concerned with the standard language ideology that speakers in Hønefoss hold, is *'Do the Oslo dialect and Bokmål act as linguistic norms to speakers in Hønefoss and do these varieties influence the usage of the Hønefoss dialectal features covered in this study?'* It is explored in Hønefoss what kinds of overt as well as covert attitudes exist towards different varieties of East Norwegian speech. Bokmål and

Oslo speech, the codified variety of Norwegian and the variety of the capital city are both possible parts of the standard language ideology held in Hønefoss.

Attitudinal investigations of the role played by the standardised variety Bokmål and Oslo speech is key in this investigation, along with a comparative study of speech patterns in Oslo and Hønefoss. The effect of read speech is looked at in detail to determine whether codified language affects dialect change at all.

Related to this third question is the fourth: *'Which linguistic variants are linked to particular favourable social characteristics or personality traits by Hønefoss listeners, and are these variants increasing in usage too?'* Studies considered in chapter 2 note how linguistic features that are salient disappear in a situation of dialect levelling. It could be that for linguistic features to become regional, certain social meanings must be attached to them. A crucial aspect to this question is to investigate whether linguistic variants are linked directly to a standard language ideology by being rated as correct, economically wealthy or educated. It is also of interest to investigate how well varieties score on other characteristics that could constitute linguistic norms like approachability, attractiveness, honesty and intelligence. Other related aspects of this question concern whether the social meaning of linguistic features becomes uniform even if dialects become linguistically homogeneous. Findings related to this question indicate which social meaning is necessary for a linguistic feature to be adopted over a wide area, in this case East Norway. Experimental approaches as well as qualitative data are used to explore the social meaning of linguistic features.

The fifth research question considers the role of attitudes towards the locality and local dialect in a process of regional dialect levelling: *'Do personal*



*attitudes towards the locality and the dialect correlate in any way with the usage of dialectal features?* Røyneland (2005) found a positive correlation between dialect usage and positive attitudes in her investigation of usage of regional features in Røros. The role of a local identity in a situation of regional dialect levelling has not been explored extensively and should therefore be considered in this study.

Finally, the last research question considers whether spatial practice has a direct influence on regional dialect levelling in individuals. Britain (2010) calls for more consideration of issues of individual mobility, and the effect of frequent contact between a small town and a capital city in a situation of regional dialect levelling is unknown. It is not within the scope of the study to do an in-depth investigation of informants' contact patterns with members from other areas, but a small investigation of travel frequency to Oslo is conducted to see whether frequent travelling to the capital city has an effect on language. The last research question is thus: *Does travel frequency to Oslo correlate with the usage of dialectal features in Hønefoss?*

It is believed that these research questions will show us to which extent the Hønefoss dialect is changing, how it changes in comparison to speech in the capital city and in comparison to the codified variety Bokmål. An exploration of the social motivation behind dialect change is also possible, as is an investigation of the extent to which a standard language ideology affects dialect change and if there really is a difference in Norway between regional dialect levelling and speech convergence towards a language standard.

### **3 Methodology**

This chapter presents the considerations behind the approach, as well as the approach itself, taken for data collection of linguistic, social and attitudinal data in the study of regional dialect levelling in East Norway. The chapter introduces the informants who took part in the study. It also considers some practical issues concerning data collection and discusses pioneering sociolinguistic studies that affect the choice of methodology employed here. The data collection described in this chapter concerns the Hønefoss data only, as the Oslo data was pre-collected. To investigate the research questions presented in the previous section, a quantitative variationist study is combined with an experimental and a qualitative methodology. The last section of this chapter considers the different types of statistical analysis employed.

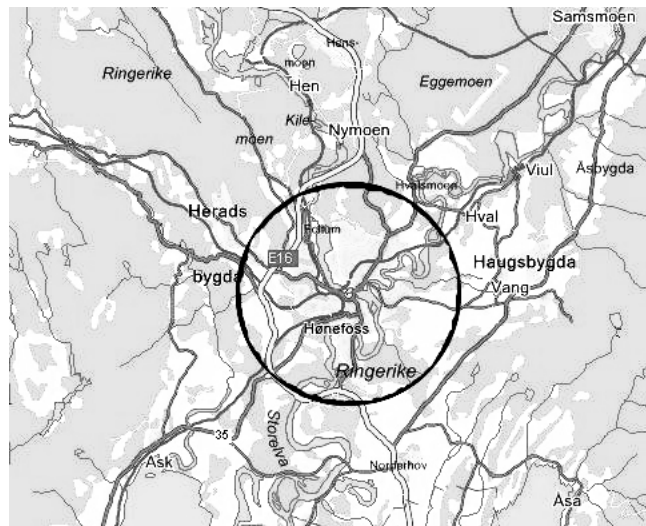
### 3.1 Data Collection in Hønefoss, Norway

A fairly large number of speakers is needed to be able to make claims about language change inside a community. The group of speakers chosen for such an investigation should represent the community one wishes to make claims about. The selection of informants for this investigation was not random, but selected on the basis of volunteering. Care was taken to ensure that informants from different groups of the community were selected, and that none of these were very familiar with the interviewer in advance. To decide what kind of sample would be ideal for the study, the issues below were considered.

#### 3.1.1 The Geographic Sample Universe

The first step towards collecting a data set is to define the sample universe, the exact group or community one is interested in. The sample universe ‘Hønefoss’ consists of the geographical area within the city limits. The delimitation of the investigation to Hønefoss city was done to ensure that informants’ possibility for mobility to the capital would be similar in terms of geographical distance. The official geographical boundary of the city of Hønefoss is not defined in an advantageous way to this study, however. The definition used for the city by the Norwegian Public Roads Administration *Veivesenet* cannot readily be employed as it delimits the area on the basis of roads, and thus does not clearly define areas not accessible by, or in between, roads. Another approach to establishing city boundaries could be by asking the informants themselves where the urban area begins and ends. In initial conversations with potential informants it became clear that views on the city limits were highly variable. A more objective basis for determining the sample universe was chosen by deciding that city limits should be set by house density. Dense continuous housing from the city centre towards

the outskirts was counted as belonging to the city. There should not be more than 100 metres between houses. This provided us with a fairly circular geographical space with a radius of 2 kilometres (1.24 miles) around the city centre Figure 3.1 shows the approximate geographical sample universe for this sociolinguistic investigation.



**Figure 3. 1 Map of Hønefoss and surrounding area with the delimited city limit circled**

Informants who were born or had grown up, from before the age of 4, within the area encircled in the map in figure 3.1 were included as informants for this study.

### 3.1.2 The Social Sample Universe

Only members of social groups that live and work within the city of Hønefoss are included in the sample. Having defined the sample universe as the urban speech community of Hønefoss, the next step is to stratify the sample socially. Sankoff (1980: 51) describes stratification thus: ‘to assess the possibly relevant geographic, social and sociolinguistic dimensions of variation within the community’. There are a number of social parameters one can take into account. The sections below deal with some used in earlier investigations of sociolinguistic variation and assesses their importance for the current study.

### 3.1.2.1 Age and Age Grading

When investigating language change over time, age is necessarily an important social factor to take into account. The apparent time hypothesis rests on the idea that an individual's language does not change much after a certain stage, generally young adulthood (Chambers, 2003: 202). This study also relies on this assumption and uses apparent time data to investigate the changes that have taken place in the Hønefoss variety. Informants of different age groups are recorded to capture the changes in certain linguistic variables over a longer period of time. As discussed briefly in section 2.3.3.5 adolescents are not necessarily stable in their usage of linguistic variants. An issue concerning investigations of language change in apparent time is that of *age grading* where age, as opposed to other social factors, has a decisive effect on usage of variants (cf. Hockett, 1950). Adolescents as a group have been pinpointed as initiators of linguistic change (Eckert, 2000; Chambers, 2003). Adolescence is the time when a person is exposed to the most diverse set of people and acquaintances (Chambers, 2003: 189). In Norwegian society an individual at the age of 15 or 16 moves from a small local school to a large provincial secondary school and thereby extends his or her social network by a vast degree. This means that older adolescents have access to a larger number of linguistic varieties and variants than younger adolescents generally do.

The majority of recent sociolinguistic studies of Norwegian have focused on the speech of adolescents (e.g. Skramstad, 1999; Jahnsen, 2001; Holland, 2001; Røyneland, 2005). Surprisingly few have considered, in depth, the influence of the substantial difference in a community between adolescents'

social networks and older and younger generations' but Røyneland (2005:78) is aware of this. It is stated as a paradox in her account of speech in Røros and Tynset that adolescents are the initiators of language change but also the group of speakers most predisposed to age grading. This paradox is based upon the observation that teenagers are likely to be the creators of linguistic innovations, but that these innovations are not always retained by the speakers at later stages in life (Røyneland, 2005:79).

Because most studies of change in East Norwegian have focused on adolescents' speech, this study focuses on language usage in four age groups in the speech community. By including two groups of under-18s, it can be explored whether the move from a small local school to a larger regional school influences usage of supra-regional variants in teenagers. A group of 14 year olds that attend local schools and a group of 18 year olds who attend regionally based schools are recorded for the study. Furthermore, a group of young adults (24-38) who are thought to have stabilised their usage of dialectal features works as a control group for the adolescents to see whether their usage of dialectal features is more similar to that of the pre-teens or the adolescents. Finally, a group of older adults (64-86) are recorded for the study of dialect usage in Hønefoss.

### *3.1.2.2 Sex or Gender*

Another social variable of probable importance in a sociolinguistic investigation is that of sex, or gender. It has been pointed out that the social construct 'gender' is not a binary variable, but rather consists of a number of types of identities that interact in more complex ways (cf. Eckert, 2000; Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Cheshire, 2005). As the focus of this study is generational change, an in-depth study of the gender categories found in Hønefoss will not be provided. A binary

construct will be used, but the term employed in this thesis will still be *gender* as the differences found are almost certainly due to external influences from society, and not biological issues.

Linguistic differences due to biological sex only are quite rare, as pointed out in Chambers (2003:119-121), they include things such as likelihood to stutter or suffer from aphasia together with differences in pitch caused by physiological factors. There seem, however, to be certain patterns of linguistic behaviour, at least in the western world, found more frequently in one sex than in the other. Labov (2000) notes as a ‘principle of linguistic change’ that ‘for stable sociolinguistic variables, women show a lower rate of stigmatised variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men’ (Labov, 2000:266). As mentioned briefly in section 2.2, the term ‘prestige’ is not a straight-forward one to define. The study of Newcastle ‘glottals’ by Milroy, Milroy, Docherty, Foulkes and Walshaw (1999) found that men and women had different usage of glottalised features. Young middle class women are early adopters of a change to a supra-local glottalised variant, and did not adopt the overtly prestigious (RP) variant without glottalisation. Milroy and Gordon (2003:103) state

‘The generalization that best accounts for the interacting effects of social class and gender so widely reported in the literature may then not be that women favour prestige variants; rather, they create them, as the variants that females prefer become ideologized as prestige variants’

The role of prestige attached to forms used by women and potential gender differences in usage of linguistic variants are therefore crucial aspects of a study of regional dialect levelling and its connection to linguistic norms and prestige.

A number of studies of language change and variation in Norwegian have found that gender is not a contributing factor to linguistic variation (Skramstad, 1999:201; Røyneland, 2005:478; Hernes, 2006:228). One reason for the lack of significant gender differences in language use might be that many Norwegian studies focus on language use among adolescents only (of the ones mentioned above only Røyneland, 2005, also has a control group of adult speakers). Eckert (2000) makes a point of how in her investigation of Belten High students ‘the most consistent gender-related pattern across variables is the relation between the social categories within gender groups’ (Eckert, 2000: 122). She also notes how discrepancies between genders are not as important as the differences found between teenagers within the same gender group. Social networks or communities of practice could play a larger role than gender in adolescent language variation, and are in fact found to be highly explanatory factors in Røyneland (2005). This investigation of Hønefoss speech looks at gender differences in speech within age groups (especially in section 4.2) to explore a potential link between age and gender variation.

### *3.1.2.3 Social Class*

Social categories, or classes, have been found to correlate with linguistic variation but are difficult to delimit and define (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 95). Deciding an individual’s relative standing in society depends on our knowledge of the multitude of things that place us and others in hierarchies within society. There are certain factors that are more usual indicators of social class than others, however. Social class is sometimes established by an informant’s economic wealth. Income, or even parents’ income, could have implications for factors like housing and locality, and in many parts of the world also for a person’s level of



education. Income, along with occupation status and educational level can be viewed as one construct of ‘socio-economic status’.

Social factors that influence language variation can differ from one community to another. Norway is a country without long traditions of nobility and overt social hierarchies. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century the Norwegian nobility consisted of foreigners, mostly Danes, without much connection to the local people (cf. Fossen, 2000). This lack of a national upper class could be a contributory factor to why Norway did not have the administrative and economic power to become an independent nation in this period. A Norwegian-born upper class only come into existence only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Fossen, 2000). Pedersen (2005) mentions the lack of an educated elite and a general ruralised population in Norway (discussed in chapter 2.1.1.2) as one of the reasons why standard language ideologies in Denmark and Norway are different. A lack of deeply rooted traditions for nobility in the country together with socio-democratic policies that provide equal access to education and health care mean that social categories may work differently, or may be less prevalent, in Norway than in countries like the US and UK.

Indications have been found that socio-geographical affiliation, urban or rural, can explain linguistic variation in Norwegian society to the same degree that traditional socio-economic factors do (cf. Sandøy 2006: 220). Factors like income and occupational status have been found to be less important in the Norwegian social hierarchy by e.g. Skogen and Krangle (2003). They find a difference between Norwegians who associate with ‘urban’ communities and those who associate with ‘ruralness’. This is not simply a distinction between people who live in urban and rural areas, but also within the rural communities

(Skogen and Krange, 2003). The informants of the current study are all inhabitants of a small urban area and data about informants' spatial practice, i.e. frequency of visits to major urban regions, and attitudes towards the local area, helps shed light on the social motivations behind language change (as discussed in section 2.2).

In addition, informants' educational background will be used as an independent variable in the analysis. Educational background predicts occupational level and income to some degree and is thus a good indicator for social class for the current study. Another reason why it is important to explore individuals' educational background has to do with the potential link that can be found between the educational system and standard language ideology, as was covered in detail in section 2.2. The notion held of what constitutes correct language is often connected to speech by people who are educated. The effect of educational level on linguistic variation in Hønefoss will therefore be important to map out in the current study.

The educational levels that will be distinguished for the adult informants are: high university education (more than three years at university); low university education (university college education, no more than three years at university); vocational training (one or two years after secondary school); none (no further education after secondary school). Lower and upper university education are factors differentiated between because lower university degrees, in the case of our informants, are professional training courses: either teacher training or library training that have taken place at university colleges rather than universities (a *høgskole* as opposed to one of the, at the time, five Norwegian universities). High university education indicates that the informant has studied

for different degrees for more than three years at one of the Norwegian universities. The distinction between the two university degrees is made purely on an exploratory basis to make a more fine grained distinction between informants for the analysis. The pupils interviewed for this investigation all have the same education so far: lower or upper secondary school.

### 3.2 Fixing the Sample: The Hønefoss Informants

The final preparatory step for data collection is to fix the sample size that one wishes to investigate and to find volunteers to take part in the study. As discussed in the above sections, speakers of different ages, genders and educational backgrounds were needed for the current investigation. The informants were recruited with these criteria in mind. The researcher is a native of Hønefoss. The informants were recruited on a 'friend of a friend' basis, or through the local secondary schools.

There are positive and negative aspects to being an insider to the community one wants to investigate. An outsider might be allowed to raise more basic questions about the local region and dialect, while these will seem strange to an informant coming from a local. An insider, however, might be more likely to receive help from other members of the local community and so data collection can become more effective. The conducting of interviews with a local researcher is deemed the most appropriate to exclude the chance of linguistic accommodation towards a regional, or more standardised, variety by the informants. By knowingly speaking to a local person, there would be no reason for informants to use fewer localised forms to make themselves understood.

Apart from the case of young adolescent boys, the attainment of enough informants for the investigation was untroublesome. Although all care is taken to provide a balanced sample, however, one cannot exclude the possibility that the selection of, at least adult, informants in some way reflects the interviewer's extended social networks.

The adolescents were approached in a school situation through their teacher. The researcher was welcomed into four school classes, two in lower secondary schools and two in higher secondary schools. In the upper secondary school where the pupils are above the age of 16, the teacher would ask for volunteers to be interviewed for 30 minutes at some point during the remaining school day. Most of the adolescents in the upper secondary school classes volunteered. In the lower secondary schools, pupils needed permission from parents to be interviewed as the subjects would be younger than 16. Although a number of informants volunteered to be recorded on the day, only two young adolescent boys had permissions and could be interviewed. The interviews were recorded with a 'Marantz Portable Cassette Recorder PMD201', model no. 74PMD201/00B with a tie-clip microphone (I MP.) placed between the interviewees or the interviewer and interviewee.

Care was taken in this investigation to make informants feel as comfortable as possible, and the majority of interviews of the adults were conducted in (one of the) informants' homes. The exception is the interviews of Iver, Janne and Lasse which were conducted in these informants' respective work places. The adolescents were interviewed in empty classrooms.

The interviews and recording of read speech were done during two periods of time. The sociolinguistic interview recordings of all the adult informants in addition to the adolescent informants Mats, Nora, Oda, Pia, Rikke, Stian, Vilde and Wilhelm were done in July and August 2006. The sociolinguistic interviews with the remaining adolescents were done in June 2008. The recordings of the read speech were also done in 2008, in June and July. This means that the adult informants who contributed both in the

sociolinguistic interviews as well as recording reading language (Astrid, Bjarne, Kurt, Iver, Janne and Thea) were recorded at two different points in time, first in summer 2006, and secondly two years later, in the summer of 2008.

### 3.2.1 The Informants Recorded in Sociolinguistic Interviews

The informants and their respective recording situations for the sociolinguistic interviews are presented in tables 3.1- 3.4. The informants' names are pseudonyms.

Informant	Gender	Age	Education	Interview location
Astrid	F	65	Low Uni	Home
Bjarne	M	73	Vocational	Home
Christian	M	73	Vocational	Home
Ditlef	M	70	High Uni	Home
Esther	F	86	None	Home
Gerd	F	77	Low Uni	Home
Kurt	M	70	None	Home
Peder	M	65	Vocational	Home
Ragnvald	M	73	Vocational	Home
Sigrid	F	72	Vocational	Home

**Table 3.1 The old informants: their gender, age, education level and interview location**

Informant	Gender	Age	Education	Interview location
Frode	M	35	High Uni	Home
Guri	F	37	High Uni	Home
Henning	M	36	Vocational	Home
Iver	M	25	None	Work
Janne	F	35	Low Uni	Work
Thea	F	26	High Uni	Home
Ulrikke	F	26	High Uni	Home
Lasse	M	36	Vocational	Work
Merete	F	24	Vocational	Home
Natalie	F	25	None	Home

**Table 3.2 The middle informants: their gender, age, education level and interview location**

Informant	Gender	Age	Education	Interview location
Mats	M	18	Still in school	School
Nora	F	18	Still in school	School
Oda	F	18	Still in school	School
Pia	F	18	Still in school	School
Qaisar	M	18	Still in school	School
Rikke	F	18	Still in school	School
Stian	M	18	Still in school	School
Vilde	F	17	Still in school	School
Wilhelm	M	18	Still in school	School
Xavier	M	18	Still in school	School
Øydis	F	19	Still in school	School
Åsne	F	19	Still in school	School

**Table 3.3 Old adolescent informants: their gender, age, education level and interview location**

Informant	Gender	Age	Education	Interview location
Amalie	F	14	Still in school	School
Birthe	F	14	Still in school	School
Cathrine	F	14	Still in school	School
Dina	F	14	Still in school	School
Edel	F	14	Still in school	School
Frida	F	14	Still in school	School
Gry	F	14	Still in school	School
Henrik	M	14	Still in school	School
Isak	M	14	Still in school	School
Louise	F	14	Still in school	School
Ylva	F	14	Still in school	School
Zara	F	14	Still in school	School

**Table 3.4 Young adolescent informants: their gender, age, educational background and interview location**

As illustrated in table 3.5, only two boys in lower secondary school volunteered to be part of the investigation and had received permission to participate from their parents. This means that the difference in language usage between the youngest and oldest adolescents will be made for girls only (cf. section 2.3.5.5).

	Female	Male
Old	4	6
Middle	6	4
Old Adolescent	7	5
Young Adolescent	10	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>17</b>

**Table 3.5 the distribution of informants for each age group and gender cell**

Gender differences within each age group will be investigated for the linguistic variables to ensure the imbalance between female and male informants does not deflect results. All informants that participated in the investigation are originally from the city or have been resident there for the large majority of their lives (since before the age of 4).

### **3.2.2 The Informants for the Reading Passage and Word List**

One fourth of the Hønefoss informants who participated in the interviews read a reading passage and a word list and to retell a reading passage. The collection of this read speech was done at a later point in time and it was therefore not possible to record all speakers for this part of the investigation. However, the study of reading is a qualitative one and is not correlated statistically with social group. These informants were also selected on the basis of volunteering. 11 of the 44 informants volunteered. These are presented in table 3.6 below.



Informant	Gender	Age	Interview location	Interview setting
Astrid	F	64	Home	Pair
Bjarne	M	73	Home	Pair
Kurt	M	70	Home	Pair
Iver	M	25	Work	Alone
Janne	F	35	Work	Alone
Thea	F	26	Home	Pair
Xavier	M	18	School	Pair
Zara	F	14	School	Pair
Cathrine	F	14	School	Pair
Henrik	M	14	School	Pair
Frida	F	14	School	Pair

**Table 3.6 The selection of informants who read a reading passage and a word list in addition to participating in the interviews and map task**

### 3.3 The Linguistic Variables and their Elicitation

#### 3.3.1 The Linguistic Variables

The quantitative variationist methodology relies on the elicitation of a large number of tokens of the same linguistic variable from a number of speakers. It can be problematic to collect numerous tokens of infrequent linguistic features in sociolinguistic interviews, especially if one intends to keep the influence of the observer to a minimum.

On the basis of the background literature about the Hønefoss (Ringerike) dialect (presented briefly in section 1.3) and previous small scale studies of language change in progress in East Norway, four linguistic variables were selected for this investigation. To ensure a broad scope of the investigation of regional dialect levelling, it was decided to choose variables from different linguistic levels. One phonological, one prosodic, one morphological and one syntactic variable were chosen as variables to investigate whether dialect convergence happens on all levels of the linguistic repertoire in East Norwegian speakers. The linguistic variables and their expected variants are presented in table 3.7.

Variable	Hønefoss Variant	Oslo Variant	Bokmål Variant
<rd>	/r/	/r/	-
Stress (in loanwords)	initial stress	other stress	-
(Plural definite article) Suffix variable in Bokmål	/a/	/a/, /ene/	/a/, /ene/
(Plural definite article) Suffix not variable in Bokmål	/a/	/a/, /ene/	/ene/
(3 <sup>rd</sup> personal) Pronoun	/dum/ (all positions)	/di/ (all positions) /dem/ (all positions)	/di/ (subj.) /dem/ (obj.)

**Table 3.7 The Linguistic variables investigated in this research**

The linguistic variable <rd> with the local variant /r/ and the East Norwegian urban variant /r/ is chosen as the phonological variable for this investigation. The usage of the retroflex flap ([ɾ]) for <rd> in orthography is a linguistic variant that is disappearing in certain varieties of East Norwegian speech (Skolseg, 1994), but that is retained in other locations in the region (Holland, 2001). The feature occurs in lexical items like *bord* ‘table’ or *gård* ‘yard’ or ‘farm’, that can variably be pronounced [bur] or [buɾ] and [gor] or [goɾ] respectively in East Norwegian varieties, including the Hønefoss dialect. There is evidence that [ɾ] is socially stigmatised in the larger urban areas, and self-reporting of speech by adolescents in those cities indicates that the feature has become obsolete (Kristiansen, 1996; Jahnsen, 2001).

Stress in non-Germanic loanwords is chosen as the prosodic variable for this investigation. The variants are initial stress or stress to the right in the loanword. The usage of initial stress in loanwords of non-Germanic origin is a variant that has been found to be socially stigmatised in larger urban areas. A large number of words with foreign origin have variable word stress in East Norwegian varieties. Examples include words like *maskin* ‘machine’ and *natur* ‘nature’ that can variably be pronounced [mɑʃi:n] or [ˈmɑʃ.i:n] and [nɑˈtʉ:r] or [ˈnat.tʉr] respectively. Studies indicate that the usage of initial stress in Oslo is relatively infrequent (Jahnsen, 2001; Kristiansen, 1996). Initial stress in loanwords is a traditional dialect feature in Hønefoss but could be disappearing if influence from the capital city on Hønefoss speech is substantial.

The morphological variable (in two variable contexts) in this investigation is the plural definite suffix in nouns. The variants available to speakers of the Hønefoss dialect are [a] and [ene] in both of the two variable contexts

investigated in this thesis. Suffix variability is widespread in Bokmål and suffixes are also linguistic variables in speech. The plural definite form of the neuter noun *fjell* ‘mountain’ or the masculine noun *gutt* ‘boy’ could variably be pronounced [fjɛla] or [fjelene] (both ‘the mountains’) and [gʊta] or [gʊtene] (both ‘the boys’) respectively. For most lexical types who have this variability, the two suffix variants are both codified in Bokmål, and the suffixes are written <a> or <ene>. For some of these nouns (all masculine), however, the only suffix codified in the written standard is <ene>. The plural suffixes of nouns constitute two separate variable contexts for this investigation. The first variable includes masculine and neuter nouns that have two variants codified in Bokmål. The second variable includes masculine nouns that only have one variant codified in the written standard. In the traditional Hønefoss dialect the variant used in both contexts is [a]. An influence from Bokmål on spoken language might mean, however, that variant [ene] is becoming the preferred variant where the standardised variety has codified only that variant. It is unknown to which extent the variants are used in the capital city, but this will be investigated.

Finally, a syntactic variable is chosen, the 3pl personal pronoun in subject and object position. The linguistic variants for this variable are [di], [dem] and [dum] (all ‘they’ or ‘them’). In East Norwegian varieties these variants can be found used in both object and subject position. Prescriptive Bokmål, however, has a case distinction with <de> (pronounced [di]) in subject position and <dem> (pronounced [dem]) in object position. Traditional East Norwegian speech has pronoun case syncretism in the 3pl personal pronouns and the Hønefoss dialect has traditionally employed the local variant /dum/ for both subject and object position in sentences (Skulerud, 1926). Traditional Oslo

speech has the variant /dem/ for both positions (Hanssen, 1976). In a potential situation of regional dialect levelling, this variable provides a useful situation with three different variants available in the three linguistic varieties of interest. The variable 3pl personal pronoun has the local variant /dum/; the standardised Bokmål codify variants /di/ for subject position and /dem/ for object position; finally Oslo speech traditionally uses the variant /dem/ for both positions in syntax.

In the results chapter, the data from the analysis of stress is presented first, followed by that from the investigation of personal pronouns. This is followed by the phonological variable, and finally, the morphological variable.

### **3.3.2 The Elicitation of Variables**

In a sociolinguistic investigation different kinds of stimuli can be used to elicit features of speech. Word lists and reading passages can elicit phonological variants but are less successful in eliciting morphological, syntactic or lexical features as these are more likely to be influenced by orthography and the writing system. A reading passage and a word list are employed in this investigation for looking at the effect of Bokmål on speech. The difference between read speech on the one hand and retelling and free (interview) speech on the other will be analysed to explore stylistic differences in Hønefoss.

### **3.3.3 The Map Task**

In addition to an interview with informants (the questions for which are presented in section 3.4), a ‘map task’ (based on Anderson, Bader, Bard, Boyle, Docherty,

Garrod, Isard, Kowtko, McAllister, Miller, Sotillo, Thompson and Weinert, 1991) was designed for this investigation. The primary aim of the map task is to elicit the rare phonological variable <rd> and the morphological variable the plural definite article suffix. Certain pictures found on the maps could also elicit the stress variable, however.

Ideally, the map task elicits conversation-like interaction while the researcher still retains control over the tokens that can be produced. Importantly for this investigation, the map task does not rely on writing to elicit variables, and the direct effect of Bokmål on informants' speech can therefore be excluded. Although performing the map task may require informants to concentrate more on a task than in the interview setting, it is believed here that the formality level of speech will be unaltered, and that there is no substantial style difference between performing a map task or being interviewed. It could also be argued that paying attention to a map task could drive attention away from speech behaviour.

The task functions as follows: Two maps are created with pictures of objects, or landmarks, which have linguistic variables of interest in their pronunciation. These landmarks will ideally be mentioned often and elicit the same variable a number of times. The two maps are similar in all respects apart from the omission of one or two objects or with the insertion of a different landmark on one of the maps. One map also has a path drawn on it, which makes its way past and between the different objects.

Two subjects sit facing each other without the possibility of seeing the other's map. The subjects with the path drawn on their map is asked to lead the other through the map from start to finish. On the way, the discrepancies in the

two maps become apparent. This, ideally, leads to some confusion and discussion of the objects, and importantly, frequent elicitation of the linguistic variables.

The map task designed for the current study was based loosely on that used in Grabe, Post and Nolan (2001). Objects were changed to include Norwegian variables and all written text was removed from the map. The maps used in the task are given in appendix A. The objects in the map task that could elicit variables were a picture of a farm in a frame with possible <rd> tokens *gård* ‘farm’; *gjerde* ‘fence’ and *jorde* ‘field’; two pictures of tables with possible <rd> token *bord* ‘table’; possible stress token *meny* ‘menu’ and possible definite article suffix token *borda/ene* ‘the tables’. A picture of a dish of tomatoes could elicit stress token *tomat* ‘tomato’, as a picture of bananas could elicit stress token *banan* ‘banana’. The picture of two strawberries could elicit <rd> token *jordbær* ‘strawberry’ as well as plural definite article suffix in *jordbæra/ene* ‘the strawberries’. Similarly, two pictures of a chair could elicit plural definite article suffixes in *stula\*/ene* ([stula] or [stulene]) ‘the chairs’. The remaining objects on the map: a fly, a bee hive, a bird, a table cloth and a fruit bowl and the path itself were not intended to produce linguistic features of interest.

### **3.3.4 The Reading Passage and Its Retelling**

The reading passage was designed primarily to investigate the influence of Bokmål on speech through recording what read speech sounds like in Hønefoss. This is crucial for the discussion of the effect of codified language on dialect change. The reading passage data allows an investigation of read Bokmål in the speech of the 11 informants that were recorded. The informants were all asked to

retell the passage either to the interviewer or the second interviewee after having read the passage. The reading passage was a rewriting, by the researcher, of the fairytale ‘Sleeping Beauty’. The passage is given in appendix B.

The fairytale had 18 tokens of 13 types that could have stress variation, as presented in table 3.8.

AVISENE	‘the newspapers’
INVITERT (2)	‘invited’ ADJ
INVITERE	‘invited’ V
DISTRIKTET (2)	‘the district’
SUKSESS	‘success’
EKSEPSJONELL	‘exceptional’
INTELLIGENS	‘intelligence’
INTELLIGENT	‘intelligent’
SPESIELT	‘special’
IDYLL	‘idyll’
BUTIKKENE	‘the shops’
FAMILIEN	‘the family’
SOLDAT	‘soldier’
UNIFORMEN (2)	‘the uniform’
SPANKULERTE	‘walked in a careless manner’

**Table 3.8 Tokens in the reading passage designed to elicit the stress variable**

The reading passage also had four tokens with <rd> where it was followed by a vowel or a pause, presented in table 3.9.

GJERDET (3)	‘the fence’
GÅRD	‘farm’/‘yard’

**Table 3.9 Tokens in the reading passage designed to elicit the <rd> variable**

As the variable pronunciation of <rd> is only possible in a particular number of words in East Norwegian only four tokens were included in the short reading passage. The lexical items that have variable <rd> are discussed in more detail in section 4.4 of this thesis.



There were nine plural noun tokens with definite article suffix <ene> in the reading passage: four that have variability codified in Bokmål and five that have not, as presented in table 3.10.

Variable in Bokmål	FORELDRENE	'The parents'
Variable in Bokmål	TÅRNENE (3)	'The towers'
Not variable in Bokmål	TJENERNE	'The servants'
Not variable in Bokmål	BØNDENE	'The peasants'
Not variable in Bokmål	BUTIKKENE	'The shops'
Not variable in Bokmål	MENNENE (2)	'The men'

**Table 3.10** tokens in the reading passage designed to elicit the plural definite article suffix

Finally, there were five instances of plural pronouns in the reading passage: <de> occurred three times and <dem> two times in the reading passage, presented in table 3.11.

DE (3)	'They'
DEM (2)	'Them'

**Table 3.11** tokens in the reading passage designed to elicit plural personal pronouns

The reading passage data were elicited for qualitative as well as quantitative analysis to assist in the discussion of the effect of Bokmål on the Hønefoss dialect. Other features of speech in the reading passage were also of interest to the investigation: usage of the retroflex flap for <l>, and usage of the singular definite article suffixes. These are not variables that are quantified for the rest of the investigation, but help map out what read speech sounds like in Hønefoss.

### 3.3.5 The Word List

The word list, also produced by the selection of 11 informants presented in table 3.6, contained 19 tokens with variables analysed for the overall investigation. The tokens are presented in table 3.12

VARIABLE	TOKEN	TRANSLATION
Suffix Variable in Bokmål	FJELLENE	'The mountains'
Suffix Variable in Bokmål	SKAPENE	'The wardrobes'
Suffix Variable in Bokmål	LYSENE	'The lights'
Suffix Variable in Bokmål	HUSENE	'The houses'
Suffix not variable in Bokmål	GRISENE	'The pigs'
Suffix not variable in Bokmål	HENDENE	'The hands'
Suffix not variable in Bokmål	SØNNENE	'The sons'
Suffix not variable in Bokmål	NEGLENE	'The nails'
Stress	SERVIETT	'Napkin'
Stress	FAMILIE	'Family'
Stress	TELEFON	'Telephone'
Stress	INTERESSANT	'Interesting'
Stress	TULIPANER	'Tulips'
Pronoun	DEM	'Them'
<rd>	BLOMSTERJORD	'Flower soil'
<rd>	JORD	'Earth'
<rd>	BONDEGÅRD	'Farm'
<rd>	JORDET	'The field'
<rd>	BORDBEIN	'Table leg'

**Table 3.12 Tokens in the word list designed to elicit linguistic variables**

The aim of the word list was primarily to see whether there was a style difference between the reading of a passage; a list and free speech. The remaining tokens in the word list, as given in appendix C, are neither part of the qualitative nor the quantitative analysis of read speech.

### 3.4 Elicitation of Attitudinal Data

Two different approaches were taken to collect attitudinal data for this investigation. One method, the identity questionnaire, involved all the informants who participated in the sociolinguistic interviews. The other approach, the listening experiment, involved a mix of informants who participated in the sociolinguistic interviews along with a new group of informants from two secondary schools in Hønefoss. The first approach for eliciting attitudes, the identity questionnaire, is a direct method based on Llamas (2007). The second approach, the listening experiment, establishes the social meaning of stress assignment and the two different varieties of ‘standardised speech’ that could be identified on the basis of the initial analysis.

#### 3.4.1 The Identity Questionnaire

An identity questionnaire based on the one employed by Llamas (2000, 2007b) was used in all interviews of this study. The questionnaire included direct questions about informants’ attitudes towards the local accent and area, but also indirectly explores the informant’s linguistic and regional identity. The results from the identity questionnaire can successfully be correlated with a quantitative analysis of language usage, as in Llamas (2007a). The questions in the questionnaire were read aloud by the interviewer in an as natural manner as possible. The responses and discussion the questions led to constitute the data on which most of the quantitative analysis in this investigation is based.

Questions that map local affiliations and sentiments are of particular interest in a study of regional dialect levelling. Informants are asked how they would describe their home town, what they consider the best and worse things

about growing up there as well as whether they visit the capital city, and if so how often. The identity questionnaire also asked questions that are interesting from a perceptual dialectology perspective: informants are asked how far one needs to travel from the town before people start sounding different, as well their knowledge of social differences in language and how they would feel if someone thought their accent was from the capital city. For the complete questionnaire, see appendix D.

The interview procedure with the questionnaire was the same for every subject (pair). The informants were asked questions about their biographical details first, including information about their parents and grandparents. They also provided details about their educational background and work history. The questions from the identity questionnaire were then asked, but care was taken to keep the conversation as natural as possible. Some of the questions were not raised directly if the informants had expressed an opinion on the topic without being directly asked. Similarly, if the informants did not answer the question clearly first time the question was asked, the question was only raised again if the conversation topic allowed a natural repetition.

Eliciting attitudes by direct questioning is a fruitful method for uncovering informants' overt opinions, but not as useful for mapping out subconscious attitudes. Both conscious and subconscious attitudes are of relevance to investigations of language in society. Overt attitudes can give clear information about linguistic norms and stereotypes. They may not, however, unravel less socially accepted attitudes that an informant may hold. An experiment was therefore designed to discover attitudes less consciously held by speakers in Hønefoss. This experiment is discussed in the following section.

### 3.4.2 Experimental Elicitation of Attitudes

Studies of variation and change can benefit from knowledge not only of the social variation of usage of linguistic features, but also the social meaning attached to these linguistic features. Eckert (2005) divides sociolinguistic research into three main categories, presented as waves (to indicate their interconnection): the first, second and third wave of variation studies. The first wave she calls the tradition of the classic variationist investigation: a study of linguistic variation by delimited social categories. The second wave refers, broadly speaking, to the ethnographic tradition of investigating communities of practice and language variation found within or between them. The term ‘the third wave’ is used for the study of the indexicality of linguistic variables and their relationship to speakers’ social reality. This investigation of regional dialect levelling combines a ‘first wave’ approach with one that aims to discover the social indexicality of certain linguistic features. Especially social meaning linked to a standard language ideology (correctness, education and economic wealth) is focused upon in the current study. To explore whether certain linguistic features index these social traits more strongly than others do, a matched guise test was designed.

The matched guise test was designed particularly to explore the social meaning of the linguistic variables in the quantitative study (<rd> ; stress, pronouns, and suffixes with and without variability in Bokmål). Investigations of the social meaning of individual linguistic features have been done to some extent in sociolinguistics, but have not often been incorporated into studies of regional dialect levelling. Experiments are useful to establish listeners’ awareness of fine grained social details in language. Plichta and Preston (2005) found, for

instance, in their investigation of the social meaning of the /ay/ diphthong that its openness indexes regional belonging among listeners in Virginia in the US. Campbell-Kibler (2005) found in her investigation of the perception of the (ING) variable in American English that the usage of the two variants /ɪn/ and /ɪŋ/ carried different social meaning. Interestingly, the usage of the alveolar variant did not index southern-ness to speakers on its own, but if added to an accent with other southern language features, would make the recording be rated as more Southern.

On the basis of the results obtained with the identity questionnaire, employed in the initial stage of the investigation, the researcher returned to Hønefoss at a later stage to conduct a matched guise experiment that aimed to uncover less conscious attitudes towards the two possible pronunciations of Bokmål that could be identified on the basis of the comments to the identity questionnaire, and towards the linguistic feature initial stress in non-Germanic loanwords and towards the local linguistic variants /dum/ and [ɹ]. The experiment is described in detail below.

#### *3.4.2.1 The Informants for the Experiments*

The matched guise experiment was conducted at a later stage in time than most of the sociolinguistic interviews. It was therefore not possible to recruit all of the same informants that provided data for the quantitative analysis to complete the experiments. A number of new informants who had not taken part in the original interviews took part in the matched guise experiments along with some of the informants who had contributed to the sociolinguistic interviews. An overview of the informants for the matched guise test are given in table 3.13

	Female	Male
Old	1	2
Middle	1	1
Adolescent	27	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>15</b>

**Table 3. 13 The informants who participated in the matched guise experiment per age group**

The informants who completed both the sociolinguistic interviews as well as the matched guise experiment are: Astrid, Bjarne, Kurt, Thea, Iver, Qaisar, Xavier, Øydis, Åsne, Frida, Gry, Henrik and Isak. In addition, 31 other adolescents completed the matched guise test. These were class mates of Qaisar, Xavier, Øydis, Åsne, Frida, Gry, Henrik or Isak and were all from Hønefoss and thus part of the local speech community.

#### *3.4.2.2 The Matched Guise Test*

The matched guise test is a method for indirect elicitation of language attitudes developed originally to investigate listeners' attitudes towards French and English in Canada (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1972 (1960)). The aim of the test is to elicit attitudes towards different guises that vary linguistically but that are all recorded by the same speaker.

Zahn & Hopper's (1985) study of experimental speech evaluation found that listeners' attitudinal ratings fall along three dimensions of traits: superiority, dynamism and attractiveness (Zahn & Hopper, 1985). Evaluations like 'intelligent', 'educated' and 'literate' belong on the superiority dimension. Traits like 'nice', 'honest' and 'friendly' fall along the attractiveness dimension, whereas evaluations 'shy', 'enthusiastic' and 'strong', for instance are traits on the dynamism dimension (Zahn & Hopper, 1985). To investigate standard language ideology, it is believed that evaluations along the superiority dimension

are especially important, as indicated by the background literature presented in section 2.2.

The matched guise test was designed to clarify what parts of language are viewed as part of the standard language, i.e. what type of linguistic features can be tied to education, correctness, social prestige and the capital city in Hønefoss. The interest lay in determining the social meaning of the ‘radical’ versus the ‘conservative’ forms in Bokmål (cf. section 1.2.2) together with further exploring the social meaning of initial stress as well as that of the retroflex flap and [dum] combined. Listeners were given the choice to rate guises both on a superiority and an attractiveness dimension. They were presented with 4 superiority traits (correctness; intelligence, wealth and degree of education) to rate the guises they heard. 4 questions were also presented to the informants to measure the attractiveness of the speech samples (beauty; honesty; niceness; approachability).

The guises used in the experiment were all recorded by female speakers, but four of the eight were the same speaker: the researcher. These four test-guises were recorded by the researcher who is a trained phonetician. Care was taken to assure that speed and pitch was constant across the recordings of the four different versions of the matched guise stimuli.

The remaining four guises were fillers to avoid listeners hearing the same voice and recognising the four test guises as being the same speaker. One of the filler guises was another speaker from Hønefoss, the three others were from other parts of Norway: one from Mid Telemark (another province in East Norway), and two from North Norway. The filler guises did not have controlled usage of the different linguistic features, the speakers were asked to read through the passage a number of times before recording so that they would have an equally



fluent reading style as the author when being recorded. Allophonic transcriptions of the four focus guises investigated are presented in appendix E.

The linguistic variants used in the four guises (of eight sound files) recorded by the researcher are presented in table 3.13.

	<b>Loanword Stress</b>	<b>3 pl Pronoun</b>	<b>&lt;rd&gt;</b>	<b>(l)</b>	<b>Suffixes</b>
<b>Guise with all Hønefoss dialect markers</b>	Initial syllable	[dum]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[a]
<b>Guise with some Hønefoss dialect markers</b>	Ultimate syllable	[dum]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[a]
<b>Guise without local variants with Radical Bokmål features</b>	Ultimate syllable	[di]/[dem]	[r]	[ɾ]	[a]
<b>Guise without local variants with Conservative Bokmål features</b>	Ultimate syllable	[di]/[dem]	[r]	[l]	[en], [et] and [ene]

**Table 3.14 The four guises recorded by the researcher and usage of linguistic variants in the five variable contexts of interest.**

One aim of the matched guise test was to establish whether any difference was held in social meaning between two different versions of ‘standard-like speech’. This means speech that uses morphological variants allowed in Bokmål and no phonetic, prosodic or lexical variants that were mentioned as local in the original sociolinguistic interviews to questions about the local dialect. The two guises (the bottom two in table 3.13) are near-identical but contain different suffixes both codified in Bokmål, and different variants of one phonetic variable. Specifically, the differences between them is that one only has ‘conservative’ Bokmål suffixes, i.e. suffixes [ene], [et] and [en] (as described briefly in section 1.2) and alveolar laterals for <l>, while the other has suffix variant [a] and a

retroflex flap for <l>. Hilton (2004) presented strong evidence that the retroflex flap of <l> is part of read speech in Hønefoss, and this is backed up by literature from Språkrådet (2001). There seems to be a social difference between noun suffixes [ene], [et] and [en] sometimes referred to as conservative, and that of [a], referred to as radical, (cf. Faarlund, Lie and Vannebo, 2005). The quantitative analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews show that radical forms are used to a large extent in Hønefoss (see section 4.5). Suffixes [ene], [et] and [en] are also standardised in Bokmål, however. The qualitative analysis of the language attitudes in the interviews (presented in section 4.7) shows that [ene], [et] and [en] are linked with a more ‘posh’ way of speaking, and it is implied that speakers closer to Oslo use these suffixes. The matched guise experiment was created to find out if a guise with standardised ‘radical’ variants and the retroflex flap variants used in Hønefoss is rated differently to a guise without the retroflex flap and with the conservative suffixes [ene], [et] and [en]. This comparison is thus in fact a comparison between two possible ways of ‘speaking’ Bokmål and is crucial to the investigation of what constitutes the standard language ideology in Hønefoss.

As well as investigating the difference between the two ways of ‘speaking’ Bokmål, the matched guise also aimed to discover more in depth the social meaning of initial stress, and other dialectal features. The retroflex flap was produced for <rd>, as well as for <l> in the next guise spoken by the author. The pronoun form [dum] was added in the same guise that shared all its other features with the Radical Bokmål variety. It was unclear from the attitudinal data investigated before conducting this experiment whether these linguistic features held any social meaning at all. The fourth guise spoken by the

author had all previous features, i.e. retroflex flap of <l> and <rd>, suffixes – a, [dum] as a personal pronoun, as well as the inclusion of the feature initial stress in loanwords. The difference between the two latter guises therefore gives information about initial stress and help create a more comprehensive view of the linguistic feature in particular.

The matched guise test informants were asked to rate the guises they heard for the eight characteristics (attractiveness, correctness and approachability of the accent, and the intelligence, niceness, wealth, honesty and educational level of the speaker) on a scale from one to six, as well as reply to two open questions about what the listeners thought was the age and home location of the speakers. The form the informants were asked to fill out is in appendix F. The guises were not presented to the listeners in the order described above, but in random order along with the filler guises.

### 3.5 The NoTa corpus: Data for the Analysis of Oslo Speech

To establish whether Hønefoss speech and Oslo speech is converging, comparative data from Oslo was sought for the investigation. The data analysed is taken from the online corpus *Norsk Talespråkkorpus* (NoTa), kindly made available by the Text Laboratory at the University of Oslo. The corpus was collected in Oslo with 166 informants from the area within and around the capital in 2004-2006. Because of the scope of the current investigation, a sub-sample of the corpus was selected for the analysis of speech in Oslo: 12 informants were selected from the Oslo corpus for the comparative study on the basis of gender, age and education. The selection has informants of both genders that are older adolescent, middle adult or old adult. The adolescents are all students while half of the adults have a low educational background and the other half a high education. Informants who have any type of education after secondary school constitute the 'high education' group, while others fall in the group of 'low education'.

Five of the twelve informants in the sub-selection are from West Oslo and the remaining from the central and eastern parts of the capital. As has been pointed out in earlier sociolinguistic studies of Oslo speech (Hanssen 1976, Jahr 1986), the divide between West and East Oslo is an important one. As this investigation aims to establish the similarities between Hønefoss and the capital, however, the divide within Oslo is not taken into consideration for the comparative analyses. There are equal numbers of informants in each cell for 'educational background' but these are not balanced across 'Oslo region'. All the adult speakers from West Oslo have higher education, and all the adults with a lower education background are from East Oslo. There will thus be instances

where the socio-economic background factor ‘low educational background’ arguably could reflect ‘East Oslo region’, but education has been shown to effect linguistic variation in East Norwegian speech significantly in the past (e.g. in Røyneland 2005). Table 3.14 shows the informants selected from the NoTa corpus for the comparative study with the Hønefoss data.

INFORMANT	GENDER	AGE	PART OF OSLO	EDUCATION
A	M	16	WEST	STUDENT*
B	F	17	WEST	STUDENT*
C	F	18	EAST	STUDENT*
D	M	19	EAST	STUDENT*
E	M	28	WEST	HIGH
F	F	30	EAST	HIGH
G	M	37	EAST	LOW
H	F	39	EAST	LOW
I	M	72	EAST	LOW
J	M	80	WEST	HIGH
K	F	81	EAST	LOW
L	F	84	WEST	HIGH

**Table 3.15 Oslo informants’ biographical information**

**\*In the NoTa corpus, adolescents are grouped with family’s academic background. In the Hønefoss data this information is not used and so it is disregarded for this data set as well.**

## 3.6 Data Analysis, Statistics and the Comparative Analysis

### 3.6.1 The Recorded Data and the Social Information

The recorded speech collected in Hønefoss was transferred from the tape recorder to a computer for convenience in the quantitative analysis. Every interview was orthographically transcribed and the tokens were located in the sound files on the basis of these transcriptions. Cases where informants would imitate other speakers or accents were omitted from the analysis as they would give a false representation of the informant's vernacular.

The speech data was analysed auditorily, rather than instrumentally. The focus of the investigation is on the binary, sometimes ternary, choice between one local versus one or two regional variants. Determining the distinction between the variants was unproblematic on an auditory basis in all cases except the 3pl personal pronoun case. In a number of tokens (133) it was not possible to auditorily decide whether the vowel in an unstressed pronoun was closer to /e/ or /u/, and so to distinguish between the variants /dem/ and /dum/. These unstressed pronoun tokens have been left out of the analysis.

For each participant, the level of education was quantified. The adolescents all fall in the same education group 'still in school'. Adults without education beyond secondary school at 16 are rated 'no education'. Those with vocational training after or while in secondary school are rated 'vocational training'. Those informants with lower university level education, 1-3 years at a university college are rated 'lower university', while informants with more than 3 years at a university or a masters degree is rated 'higher university'.

Informants' attitude scores were calculated as well. The collected data was quantified and categorised into 7 groups ranging from very negative (0) to very positive (6) (3 was a neutral score) for questions about attitudes towards the local city, the dialect and the capital city. For the direct questions about what informants would call their own speech; if they would rather have come from somewhere else; how far one has to travel before people start sounding different and how often they visit the capital city, every type of answer received its own score for the analysis and were not added up for each separate informant. The answers never fell into more than 6 different categories.

### **3.6.2 VARBRUL and Comparative Sociolinguistics**

Three different programs are used to perform the statistical analyses for this investigation. Two are used to perform multivariate analyses (multiple logistic regressions): Goldvarb (Sankoff D., Tagliamonte S.A., & Smith E., 2005) and Rbrul (Johnson 2008) for R (GNU General). SPSS version 16 is used to perform ANOVAs (Repeated Measures) on the experimental results and for the computing of Pearson's correlation coefficients to explore the connection between attitudes and dialect usage. The analyses done in SPSS are discussed in section 3.6.3.

Multivariate models were created with two versions of VARBRUL (cf. Cedergren and Sankoff, 1974) programmes (Rbrul and Goldvarb X) on the quantitative data from the sociolinguistic interviews. The multivariate analysis is particularly useful in sociolinguistic interviews as they take into account variable sizes of token numbers. Rbrul (Johnson, 2008) is used primarily to investigate in depth the effect of the continuous variables age, and to see whether there is any

speaker (random) effect on the variation in the quantitative analysis. Goldvarb X (Sankoff; Tagliamonte & Smith, 2005) does not present the opportunity to model continuous variables. The statistical output presented in the results chapters is primarily that from Goldvarb, but the results from Rbrul are commented upon in the respective results chapters if they provide further information about the results. Johnson (2008) uses Rbrul on the stress variation data from the sociolinguistic interviews presented in chapter 4 to test whether the Goldvarb results presented in the current investigation are robust. His analysis output is the same as that from the Goldvarb analysis presented in this thesis.

The constraint hierarchies that are the output of VARBRUL can provide an interesting aspect to the study of regional dialect levelling. A comparison of the ranking of constraints (social and internal factors) on variation between two locations Hønefoss and Oslo can provide more information about the background of regional dialect levelling. Comparative variationist studies have been employed to a large extent in historical linguistics but also in some synchronic studies (for an overview see Tagliamonte, 2002). For its application in this study, the method consists of comparing orders and effects of constraints on variation in different linguistic varieties (cf. Tagliamonte, 2002: 737). Variationist studies that have used this methodology focus on the ordering and effect of linguistic constraints, often to establish language universals or to establish whether dialects are related (cf. Horvath and Horvath, 2003). The method has been employed successfully in establishing a common source to language change in progress in American and British dialects of English (e.g. Poplack and Tagliamonte, 1999) or to establish a common source variety for a number of different varieties of Early African American Englishes (Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001: 232). In an



investigation of l-vocalisation in Australian and New Zealand English, Horvath and Horvath (2003) compare constraint hierarchies from 9 different localities in Australasia. Their findings show some variability in the consistency of factors across localities but certain linguistic constraints on l-vocalisation are stable across all the varieties of English (Horvath and Horvath, 2003).

Studies employing a comparative methodology show that related varieties share common constraints on variation in parts of their grammar. This investigation explores whether regional dialect levelling entails shared constraint hierarchies on linguistic variation in two localities. It is hypothesised that varieties that have converged should display similar roles played by social constraints on variation. The aim of the comparative investigation of Oslo and Hønefoss speech is therefore not only to see if the two varieties are similar on the surface, with similar usage rates of the variants in the localities as a whole, but also if the constraints behind the variation are near-identical.

The results from Goldvarb are presented in factor weights that express the relative effect on variation of each factor. A factor weight lower than .49 (down to .00) means that the factor does not favour the application value (in this thesis the application value is always the usage of the local linguistic variant). A factor weight of .51 or higher (up to 1.0) means that the application value is favoured. A factor weight of .50 is neutral. An example would be if the factor female gender was modelled with a factor weight of .67 for the application of initial stress in the multivariate model. This means that a female gender influences the probability that initial stress will be applied with a weight of .67. The creation of constraint hierarchies is done on the basis of the ranges of factor weights within an independent variable. If in the same model as above, male speakers are

modelled with a factor weight of .32, disfavoured the application of initial stress, the range of the independent variable gender is .32 subtracted from .67: 35 (cf. Tagliamonte 2006). The relative sizes of the ranges are ordered into constraint hierarchies, where the factor with the highest range is first in the hierarchy.

### **3.6.3 The Statistical Analysis of Experimental and Attitudinal Data**

The results from the matched guise experiment are analysed with ANOVAs. In the matched guise test, the same population of listeners heard the same sentences in all conditions. An ANOVA that takes this into account, the repeated measures ANOVA, is therefore employed for the analysis. Post-hoc tests (Tukey) were done for the experimental data to explore whether certain guises behaved in similar fashion.

The Pearson bivariate correlation coefficient was used in SPSS to describe the relationship between attitudes (only the ones that could be quantified on a scale) and individuals' percentage of usage of dialectal variants in Hønefoss. This analysis was applied on the data set as a whole.

To analyse whether the difference between young and old adolescent girls was significant, chi-square tests were conducted for every linguistic variable on the observed usage rates of the linguistic variants for the speakers of the two age groups.

## 4 Results

This chapter presents the results from the quantitative, qualitative and experimental analysis of regional dialect levelling in East Norway. In sections with quantitative analyses of the linguistic variables, a presentation of the results from Hønefoss will be given primary focus, succeeded by the results from the Oslo data. In section 4.1 the results from the quantitative analysis of the prosodic variable, stress assignment, are presented. Section 4.2 is concerned with the social meaning of stress assignment and shows the results from the qualitative analysis of stress variation in Hønefoss. Section 4.3 presents the results from the quantitative analysis of the *3p/* pronoun variable. Section 4.4 covers the results from the analysis of the phonological variable <rd>, and section 4.5 covers the results from the morphological variable definite plural suffix for neuter and masculine nouns. Section 4.6 deals with the read data and stylistic differences found in the Hønefoss data set. Section 4.7 presents the overt attitudinal data collected in Hønefoss and the correlation between these and language use. Section 4.8 presents results from the matched guise experiment that elicits covertly held attitudes in Hønefoss.

## 4.1 Stress Variation in non-Germanic Loan Words

This section presents the results from the quantitative analysis of the prosodic variable, word stress variation in non-Germanic loan words, in the investigation of regional dialect levelling in East Norway. The linguistic and its variants are illustrated in figure 4.1.1 below. To present an analysis of the variation of stress in East Norwegian, the theoretical and sociolinguistic background to the variable is first described in detail. Sections 4.1.1-4.1.2 discuss the linguistic variable while sections 4.1.3-4.1.6 are concerned with the phonology and phonetics of stress in Norwegian. Section 4.1.7 is concerned with stress variation in other languages. Sections 4.1.8-4.1.9 discuss the sociolinguistic background to the stress variable and potential factors that can influence stress variation in Hønefoss and Oslo speech. Section 4.1.10 briefly presents the methodology for token collection from the Oslo corpus for this particular variable. Results from the stress variation analysis in Hønefoss are presented in section 4.1.11 with the outcome of the multivariate analysis with external and internal constraints presented in section 4.1.12. The results from Oslo are presented in section 4.1.13 with a small comparative analysis of the two locations, while section 4.1.14 gives a short summary of the findings.

Linguistic variable 1: Stress variation in non-Germanic loan words			
	<u>Variant 1</u>	<u>Variant 2</u>	
	(Hønefoss)	(supra-local)	
	Initial stress	Stress to the right in a word	
<i>Example</i>	[ <sup>1</sup> ban.nan]	[bə <sup>1</sup> na:n]	(‘banana’)

Figure 4.1.1. An illustration of linguistic variable 1: stress variation in non-Germanic loan words

#### 4.1.1 The Linguistic Variable: Stress in non-Germanic Loan Words

The linguistic variable dealt with in this chapter is variation in stress in non-Germanic loan words. Stress in this type of words can fall either on the initial syllable (variant 1) or it can fall on a syllable that is non-initial (variant 2). The first is a variant that, as will be discussed in more detail below, is socially stigmatised, while the second variant is a more prestigious linguistic variant. Almost all *native* Norwegian mono-morphemic words are stressed on their initial syllable by speakers whose phonology is East Norwegian.

The variable context chosen for this investigation was non-Germanic words, although variable stress placement exists in a number of environments in Norwegian. Stress placement can also be variable in loan words from other Germanic languages, and in verb and particle constructions like *hoppe ut* ‘jump out’ or *gå ned* ‘go down’ where either the initial syllable of the verb or the particle can receive primary stress (cf. Kristoffersen, 2000: 165). Previous literature indicates that it is only in the (non-Germanic) loan word context that initial stress is socially stigmatised (Kristoffersen, 2000).

The words discussed here are not recent loans into Norwegian, but have rather been used in the language for centuries and are, in some cases, frequent Norwegian lexical items. Certain words are terms for common aspects of everyday life that never had a Norse or Old Norwegian equivalent, examples of which are Latinate and Greek words that are also common in English: *trafikk* ‘traffic’ *gitar* ‘guitar’ and *teater* ‘theatre’. Of Norwegian dictionary entries approximately 10% consists of these kinds of loanwords (Språkrådet, 2007). An explanation must be made about the terminology used. A ‘loanword’ does not refer to a recent borrowing in this context. This investigation does not

explore the adaptation of borrowings in speakers' phonetic or phonological repertoire. A borrowing can be defined, simply, as 'the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another' (Haugen, 1950: 212). A lexical borrowing becomes a loanword when conventionalised into the receiver language. The adaptation of these loanwords into the Norwegian language is long since completed which gives no possibility of providing direct analysis of speakers' phonological adaptations for the new words. For a discussion of such loanword adaptation and the social constraints that exists thereon, see e.g. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988).

#### **4.1.2 Circumscribing the Variable Context**

The variable context for the stress variable is in non-Germanic loan words that have the East Norwegian tonal accent 1. A number of loan words exist that are not part of the current variable context, and these are briefly discussed below.

Firstly, in the Oslo and Hønefoss areas of East Norway, stress variation does not occur in loan words that are assigned a tonal accent 2 (this tonal accent distinction will be discussed in more detail in section 4.1.5 below).

*Germanic* loan words are also excluded from the current analysis of stress variation. In previous sociolinguistic investigations of stress variation in East Norwegian, a distinction between loan words from Germanic and non-Germanic languages have not been made (cf. Ulseth, 1978; Jahnsen, 2001; Røyneland, 2005 *inter alia*), but stress variation data collected in these studies concern, to the researcher's knowledge, words of non-Germanic origin only.

While non-Germanic loan words are phonotactically different to native Norwegian words, Germanic loan words can, phonotactically speaking, be very

similar to native words. To ensure a clear-cut variable context it was decided to exclude Germanic loan words as these can sometimes be hard to distinguish from native Norwegian morphemes. Some examples of words that can sound particularly native (as they consist of native morphemes) include *vanvittig* ‘insane’, *undervise* ‘teach’ and *selvstendig* ‘independent’. All are loans from Low-German or German, and in the Hønefoss dialect, all can undergo stress shift between the initial and a more right-bound syllable. These words can also be viewed as compounds of two native lexemes *van + vittig*, *under + vise* and *selv + stendig*. Both Germanic and non-Germanic loanwords were introduced to the Norwegian language during the Middle Ages (Katlev, 2000).

Although the envelope of variation in the current study excludes all words of Germanic origin, a number of words included in this analysis are found in other Germanic languages, including English. These include the words mentioned above, *trafikk* ‘traffic’, *gitar* ‘guitar’ and *teater* ‘theatre’ as well as e.g. *spesiell* ‘special’, *funksjon* ‘function’ and *universitet* ‘university’. These words are not of Germanic, i.e. not of Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, German, Dutch or Scandinavian origin, but can perhaps better be viewed as internationalisms (e.g. Braun, 1985). The total number of tokens (non-Germanic loan words with tonal accent 1) for the stress analysis found in the Hønefoss data set is 769.

#### **4.1.3 A Definition of Stress**

In order to understand the variation it is first important to make clear what is meant by *stress* in this investigation. As Cruttenden (1997: 13) notes, the term stress has been used in ‘different and confusing ways’, both for prominence in syllables or vowels and for intensity or loudness of parts of an utterance. It is

also often used alongside the term *accent*, which most often describes the prominence created by a difference in *pitch*. Trubetzkoy defines accent as ‘the *culminative prominence* of a prosodeme’ (1969: 188) which, he continues, may be realised by increase in force, rise in pitch, lengthening and/or more emphatic or precise articulation (Trubetzkoy, 1969: 188). The four features *intensity*, *pitch*, *length* and *manner or place of articulation* are all ways of expressing prominence. All four features, however, are not necessarily part of the stress realisation system in a specific linguistic variety.

This study is concerned with word stress. In Norwegian, two features are always present in a primary stressed syllable: *length* and *pitch* (Kristoffersen, 2000:141). Length is also known as *quantity* and is in Norwegian realised through a long vowel, a consonant geminate or a consonant cluster, which all serve to make a syllable heavy. Pitch on a stressed syllable is realised by one of two Norwegian ‘tonal accents’.

#### **4.1.4 The Phonetics and Phonology of Norwegian Word Stress**

The description of stress in Norwegian given in the following sections is for clarification purposes. The identification of the two different variants of the stress variable is easy for a native Norwegian listener, but there exist some clear phonetic correlates to stress that can be described to the non-native reader (these are described shortly in this section and in some more detail in section 4.1.6). The theoretical phonological account of why certain words have stress variation while others do not is also relevant as background to the variationist study of stress variation and these accounts are therefore also discussed in sections below (in the current section as well as in section 4.1.5).



In East Norwegian words notes stressed syllables are of longer duration phonetically than unstressed syllables (Kristoffersen, 2000: 141). Primary stressed syllables in East Norwegian words also have a *lower* pitch than secondary or unstressed syllables, and East Norwegian dialects are therefore often referred to as *low tone dialects*. Pitch lowering is, however, only part of the process of primary stress realisation in Norwegian. The low pitch is part of the melody of one of the two Norwegian *tonal accents*. The tonal accents, described in depth in the next section, are referred to as tonal accent 1 and 2 and have two distinct melodies (LH and HLH). Most dialects of Norwegian have tonal accents, although some, noticeably the *Stril* dialect (cf. Kerswill, 1994), do not use lexical tones contrastively. To understand how stress is realised in East Norwegian, the tonal accents are described in the following sections.

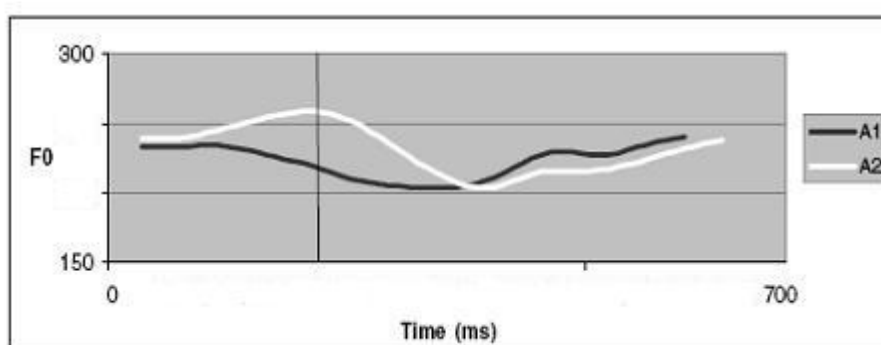
#### *4.1.4.1 Tonal accents in East Norwegian*

Tonal accents 1 and 2 are phonemic melodies that realise two distinctive and lexically determined patterns which can be the only distinguishing feature between minimal pairs. The tonal accents are, however, phonetically realised on stressed syllables only; they are dependent on the stress realisation system (e.g. Standwell, 1972: 335).

The tonal accents are also sometimes referred to as pitch accents, tonemes, tonic accents or phonemic pitch accents in literature (cf. Kristoffersen, 2000). It is important to note, however, that the term pitch accent for Norwegian is not used in the same way as it is for English and must not be confused with pitch that does not cause lexical contrast.

Below is a representation of the two melodies, tonal accent 1 (A1) and

tonal accent 2 (A2) in a speaker of ‘Urban East Norwegian’ (an accent that in Kristoffersen (2000) represents most urban East Norwegian varieties, including that of Oslo) from Kristoffersen (2006). The speaker is female, born in 1982 and the words portrayed are *levenet* ‘the noise’ (A1) and *levende* ‘alive’ (A2) uttered in a carrier sentence: *jeg sa ... nå* ‘I said ... now’. The vertical bar shows the onset of the stressed vowel, which in both cases is the first *e* [ɛ]. A fall to a low tone on the stressed syllable can be seen for both accents. The contours illustrate the patterns that have been established for the Oslo area tonal accents: tonal accent 1 has a LH melody, while tonal accent 2 has a HLH contour, where H stands for ‘high tone’ and L for ‘low tone’. The tonal accent 1 starts out on a low tone and rises to a higher tone, whereas accent 2 has a high tone, moves to a lower tone, and then rises again to a high tone.

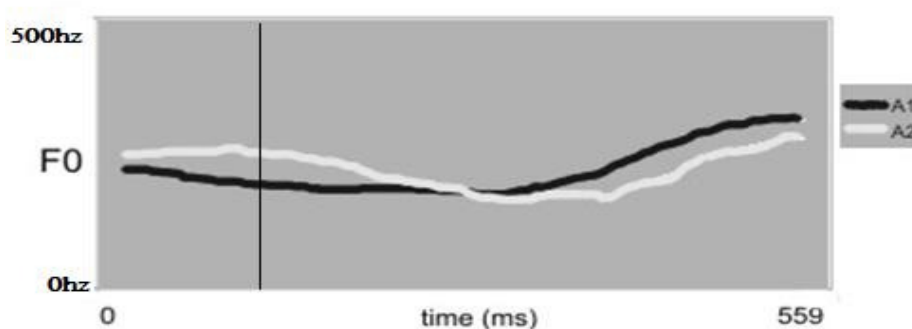


**Figure 4.1.2** A representation of accent 1 and 2 in Urban East Norwegian from Kristoffersen (2006) in words ‘levenet’ (A1) and ‘levende’ (A2).

#### 4.1.4.2. Tonal accents in Hønefoss

The tonal accents are a part of the Norwegian word stress realisation system and therefore an account of the tonal accent realisation in the Hønefoss dialect is necessary. No previous account exists, however. A recording of the same minimal pair as described above for the Oslo or ‘Urban East Norwegian’ was done by the researcher. The researcher is a female speaker born in 1981 and

raised in Hønefoss, living elsewhere since the age of 18. The words being uttered are the same as above, and in the same carrier sentence. The measurements below are clearly similar to that of Kristoffersen (2000) presented above. The first peak of tonal accent 2 comes a bit sooner in our recording, but the contours clearly follow the same pattern: a LH pattern in tonal accent 1 and a HLH pattern in tonal accent 2. The peak appears less dramatic in figure 4.1.3 because the representation is on a scale from 0-500hz instead of the scale from 150-300hz in figure 4.1.2.



**Figure 4.1.3 Tonal Accent 1 and 2 recorded by the researcher in same carrier sentence as illustrated in Figure 1**

So far this section has discussed *how* stress is realised in East Norwegian. The next section describes *where* stress is generally realised in Norwegian words.

#### *4.1.4.3 Examples of Word Stress Placement in Norwegian*

To be able to explain the theoretical background to stress variation in Norwegian, a basic description of stress placement must be presented first.

In lexical items that are natively Norwegian (of Old Norwegian morphemes), stress generally falls on the leftmost syllable of the root, as in examples 4.1.1 a-d.

4.1.1 a.	/ˈsɔ.və/	<i>sove</i>	‘sleep’
b.	/ˈspi.stə/	<i>spiste</i>	‘ate’
c.	/ˈpʰæ.tər/	<i>puter</i>	‘pillows’
d.	/ˈkɑn.ə.nə/	<i>kannene</i>	‘the kettles’

Words of foreign origin, however, are only rarely stressed on the initial syllable in East Norwegian. These words more often have stress on the penultimate or ultimate syllable. Stress often falls on the same syllable as in the language the words are borrowed from (*dictated* and *edits* are Latin borrowed from French, *traffic* is Italian but borrowed from French and *dialect* is a Greek loan):

4.1.2 a.	/dɪk.ˈtɛrt/	<i>diktert</i>	‘dictated’
b.	/rɛdɪˈgɛ.rər/	<i>redigerer</i>	‘edits’
c.	/tra.ˈfɪk/	<i>trafikk</i>	‘traffic’
d.	/dɪɐˈlɛk.tə.nə/	<i>dialektene</i>	‘the dialects’

It is only in the words of foreign origin (of the type illustrated in 4.1.2) that stress variation (our linguistic variable) occurs. Before discussing this variation, however, a short overview is given of the phonological theories behind the differences in stress placement between words of native and of foreign origin.

#### 4.1.4.4 Accounts of Norwegian Word Stress

The difference in stress placement in native and non-native words has been described in a number of phonological accounts. Some extensive theories account for the two different patterns. Early ones include Fretheim (1969),

Standwell (1972) and Endresen (1977). Fretheim (1969) incorporates two different rules for stress assignment, one for the native part of the vocabulary and one for the non-native. The rule for the native part assigns primary stress to the vowel in any leftmost syllable of a domain, while the other, referred to as the ‘Graeco-Romance rule’, assigns primary stress to the right in the domain. Fretheim (1969) states that his own theory is too simplistic to account for a lot of cases of stress placement, especially for polysyllabic loan words with initial stress.

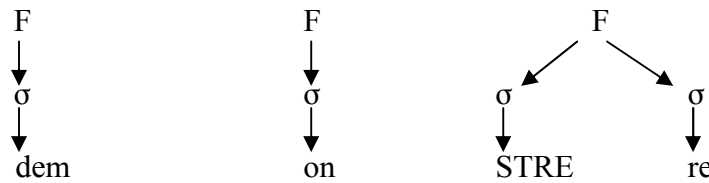
Standwell (1972) formulates a rule that assumes underlying long vowels and geminates in the linguistic system. In his theory, stress is assigned to the final long syllable of any domain. Because morphologically simple native words are monosyllabic in Norwegian, the rule is able to account for stress in these words. For non-native words, the rule accounts for words that have final stress. A number of exceptions exist to this rule. A large number of non-native words are stressed on the (ante) penultimate syllable, for example, like *anemone* ‘anemone’ that has primary stress on the penultimate syllable [mu].

Another analysis of stress assignment is Endresen (1977) who states that a syllable is stressed if it has a tone movement (tonal accent 1 or 2) that deviates from that of other syllables, or that makes it stand out in a word (Endresen, 1977: 365). Endresen notes that the tonal accent should be the ‘point of departure’ for a theory of stress assignment and that the stressed syllable of a word can be located as the one differing in melody. He thus uses the tonal accents as his starting point and states that stressed and unstressed syllables have different underlying tonal contours. The problem with this theory is that the tonal accents are lexically bound and mostly unpredictable. Assuming that

tonal accents are a feature of an underlying grammar, therefore, also means that stress is unpredictable, as there is no way of predicting which underlying tone is associated with which word.

The most complete theory of stress assignment to date is that of Kristoffersen (2000). He presents a theory of stress assignment within a generative framework. Kristoffersen (2000) assumes that neither consonant nor vowel length are part of the underlying representation of Norwegian language. This is different from the earlier accounts that all assume either vowel or consonant length present. Instead of relying on segment length, Kristoffersen uses syllable *weight* as the cue for stress assignment. He differs between closed (VC, CVC or CVCC) and open syllables (V or CV) when it comes to weight and states that the first are heavy (or super heavy) and the latter light. The foot structure Kristoffersen (2000: 158) employs in his analysis is the moraic trochee put forward in Hayes (1995) as one of three foot types (the other ones being the syllabic trochee and the iamb). The trochee is a left headed stress foot. A heavy syllable (CVC or CVCC) can constitute a moraic trochee on its own, and thus attract stress. A light syllable, however, cannot build a stress foot on its own. A light syllable has to join forces with another light syllable to be assigned stress or it will remain without. If a stress foot, or moraic trochee, is built by two syllables, it is the leftmost syllable that attracts the main stress. In Norwegian, moraic trochees are built from right to left from the edge of a word. Let us turn to example 4.1.3 to see how foot construction works in a non-Germanic loanword in Norwegian.

4.1.3 Foot construction in the verb *demonstrere* ‘demonstrate’.



What we see from example 4.1.3 is a moraic trochee built from the right edge of the verb on the two open syllables to the right in the word. Main stress is assigned to the left in the foot, so the syllable STRE gets primary stress.

Another two stress feet are built on the initial and second syllable.

4.1.4.5 Kristoffersen’s Main Stress Rule (2000)

In linguistic theory, the variation this section discusses, stress variation, comes about after main stress has been assigned in a word (Kristoffersen, 2000). In loan words, the outcome of this main stress rule constitutes linguistic variant 2 for this research, stress on a syllable to the right in a word. Kristoffersen’s theory successfully predicts this type of stress, and indeed predicts stress successfully in the majority of Norwegian words. Example 4.4 shows the non-Germanic loanword (root) *logoped* ‘speech therapist’ with two light and one heavy syllable. According to Kristoffersen (2000), the moraic trochee stress foot is built from the right and can contain only the heavy syllable. Stress is thus placed on the final syllable. The first two syllables remain unstressed:

4.1.4. Word	=	CVCVCVC	→	CVCV ['CVC]
<i>Logoped</i>	=	CVCVCVC	→	[lugu'pɛ:d]

In example 4.1.5 is the loan word (root) *bagasje* ‘baggage’ (/bagaʃə/) with three light syllables. The stress foot is built from the right over the two light syllables. Stress is then applied to the leftmost vowel of the foot. The first foot remains unstressed the word the penultimate syllable is stressed because a stress foot is built on the last two light syllables:

4.1.5. Word	=	CVCVCV	→	CV ['CVCV]
<i>Bagasje</i>	=	CVCVCV	→	[bɑ <sup>1</sup> gɑ:ʃə]

Kristoffersen’s theory has to stipulate the exception that certain affixes are stress-neutral and not part of a stress foot (this is the case for suffix *-nde* to stem *leve* in example *levende* ‘alive’ in figures 4.1.2 and 4.1.3). These affixes include inflectional morphemes, morphemes that mark tense and number, for instance. Some derivational affixes are also part of this group. For more details see Kristoffersen (2000: 171). Kristoffersen’s account predicts stress correctly once the affixes have been classified as stress-neutral, that means unavailable for the stress-foot building system.

#### 4.1.5 The Variation: Movement of Stress to the Initial Syllable

While the main stress rule put forward by Kristoffersen (discussed in the previous section) predicts stress correctly for the majority of East Norwegian words, it does not account for the feature that the current investigation focuses on: stress variation. Described below is the theoretical background of how certain Norwegian lexical items can undergo stress movement, and therefore also how variant 1 in this investigation, initial stress, occurs.



In addition to the theory of primary word stress in East Norwegian put forward in Kristoffersen (2000), a second rule regarding stress exists and complicates matters further, especially for loan words. Speakers of many East Norwegian dialects have a choice to move stress from the position described above (linguistic variant 2 in the current study) and to a more leftwards position in the word (linguistic variant 1 in the current study). A second stress foot may be built on the left edge of a word. This left stress foot comes in addition to the one built from the right, illustrated above in examples 4.1.3-4.1.5. Speakers have a choice to move stress to the initial (left) syllable of the word (linguistic variant 1). The account of this movement is put forward in Kristoffersen (2000) as the Initial Primary Stress Rule (IPSR). This rule must apply after primary stress has been assigned (Kristoffersen, 2000). The occurrence of the linguistic variant 1, initial stress, thus means that stress is moved to the initial syllable after the application of stress on a syllable to the right of the word, linguistic variant 2.

Kristoffersen (2000) notes that in varieties spoken around Oslo initial stress (linguistic variant 1) can only be applied to words where the main stress rule has already assigned tonal accent 1. If the (loan) word has tonal accent 2 after being assigned primary stress, the rule cannot apply and stress cannot be moved to the initial position. This constraint also applies to stress movement in the Hønefoss dialect. The variable context is thus circumscribed. The variable context for the study of stress variation is loan words of non-Germanic origin that are assigned tonal accent 1 after the application of primary stress.

Example 4.1.6 illustrates how the IPSR works, or how initial stress (variant 1) occurs, in the two words from example 4.1.2 above (with primary

stress to the right edge of the word) *diktert* ‘dictated’ and *redigerer* ‘edits’. In 4.1.6 a) *diktert* ‘dictated’ becomes [ˈdɪk<sub>1</sub>tɛrt], after two stress feet are built on the root: one on the first CVC /dɪk/ and one on the second, /tɛrt/. Stress is then moved from the second foot (linguistic variant 2) to the initial (linguistic variant 1). In 4.1.6 b) *redigerer* ‘edits’ becomes [ˈrɛd<sub>1</sub>dɪ.gɛː.rɔ̃r] (the final [r] is a stress neutral suffix). Two stress feet are built on the root: one on the initial CVC /rɛd/ and one on the final CVC /gɛr/. Stress can then be moved from the final foot of the root (linguistic variant 2) to the initial (linguistic variant 1).

4.1.6 a.	[ˈdɪk.tɛrt]	<i>diktert</i>	‘dictated’
b.	[ˈrɛd.dɪ.gɛː.rɔ̃r]	<i>redigerer</i>	‘edits’

Note how in example 4.1.6 the initial syllable in b. is lengthened with a consonant gemination.

#### 4.1.6. The Phonetic Realisation of Primary Stress in Hønefoss Norwegian

Loanwords where stress is moved from a syllable to the right in the word (linguistic variant 2) to the initial syllable (linguistic variant 1) are good illustrations of the different length and pitch correlates of stress in East Norwegian. This section therefore briefly describes how the two variants distinguished between in the current study can be identified acoustically.

The distinction between the two variants of stress in non-Germanic loanwords in East Norwegian is uncomplicated to make for a native speaker. As described above, primary word stress is realised phonetically both by length and tonal accent (Kristoffersen, 2000: 141). Even without the tonal accent, the

duration of the stressed syllable in comparison to other syllables' duration in the word are cues enough to make a distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables within one word.

To illustrate this, recordings made by the researcher are presented below showing the acoustic distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables in East Norwegian. Figures 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 below show spectrograms and text grids of the sentence *jeg sa gitar nå* 'I said guitar now' with the non-Germanic loanword 'guitar'. Figure 4.1.4 shows this word pronounced with ultimate stress assigned by the main stress rule (linguistic variant 2), and figure 4.1.5 shows realisation with initial stress after stress movement to the initial syllable (linguistic variant 1).

The two realisations of 'guitar' in 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 are almost identical in total duration. The most noticeable difference between the two realisations of the word is the consonant geminate that is produced in *gitar* in 4.1.5 making the initial syllable of that word almost twice as long as the initial syllable of the same word in figure 4.1.4. This is seen in the long period without phonation in 4.1.5 where the consonant geminate is produced. The second syllable is in both cases counted from the transient, or release of /t/. Figures 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 thus illustrate the realisation of stress as segment length. Auditorily, these primary stressed syllables can easily be identified by length cues only.

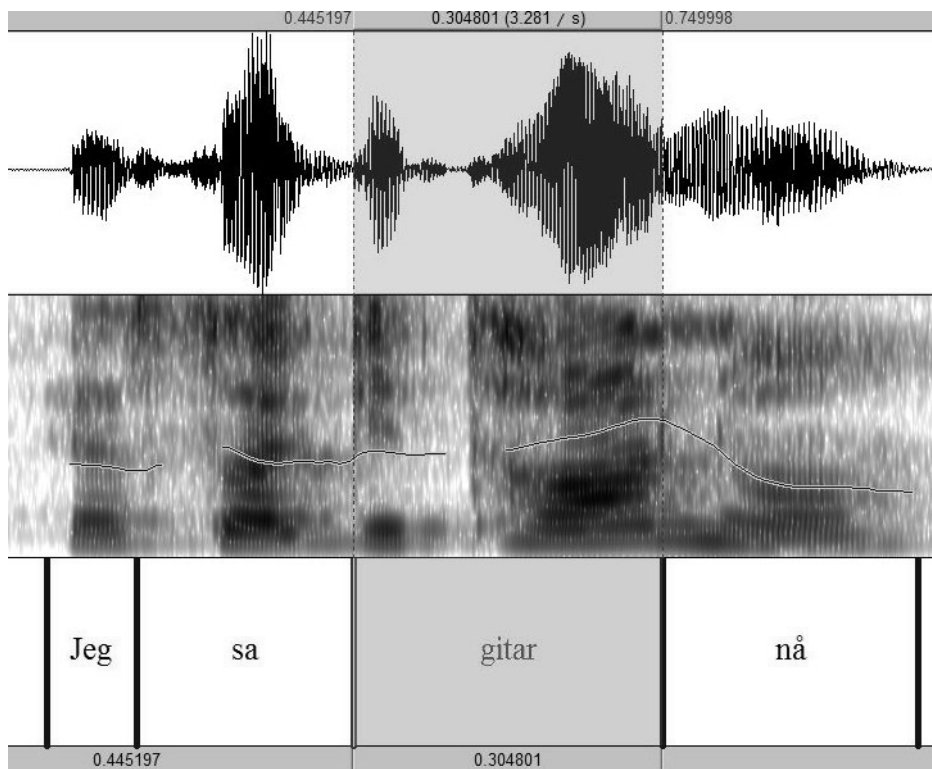


Figure 4.1.4 Loanword *gitar* ‘guitar’ with ultimate stress and long second syllable

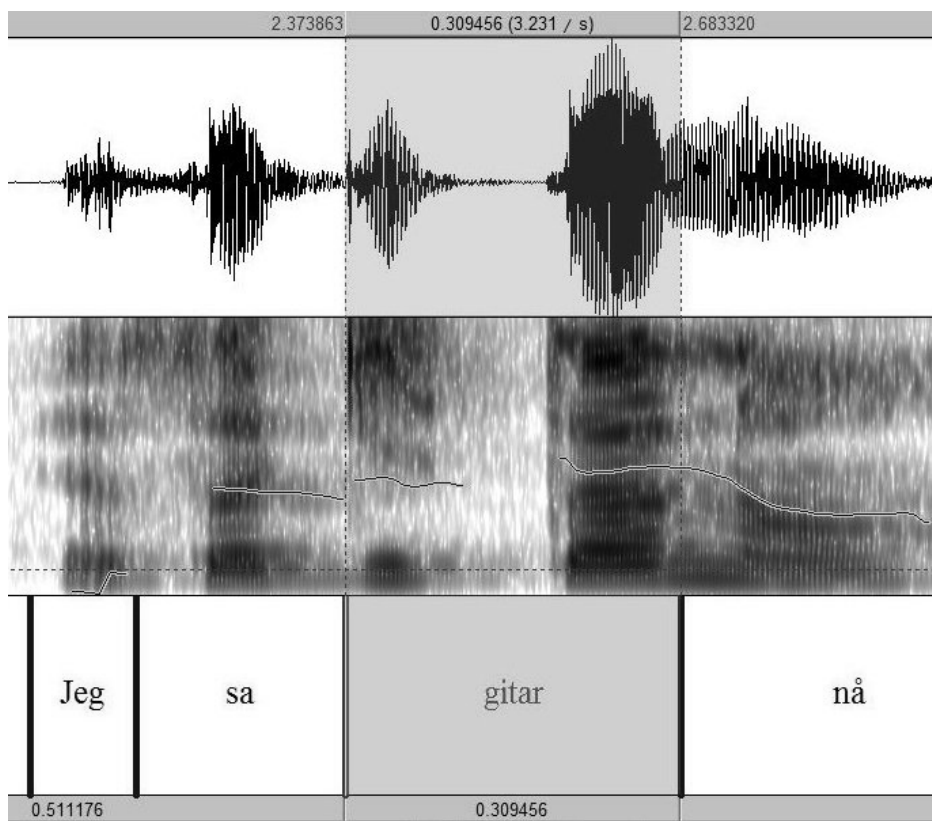
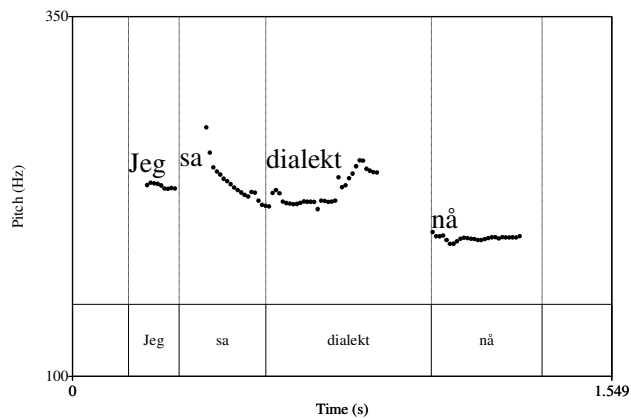
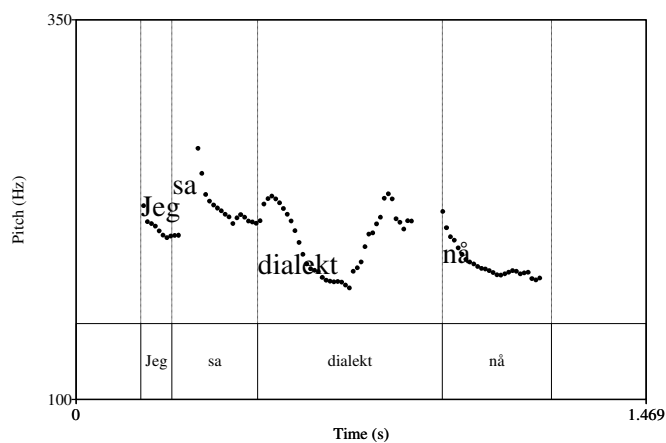


Figure 4.1.5 Loanword *gitar* ‘guitar’ with initial stress and long initial syllable

The realisation of stress by tonal accent was briefly discussed in section 4.1.4. In figures 4.1.6 and 4.1.7 below the pitch contours in the realisation of the loan *dialekt* ‘dialect’ are traced. Figure 4.1.6 shows the word with ultimate stress, and a tonal accent 1. This is an illustration of the tonal pattern of linguistic variant 2. Figure 4.1.7 shows the word *dialekt* ‘dialect’ after stress movement to the initial syllable and its resulting tonal accent 2. This is an illustration of the tonal pattern of the linguistic variant 1, initial stress. The carrier sentence is the same as the one employed for figures 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 ‘I said \_ now’.



**Figure 4.1.6 Pitch contour of loanword ‘dialect’ with ultimate stress and tonal accent 1**



**Figure 4.1.7 Pitch contour of loanword ‘dialect’ with initial stress and tonal accent 2**

In figure 4.1.6 the pitch contour is rising over the stressed third syllable of

[di.ɐ'lɛkt], which is the expected LH contour discussed in 4.1.4.2. In figure 4.1.7, however, we see that the pitch contour of ['di:ɐ.lɛkt] with initial stress has the HLH pattern of a tonal accent 2, also described in section 4.1.4.2. The initially stressed loanword starts at a level contour and then moves into a fall rise contour.

The examples above have illustrated the phonetic correlates of stress in the Hønefoss variety. It is important to point out, however, that the identification of stress in non-Germanic loanwords is unproblematic on an auditory basis by a native listener. The relative duration of the stressed syllable in comparison to the other syllables of the lexical item is a reliable basis for the identification of stress. The coding of the variants was done on a binary basis: linguistic variant 1 means initial stress (IPSR, or stress movement, applied) while linguistic variant 2 means that stress is applied on a syllable to the right in a word (no application of IPSR, or stress movement).

#### **4.1.7 Stress Variability in Other Languages**

##### *4.1.7.1 English*

Before moving on to the social variation of stress movement, a note must be made about the similarity of the phenomenon of stress variation in Norwegian to that of other languages. Although it has not been dealt with extensively in sociolinguistic studies, the variation of stress assignment in loan words also occurs in English. The variation is often said to be mainly dialectal between American and British English speakers, but is also found within the UK. Jones (1963) notes that 'the stressing of some words varies according to localities and sometimes with individuals in the same locality' describing a distinction

between the North and the South of the UK. Examples of words where this stress distinction exists in the UK, according to Jones (1963) are ‘criticise’ and ‘interview’ that have initial stress in RP, but are stressed on the third syllable in certain Northern varieties, and ‘magazine’ and ‘vibrate’ that have initial stress in certain Northern varieties but are stressed on a later syllable in RP.

The best-known example of stress variation in English is perhaps that between British and American varieties, and here the environment that the variation occurs in is more often than not (French) loanwords. Some examples include ‘garage’ ‘adult’ and ‘cigarette’ where in RP the first two tokens are stressed on the initial syllable and the last is stressed on the second syllable, and in American English the opposite pattern is prescriptively correct. It is plausible, however, that if variation exists between the two dialects of English, there will be variation within the different varieties as well. In fact Bronstein (1960) emphasises that in American English dialectal stress variations occur, also in loanwords such as the examples above. In Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006), the variation is described as regional. To the researcher’s knowledge there are no quantitative studies of variable word stress in varieties of English. The social variation and meaning of this stress variability is unknown to the researcher.

#### *4.1.7.2 Polish*

Another language where loanword stress variation exists is Polish. Abramowicz (2008) investigates stress alternation in Polish, the variability of which occurs mostly in loan words. The Polish situation is thus similar to Norwegian. Instead of stress alternation between the initial and a more right bound syllable, though, the alternation is between antepenultimate and penultimate syllable. The variation is constrained socially. There is clear style stratification in his data,

with the antepenultimate stress mostly used in the formal style. Interestingly, stress in loan-nouns seem to be a ‘stable variable’ (cf. Labov, 2000) in the communities investigated in the study.

In addition to external factors, Abramowicz (2008) also investigated linguistic internal constraints on variation. He found that neither grammatical number nor case had a significant effect on stress variability in loanwords, whereas word frequency shows a small effect on a subset of the tokens (Abramowicz, 2008: 181). Morphological word class of a lexical item affects stress variation in Polish and words with the *-ik* morpheme and foreign words favour antepenultimate stress. It is also hypothesised by Abramowicz (2008) that ‘following word stress’ will play a role to which syllable speakers stress. The results do not fully bear out this prediction, however and Abramowicz’ (2008) results show that social factors are better predictors than linguistic internal ones for the variation of stress assignment in Polish.

#### **4.1.8 The Sociolinguistics of Stress Variation in Norway**

Variable stress assignment is available to speakers in most areas of East Norway. The variants discussed in this chapter are not local to Hønefoss. The studies discussed below indicate, however, that initial stress is disappearing from varieties spoken in major urban areas in the region. The initial stress variant (linguistic variant 1) is a socially stigmatised variant.

Norwegian dictionaries, including the online dictionary made available from the Institute of Linguistic and Nordic Studies at the University of Oslo, indicate stress in non-Germanic loan words. In these dictionaries, stress is indicated by an apostrophe and is marked *consistently* where primary stress



falls before it can be moved to the initial syllable (i.e. as linguistic variant 2). Word stress is *never* marked in a dictionary on a loanword's initial syllable in these prescriptive works.

This fact is rather surprising if one takes into account the Norwegian language council *Språkrådet's* official stance in the issue. *Språkrådet* state in a published document (*Språkrådet*, 2001) that they will not officially standardise any pronunciation of Norwegian, but give guidelines when it comes to spoken language. This official statement was made by the council in the same document (my translation):

'In types of words that have two patterns of stress placement, both patterns should be allowed in standard language pronunciation (e.g. both /ˈu:ansvarleg/ 'irresponsible' and /uanˈsva:rleg/ 'irresponsible' [...] both /ˈa:vis/ 'newspaper' and /aˈvi:s/ 'newspaper'). Stress placements that do not follow traditional geographical patterns, like /kaˈo:s/ 'chaos', /viˈde:o/ 'video', /oˈpe:ra/ 'opera' and /dataˈba:se/ 'database' are not recommended. Stress in newly created words (c.f. *database* 'database') should follow traditional Norwegian patterns' (*Språkrådet* 2001)

The guidelines above clearly accept initial stress as one of the two allowed forms of pronouncing non-Germanic loanwords (note that the words listed under 'stress placements that do not follow traditional geographical patterns' are not part of the variable context in the current investigation because Kristoffersen's (2000) main stress rule already applies initial stress to these words). On the basis of these guidelines, it is unexpected that dictionaries choose one stress placement over another.

To a Norwegian, however, this fact is perhaps less surprising than to an outsider. The dictionaries provide guidelines that, rather than reflecting

officially accepted norms, probably reflect the social position that one stress variant has with the dictionary editors. In the Norwegian capital, initial stress (linguistic variant 1) is, according to Røyneland (2005: 159) ‘the most socially stigmatised feature of rural or lower prestige East Norwegian speech’. Stress variation is not codified in orthography. There is no variability in writing that reflects the two different pronunciation forms. Whether Bokmål spelling favours one stress pattern above the other, will be discussed in section 4.1.11.9, however.

There are two reasons why stress in loanwords has been investigated to a large extent in the Norwegian sociolinguistic literature. First of all, it is a variable that exists in the entire region of East Norway, from Trondheim in the north of East Norway, to south of Oslo. As mentioned earlier, this is the area of Norway that is the most densely populated, and a number of sociolinguistic investigations have been carried out in this area during the years (Fintoft Mjaavatn, 1980; Jahr, 1986; Kristiansen, 1995; Skolseg, 1996; Jahnsen, 2001, just to mention a few). Secondly, initial stress (linguistic variant 1) is probably one of the most salient features of East Norwegian speech, by which is meant that East Norwegians are aware of the existence of two variants and, at some conscious level, aware of the variants’ social position (e.g. Skjekkeland, 2005).

#### *4.1.8.1 Stress Variation in Oslo*

For the investigation of linguistic norms and the role of the capital city in regional dialect levelling, data on stress variability from Oslo is necessary. The TAUS (section 2.2.6.1) investigation in Oslo in the 1970s did not include stress in loanwords as one of their variables which means that no large scale investigation in the capital city has investigated the social variation of stress in

East Norwegian.

Jahnsen (2001) investigates adolescents' attitudes towards traditional East Norwegian linguistic variants. Her study was conducted on two locations in the capital city, one was the traditionally working class location on the east-side of Oslo, and the other was a more upper-class area in the west-side of Oslo. It was found that adolescents in the two areas reported differently on language use, but usage of stress movement to the initial syllable (linguistic variant 1) was an unpopular feature in both locations (Jahnsen, 2001).

14% of the east-side adolescents reported using initial stress, whereas the western adolescents reported never to use it. The literature on Oslo, then, suggests that initial stress could be a stigmatised feature in the city.

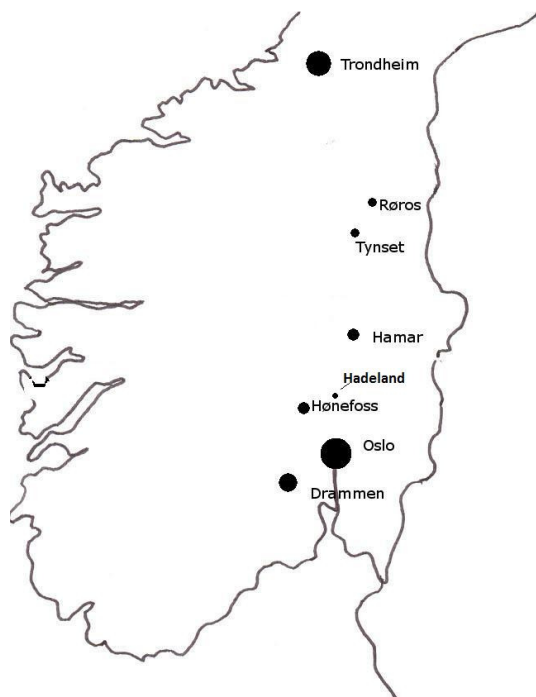
Unfortunately Jahnsen's data does not say anything about actual language usage in Oslo. The data reported, however, indicate that initial stress could be obsolete in the western part of Oslo. If Oslo speech is, indeed, losing initial stress and if it is the norm for speakers in Hønefoss, we can predict that the linguistic feature might be disappearing from the Hønefoss variety as well.

Data of the usage of initial stress in the capital is therefore crucial to explore regional dialect levelling in East Norway. Unfortunately Jahnsen's (2001) data is limited and tells us little about a potential generational change in Oslo. An additional study of stress variability in Oslo will therefore be conducted, using the NoTa corpus (described in section 3.5).

#### *4.1.8.2 Stress Variation in Oslo-Periphery Centres*

A number of the sociolinguistic studies of East Norwegian discussed in section 2.3.5 have investigated usage of stress variation. These have been conducted in *Drammen* (Kristiansen, 1995), *Hamar* (Holland, 2001), *Romerike* (Skolseg,

1994) and *Hadeland* (Skramstad, 1999). The first two locations are urban centres; the latter rural areas, all situated in the area close to Oslo in East Norway, illustrated in figure 4.1.8.



**Figure 4.1.8 Urban centres of South Norway including towns Drammen (Kristiansen 1994); Hamar (Holland 2001), Røros and Tynset (Røynealand 2005).**

The largest city outside Oslo in the south of East Norway is Drammen. No large sociolinguistic study has been conducted there, but Kristiansen (1995) investigated language attitudes and reported language use among 16-19 year olds. She found that initial stress in loanwords was deemed an ‘unattractive’ feature of speech by the teenagers. Overall the teenagers report using initial stress 36.9% of the time although the linguistic feature scores second on the ranking of dialect markers the adolescents want to lose in their speech. These findings tell us little about the actual usage of initial stress in loan words, but if we compare the findings to Jahnsen’s (2001) in Oslo we can draw some preliminary conclusions. The feature seems slightly more frequent in Drammen than in Oslo, reportedly used more than a third of the time in the smaller city.

The social evaluation of the feature is the same in the two cities, however. The ‘unattractiveness’ of initial stress expressed in Drammen further establishes the negative social meaning indexed by initial stress in non-Germanic loan words in East Norway.

Holland (2001) presents data from the city Hamar, further to the north of Oslo (130 km). In a study of adolescents’ speech patterns, Holland (2001) finds that initial stress, which was traditionally preferred, is now only used to a small extent by informants who live in the urban centre of Hamar. She also presents data from more rural locations, Stange and Romedal, where initial stress **is** used to a large extent. The results are thus stratified between urban and rural informants (Holland 2001: 104-111). Holland (2001) points out that initial stress is a socially stigmatised variant also in Hamar (2001: 134). It is important to point out, however, that Holland’s results are based on data from twelve informants only, four from each location. The claim put forward about Hamar, therefore is only based on a very small sample of four speakers only. The data from the urban centre are therefore merely an indication that initial stress is obsolete there.

Jahnsen’s (2001) data above indicate that initial stress in non-Germanic loan words is an unpopular variant in the capital city. If we assume a process of regional dialect levelling where changes spread by gravity from an origin in the capital, or biggest city, the findings from Hamar are particularly relevant to the present study. Hønefoss and Hamar are cities of comparable sizes, only the latter lies geographically further away from the capital. We can predict then that the usage of initial stress in Hønefoss is similar to the one reported by Holland (2001) (or that it is further advanced in Hønefoss because of the latter’s

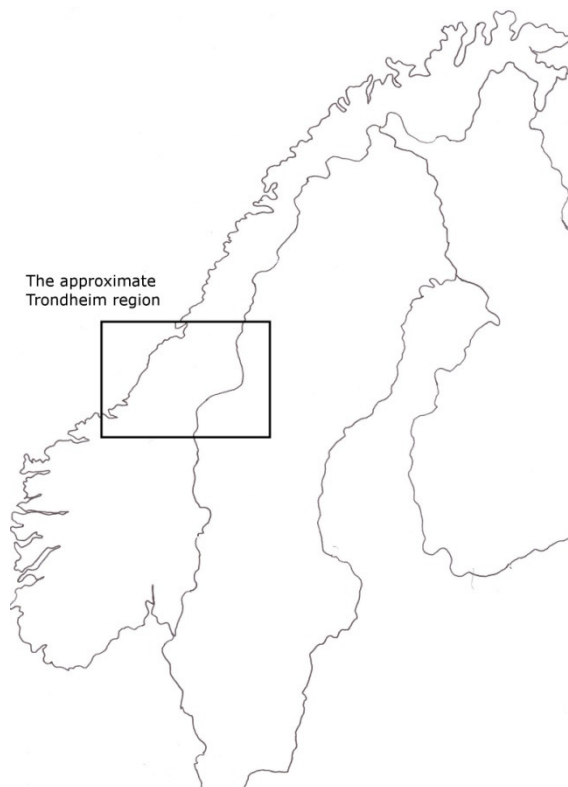
geographical proximity to the capital).

Skramstad (1999) investigates speech in the county of Hadeland where some locations are only 15 kilometres from Hønefoss. In her investigation of the potential influence of the Oslo variety on adolescent Hadeland speech, Skramstad (1999) finds that initial stress (linguistic variant 1) in loan words is a linguistic variant that is well maintained and not disappearing. This result is based on a minimal amount of empirical linguistic data, however. Skramstad (1999) finds that female informants use initial stress in loan words more than the male informants (1999: 172-182). This is surprising considering the indications from studies discussed above where the linguistic variant is an unattractive feature of speech (Kristiansen, 1996; Jahnsen, 2001). Skramstad (1999) does not comment on the social position of the stress variants but notes that initial stress is particularly salient in the Hadeland dialect. What is meant by 'salient' in this context is uncertain. Skramstad's (1999) qualitative data suggest that initial stress is a local variant that people are aware of but no further data concerning the issue are presented in Skramstad (1999)

Another rural study that displays similar results is Skolseg (1994). In a study of several smaller centres in the Romerike region, to the east of Oslo, Skolseg (1994) finds that initial stress is being maintained as the most used variant. In the data collected from this rural area all 27 informants moved stress to the initial syllable of loanwords (linguistic variant 1) at some times, the majority of them more than 70% of the time. Skolseg's (1994) data show that movement of stress to the initial syllable is the main way of stressing loan words in Romerike. This finding further establishes the variant as being a feature (that remains) used in rural regions as opposed to urban centres in the

Oslo area, where the feature is disappearing.

#### 4.1.8.3 The Trøndelag Region



**Figure 4.1.9 The Trøndelag Region in Norway**

Because stress in loan words is a variable across a large area, some results from studies conducted further north in East Norway and in Middle Norway should be mentioned. One of the first sociolinguistic investigations of the variable was by Ulseth (1978) who studied the speech in Trondheim, the regional centre of *Trøndelag*. Trondheim is the third largest city in Norway and probably the main point of gravity in a regionalisation process in the middle part of Norway (Vold Ulset, 2002). Trondheim is geographically far removed from Oslo (approximately 490 km or 304 miles), but is also an area where stress variability occurs.

Trøndelag varieties are different to Hønefoss prosodically. Initial stress

(linguistic variant 1) can be assigned not only to words that have tonal accent 1 after application of main stress, but also to words that have tonal accent 2 (cf. section 4.1.5). The variable context for Ulseth's (1978) study is therefore different to that of the current study.

Ulseth (1978) notes that initial stress in loanwords can be considered non-standard, because the other variant, no movement, is often considered more 'correct' or 'proper'. This statement is not based on further evidence or literature, however. It is shown that the two variants of stress are socially constrained in Trondheim (Ulseth, 1978). In the data presented in Ulseth (1978), the initial stress variant is used 46% in interview style speech and 49% in word lists. There is a substantial gender difference in usage. Overall, men use initial stress more than women, but this gender difference is predominantly created by the older generation. In the younger age group, the gender difference is disappearing and men and women use initial stress at about the same rate, around 40% (Ulseth, 1978: 179). There is a significant difference in Ulseth's (1978) data between informants that have professions that require communication with clients and co-workers, and informants who are in professions that do not require such communication. The latter group use initial stress to a much larger extent than the first group. Her findings contribute somewhat to her claim that initial stress could be looked upon as less 'correct', as people who frequently communicate orally in the workplace do not use initial stress to a large extent.

Røynealand (2005), examines adolescents' language usage in Røros and Tynset, smaller centres in the north of the East Norway region and south in the Trøndelag region of Norway (see figure 4.1.9). These towns are both



geographically closer to Trondheim than to Oslo. The two settings of Røyneland's study can be said to be in two different administrative regions, although they are only situated 50 km apart. While there are linguistic differences found by Røyneland in the two towns, stress movement is used to a similar degree in both locations. Stress in loanwords (presumably, although no detailed variable context is actually given in Røyneland, 2005) is predominantly on the initial syllable (linguistic variant 1): around 70-80% of the time. She only finds a minor difference in variant usage rates between the adolescent and adult speakers.

Røyneland also finds that in Røros stress movement to the initial syllable appears to carry a different kind of social meaning to what was found in urban areas further south by Kristiansen (1995) and Jahnsen (2001). While initial stress seems to be connected with lower social prestige in the areas around the capital, Røyneland (2005) finds a connection between usage of initial stress and male speakers in her data. The variant of initial stress correlates closely with a masculine identity in her analysis, while stress on other syllables is not necessarily correlated with a feminine identity. This correlation does not show up in her data from Tynset, however. She calls for more research to see if similar conclusions can be drawn about stress assignment and its correlations with social variables in other places.

In the Trøndelag region, it is fair to say that initial stress is by far the mostly used variant in the local varieties of smaller centres. The linguistic variant 1 is not disappearing from the dialects there, and this is a completely different picture to the results reported in centres in the Oslo area.

#### 4.1.8.4 Summary: Sociolinguistic Stress Variation in East Norway

In section 4.1.8 an overview has been given of the distribution and social evaluation of initial stress in loan words in East Norway. A general trend in the studies shows a difference in usage of initial stress between rural and urban areas in the south-east region. In rural areas, initial stress is the most used variant. Although based mainly on data on attitudes and self-reported speech, we can infer that the scenario in East Norwegian urban areas is different. Initial stress is viewed as an unattractive feature of speech and results point in the direction that the variant is disappearing from speech in larger urban areas. Data from the more northern region of Trøndelag on the other hand, shows that initial stress is the more frequently used stress variant.

Recall that Hønefoss is an urban area close to the capital city. Presuming that varieties in the area are undergoing dialect levelling our prediction is that initial stress is evaluated negatively and is disappearing from the Hønefoss dialect. If we accept Oslo as a linguistic norm in the East Norway region and find that the Hønefoss variety is becoming more like that spoken in the capital, we can speak of *vertical* convergence towards a socially prestigious variety. Yet even if the Oslo variety does not hold a particularly high prestige with Hønefoss speakers, together with the other towns in East Norway, the influence of the capital's variety is predicted to have some effect on the Hønefoss dialect. This is a plausible outcome of regional dialect levelling regardless of the social status the Oslo variety holds in Hønefoss. Frequent contact with surrounding varieties in Hønefoss could lead to *horizontal* convergence due to the initial stress variant being in the minority. Based on the data in earlier studies, then, we may predict that initial stress is disappearing from the Hønefoss variety.

#### 4.1.9 External and Internal Factors

Social as well as internal constraints could have an effect on stress variability in Hønefoss. Social factors which are tested to see if they condition stress usage in Hønefoss are age, gender and educational background. The linguistic internal constraints which might affect the variability have not previously been investigated, to my knowledge. The linguistic-internal constraint that is reported in this section is orthography of the initial syllable. At an earlier stage of the analysis, the effects of lexical frequency and suffix type on the stress variation in the Hønefoss data were tested for. Frequency of words is difficult to determine without a rather large corpus of speech. A problematic categorisation could be a reason why lexical frequency had no effect on the stress variation in the current data set. Equally unsuccessful was the investigation of the role of suffix variant usage on stress variation. There were only a few loan word tokens in the Hønefoss data set that had variable suffixes, and no correlation could be detected between the usage of certain suffix types (i.e. whether belonging to conservative or radical Bokmål) and usage of any of the stress variants.

Although the results from the analysis with the third linguistic internal constraint, orthography of the initial syllable, are presented here, the effect of this internal constrain on stress variation is also non-significant. The possible importance of this factor on stress variation is discussed again in section 4.2, however, and the independent variable is therefore presented below in section 4.1.9.2.

##### *4.1.9.1 Potential Social Constraints on Stress Variation: Age, Gender, Education*

Studies discussed in section 4.1.8 indicate that stress variation is socially conditioned in Norway, so external constraints on variation will be investigated.

The effect of the three factors age, gender and educational background on stress variability will be reported for the Hønefoss as well as the Oslo data. These social factors are modelled with the linguistic variation for every linguistic variable. The descriptions of these independent variables can be found in sections 3.1.2.1; 3.1.2.2 and 3.1.2.3 of this thesis.

#### *4.1.9.2 Potential Linguistic Constraint on Stress Variation: Orthography*

The internal factor investigated for effect on initial stress is the orthographic environment in the initial syllable. The testing of this variable came about after preliminary analysis of the interview data. These interviews, and data on stress variability from them, will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2. Interview data suggests that there could be a difference between salience of initial stress in different lexical items, depending on whether the stressed syllable is realised with a long vowel or a consonant geminate. A consonant geminate, in the Norwegian language, is often represented orthographically with a double consonant. If there is no double consonant in the orthography, the vowel is produced as long: e.g. *mine* ‘manner’ [ˈmi:nə] vs *minne* ‘memory’ [ˈminnə]. This means that if a loan word’s initial syllable is spelt with a single consonant in orthography, the consonant gemination that occurs in certain lexical items when stress is moved to the initial syllable (cf. section 4.1.6) would not reflect orthography in the way that the speaker might be accustomed to. For the investigation of the effect of Bokmål and written language on dialect change, this aspect is important. It must be explored whether spelling and orthography influence the stress variability pattern.

Words that have a single consonant in orthography but a consonant geminate if stressed on the initial syllable are tokens like *telefon* ‘telephone’

*spesiell* ‘special’ *butikk* ‘shop’, *trafikk* ‘traffic’ and *tomat* ‘tomato’. Initial syllables of non-Germanic loan words can also end in double consonants, *ballong* ‘balloon’ and *korrekt* ‘correct’; consonant clusters, *teknikk* ‘technique’ *maskin* ‘machine’; or in two vowels (diphthong) *dialekt* ‘dialect’ *automatisk* ‘automatic’ in Bokmål orthography. An exceptional token in this investigation is the word *avis* ‘newspaper’ where the /a/ constitutes the entire syllable and becomes long if stress is moved. This word then behaves the same way as words spelt with two vowels (diphthongs).

Four categories of orthographical representations of the initial syllable are differentiated between for the investigation of orthography on stress variability: i) words where the initial syllable ends with a single consonant in orthography; ii) words where initial syllable ends with vowel; iii) words where the initial syllable ends in a double consonant; or iv) the syllable ends with a consonant cluster in orthography. The aim of the investigation is to investigate whether i) is less likely to have initial stress than the remaining three groups.

#### **4.1.10 Data from Oslo Extracted for this Variable**

The coding and investigation of stress variation in the Oslo corpus was done by simply searching the sub-selection (the data from the 12 selected Oslo speakers discussed in section 3.5) of the online corpus for the same lexemes found in the Hønefoss data. The search led to a total of 300 lexemes and token number of 346, almost half of the tokens in the Hønefoss corpus. The results from the investigation of stress variability in Oslo are given in section 4.1.13, after the results from Hønefoss and the multivariate analysis in 4.1.11 and 4.1.12.

#### 4.1.11 Results Hønefoss

This section will present the results from the quantitative analysis of stress variation in non-Germanic loanwords in the Hønefoss data set. The overall distributions and cross tabulations of initial stress with the independent variables discussed above will be presented first before we move to the results from the multivariate analysis. The descriptive statistics of stress variation in Hønefoss will also be presented in section 4.1.12 with the output of the multivariate analysis.

##### 4.1.11.1 Overall Distribution of the Variants

Variant	Ns	%
Initial stress	323	42
No Stress Movement	446	58
Total	769	100

**Table 4.1.1** The overall distribution of the stress variants in the Hønefoss dataset

Overall, the usage of initial stress is the lesser-used variant in the Hønefoss data. 42% of the 769 tokens have initial stress. In Hønefoss stress is not moved to the initial syllable in the majority of the cases. Figure 4.1.10 shows individuals' usage of initial stress in the Hønefoss data set. 7 individuals had fewer than 5 tokens and are excluded from the analysis. As can be seen in figure 4.1.10 there is extensive inter-speaker variation in usage of initial stress.

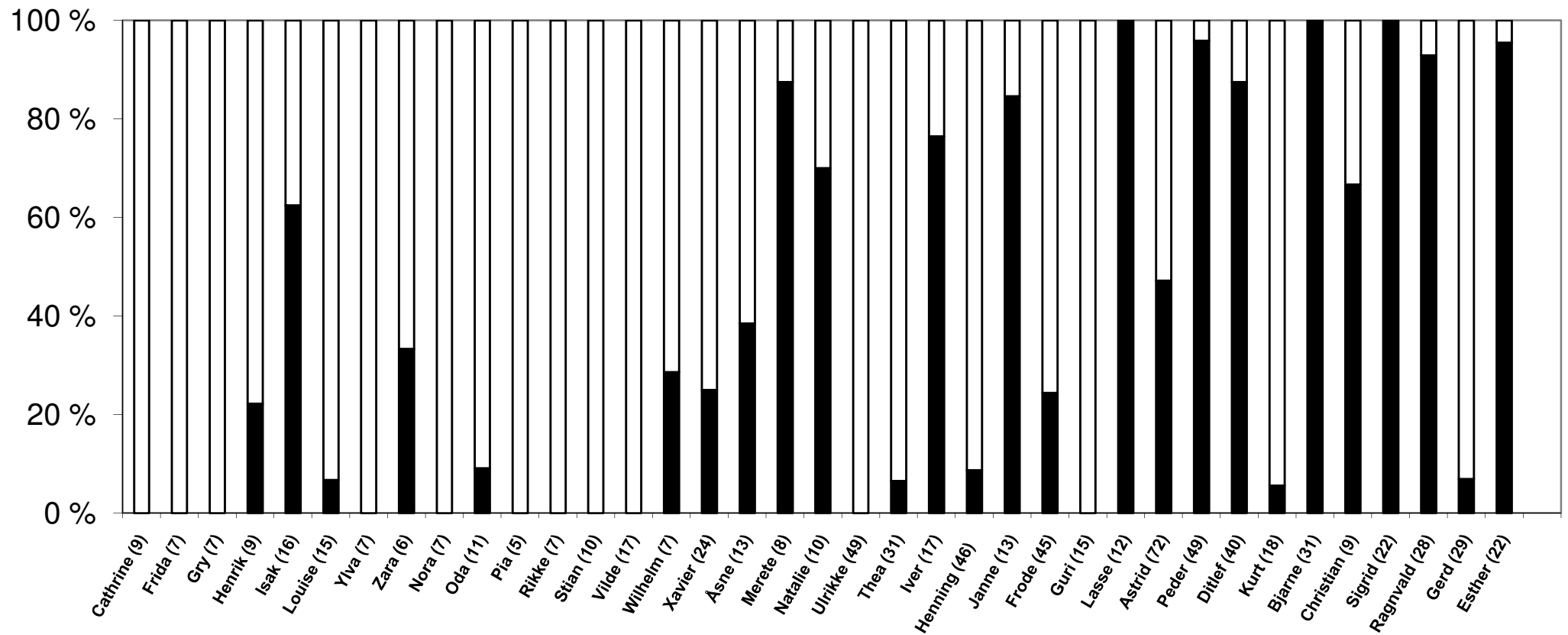
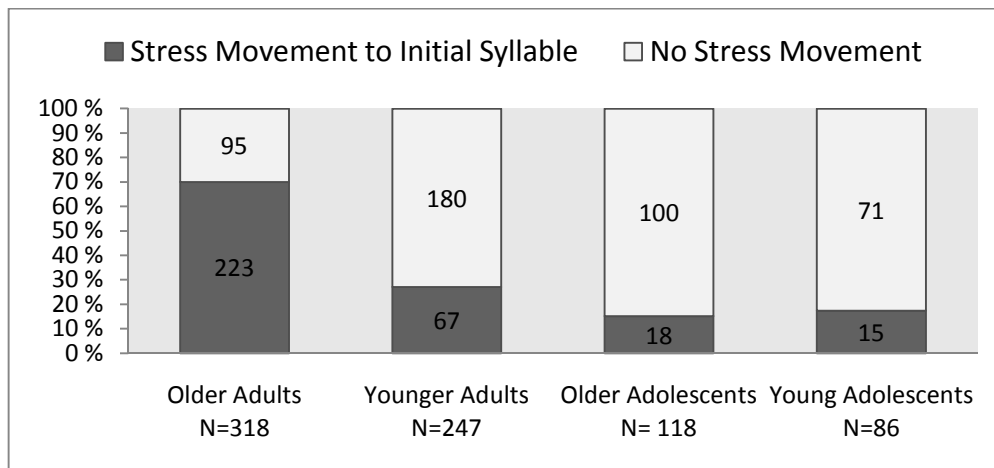


Figure 4.1.10. % initial stress of every informant, token numbers are between brackets. Young speakers (from left until informant Åsne) are ranged by alphabetical order within age group. Adult informants are ranged by age.

#### 4.1.11.2 The Patterning of Variants across Age Groups

Figure 4.1.11 shows the distribution of the two stress variants across the age groups in the data set. We see a clear difference from the younger informants to the older.



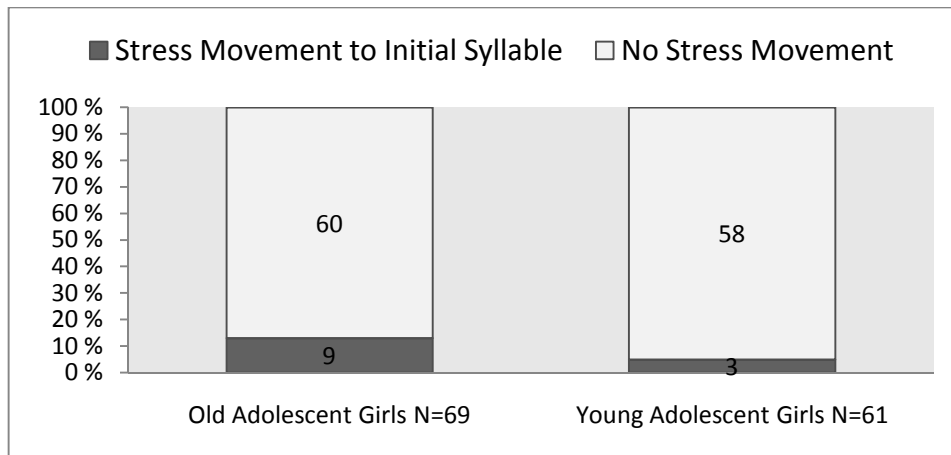
**Figure 4.1.11 Distribution and % of the stress variants across age groups in Hønefoss**

As illustrated in figure 4.1.11, initial stress is a dialect feature used to a greater extent in the older speakers than in the younger speakers. Looking at the distribution of the variants across age groups, we may speculate that initial stress is disappearing from the Hønefoss dialect.

#### 4.1.11.3 Difference between Young and Old Adolescent Girls: Stress Variation

Recall from section 2.3.5.5 that one aim of this study is to explore whether younger and older adolescents behave differently linguistically and whether a potential difference can be due to the different schooling situation of the two groups of adolescents. As there were few adolescent boys taking part in this study, the comparison is done with female adolescents only. Figure 4.1.12 shows the proportion of initial stress in the token extracted from the interviews with adolescent girls.





**Figure 4.1.12 Distribution and % of initial stress across the two groups of adolescent girls**

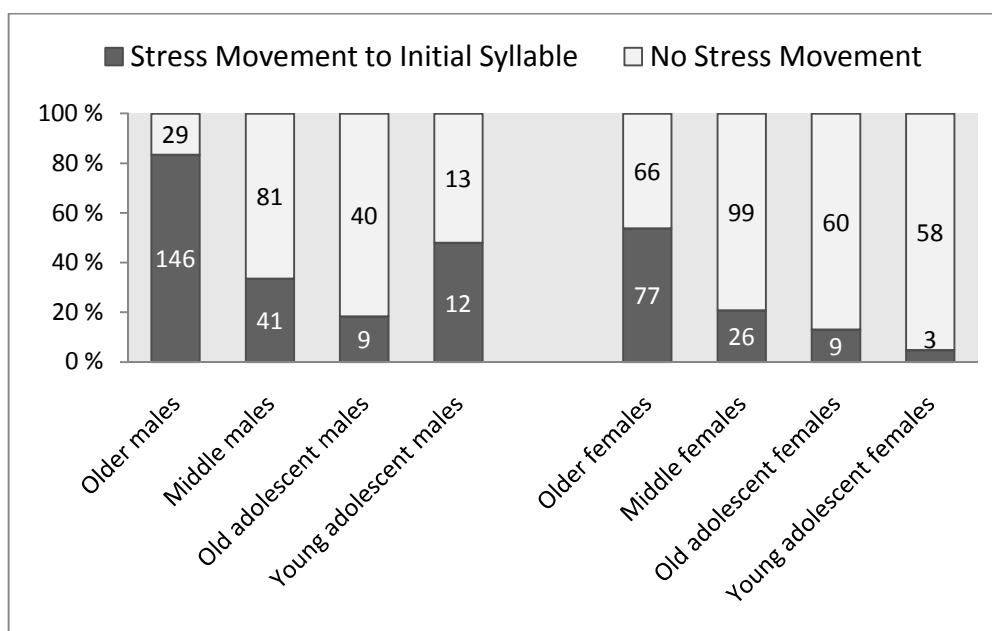
Both groups of adolescent girls have a very low proportion of initial stress in their data. The girls who attend the regional school, the adolescent girls, have the most tokens with initial stress, but the difference to the younger girls who attend a local school is miniscule.

Recall that a comparison between younger and older adolescent girls' dialect variant usage is done in this investigation to study whether schooling situation influences dialect usage. A chi-square test was performed on the data from the young adolescent girls to test whether there is a difference between girls who attend a large regional school (18 year olds) and girls who attend smaller local schools (14 year olds). The test compared the distributions of observed instances of initial stress from older adolescent versus the younger adolescent girls. There was not a significant difference between the number of instances of initial stress between older adolescent girls and younger adolescent girls in the chi-square  $(1, 102) = 0.813, p = .36$ .

#### *4.1.11.4 Stress Variation by Gender*

Previous studies of variation in stress assignment have also found that initial stress is a variant associated with a masculine identity (Røyneland 2005). Ulseth

(1978) shows evidence of men using initial stress more than women. The results from Hønefoss also show a clear difference in initial stress usage between men and women, as illustrated in figure 4.1.13. Overall men use initial stress more than half of the time (208 of 371 tokens have initial stress), while women use initial stress about a third of the time (115 of 398 tokens have initial stress). In the three oldest age groups we see similar patterns: the older, middle and old adolescent male informants use initial stress slightly more than the female informants in those respective age groups. In the youngest age group, the male informants use initial stress to a much larger degree than the females, however. The individual usage patterns of initial stress will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2. Importantly, the gender difference is stable across age groups: men use initial stress to a larger degree than women do.

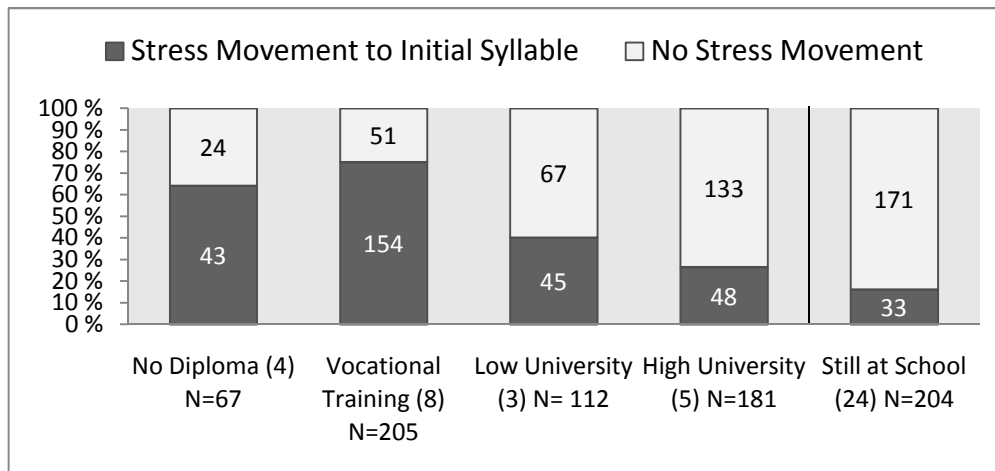


**Figure 4.1.13** Distribution and % of the stress variants across genders and ages in Hønefoss

#### 4.1.11.5 Stress Variation by Social Class – Educational background

Figure 4.1.14 illustrates the distribution and % of the stress variants across the

different educational backgrounds. The data from the adolescent speakers are juxtaposed to the right for comparison.



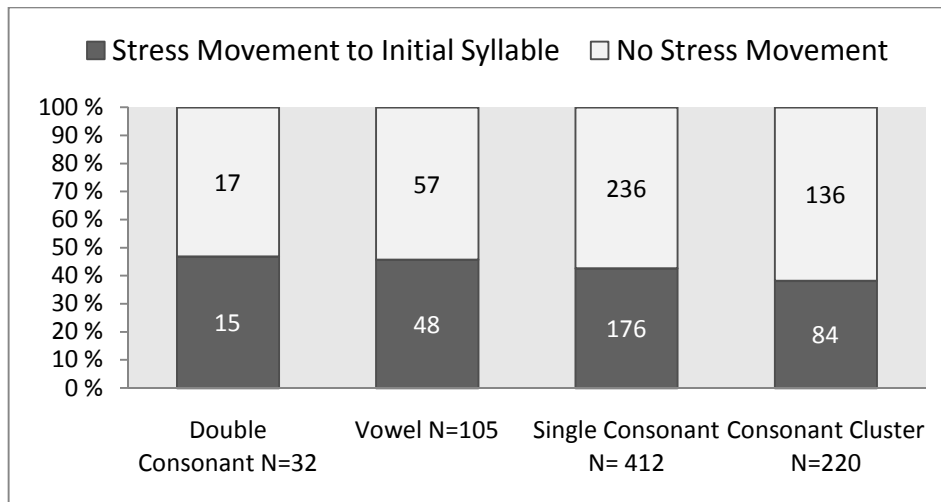
**Figure 4.1.14 Distribution and % of the stress variants across educational background. Number of speakers in each category in ().**

The speakers with the highest education have the lowest proportion of initial stress. The speakers who have been to university use initial stress less than 40% of the time, while those who have no diploma or vocational training use initial stress between 65-75% of the time.

Interestingly, the *token* numbers are not distributed in the way expected from number of informants in each factor group. Most noticeable is that the 8 informants with university background have more tokens than the 12 informants with no or low educational background. The informants with higher education use more loanwords.

#### 4.1.11.6 Stress Variation by Orthographic Environment in the Initial Syllable

Figure 4.1.15 illustrates that initial stress is the most likely in words with double consonant in orthography, and the least likely in words with single consonants or a consonant cluster. The difference between the four groups is not significant, however.



**Figure 4.1.15 Distribution and % of stress variants across orthography at the end of the initial syllable in the data set**

#### **4.1.12 Multivariate Analyses of Stress Variation in Hønefoss**

A multivariate analysis was conducted on the data set of 769 tokens. In total, the effect of 13 external and internal constraints on the variation of stress assignment was tested for. Education was tested for in a separate analysis with data from the adult informants only, as the adolescent age group all have the same educational background. The multivariate analyses were performed in Goldvarb X (Sankoff D., Tagliamonte S.A., & Smith E., 2005). The results concerning stress variation are presented in tables 4.1.2 and 4.1.3.

‘Initial stress’			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Gender			
Female	115/398	28.9%	.43
Male	208/371	56.1%	.58
	<i>Range</i>		<i>16</i>
Age			
Old adult	223/318	70.1%	.77
Young adult	67/247	27.1%	.32
Old adolescent	18/118	15.3%	.25
Young adolescent	15/86	17.4%	.30
	<i>Range</i>		<i>52</i>
Initial Syllable Orthography			
Single consonant	176/412	42.7%	[ns]
Consonant cluster	84/220	38.2%	[ns]
Vowels	48/105	45.7%	[ns]
Double consonant	15/32	46.9%	[ns]

**Table 4.1.2 Multivariate analysis of external and internal constraints on stress variation in all Hønefoss speakers. Application value ‘initial stress’, input .41**

The independent variables in the multivariate analysis presented in table 4.12 were age, gender and orthography in initial syllable. Table 4.1.2 also shows the distribution (N and %) of the stress variants for each independent variable.

To certify that there is no interaction between the variables age and gender in the data file for the multivariate, the step-up/step-down analysis in Goldvarb X was examined closer. The factor weights for gender are relatively stable (mens’ factor weights fluctuate between .58 and .65 and women’s factor weights fluctuate between .36 and .43) on all levels of the analysis. There are no indications of an interaction between gender and the other factors in the multivariate analysis (cf. Tagliamonte, 2006:231).

‘Initial stress’			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Education Level			
University 3+ years	48/181	26.5%	.36
University 1-3 years	45/112	40.2%	.23
Vocational training	154/205	75.1%	.73
No diploma after 16	43/67	64.2%	.63
<i>Range</i>			<i>50</i>

**Table 4.1.3 Multivariate analysis of effect of educational background on stress variation in adult Hønefoss speakers. Application value ‘initial stress’, input .53.**

Table 4.1.3 shows that educational level significantly constrains stress variation in the adult Hønefoss data set. All the social, or external, factors presented in previous sections came out significant in both of the two multivariate analyses presented in tables 4.1.2 and 4.1.3, indicating that gender differences and age differences are also significant within the adult speaker group in the Hønefoss data set.

The constraint with largest effect (range) on stress variation in Hønefoss is age (52). The educational background factor group has a high range too (50). Lastly, the gender difference is significant, but with the smallest range (16). Recall that it is of interest for the comparison of the two locations Hønefoss and Oslo too see if these constraints pattern similarly in the data from the two locations.

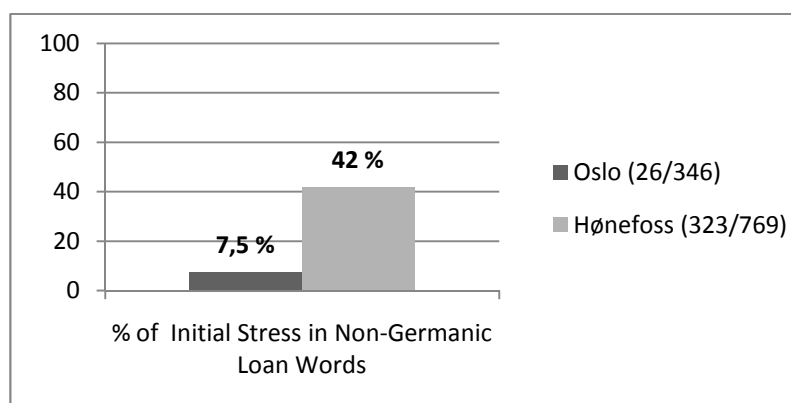
From the analysis of the constraints so far, we can conclude that initial stress could disappear from the Hønefoss variety, as old speakers use initial stress to a much larger extent than younger speakers. We also see that educational background constrains the variation, higher educated individuals use less initial stress. Finally, there is an overall gender difference where men

use initial stress more than women. Next, the results from the investigation of stress variation in the 12 speakers from Oslo are presented.

#### 4.1.13 Stress Variation in Oslo, Compared to the Hønefoss Results

This section presents the data from the small comparative analysis done with data from the NoTa corpus of Oslo speech. The comparative analysis will be done with the social factors only, as these were the only ones that were significant in the multivariate analysis of the variation in the Hønefoss data set.

##### 4.1.13.1 Overall Distribution of Initial Stress in Oslo and Hønefoss



**Figure 4.1.16 % of initial stress in non-Germanic loanwords in Oslo and Hønefoss, Ns between () in the legend**

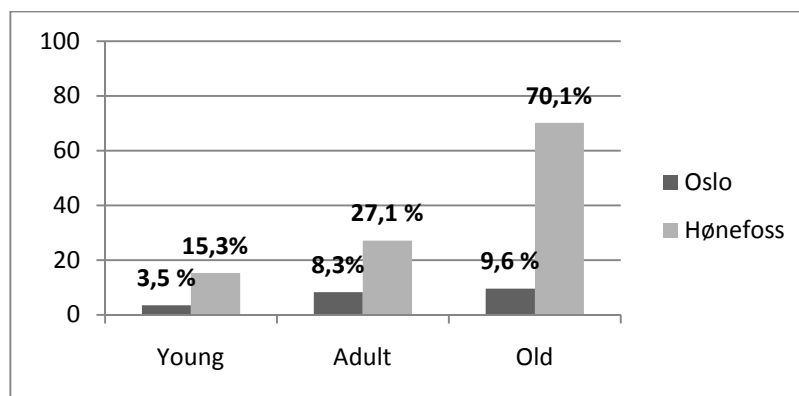
The overall usage of initial stress in non-Germanic words in Oslo is not very large, only 7.5%. This confirms Jahnsen's (2001) prediction made on the basis of her attitudinal data that initial stress is near-obsolete in the Oslo variety. The number of initially stressed tokens is fairly low in Oslo (26). The following sections will still report the social distribution of the variation in Oslo.

##### 4.1.13.2 Initial Stress in Oslo and Hønefoss by Age Group

As there was no significant difference between the young and old adolescents in their usage of initial stress, the adolescent age group will be viewed as one age

group for the sake of the comparison between the two locations. Table 4.1.3 in section 4.1.13.5 will give the descriptive statistics on distribution of the variants across social categories.

Figure 4.1.17 illustrates how the 26 tokens with initial stress in the Oslo corpus are distributed across the age groups. The usage rates in % for age groups in Hønefoss are juxtaposed for comparison.



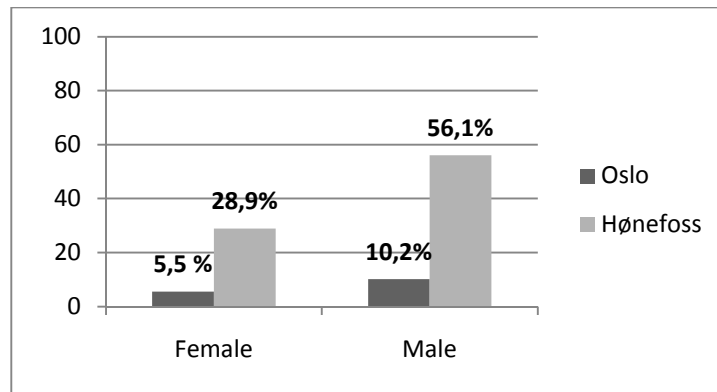
**Figure 4.1.17 % of initial Stress in three age groups in the Oslo and Hønefoss data**

Although there seems to be no difference between the adult and older speakers in the Oslo data, the youngest informants there have the lowest usage of initial stress. This is similar to Hønefoss, the variation pattern is similar in that the youngest informants in both locations use initial stress the least.

#### *4.1.13.3 Initial Stress Oslo and Hønefoss by Gender*

Figure 4.1.18 shows similar variation patterns between Hønefoss and Oslo again, but the difference between men and women in the capital is much smaller than it is in Hønefoss.

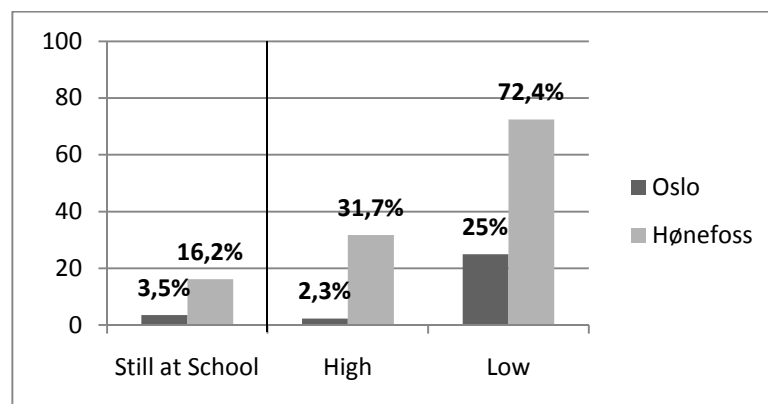




**Figure 4.1.18** % of initial stress distributed across genders in the Oslo and Hønefoss data

#### 4.1.13.4 Initial Stress in Oslo and Hønefoss by Education

In Hønefoss, age and education were the constraints that had the largest effect on stress variation. In the Oslo data, education seems to be a larger constraint than age. The ‘still at school’ category consists of the same informants as the ‘youngest age’ group. Of the informants in Oslo with a high education only 2.3% of the tokens have initial stress (see table 4.1.3 in the following section).



**Figure 4.1.19** Initial stress distributed across educational groups in the Oslo and Hønefoss data

When comparing figure 4.1.17 and 4.1.19 we clearly see that in Oslo, educational background gives us more stratified results than ‘age’ does. For the population that has left school, initial stress is used primarily by the informants with a lower educational background. A similar pattern has been found in the two data sets, therefore, for education and usage of initial stress.

4.1.13.5 Multivariate Analysis of Stress Variation in Oslo

Table 4.1.4 shows that gender is a non-significant factor in the statistical analysis of stress variation in Oslo. Age differences are significant in the Oslo data set, as shown in table 4.1.3. In table 4.1.5 one can see that education level differences are significant in the adult informants, with a high range (74), indicating this is a highly contributing constraint. ‘Age’ is has a range of 21. As seen in figures 4.1.17-4.1.19 variation is also the most stratified in figure 4.1.18, illustrating the effect of education on variation.

‘Initial stress’			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	11/115	9.6%	.65
Young adult	12/145	8.3%	.55
Adolescent	18/118	3.5%	.24
	<i>Range</i>		<i>21</i>
Gender			
Female	11/199	10.2%	[ns]
Male	15/147	5.5%	[ns]

Table 4.1.4 Multivariate analysis of age and gender on stress variation in all Oslo speakers. Input .04, application value ‘initial stress’.

‘Initial stress’			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Education Level			
University	1/172	2.3%	.20
No University	22/88	25%	.94
	<i>Range</i>		<i>74</i>

Table 4.1.5 Multivariate analysis of education level on stress variation in adult Oslo speakers. Input .022, application value ‘initial stress’.

#### 4.1.14 Summary of Stress Variation in Oslo and Hønefoss

Initial stress is found to a much smaller degree in Oslo than it is in Hønefoss. The youngest speakers in the two locations have similar usage patterns, however, and the data indicate convergence between dialects for stress application in non-Germanic loan words. Interestingly, the social conditioning of variation in the two locations is very similar. The oldest speakers use the feature more than the youngest, male speakers use the feature more than the female and speakers with a low level of education use the feature the most. In Hønefoss 'age' was the factor with the highest range in the multivariate analysis, but educational background was also very important. In the Oslo data, education is the constraint with the highest influence on the results, followed by age. The gender difference in stress variation in non-Germanic loan words by speakers from Oslo is statistically nonsignificant. The results presented in this section could indicate that we are witnessing regional dialect levelling in Hønefoss. The linguistic as well as the social data from the stress variable show that for this one linguistic variable the varieties in the two locations seem to be converging. There is also evidence from the data on the stress variable to indicate that a high educational background and a young age are important factors that constrain the usage of dialectal variants in this situation of regional dialect levelling.

## 4.2 The Social Meaning of Stress Variation in non-Germanic Loanwords

This section presents results from the qualitative analysis of stress variation data in Hønefoss. These data form the basis for the design of the matched guise experiment, discussed in section 4.8, and explore in depth the variation of word stress by considering data from the different age groups separately. The data presented are later used as a main component in the discussion of standard language ideology as well as for the discussion of the social meaning of linguistic features that disappear in a situation of regional dialect levelling.

### 4.2.1 Motivation for the Study of Social Meaning of Stress

Section 4.1 has shown that in the quantitative analysis of stress variation in Hønefoss age, gender and educational background significantly constrain stress variation. Initial stress in non-Germanic loan words is a linguistic feature that seems to be disappearing from the Hønefoss variety. The linguistic feature is hardly used in the capital city (as shown in section 4.1) either. This section explores the social meaning of stress assignment in non-Germanic loanwords with Hønefoss informants. The aim of this section is to give a fuller understanding of why initial stress is becoming obsolete from the small town variety. Data from the Hønefoss interviews with identity questionnaires will be presented. It will be explored what kind of social meaning is associated with a linguistic feature that is becoming obsolete. These results are subsequently used in chapter 5 to discuss the background for regional dialect levelling.

As discussed in section 4.1.8, a number of studies have indicated that stress

variation may carry specific social meaning to listeners in Norway (Ulseth, 1978; Kristiansen, 1995; Jahnsen, 2001; and Røyneland 2005). No studies have investigated this experimentally, however. The data discussed here form the basis for the experimental investigation of the social meaning of word stress, discussed in section 4.8.

The comparative analysis of social constraints on stress variation in Oslo and Hønefoss, reported in 4.1.11-4.1.13, show that age and educational background are good predictors of stress placement in both locations. Jahnsen (2001) and Kristiansen (1996) find that initial stress is a socially stigmatized variant in Oslo and Drammen, the two largest urban areas in the East Norway administrative region. Initial stress is seen as an unattractive feature in these locations (Jahnsen, 2001; Kristiansen, 1996). This section aims to explore whether the social meanings found by Jahnsen (2001) and Kristiansen (1995) are found in Hønefoss. This is done by means of a qualitative analysis of informants' interviews. The experimental results concerning the social meaning of stress assignment are discussed in section 4.8.

#### **4.2.2. Evidence of Social Meaning of Stress from Interview Data**

In the following sections every age group of speakers will be presented, with individual percentages of stress assignment for each informant. Quotes from interviews are presented with individual results for the qualitative comparison of usage rates and attitudes towards the variants. The 28 interviews (of 44 speakers) were investigated to see if any informants mention the linguistic feature, or make a statement that can somehow be linked to stress variation in non-Germanic loanwords. In total, mentions of loan word pronunciation are found in 11 of the 28

interviews. Table 4.2.1 presents the informants who mention word stress in interviews and their respective age group.

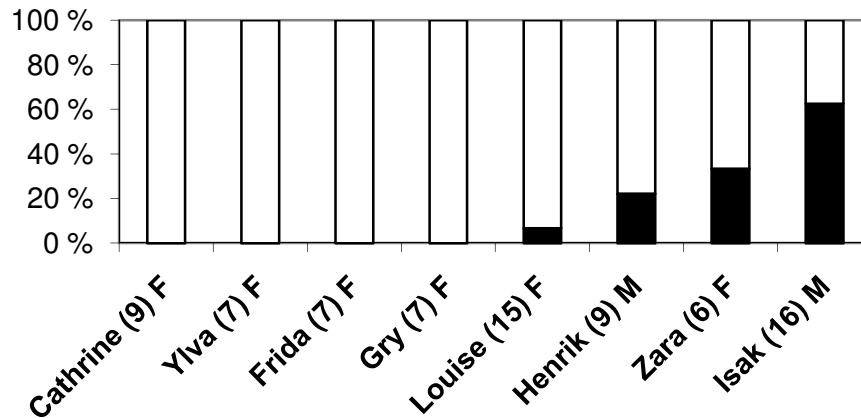
Young Adolescents	Old Adolescents	Young Adults	Old Adults
Isak (m) Henrik (m) Zara (f) Frida (f)	Vilde (f) Wilhelm (m)	Frode (m) Janne (f) Henning (m) Thea (f) Merete (f) Natalie (f)	Astrid (f) Gerd (f)

**Table 4.2.1 Informants who spoke of stress variation in the Hønefoss interviews**

The references to word stress in the interviews divide naturally into two groups: i) speakers who talk about *trykk* ‘word stress’ explicitly and ii) speakers who mention the words *banan* ‘banana’ or *potet* ‘potato’. The two words are clearly stereotypes for initial stress, as will be clear from the excerpts presented below.

#### *4.2.2.1. Qualitative Analysis of the Young Adolescents’ Stress Variation*

The youngest informants’ individual usage of stress is presented in figure 4.2.1. In this group initial stress is only used to a low extent, except for the case of Isak, who uses it about half of the time. The token numbers, given in brackets after the informants’ names, are low in general. The informants’ topics of conversation and general vocabulary size because of their age, or lack of secondary education, might be the reason for the low number of loanwords in their speech. The usage of initial stress patterns thus across the 14 year-olds:



**Figure 4.2.1** The distribution of initial stress (black) across 14 year-olds. Token nos in ( ) and gender indicated

Because the students are all in one age group and have the same educational background, the results from section 4.1 that showed that older, male and less educated speakers favour usage of initial stress cannot easily be tied to those in figure 4.2.1. There are only two male informants in this group, they both use initial stress. There might be some indication then, that initial stress is used more among boys in this group of teenagers, but a gender difference can hardly be seen in the data.

In the interviews of these 14-year-olds there are some references to initial stress. Firstly, the interview with Isak and Henrik is presented. As mentioned above, they are two of the informants who use initial stress the most in this group.<sup>1</sup> Tokens of loanwords used as stereotypes or to describe speech behaviour, as witnessed in the interview excerpts below, were not part of the data for the quantitative linguistic analysis in this investigation.

<sup>1</sup> All interviews in this thesis have been translated from Norwegian to English by the researcher.

**Interviewer:** Do you speak differently from the way they do in Oslo?

**Isak:** no, but perhaps we have some more double consonants some places, things like that

**Henrik:** like [ˈban.nan] (‘banana’ pronounced with initial stress)

**Isak:** yes [ˈban.nan] (initially stressed) and [kɑŋkə] (a contraction of *kan ikke* ‘cannot’) and such things

Isak and Henrik clearly distinguish the consonant gemination that follows initial stress placement on the initial syllable as something that is different in the Hønefoss area from the capital. The boys do not separate the feature out as something prosodic, however. Interestingly, they call the consonant gemination a ‘double consonant’, a term used predominantly in reference to the spelling system. In this first interview, then, initial stress is viewed as something *local*.

The female adolescent informant Zara mentions the same lexical item the boys above talk about:

**Interviewer:** Do you think you can recognise the Hønefoss dialect if you hear it somewhere?

**Zara:** well, some words are distinguishable but I don’t think I would have recognised it really.

**Interviewer:** So we speak too much like Oslo, nothing that’s different?

**Zara:** for example my dad used to say [ˈban.nan] (initial stress) while my mum said [bɛˈna:n] (ultimate stress), so it became a bit [pause] in kindergarten I was always, or I was always called the one who spoke nicely, cos I’d learnt to speak nicely cos my mum’s from Oslo. But after a while I’ve started talking more and more like my dad and so has my mum. So it gets a bit...

**Interviewer:** Do you say [ˈban.nan]?

**Zara:** [bɛˈna:n]), I say [bɛˈna:n], not [ˈban.nan]

**Interviewer:** Is it typical Hønefoss to say [ˈban.nan]?

**Zara:** I don’t know really, I feel that maybe it is a bit.



Again, we encounter the stereotype lexical item *banan*. Zara does use initial stress in her interview, but she is one of the informants with the lowest number of tokens, so we cannot read too much into the results. We see from the interview excerpt that saying the word for banana with initial stress is something that might be associated with the Hønefoss dialect; again initial stress is seen as a *local* feature. We move to the last interview from this age group that mentions stress variation: the interview with Frida:

**Interviewer:** How about older people here, do they speak the same way as you?

**Frida:** they sp, no they speak a bit broadly some times. They don't say [pu'tet] ('potato' stress on the ultimate syllable), they say [¹put.tit] (initial stress and raising of the second vowel).

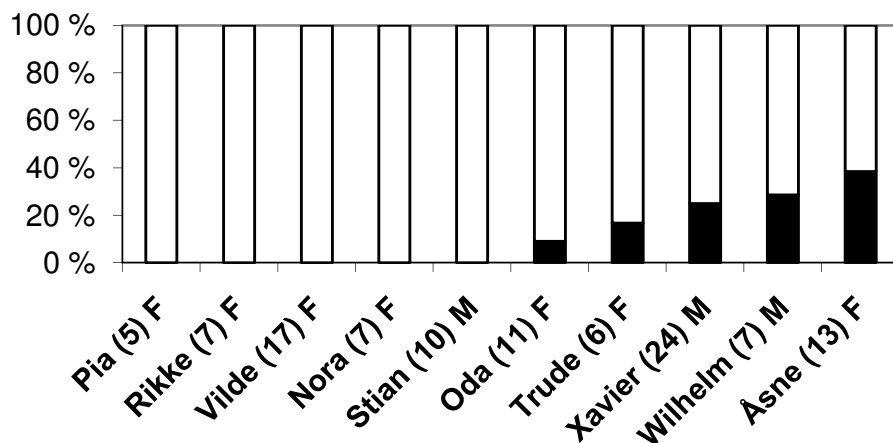
Frida clearly links the pronunciation of the word for potato with initial stress to older (and local) speakers. She says older people sometimes say [¹put.tit], also mentioning the raised short /e/ vowel that is common in some lexis in Hønefoss (cf. section 1.3). It is therefore not possible to say that Frida's comment is exclusively about stress assignment, but it is still an indication that initial stress might be linked to *older speech*.

All in all in this age group, stress assignment seems to be linked to a local identity by the informants and by one, to older speech. This latter finding correlates well with the production results presented in section 4.1.

#### *4.2.2.2 Qualitative Analysis of the Old Adolescents' Stress Variation*

In the data from older adolescents, the usage of initial stress patterns similarly to the younger adolescents. Five of the speakers use initial stress to a certain extent, but no one uses it more than 50% of the time. Again, the informants all belong to

the same educational background and so no comment can be made about that statistically significant constraint on variation in this section. There is a larger number of male speakers in this age group. This time a female speaker has the highest percentage of initial stress in the group. Initial stress patterns thus across the 18 year-olds:



**Figure 4.2.2** The distribution of initial stress (black) across 18-year-olds. Token nos in ( ) and gender indicated

The token numbers for this group are slightly higher than the younger age group (although the interviews are of similar lengths in the two age groups). This might indicate that loanwords are used more with increased age. Only one interview from this age group contains a possible reference to stress assignment. That is in the interview with Vilde and Wilhelm.

**Interviewer:** Do you hear a difference in how older people speak?

**Wilhelm:** Yes I hear some difference, they are little things that I hear in Granny, cos like she's lived here all her life and has never gone anywhere else. So I hear some difference when I and her speak, [ ] speaks kind of a bit old..., old-fashioned if I can say that?

**Interviewer:** Is it in expressions she sounds old-fashioned or?

**Wilhelm:** Yes a bit in expression or in pronunciation, it's like she's never spoken to anyone from someplace else.

**Vilde:** does she say ['put.tit] and stuff?

**Wilhelm:** Yes, ['put.tit] and 'pizza is dangerous', I've heard her say too.

**Interviewer:** So they are little things

**Wilhelm:** Yes they are little things, it's not like you don't understand what she says or anything

Wilhelm in this excerpt describes how his grandmother is old fashioned. She uses a particular pronunciation and says things that make Wilhelm think she has never been outside the local area (the reference to pizza as dangerous is here interpreted as illustrating that the grandmother is scared of foreign and non-local objects).

Vilde clearly thinks that the pronunciation of *potet* 'potato' ['put.tit] is a stereotype of older, local, speech. Again, the second vowel in *potet* 'potato' is also raised, so it is impossible to say that this example is used by the informants to illustrate initial stress only, but this can be interpreted as evidence that initial stress is linked to *older* and *local* speech. The findings from the 14 year olds and the 18 year olds, presented here and in section 4.2.2.1, are very similar.

#### *4.2.2.3 Qualitative Analysis of the Middle Age Group's Stress Variation*

Figure 4.2.3 shows individual variation in the young adults' stress data. This is an age group with a lot of inter-speaker variation. The informants pattern noticeably differently from the adolescents.

Half of the informants in this group use initial stress to a very low extent and the other half of the group uses it to a high extent, as illustrated in figure 4.2.3. No informant uses stress about 50% of the time.

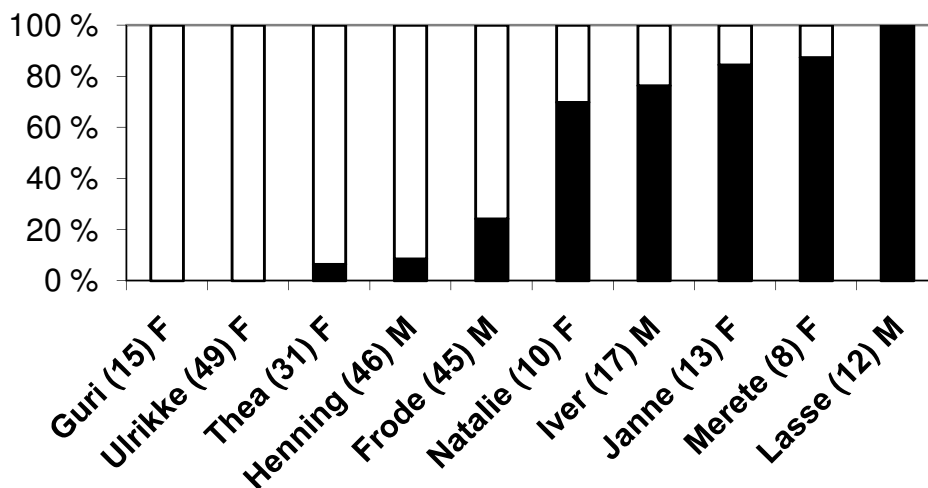


Figure 4.2.3 The distribution of initial stress (black) across 24-37-year-olds. Token nos in ( ) and gender indicated

This age group allows for a good illustration of the education constraint on stress variation. Of the five speakers to the left of the graph, that use initial stress to a low extent or not at all, four have university education. Only Henning has vocational training. Of the five speakers to the right of the graph who use initial stress more than 70% of the time, only one has university education: Janne. The other four either have no education after secondary school (Natalie and Iver) or vocational training (Lasse and Merete). Educational background, then, appears to be a highly relevant effect on stress variation in non-Germanic loanwords.

There is also a clear difference in the numbers of loan words produced by the two groups of speakers in this middle age group. Interestingly, the five speakers to the right, who use initial stress, have a low token count of loanwords (60 in total or 12 each on average). The speakers to the right who do not use initial stress, or

only do so to a small degree, have a much higher token number (186 in total or 37 each on average). This is not due to interview length. The interviews of individual speakers are all approximately 30 minutes in length, while the interviews of the pairs are between 1 hour and 1 hour and 20 minutes. It is concluded that informants who do not move stress to the initial syllable are the ones who are confronted with the choice of stress variability the most often. There could be a link between the educated speakers and high token numbers of loan words (although Henning and Janne, again, are exceptions to this) in the Hønefoss data set. Although more analysis is needed to confirm this, another interpretation is that speakers who use initial stress avoid loanwords more than speakers who do not use initial stress. They could be aware of the social stigma of initial stress, although they do use it.

For more information about the social variation in this age group, possible references to stress variation were looked for in the interviews. In the interview with informants Frode and Guri a statement is found that can be linked to stress assignment. Frode has just said he does not think the variety he speaks can be portrayed as “Hønefoss dialect” and the interviewer (the researcher) asks why:

**Frode:** Well I remember this, my grandmother, she is from Ådal (a rural area outside Hønefoss) and there they said stuff like [ˈput.tɪt] and *istad* (‘now’ or ‘earlier’, sometimes mentioned as a local dialect word) and a lot of those broad forms.

This implies that Frode does not say [ˈput.tɪt], and his percentage of initial stress is indeed low. Again, we encounter the word for ‘potato’ with initial stress, this time linked to an area outside Hønefoss town, as part of a dialect that was spoken outside Hønefoss city. The interview excerpt suggests that Frode thinks the variety

spoken in the rural area outside Hønefoss could be similar to the traditional Hønefoss dialect.

Next interview is that with Thea and Ulrikke. Thea admits to speaking the local dialect and saying that her friends used to tease her for it. To the question why they teased her, she replies:

**Thea:** well [gra:s] (a local variant of the word for 'grass') and [ˈput.tɪt] and [ˈban.nan] and such I could easily say, but *NAME* never says that sort of thing.

And to the question of how they would recognise the Hønefoss dialect, Thea replies:

**Thea:** It is probably that you would say gras ('grass') and that we have stress on the initial syllable, [ˈput.tɪt] [ˈban.nan]

To Thea, then, initial stress is a part of the local dialect, and she mentions explicitly the term 'stress on the initial syllable' and links it to the two stereotype lexical items we have encountered before, the words for 'potato' and 'banana'. Thea reports using initial stress, but interestingly does so only to a very low extent in the actual interview (see figure 4.2.3).

The third quote from this age group is from Henning. Henning uses a large number of loanwords, he has the second most tokens in this age group. Of the speakers who use little or no initial stress, he is the only one with a lower level of education. I asked him whether he likes the local dialect and this is his reply:

**Henning:** No, I think it's ugly, I think there are far too many [eh] it sounds like half of what we are saying has double consonants although it really hasn't, like 'telephone' normally isn't written with two *ls*, and so on, and much else. Yes, no I don't think the dialect is beautiful, I have never thought that. There are worse dialects, but I think we talk, especially with names, I think it's very annoying.

**Interviewer:** which names?

**Henning:** very many names, [se'si:l.jø], [kris.'ti:nə] and so on: ['ses.sil.jø], ['kris.stɪ.nə]

**Interviewer:** You've named your daughter [kris.'ti:nə]

**Henning:** I have named my daughter [kris.'ti:nə], yes, but [kris.'ti:nə] not ['kris.stɪ.nə], but there aren't actually anyone who has called her ['kris.stɪ.nə] yet, and if they do I'll just tell them that I'm wondering why they can't, like, speak Norwegian, why they can't pronounce things correctly'

Henning is here talking about the phonetic realisation of stress with consonant gemination that happens after movement of stress to the initial syllable. It is quite clear that he thinks stress movement to the initial syllable, and the subsequent creation of a 'double consonant', is an unattractive feature of the local dialect. His quote also indicates that initial stress makes words sound more 'incorrect'. This is an indication that the social meaning of initial stress might be tied to a standard language, and maybe even the education system and literacy.

The next from this age group is from the interview with Merete and Natalie. These girls both use initial stress to a high extent, and they have a low level of education. This is what they reply to the question whether they like their own dialect:

**Natalie:** Yes, [idiomatic expression] sort of, we could speak nicer maybe?

**Interviewer:** What's not nice?

**Merete:** Yes, we say ['put.tət] ('potato') and such things.

In a reply to whether they feel their grandparents speak similarly to them, the girls reply this:

**Natalie:** I think yours speaks nicer

[...]

**Merete:** No, Granny, she's from Åsbygda (a rural area outside Hønefoss) originally, but she speaks a bit posh

**Interviewer:** Do you know her, is she posh?

**Natalie:** Like, she has commented on me, but, like, I don't think about it, no I say, say [ˈput.tət] ('potato')

The girls indicate in the first quote that initial stress in non-Germanic loanwords is not a 'nice' feature of speech. In the second quote they describe how Merete's 'posh' granny has commented on Natalie's usage of initial stress. This indicates that initial stress is not a linguistic variant with high social status. We also have yet another mention of the word for 'potato' although this time without the raised second vowel. This reference is therefore more clearly only about initial stress.

Finally, in this group, there is a reference to stress assignment in the interview with Janne. She is the only informant with high education with a high usage rate of initial stress. Although her interview does not explain explicitly her usage of initial stress in light of her educational background, we get an idea of her views on the linguistic feature. When she is asked if she likes her local dialect, she replies:

**Janne:** Yes, I think it's a bit, a bit 'farmer' so I notice that what I told you before the interview that sometimes when I talk to people that speak nicely I have a tendency to 'switch' my language so I don't get this [ˈbib.blu.te.ˌkɑr] ('librarian') tone melody.

**Interviewer:** ah, right

**Janne:** But the other, [bib.lu.te.ˈkɑ:r].



Interestingly, Janne refers to stress assignment as part of the tone melody, indicating she might pick up on the difference in tone assignment between words before and after movement of stress (or application of IPSR - discussed in section 4.1.6). Janne describes initial stress as ‘farmer’. This indicated that she associates the linguistic feature with *ruralness*.

On the whole this group of informants use more initial stress than the youngest informants in Hønefoss. The qualitative analysis in this section clearly indicates that stress variation is linked to a low educational background, incorrectness, locality, ruralness and unattractiveness. Also, interestingly, a high use of loanwords seem to indicate a lower usage of initial stress

#### 4.2.2.4 Qualitative Analysis of Old Adults’ Stress Variation

In the oldest age group, initial stress is thus distributed across the speakers:

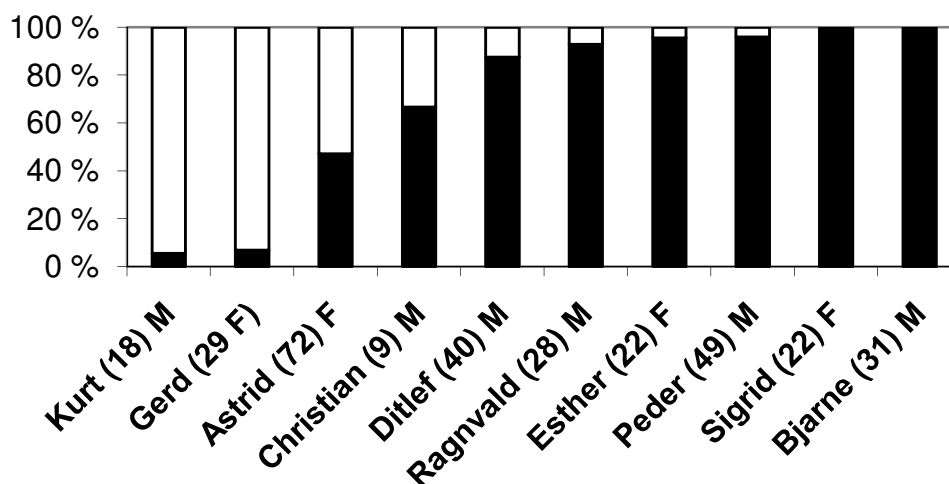


Figure 4.2.4 The distribution of initial stress (black) across 64-86-year-olds. Token nos in ( ) and gender indicated

Figure 4.2.4 illustrates the much higher usage rates of initial stress in this oldest age

group. Only two speakers have a low percentage of initial stress. Four speakers are categorical, or nearly so, in using initial stress.

There are large discrepancies between token numbers in this age group too. The only three informants with university education in this age group are Gerd (low uni) Astrid (low uni) and Ditlef (high uni) who all have worked as teachers. Astrid has the highest usage rate of loanwords in the entire data set. She is also the only informant in the group who uses initial stress approximately half of the time.

Christian, Ragnvald, Peder, Sigrid and Bjarne all have vocational training. All of them use initial stress to quite a large extent. The interviews are not all identical in length for this group of informants. Christian's interview is the shortest which could explain his low token number. Because of the general high usage of initial stress and the differences in interview length no further conclusion can be drawn from the relationship between number of loanwords used and initial stress rate in speakers.

On the other hand, the interviews from this age group do give us some interesting evidence of the social meaning of the stress variants. This is what informant Gerd, a 77 year old teacher who still works part time in a school, says when I ask whether she thinks the Hønefoss and Oslo dialects are identical:

**Gerd:** there's a big difference between the Ringerike [the county Hønefoss is situated in] dialect and that of Oslo or Bærum [neighbouring county to Oslo, closer to Hønefoss]. Now, I don't know why I don't speak the typical Hønefoss dialect, because I might not? But it isn't because... or to be completely honest I don't think the Ringerike dialect is particularly beautiful. But I think dialects are wonderful, but I've always thought dialects are beautiful and I think it's great when people come from the villages, to call them that, keep their dialect and don't change to East Norway dialect, or Oslo dialect, or whatever you want, then I think that's wonderful.

**Interviewer:** What is it you don't think is beautiful?

**Gerd:** It's that typical weight they put on the initial syllable.

**Interviewer:** Do you mean as in the word 'banana'?

**Gerd:** Yes, [ˈɑː.vi.sa] ('newspaper' initial stress) and [ˈban.nɑn] and all that. I don't think it's beautiful, and I think it's typical for the Ringerike dialect, they get stress on the initial syllable.

**Interviewer:** And you don't use initial stress

**Gerd:** No, could happen that I, no I don't think I use it, but it could be that it sometimes just comes out cos you know when you walk around it, and hear, yes, the kids for example. And I say: "yes, but that's not what it's called" it's not called [ˈtel.le.fun], "yes but we don't speak so beautifully, we" but it has nothing to do with beauty, it's inside you that it's nice, and then they laugh. And then I say that if you speak correctly, and say [te.le.ˈfu:n], you won't write 'telephone' with two *ls*.

The quote from the interview with Gerd above is perhaps one of the most intriguing about the social meaning of stress assignment and the usage of the Hønefoss dialect. Gerd seems not to like the Hønefoss dialect. She is rather ambivalent in her view of it as an actual dialect, as a dialect by her definition is something people from 'the villages' speak. Gerd thinks initial stress is a *local* feature in Hønefoss. More importantly, however, she reports that she firmly believes, and teaches her primary school pupils, that initial stress is *incorrect* language. Moreover, she makes the same link that Henning made between

orthography in Bokmål and stress movement, that initial stress makes words sound as if they are spelt with two consonants in Bokmål orthography. The orthography of the initial syllable in loan words was included as an independent variable in the multivariate analysis in section 4.1.12. The effect of orthography was not significant on the variation pattern. The interview data does tell us, however, that the Hønefoss dialect feature is not viewed as being part of the standardised variety Bokmål, or part of ‘correct’ language.

The last interview considered in this section is that with informant Astrid, also a school teacher, and 13 years Gerd’s junior. Astrid talks about using dialect in an educational setting:

**Astrid:** And then, of course, the fact that we work in the school means we moderate ourselves in front of the pupils and such

**Interviewer:** oh, so you do?

**Astrid:** Yes I do, I know that I do.

**Interviewer:** mmm

**Astrid:** Yes I do and I probably have always done according to who it is I am talking to.

**Interviewer:** really?

**Astrid:** yes, so that you maybe don’t say [ˈput.tit]. Yes, you don’t say [ˈput.tit] when you want kids to write the word with one *t*. And, and you put the stress a bit different to get them to hear how to spell things, I think, I probably have it in the back of my mind I think.

**Interviewer:** what do you say here?

**Astrid:** I say [ˈput.tit], do you?

Then to the question whether she thinks stress is a local feature to Hønefoss, Astrid replies:

**Astrid:** the stress and the pronunciation of things I don't think is so different [to other East Norwegian dialects]

**Interviewer:** right

**Astrid:** It is probably that typical Eastern stress on the initial syllable

Interviews with Astrid show us, again, that the consonant gemination is looked upon as something incorrect, or at least something that prevents children from learning the correct spelling of a word. We now have two schoolteachers saying they discourage their students from using initial stress because it makes it harder to learn to write correctly. There seems to be a link between education, standardised language and stress variation in Hønefoss speakers.

#### **4.2.3 A Summary of the Qualitative Analysis Findings**

To conclude from this section of qualitative analysis, we find evidence of the social meaning of initial stress. This meaning to a certain extent reflects the social variation in stress assignment in Hønefoss. Initial stress is tied to local speech, and to old speech by the teenager informants. It is the case that older speakers use initial stress a lot more than the adolescents.

The adult informants describe initial stress as something local. It is also seen as connected to ruralness, unattractiveness and incorrectness in this age group.

Jahnsen (2001) and Kristiansen (1996) found that initial stress is a socially stigmatized variant in Oslo and Drammen, and seen as an unattractive feature of speech in these locations. This indicates that initial stress carries similar social meaning in Hønefoss as in these larger urban locations, and indeed usage rates of initial stress in Oslo and Hønefoss are becoming increasingly alike (the youngest

informants have the most similar usage rates in the two data sets).

It is in the adult age groups that we really find evidence of a link between initial stress and incorrectness. The two oldest informants who speak about stress in their interview tie the linguistic feature directly to the standard language Bokmål. The finding that initial stress is linked to an incorrect usage of Bokmål is an indication that the correctness ideal for the speakers in this study is Bokmål.

The reference of initial stress as local and rural is an indication that the opposites, regional and urban, are normative language varieties. Whether this means that the variety spoken in Oslo is the norm, is not explored in this section, but will be discussed in sections 4.7 and 4.8. Initial stress is disappearing from the Hønefoss dialect, and by using the feature a person might sound 'local' to Hønefoss listeners. All in all there is some evidence that Hønefoss informants are aware of the social patterning of the linguistic variable. There are indications that initial stress could index an old, rural and uneducated identity. The indexing of location and educational background by initial stress will be explored further in section 4.8 of this thesis.

### 4.3 /di/ /dem/ and /dum/: 3pl Personal Pronoun Variation

This section presents the background and analysis of the morpho-syntactic variable – the 3pl personal pronoun - in the Hønefoss and Oslo data set. Section 4.3.1 gives a short introduction to the variable, while 4.3.2 provides a discussion of the potential variable context. Section 4.3.3 presents some background information about pronouns in Norwegian while section 4.3.4 discusses earlier studies of pronoun variation and the social position that pronoun variants might hold in Norwegian society today. Section 4.3.5 presents some data from pronoun variation in English. Section 4.3.6 presents the results from the quantitative analysis of pronoun variation in Hønefoss. Section 4.3.7 presents the results of the multivariate analysis of pronoun variation in Hønefoss as well as the results from the chi-square test that compares young and old adolescent girls’ pronoun usage. Section 4.3.8 considers the relative effect of Bokmål on pronoun variation in Hønefoss. Section 4.3.9 presents the results from the investigation of pronoun usage in Oslo; gives a comparative analysis of the data with the Hønefoss data as well as considering the relative influence of Oslo speech on Hønefoss speech for this variable. Finally, section 4.3.10 is a summary of the main results.

Linguistic variable 2:	3pl personal pronoun		
	<u>Variant 1</u>	<u>Variant 2</u>	<u>Variant 3</u>
	(Hønefoss)	(Bokmål)	(Oslo)
Subject:	/dum/	/di/	/dem/ (but also /di/)
Object:	/dum/	/dem/	/di/ (but also /dem/)

Figure 4.3.1 Linguistic variable 3pl personal pronouns and its variants

### 4.3.1 Introduction

This section presents the analysis and results from the investigation of the variation between the pronoun variants /di/, /dem/ and /dum/ in Hønefoss and Oslo speech. As will become evident from the preliminary analysis presented in section 4.3.4, the variants /di/, /dem/ and /dum/ can occur in different grammatical environments, as pronouns or as definite articles (determiners).

The particular focus for the variationist analysis is on the 3pl personal pronoun variable context, however. A goal of this section is to investigate the usage of the local Hønefoss variant /dum/ and the social conditioning of this usage.

Another aim is to explore the relative influence of Bokmål and the Oslo variety on the Hønefoss dialect. This variable gives the investigation of regional dialect levelling an additional dimension in comparison to the other linguistic variables chosen for the research. Three different linguistic variants are available in the subject position in the three varieties of interest in the investigation: one variant is traditionally used in Hønefoss (/dum/); one in Oslo (/dem/) and yet another is codified in Bokmål (/di/). For the investigation of the relative influence of Bokmål and Oslo speech on the Hønefoss variety, therefore, this variable is a crucial one.

The difference between the three different variants found in the same variable context, can be traced historically. All forms stem from Old Norwegian demonstrative pronouns *þeir* and *þeim*, the nominative masculine plural and a dative plural form of the pronoun, respectively. It is presumed that the variant in this study without *m* - <de> (/di/ in most parts of East Norway but elsewhere in Norway /de/ and /dei/ also occur) derives from *þeir*. The variants



that end in *m* - /dem/ and /dum/ in the Oslo and Hønefoss areas but elsewhere in East Norway /døm/; /dæm/ and /dom/ also occur, probably derive from *beim* (Skjekkeland, 2005).

The variation in Hønefoss Norwegian between the three variants /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ can presumably be found both in pronoun as well as determiner environments. A substantial part of the data investigated for this analysis is 3*pl* personal pronouns, but the same variants are used in grammatical environments ‘plural demonstrative pronouns’ and ‘preceding plural definite articles’ (Bokmålsordboka, 2009) also known as the ‘demonstrative determiner’ (Faarlund, Lie and Vanneboe, 2005). The variants’ Standard British English equivalents, when found in the pronoun context, are ‘they’ or ‘them’ (depending on syntactic position). As demonstratives, the variants’ English equivalent would be ‘those’. In the context where the variants occur as plural definite articles, their English equivalent is ‘the’. Note that while Standard British English has different forms in these three contexts, all the East Norwegian variants described in this investigation, /di/, /dem/, and /dum/, can be used in all three contexts.

#### **4.3.2 Extracting Tokens from the Data set: Pronoun or Determiner?**

A number of tokens extracted from the Hønefoss data set of variants /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ were hard to determine grammatically. This section briefly discusses the (at least) two different grammatical environments in Hønefoss Norwegian where the variants of interest can occur: as pronouns or as determiners. The variable context can be 3*pl* personal pronouns (subject as well as object

position) as illustrated with the Bokmål subject variant <de> and object variant <dem> in example 4.3.1 a) and b).

- 4.3.1 (Pronoun)
- |    |             |               |             |             |
|----|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>de</i>   | <i>kjører</i> | <i>hjem</i> |             |
|    | ‘they       | drive         | home’       |             |
| b. | <i>John</i> | <i>kjører</i> | <i>dem</i>  | <i>hjem</i> |
|    | ‘John       | drives        | them        | home’       |

The variants can also occur as demonstrative pronouns, however, as illustrated in example 4.3.2, again with the codified Bokmål variant.

- 4.3.2 (Demonstrative)
- |           |           |           |             |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>Se</i> | <i>på</i> | <i>de</i> | <i>der!</i> |
| ‘look     | at        | those     | there!’     |

The grammatical environment in example 4.3.2 is in this thesis viewed as the same as that in 4.3.3 below, the demonstrative determiner (Faarlund et al, 2005) (demonstrative determiners are referred to as preceding plural definite articles in Bokmålsordboka (2009)). In example 4.3.2, the noun phrase succeeding the determiner is elided. In example 4.3.3, again with the codified Bokmål variant <de>, the noun phrase is present.

- 4.3.3 (Determiner)
- |           |           |           |                |             |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|
| <i>Se</i> | <i>på</i> | <i>de</i> | <i>guttene</i> | <i>der!</i> |
| ‘Look     | at        | those     | boys           | there!’     |

Rather than keeping to the rigid categorisation of the environments above, found in normative texts like dictionaries and grammars (e.g. Faarlund et al, 2005), this investigation explores the variation first (in section 4.3.4) before looking at potential conditioning of the grammatical categories on variation. This is done partly because of the lack of previous in-depth investigations of variation in these words. It is recognised that a distinction between a personal

pronoun and a demonstrative determiner can be made grammatically, but as becomes clear below, categorisation of the data into the environments in examples 4.3.1-4.3.3 is not always straight-forward.

A personal pronoun is a word that takes the same syntactic function that a noun phrase would. The personal pronoun often derives its content from, or is interpreted in relation to, an antecedent, an earlier noun phrase in the utterance. The semantic properties and the grammatical behaviour of /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ as personal pronouns are different to those that give unique reference to a noun phrase: demonstrative determiners. Problematically for this investigation, the demonstrative determiner, in most Norwegian dialects, has the same form as the subject 3pl personal pronoun variant. As illustrated in examples 4.3.1 - 4.3.3 both the personal pronoun and the demonstrative determiner are <de> in Bokmål (the forms share the same historical background, see Knudsen, 1967). Grammatical descriptions of the Norwegian plural demonstrative determiner are similar to those of personal pronouns (Faarlund, et al 2005). The demonstrative, like the personal pronoun, derives content from an antecedent, but then gives unique reference to it. Unlike the personal pronoun, the demonstrative determiner does not have different forms for subject and object positions in Bokmål Norwegian.

Determiners can take more syntactic positions than the pronoun as well, as they can also act as the definite article to an adjective phrase (Knudsen, 1967: 20). Example 4.3.5 shows Bokmål variant <de> acting as definite article to adjective phrases in both the subject and object position ('the eldest' and 'the youngest').

4.3.5 *Jentene er på tur, de eldste hjelper de yngste*  
 ‘the girls are on a trip, the eldest help the youngest’

Examples can be found where variants /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ play a clear role either as a personal pronoun or as a determiner, as illustrated in examples above. More problematic tokens exist, however. Particularly difficult to determine are tokens that are given prosodic prominence (e.g. by raising F0 or by intensity/loudness) in speech, that can thus be perceived by listeners as demonstrative. Tokens also exist that can be ambiguous regardless of prosodic features and classified as either a demonstrative determiner or personal pronoun. Consider example 4.3.6 taken from the transcript of the interview with Hønefoss informant Frode:

4.3.6 *Det husker jeg når jeg var, da jeg gikk på gymnasiet sjøl da var det **de** fra Jevnaker som... [interviewer: elevene fra Jevnaker?] ja, **de** snakka veldig pent. Særlig **de** som begynte på gymnasiet og ikke på yrkesskolen, **de** snakka veldig fint da*

That, I remember from when I was, when I went to the gymnasium myself, then there were **those** from Jevnaker who [interviewer: the pupils from Jevnaker?] yes, {**they/those**} spoke in a very refined manner. Especially {**they/those**} who started the gymnasium, and not the vocational training, {**they/those**} really spoke in a refined way’

All four instances of <de> in this sequence give unique reference by adding information about the people Frode is talking about: they are from Jevnaker, they started the gymnasium and they really spoke in a refined way. At the same time, however, at least in the last the three cases, the form used could either be

interpreted as a personal pronoun or as a demonstrative referring back to the ‘pupils’ that the interviewer asks about.

Table 4.3.1 illustrates the paradigm of plural determiners and 3*pl* personal pronouns with the subject and object forms found in Bokmål and (what is presumably found) in the Hønefoss dialect.

	Bokmål		Hønefoss	
	Plural Determiner	3 <i>pl</i> Pronoun	Plural Determiner	3 <i>pl</i> Pronoun
Subject	< de >	< de >	[dum] or [di]	[dum]
Object	< de >	< dem >	[dum] or [di]	[dum]

**Table 4.3.1 The paradigms for plural determiners and 3*pl* pronouns in Bokmål and Hønefoss**

In the treatment of Romance pronouns Kayne (2000) notes how the pronouns in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person differ from those in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>. He argues that pronouns in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person can better be described as ‘determiner pronouns’ rather than personal pronouns. Kayne (2000:139-140) notes that this distinction is particularly fitting to French where the (direct) object pronouns have the same form as the definite articles ‘le – la – les’. The ambiguous nature of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns have also been noted for English by, among others, Wales (1996) who describes how the third person pronoun can be seen both as a substitute for a noun phrase, rather than referring to an earlier one, or as a pointing expression. To illustrate she uses the example of a child pointing to an elephant, saying ‘look at him’: where ‘him’ can either substitute ‘the elephant’, or it can indicate something visible to the listener (Wales, 1996: 2). Lyons (1977) points out that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns and the definite articles in Germanic and Romance languages originally had the same linguistic form. This

indicates that the difficulty of classifying a pronoun token into one category or the other might be a result of their featuring in near-identical environments historically. It might also be the case, however, that speakers of the Hønefoss dialect differ clearly between demonstrative determiners and personal pronouns in their grammatical repertoire and that one variant is used as a pronoun and another as a determiner. It is unknown whether speakers employ different variants in the different environments, and a partial aim of this analysis is to explore this.

Because of the interpretative ambiguity possible for a number of tokens of /di/; /dem/ and /dum/, therefore, it was decided to code for the grammatical category of the following lexical item rather than attempting to decide the grammatical category of the individual tokens in the data set. The following grammatical category is therefore an important variable in the analysis. Before turning to other independent variables that might condition the usage of variants in the Hønefoss dialect, a background section about pronoun variation in Norwegian is considered.

#### **4.3.3. The Pronominal System in East Norwegian Varieties**

Like English, Bokmål Norwegian differs between subject and object personal pronoun forms depending on which role they have in a sentence. Old Norwegian, and Middle Norwegian (cf. section 1.2.1 for these terms) to some extent, had a working case system with nominative, accusative, dative and genitive marking on nouns and pronouns. The case system started to weaken before the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but the transition to a fixed word order system was not completed until after the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Skard, 1972: 147). Bokmål Norwegian

(and English) today therefore does not rely on a functional case system like languages such as Icelandic do<sup>1</sup>.

As can be seen in table 4.3.2 below, Bokmål Norwegian has two distinct forms for the subject and object position for every pronoun apart from *dere*, plural ‘you’. In the masculine singular pronoun case syncretism, the generalisation of the same form across the two cases or positions, is optional. Table 4.3.2 shows the paradigm for personal pronouns in Bokmål Norwegian.

	Singular ( <i>sing</i> )		Plural ( <i>pl</i> )	
	Subject	Object	Subject	Object
1 person	jeg	meg	vi	oss
2 person	du	deg	dere	
3 person	<i>masculine</i> han	<i>masculine</i> ham / han	de	dem
	<i>feminine</i> hun / hu	<i>feminine</i> henne		
	<i>neuter</i> den, det			

**Table 4.3.2 Pronoun paradigm for Bokmål Norwegian**

The condition relevant to the current study is the 3 person plural. Bokmål has two different forms for subject and object for this pronoun. The variants of the variable available in Bokmål are <de>, pronounced /di/, in subject position and <dem>, pronounced /dem/, in object position.

Spoken Norwegian, in contrast to Bokmål, is far less likely to have two different forms for the two syntactic positions for every pronoun. All Norwegian dialects differ between two forms in the 1 *sing* (‘I – me’)

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<sup>1</sup> Some Norwegian dialects do have definite dative nouns contrasting with syncretised nominative-accusative nouns. For an overview of these see Skjekkeland (2005).

environment, but in every other person and number environment at least some dialects have syncretism between the subject and object position (cf. Skjekkeland 2005). Dialects spoken in the southern Norwegian province Aust Agder, for instance, use the form /dʉ/ (<du> is the subject *2sing* personal pronoun in Bokmål) both as the subject (nominative) and the object form (accusative) of the *2sing* pronoun (cf. Torp, 1993b). In Møre og Romsdal, a north-western province in Norway, the form /os/, (<oss> is the object form *2pl* pronoun in Bokmål) is used both as the subject form and the object form of the *2pl* pronoun (Skjekkeland, 2005).

In the variety spoken in Oslo, syncretism in the personal pronoun paradigm has traditionally been part of the variety. The pronoun variants available in the Oslo dialect are presented in table 4.3.3. This information is taken from Jørgensen (2000) supplemented with information from Hanssen (1976) and Jahnsen (2001) for the third person plural environment.

	Singular		Plural	
	Subject	Object	Subject	Object
1 person	/jæi/ (/jæ/)	/mæi/ (/mæ/)	/vi/	/os/, /voʃ/
2 person	/dʉ/ (/rʉ/)	/dæi/ (/ræi/)	/derə/	
3 person	<i>masculine</i> /han/ (/n/)	<i>masculine</i> /han/ (/n) /ham/	/di/ /dem/ (/rem/)	
	<i>feminine</i> /hʌ/ (/a/) /henər/	<i>feminine</i> /henə/, /henər/		
	<i>neuter</i> /den/, /det/			

Table 4.3.3 Pronoun variants available to speakers of Oslo dialects



Table 4.3.3 shows that, importantly, the usage of variant /dem/ in subject position is a linguistic variant that can be directly linked to the Oslo variety if found in Hønefoss. As seen in table 4.3.2 /dem/ is not codified in Bokmål and, as shall become clear below from table 4.3.4, neither is it part of the traditional Hønefoss pronoun paradigm. The Oslo variety has variable syncretism between subject and object form in many person and number conditions. While the traditional East Oslo variant has had a syncretism of /dem/ in the 3pl condition, studies indicate that syncretism with /di/ also happens (Hanssen, 1976). A two-way case distinction in the 3pl condition is probably not part of the traditional Oslo vernacular (cf. Torp, 1993a; Skjekkeland, 2005; Røyneland, 2005 *inter alia*). Previous research, however, suggests that speakers in Oslo do not use [di] or [dem] categorically in subject and object positions (Lødrup, 1984). As will become clear from sections below, studies have found that a lot of speakers use more than just one variant in the 3pl personal pronoun condition. A systematic subject – object distinction in this pronoun condition has not been attested in East Norwegian speech.

The variants given in brackets in the paradigm in table 4.3.3 are unstressed variants of the pronouns. The unstressed variants are regarded as variants of the pronoun presented in the same cell in table 4.3.3, but the social distribution of stressed and unstressed pronoun forms could also be the focus of a sociolinguistic investigation (and is indeed in Hanssen, 1976). Although the variation of stressed and unstressed pronoun forms would be an interesting focus for an investigation also in Hønefoss, the main aim of this part of the research is to find signs of regional dialect levelling and explore its origin. The variation of stressed and unstressed pronoun forms are not likely to be due to

regional variation as much as other social (gender is discussed in detail in Hansen, 1976) or linguistic internal factors like prosodic prominence. Hellan and Platzack (1999) give an account of these ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ forms of personal pronouns in the Scandinavian languages, also specifically Norwegian.

Table 4.3.4 illustrates the pronoun variants found in the traditional Hønefoss dialect (Skulerud, 1926; Lyse, 1976). Here, too, we find syncretism between certain number and person conditions. Skulerud (1926) and Lyse (1976) both give similar pronoun paradigms of the dialect spoken in Ringerike. The main difference between the Hønefoss and Oslo paradigms as presented here can be found in the third person plural condition, where the forms /dem/ and /di/ are missing in the traditional Hønefoss dialect. There is a local variant of the 3*p*/ personal pronoun: /dum/ for both the subject and object condition.

	Singular		Plural	
	Subject	Object	Subject	Object
1 person	/jæi/, /je/	/mæi/	/vi/	/os/
2 person	/dæ/, /ræ/	/dæi/, /ræi/	/di/, /ri/	/derə/
3 person	<i>masculine</i> /hɑn/, /n/	<i>masculine</i> /hɑn/, /n/ /hanum/	/dum/, /rum/	
	<i>feminine</i> /hæ/, /ɑ/, /henər/	<i>feminine</i> /henə/, /henər/		
	<i>neuter</i> /den/, /det/			

**Table 4.3.4 Personal pronoun forms available to a speaker of the Hønefoss dialect**

Three different personal pronoun variants thus exist for the three focus varieties of this research. In Bokmål Norwegian the third person pronoun variants are <de> in subject position and <dem> in object position. The

variants associated with Oslo are /di/ both in subject and object position or, especially, /dem/ both in subject and object form. And finally, the variant associated with Hønefoss in the data is /dum/ both in subject and object position.

For the demonstrative determiner (as defined by Faarlund, Lie and Vannebo (2005)), we have little data from the dialects. It is likely, however, that the variant is the same as the variant used in the subject form of the 3rd person plural pronoun. It is argued in some descriptive work that the pronoun form developed from the demonstrative pronoun (Knudsen, 1967; Skjekkeland, 2005). The Bokmål variant of the demonstrative determiner in its plural form, equivalent to English ‘those’ or emphatic ‘the’, is /di/, thus the same as the variety’s subject form 3*p*/ personal pronoun. Knudsen (1967: 25) describes the East Norwegian vernacular forms of the demonstrative determiner as /dem/; /dum/ or /døm/. In more recent grammars, /di/ is given, especially in the Oslo area (Faarlund et al, 1997). In Lyse (1976) the forms /di/ and /dum/ are both used in determiner contexts. It is unclear, therefore, whether the traditional Hønefoss variant in this context is really /dum/.

To conclude this section, it is probable that the variants /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ are all available in the demonstrative determiner environment as well as in the personal pronoun environment in East Norwegian varieties. In Bokmål, the demonstrative determiner is <de>. In the Hønefoss variety, the variant could be /dum/ or /di/. In Oslo, possible variants could be both /de/ and /dem/.

#### 4.3.4 Pronoun variation – earlier studies and social position in Norway

##### 4.3.4.1 Earlier accounts of /di/ and /dem/ variation in Oslo

Pronoun variation has been investigated to some extent in previous Norwegian sociolinguistic work. Some of the earlier accounts investigate pronoun variation in the capital city, although the available quantitative study of linguistic data is more than 30 years old (Hansen, 1976). Hanssen (1976) used the recordings made for *Talemålsundersøkelsen i Oslo* (TAUS, see section 2.3.5.1) to investigate variation in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural pronoun with specific focus on the variation between male and female speakers. The overall distribution of the five *3pl* personal pronoun variants he attested in East Oslo speech is found in table 4.3.5 below.

	/di/	/dem/	/døm/	/dom/	'others'
Girls	17.7	73.8	8.5	0	0
Boys	0	93.9	6.2	0	0
Adolescents	8.9	83.9	7.4	0	0
Women	47.9	40.2	8.5	3.0	0.3
Men	14.9	60.5	21.2	3.5	0
Adults	31.4	50.4	14.9	3.3	0.2

**Table 4.3.5 Distribution of pronoun variants in East Oslo, from Hanssen (1976) reproduced in English by the author**

Hanssen (1976) finds that *dem* is by far the most used form in East Oslo, and presumably on the rise with, youngsters using the variant more than the adults. Another traditional variant used in Oslo vernacular speech is *døm* (Hanssen, 1976), but what this study finds is that *dem* has taken over, at least on the east side of the city. In the west of the city, a different picture exists. There is no

overall distribution table for the west of the city, but it is clear that *de* is used to a much larger extent, even in object position, in the economically richer western part of the capital, illustrated in table 4.3.6.

WEST OSLO – object pronouns	/di/	/dem/	SUM
Girls	50	50	100
Boys	40	56.7	96.7
Adolescents	45	53.4	98.4
Women	78.3	21.7	100
Men	48.4	51.6	100
Adults	63.4	36.7	100.1

**Table 4.3.6 The distribution of two pronoun variants in *object* position for Oslo West speakers: from Hanssen (1976) reproduced in English by the author**

Table 4.3.6 shows the usage of pronoun variants in the object position only by informants in West Oslo. /di/ is, interestingly, used to a large extent in object as well as subject position in West Oslo (Hanssen, 1976). Recall that <de> is the subject form in Bokmål. Hanssen (1976) argues that the background for the usage of /di/ as object goes back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century when members of the higher social classes in West Oslo started using the variant in all syntactic positions to distance themselves from the extensive usage of *dem* in subject position by members of the lower classes.

In a more recent study of adolescents' reported language use and attitudes towards different linguistic variables in Oslo, the variant /dem/ was reported in approx 16% of the cases in subject position (Jahnsen, 2001). The only other variant reported used was /di/ (Jahnsen, 2001). Interestingly, in

object position, more than half of the adolescents also reported using /dem/. As this is reported language use only, we do not know which variants the adolescents in Oslo really use. What this study does suggest, however, is that the pattern found in the late 70s in Oslo might be different to the pattern used by adolescents today. The majority of adolescents in the capital prefer a pattern of pronoun use in line with Bokmål with /di/ as the subject form and /dem/ only used as object form. It is likely, however, that /dem/ is still used to a large degree in subject position in Oslo, as the youngsters in Hanssen's (1976) study are only in their late 40s, early 50s today.

Finally, a note must be made about determiners in Oslo. Lødrup (1984) refers to determiners (including also tokens that could be referred to as demonstratives) as definite articles and concludes that in his West Oslo variety, /di/ is the only variant available if the token is in a thematic position in the sentence or if it is followed by a restrictive subordinate clause. He uses the example <de i bilen> 'they/those in the car' to illustrate his point, where variant /dem/ is impossible in Lødrup's (1984) variety. This indicates that determiners and personal pronouns could be different variable contexts in East Norwegian varieties, but the Hønefoss data analysis will provide a clearer picture of this.

The data available for this investigation from the NoTa corpus will provide a more recent source from Oslo for the pronoun variation analysis. To add to the information above from Oslo, therefore, a comparative investigation of Hønefoss and Oslo pronoun usage will be presented in section 4.3.8.

#### *4.3.4.2 Earlier Accounts of Pronoun Variation in East Norwegian Locations*

Three sociolinguistic studies have investigated pronoun usage in the geographical region surrounding Oslo in the recent decades: Skolseg (1994), Skramstad (1999) and Holland (2001). These all focus on adolescents' speech but each have a small group of adults as control groups.

The most recent study (Holland, 2001), investigates the speech of 12 adolescents in the city of Hamar and two surrounding rural centres Stange and Romedal. As in Hønefoss, the local variant of the 3<sup>rd</sup> personal pronoun in Hamar is /dum/ (dom in spelling). Holland (2001) concludes that in the urban centre Hamar, the local variant is replaced by variants /di/, /dem/ or /døm/. In the more rural centres Stange and Romedal, however, the local variant is retained by a number of speakers (Holland, 2001: 104-111). She found a similar pattern for the usage of initial stress in loanwords. With only four adolescents from each location, however, it is doubtful whether one can make generalisations based on Holland's results. All we can conclude is that there seems to be a trend for the informants in the urban area to use fewer local forms. Importantly, however, there is enough evidence to say that informants in Hamar do use other pronoun variants than those found in their traditional dialect. For more information about Holland's (2001) study see section 2.2.6.4.

The county Hadeland is the neighbouring county east of Ringerike, where Hønefoss is situated. Skramstad (1999) investigates language use in the rural centres in the area. Among other linguistic variables Skramstad (1999) considers the usage of pronoun forms. The linguistic data from Hadeland analysed by Skramstad (1999), is very limited. It is reported that in Hadeland,

the pronoun form /dum/ is, together with initial stress in loanwords, the local linguistic feature that adolescents claim to be retaining in their dialect (Skramstad, 1999: 156). In the impressionistic analysis of six informants' speech, three use the form /dum/ to a large extent (Skramstad, 1999: 171-183). We can conclude from this very limited data, that the local variants of the pronouns are used in Hadeland, but that other pronoun forms are also found in the adolescents' speech.

Next, we turn to another rural area in the vicinity of Oslo, Romerike. Skolseg (1994) looks at language usage in rural centres of this county situated to the (north) east of Oslo. She finds that usage of the local variants /dem/ and /dum/ in subject position is still used by the adolescents she interviewed. Although tokens of /di/ as subject were found, the majority of tokens in subject position were /dem/. These results are also in line with those reported about usage of initial stress, where Skolseg's (1994) study showed that initial stress was retained to a much larger degree in Romerike than in urban centres in the area (see section 4.1).

Røyneland (2005) also looks at whether local variants of the third person plural pronoun are retained in the smaller rural centres Tynset and Røros towards the north of East Norway. The study finds that local variants /døm/ and /dom/ are retained to a great extent and that only some few instances of /di/ can be found (2005: 390). Røyneland also emphasises the fact that the vernaculars in Tynset and Røros both use the same variant in subject as well as object position. She notes that future work could focus more on the degree to which speakers abandon pronoun syncretism in East Norway in favour of two different



variants for subject and object positions in line with the system codified in Bokmål. The current study investigates this as part of the qualitative analysis of the influence of Bokmål on the usage of the third person plural pronoun in Hønefoss in section 4.3.8.

#### *4.3.4.3 Prescriptive and Popular Attitudes towards Pronoun Usage in Norway*

The Norwegian language council *Språkrådet* (cf. section 1.2.1) does not provide any official advice regarding the usage of the different pronoun variants in spoken Norwegian, as they only give advice on spoken language in rare instances. The general writing advice to users of East Norwegian varieties is to adhere to the Bokmål variants. The syncretism of one pronoun form to both subject and object position has been commented upon only to a small degree in literature, and is not codified in Bokmål.

Torp (1993a) notes that there is evidence that /di/ is syncretised for 3<sup>pl</sup> personal pronouns in spoken varieties around Oslo. He quotes one of the few prescriptive texts about spoken Norwegian available: *Correct Everyday Speech* (Bugge, 1949). Bugge (in Torp, 1993a: 16) states that syncretism with /di/ as the only pronoun variant is more acceptable in everyday speech than syncretism with /dem/. Torp (1993) concludes, however, that the most prestigious usage of pronouns is the two-way distinction found in Bokmål, with the variant /di/ in subject and /dem/ in object position.

As illustrated in example 4.3.7 below, syncretism is commented upon in discussion forums on the Internet. A search for ‘de-dem’ or ‘de objektform’ returns a number of online discussion forums that discuss the general grammar rules for pronoun case usage, and even more interestingly, that express attitudes

towards usage of different pronoun variants. The following two posts in example 4.3.7 are extracted from a debate hosted by the newspaper Aftenposten (Aftenposten, 2009) (the translations are done by the researcher).

4.3.7 ‘Is it only me who has noticed how more and more people consistently use *de* in object form instead of *dem*. Example: ‘he watched *de* for a long time’ should be he watched *dem* for a long time’... This occurs often in spoken language in East Norway but now I’ve been seeing it in online newspapers, in the news and in magazines too. How do you feel about this?’ *De/dem "forfall"* 02.08.07 15:42

‘In my opinion it is a pain and levelling of the language. ‘

*Anon* 03.08.07 09:19

In the next example, 4.3.8, the same issue is discussed in the discussion pages of the newspaper VG (vgd.no, 2009).

4.3.8 ‘These days it seems to be allowed to say both *de* and *han* where originally it should have been *dem* and *ham*, but what is this rule again?’ hof 02.07.03 14:17

‘I know you’re allowed to write *han* even if it’s a masculine object form, but are you really allowed to write *de* where it should have been *dem*? If that’s the case I’m moving out of the country! Soon, we’ll be allowed to write *kan du hjelpe jeg* ‘can you help I?’ gdarius 02.07.03 18:00

‘In the Bergen dialect one only says *de* and not *dem*. But I think it’s a bigger problem that people say *dem* where it should be *de*. It seems like certain people talk and write like that on purpose too.’ Marbat 07.07.03 02:36

Especially the last quote in example 4.3.8 shows that negative attitudes exist towards the usage of variant /dem/ in the subject position in Norway. The second quote in that example also indicates that Bokmål works as a strong

correctness ideal for this particular variable. Examples 4.3.7 and 4.3.8 both attest that Norwegian language users look down upon variant usage in the 3*pl* pronoun context that does not comply with the written standardised variety.

#### *4.3.4.4 Summary and Potential Interpretations of Pronoun Variation*

The sections above have described the three-way distinction between 3*pl* pronoun variants that might be encountered in this investigation. In the results from Hønefoss, usage of /dum/ in either subject or object position will attest retention of the local variant. Any two-way distinction between subject form /di/ and an object form /dem/ found can be seen as a clear influence from Bokmål, as East Norwegian vernaculars traditionally do not distinguish between subject and object variants for the 3*pl* personal pronoun (Skjekkeland, 2005). Usage of /dem/ in subject position in Hønefoss can be viewed as influence from Oslo speech, as the variant is neither used in that position in Bokmål, nor traditionally in the Hønefoss dialect. Potential pronoun syncretism with the variant /di/ in subject as well as object position can be explained in two ways. This can either be due to influence of Bokmål and a subsequent syncretism with the subject form to the object position. It could also be viewed as an influence from West Oslo and the syncretised usage of /di/ reported there in the 1970s (Hanssen, 1976).

#### **4.3.5 Pronoun Variation in English**

Before the results from the quantitative investigation of pronoun variants are presented, this section discusses pronoun variation in other languages and presents a case where language standardisation has been known to influence pronoun usage.

Variation between different pronoun forms occurs in many languages. Especially in Germanic languages where a case distinction is partly lost, or only retained in the pronoun system, i.e. English, the Scandinavian languages and Dutch, one often finds examples of syncretism of forms across subject and object position. In Germanic languages where a pronoun case system is retained, like in German or Icelandic, variable syncretism is much less frequent (cf. Emonds, 1986; Parrott, 2009).

Wales (1996) gives a comprehensive account of case syncretism in pronouns across varieties of English. Especially in varieties influenced by Afro-American creoles, syncretism can be found, but pronoun variation exists in a number of regional varieties of English across the world. Notably, ‘us’ is used as an object form in the first person singular in many Northern varieties of British English and a difference between singular ‘you’ and plural ‘youse’ ‘y’all’ or ‘yinz’ is retained in some Irish (youse) and American English varieties (Wales, 1996).

Interestingly, another form of pronoun variation exists in both English and the other ‘case-less’ Germanic languages that is probably not regionally constrained: variation of pronouns in coordinated phrases. This variation seems influenced by the standard language ideology and languages’ prescriptive rules (Emonds, 1986; Angermeyer and Singler, 2003; Parrott, 2009). Example 4.3.9 and 4.3.10 are attested mis-matches of pronoun variants in coordinated phrases in American English. 4.3.9 is in subject position and 4.3.10 in object position. The examples are from Parrott (2009).

4.3.9 Him and I were working at the time

4.3.10 He thought I was coming between he and his wife

Emonds (1986) argues that in (at least American) English the object form of the pronoun is actually the default in the second conjunct of a coordinated phrase. He further argues that a consistent use of prescriptively correct pronoun forms in environments like coordination phrases (but also in other environments like isolate pronouns, where a pronoun is used, for example, in isolation as an answer to a question, e.g. who did it? Me!) must be acquired at a late stage and is sometimes unlearnable to many speakers of English (Emonds, 1986: 94). Still, a clear division between subject and object forms in coordinate phrase environments is retained by prescriptivists for the English language (for examples see Parrott, 2009). The prescriptive focus on a distinction between subject and object pronouns in coordinated phrases often result in hypercorrection on the side of the speaker. Wales (1996) cites a number of examples, for instance 4.3.11.

4.3.11 'I should be grateful if you could let Fiona or I have this information (College admissions office letter, 12 October 1993)' (Wales 1996: 105)

This hypercorrection is similar to that attested by Hanssen (1976) for Oslo where West Oslo speakers are said to be avoiding /dem/ so much in subject position they hypercorrect the usage of /di/ also to object position. It can be deduced from available literature that prescriptive language has a rather large effect on pronoun variation in English (cf. Emonds, 1986; Wales, 1996; Angermeyer and Singler, 2003; Parrott, 2009) as well as in Danish (Parrott, 2009). This is an indication that prescriptive language rules, or standard language ideology, might affect pronoun usage in this investigation.

### 4.3.6 Results /di/, /dem/ and /dum/ Variation in Hønefoss

In this results section the overall distribution of the variants in the dataset is first presented, regardless of internal linguistic and external social factors.

Secondly, the grammatical environments where /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ occur will be investigated to decide whether different variable contexts can be attested in the data. The influence of social factors on variation in one of these variable contexts, the personal pronoun context, will be presented at the end of this section.

#### 4.3.6.1 Overall distribution of variants /di/; /dem/ and /dum/

Variant	Ns	%
<b>/di/</b> Bokmål (subj) or Oslo (subj or obj)	537	56.6
<b>/dum/</b> Hønefoss	226	23.8
<b>/dm/</b> Hønefoss (subj) or Bokmål (obj) or Oslo (subj)	133	14.1
<b>/dem/</b> Oslo (subj) or Bokmål (obj)	52	5.5
<b>Total</b>	815	100

Table 4.3.7 The overall distribution of the variants in the data set and the linguistic varieties they belong to

Table 4.3.7 shows the four different variants encountered in the data set, and which varieties these are likely to represent. Overall the variant most used in the data set is /di/, found in more than half of the cases, that could represent Bokmål or Oslo if found in subject position, but is likely to be an influence from Oslo if found in the object position (cf. Hanssen, 1976) . The local Hønefoss form /dum/ is used about a quarter of the time. An unclear form /dm/ is represented in table 4.3.7. Unclear forms were coded for if the variant was

clearly a form with /m/ but with an unclear vowel. The unclear form could therefore either be a local form, the Oslo form or even coded as the Bokmål object form. The tokens coded as unclear were often without stress and in such rapid speech that the vowel, if even audible, was close to a schwa. It is not within the scope of this investigation to go into further acoustic analysis of these tokens. They are therefore presented for individuals in the next section, but excluded from analysis in sections 4.3.6.5-4.3.6.9.

#### *4.3.6.2 Intra-Individual Variation in the Hønefoss Data*

Figure 4.3.2 shows every individual's variation between the four variants: /di/ (white), /dem/ (black), /dum/ (dark grey) and the variant with an unclear vowel, /dm/ (light grey). The informants are ranged by age.

What we see from the figure is that only three informants in the data set are categorically using one variant. Two of the three informants who are categorically using /di/ in the data have very few tokens (Zara and Mats), whereas Ulrikke has 38 tokens and categorically uses /di/. Most speakers in the data set use two, or even more, variants. As can also be seen in figure 4.3.2 the proportion of /dum/, the dark grey areas, is larger in the older informants, whereas the proportion of /di/, the white areas, appears larger in the younger subjects. The age differences will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3.6.9.

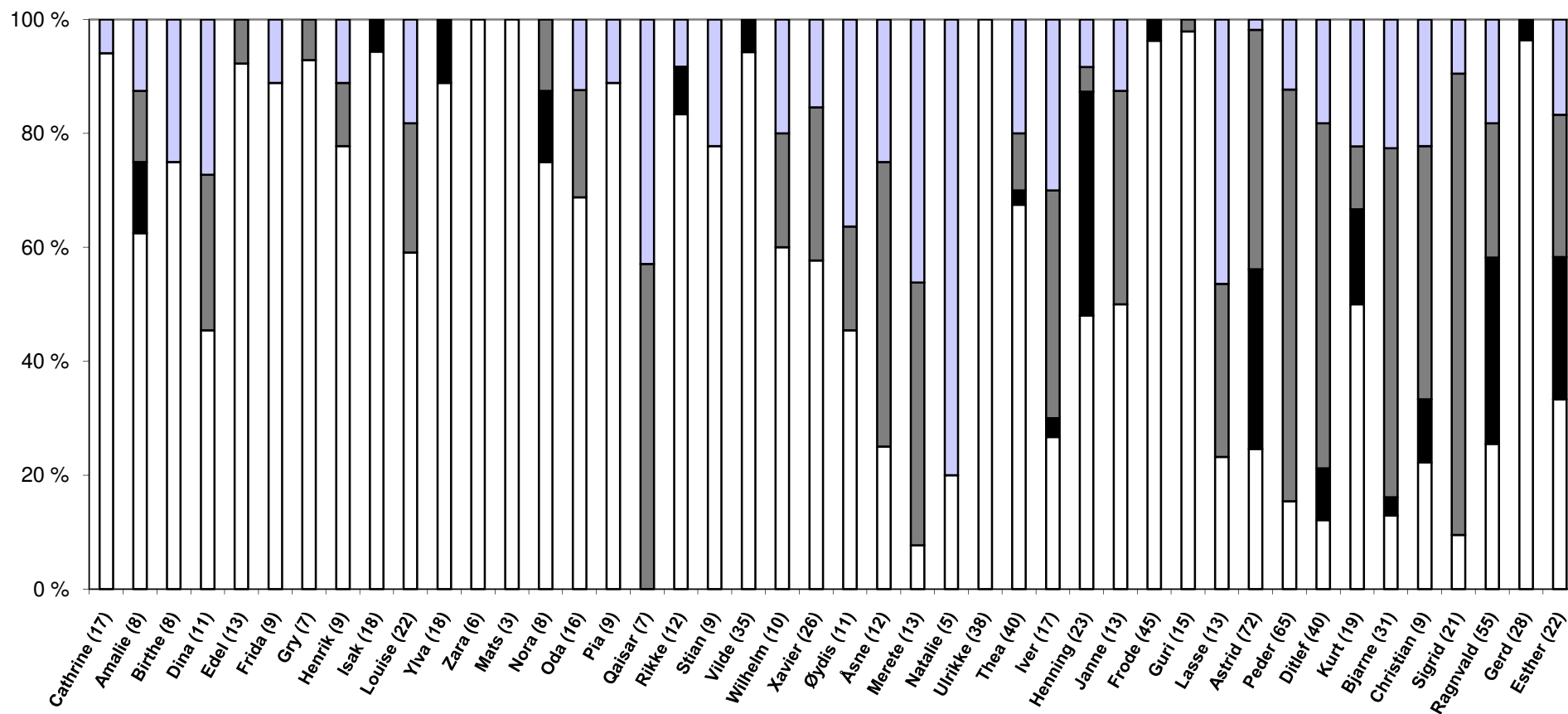


Figure 4.3.2. Informants' usage of /di/ (white), /dem/(black), /dum/ (dark grey) and /dm/ (light grey). Token numbers are between brackets. Informants ordered by age: young → old



#### 4.3.6.3 Variable context: personal pronouns or a determiner?

To see if grammatical environment influences variation between variants /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ at all in Hønefoss speech, all tokens were coded for their following grammatical environment. If certain grammatical environments behave differently to others, this could be an indication that we are dealing with two different variable contexts in the data.

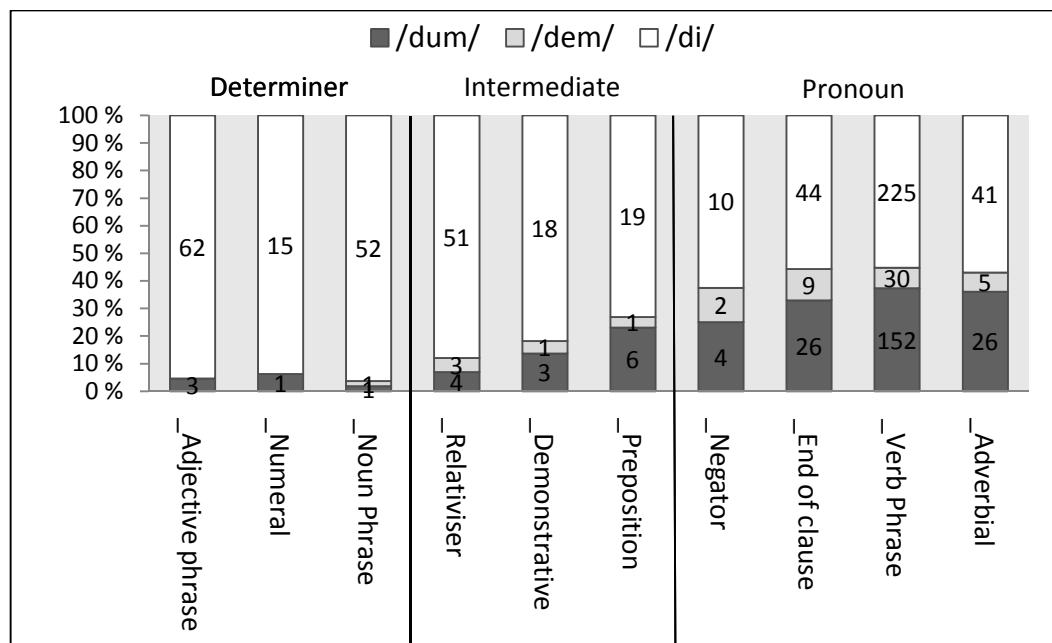


Figure 4.3.3 Distribution of variants across following syntactic environment

There is a clear difference in how the variants pattern across the different grammatical environments. Figure 4.3.3 shows that following grammatical environments end of a clause; verb phrase and adverbial give a fairly evenly distributional pattern (percentagewise) of variants in Hønefoss, as do the three environments succeeding adjective phrase, numeral and noun phrase.

The variant used in the Hønefoss data set is almost exclusively /di/ in grammatical environments where variants can easily be classified as determiners, i.e. before adjective phrases; numerals or before noun phrases. /di/ is also used a lot

more than other variants before demonstrative determiners and especially as a head of a relative clause (when the relative ‘pronoun’ *som* is following). The tokens before demonstrative determiners and relativisers are slightly problematic to classify grammatically. In the data set, phrases like *de som* ‘they, or those, who’ and *de derre* ‘they, or those, there’ occur frequently. It is hard to say whether these tokens can be categorised as demonstratives or as pronouns. It is interesting, however, that these are two environments where /di/ is used a lot, yet not as much as in the environments where the tokens can clearly be identified as determiners, like before adjectives. /di/ is used to the smallest extent before a negator, end of clause, verb phrase and adverbial. Before demonstrative determiners and relativisers, however, /di/ is used more frequently, comparatively speaking. These two environments are, in fact, a group ‘in-between’: hard to determine grammatically and hard to place in the variation pattern in the data.

The tokens followed by a relativiser in figure 4.3.3 were produced by approximately half of the speakers in the sample, not a small group of people. Recall the interview excerpt with informant Frode in example 4.3.6.

4.3.6 ‘That, I remember from when I was, when I went to the gymnasium myself, then there were those from Jevnaker who [interruption] yes, they/those spoke very nicely. Especially they/those who started the gymnasium, and not the vocational training, they really spoke nicely’

It was unclear in this excerpt whether the tokens, all /di/, could be counted as personal pronouns or demonstrative determiners. The /di/ followed by a relative clause ‘who started the gymnasium’ was especially hard to categorise. Lødrup (1984) notes that pronoun tokens that hold a thematic position in the sentence or preceding restrictive sub clauses are exclusively /di/ in West Oslo. /di/ is the

preferred variant in this particular construction in Hønefoss as well. Tokens preceding determiners and relative clauses may therefore be less likely to show variation between /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ in the Hønefoss data because they belong to a different grammatical category: determiners. As there is practically no variation between forms before a relative clause, adjective phrases, numerals and noun phrases, these environments are excluded from the analysis of social constraints on the variation. Also, because the tokens in the two syntactic environments before a demonstrative and a preposition are difficult to establish as personal pronouns, the tokens that fall in these categories are excluded from the remaining analysis as well. After unclear tokens (the two categories to the left in figure 4.3.3) were removed from the data, 541 tokens of personal pronoun variants /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ remain for the analysis. These tokens occur before negators, verb phrases, adverbials and at the end of a clause.

#### *4.3.6.4 Overall Distribution of 3pl personal pronoun variants in Hønefoss*

The remaining tokens in the data set are all easily defined as personal pronouns and occur either in subject or object position in clauses. Table 4.3.8 below shows the 3pl pronoun variants and their distribution in the Hønefoss data set.

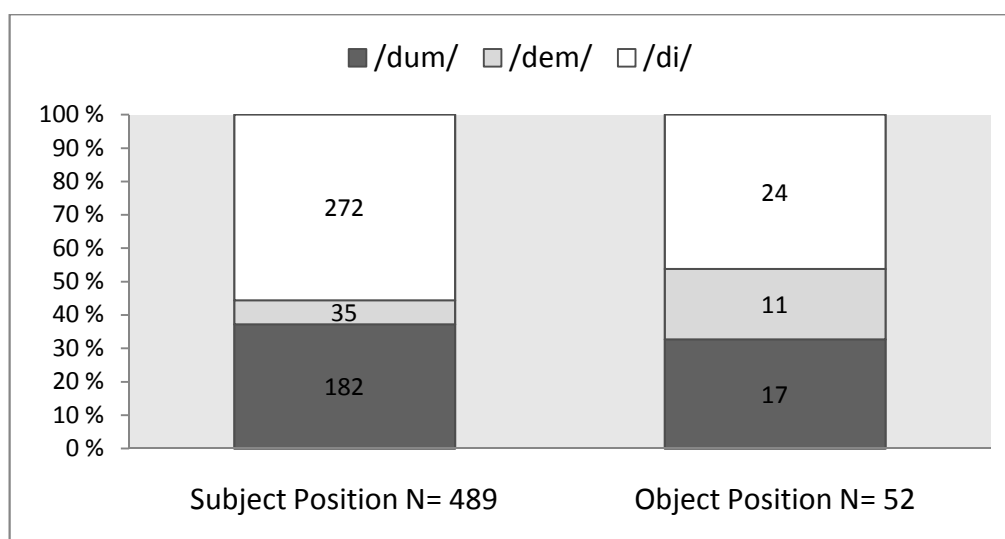
<b>Variant</b>	<b>Ns</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>/di/</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>54.9</b>
<b>/dum/</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>36.8</b>
<b>/dem/</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>8.3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>541</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.3.8 Overall Distribution of the personal pronoun variants in the data set**

In the personal pronoun context, /di/ is still the variant that is used the most in Hønefoss, 54.9% of the time. The local variant /dum/ is used nearly a third of the time with 36.8% in the data set. The variant /dem/ is used 8.3% of the time. Recall that the unclear tokens, /dm/, have been removed from this part of the analysis.

#### 4.3.6.5 Distribution of Variants in Subject and Object Position in Hønefoss

The 541 personal pronoun tokens distribute unequally across the subject and object position in the dataset. There are 52 tokens of pronouns in the object position, whereas there are 489 pronouns in subject position. Figure 4.3.4 shows the distribution of the variants across the positions. Recall that the codified Bokmål pronoun usage is variant <de> (/di/) in subject and <dem> (/dem/) in object position.



**Figure 4.3.4 Distribution and % of pronoun variants across subject and object position Hønefoss**

Variants in object position make up less than 10% of the pronouns in the Hønefoss data. The variant /di/ is used 55.6% of the time in subject position but 46.2% of the time in object position. The difference in the two positions for the local variant /dum/ is not large, it is used 37.2% of the time in subject and 32.7% of the time in object position. The Bokmål object variant /dem/ is used to a larger extent in object

than subject position which indicates that the variant is favoured in its codified environment. As can also be seen in sections 4.3.7 and 4.3.8 below subject or object position does not significantly constrain usage of /dum/ in the data set but significantly constrains usage of /dem/. Because usage rates of the local variant /dum/ are not significantly different in the subject and object position, the entire data set is used for the social analysis in sections 4.3.6.6-4.3.6.9 below.

#### 4.3.6.6 Difference in Pronoun Usage between age groups in Hønefoss

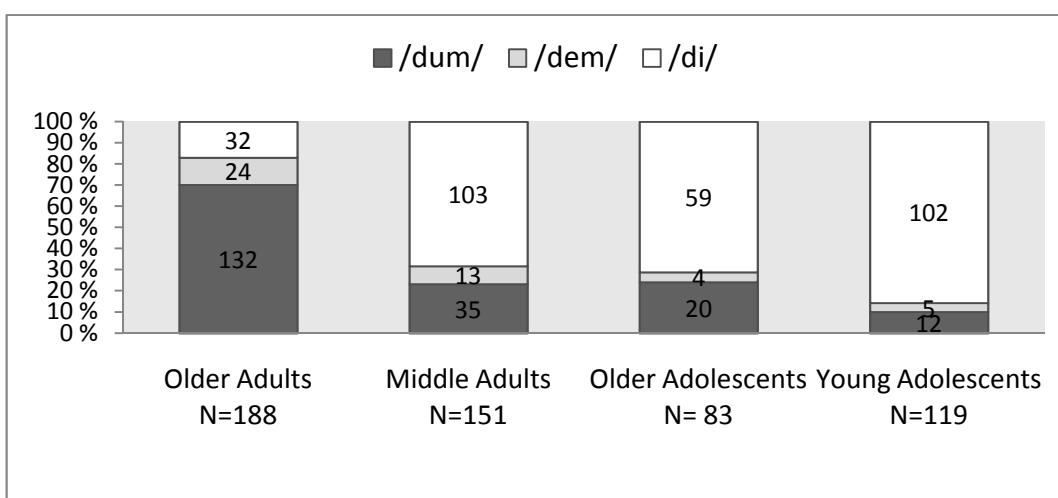


Figure 4.3.5 Distribution and % of pronoun variants across four age groups

Figure 4.3.5 show a similar pattern with regards to the local variant as that attested for stress assignment in section 4.1. Older adults use the local variant /dum/ to a much larger degree than all the other age groups. The data indicate that the local variant is disappearing from the speech of our Hønefoss informants as /di/ is increasingly used by the youngest informants. /dem/ is used to a small extent throughout the data, in every age group. Whether this is in the subject or object position will be returned to in section 4.3.8.

4.3.6.7 *Difference in Pronoun Usage between Young and Old Adolescent Girls in Hønefoss*

Again, to investigate a potential link between the usage of regional variants and type of school attended by adolescent female informants, personal pronoun variation in the two age groups young and old adolescent girls is compared.

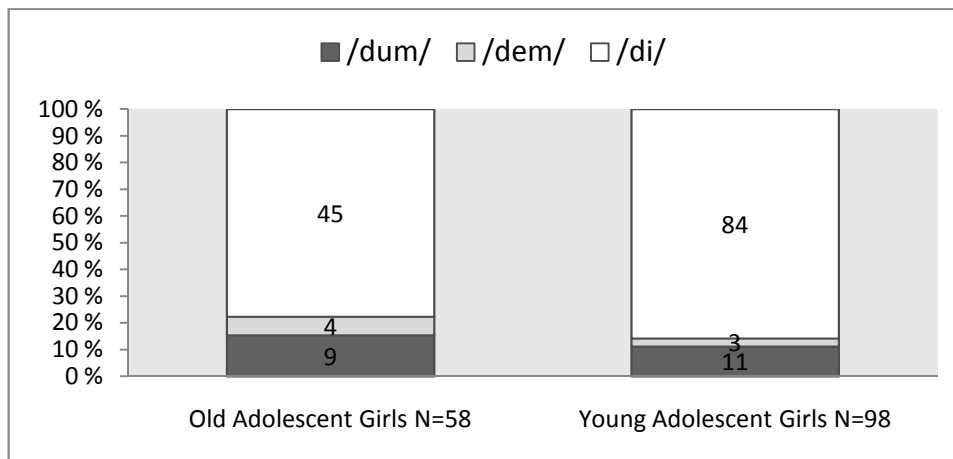


Figure 4.3.6 Distribution and % of pronoun variants across the two groups of adolescent girls

Figure 4.3.6 shows the difference between the two groups of adolescent girls in their usage of pronoun variants. The youngest informants have a slightly larger proportion of /di/ in their data. There is little difference between the older and younger adolescent girls in their usage of the pronoun variants.

To compare the pronoun variation in the youngest two age groups, a chi-square test was done on the pronoun data. The test was computed to explore whether there is a difference between girls who attend a large regional school (18 year olds) and girls who attend smaller local schools (14 year olds) when it comes to usage of variants /di/, /dem/ and /dum/. The test compared the distributions of observed instances of the pronoun variants from older adolescent versus the younger adolescent girls. There was not a significant difference between the

number of instances of the variants between older adolescent girls and younger adolescent girls in the chi-square  $(2, 156) = 2.009, p = .37$ .

#### 4.3.6.8 Difference in Pronoun Usage between Genders in Hønefoss

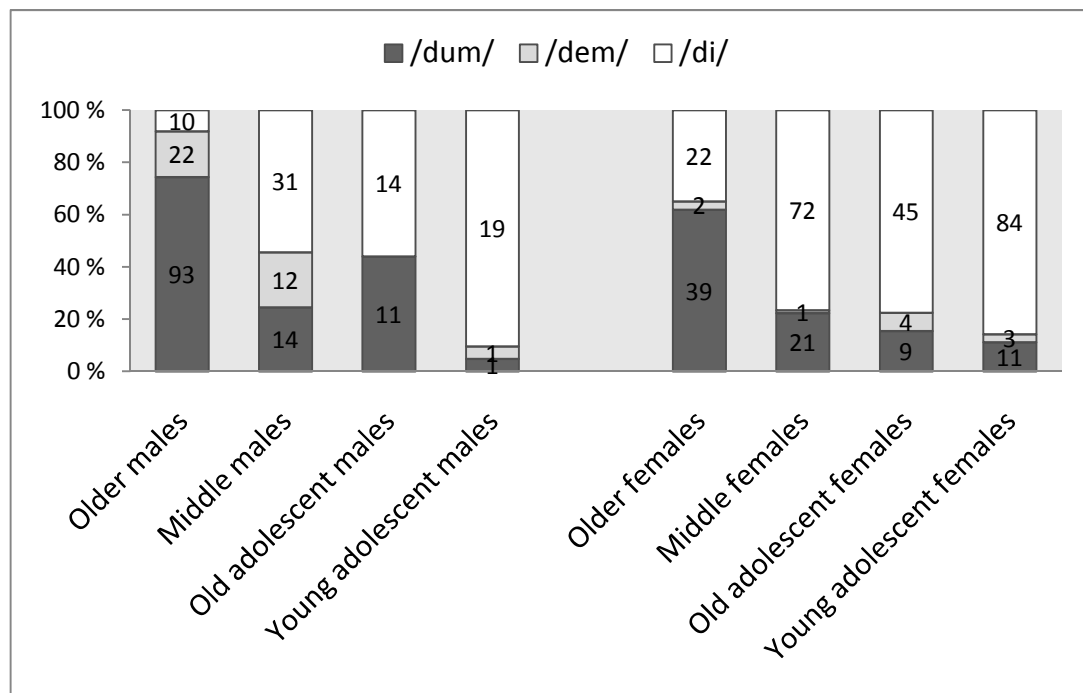
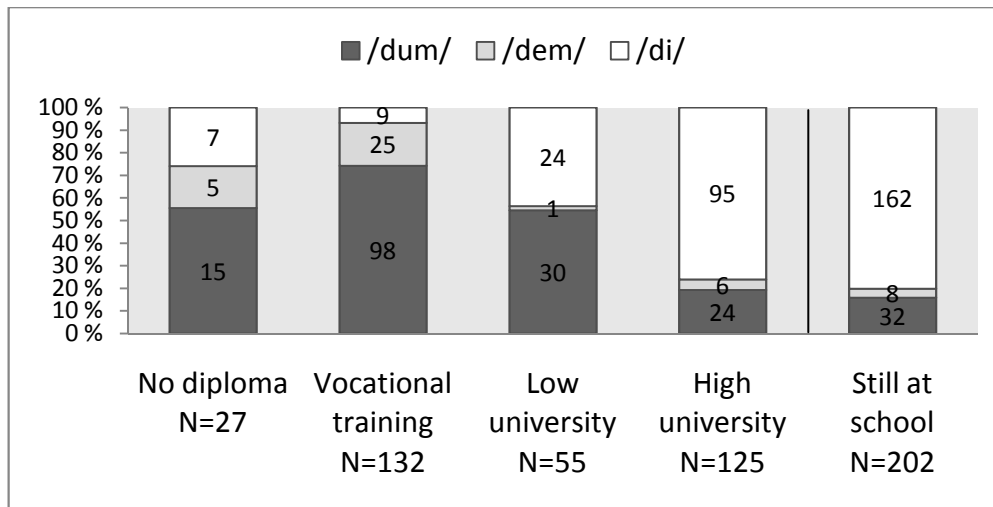


Figure 4.3.7 Distribution and % of the pronoun variants across the two genders within age groups

Gender differences in pronoun usage in Hønefoss are fairly substantial in the three oldest age groups. Female speakers have a much larger proportion of /di/ overall (223 tokens of a total 313 pronoun tokens) than male speakers (74 tokens of 228 pronoun tokens). Women use variant /di/ 71.3% of the time, more than twice as much as men who use /di/ 33.6%, a difference is partly due to the large number of tokens from the youngest female speakers. However, women use the variant /di/ more than men in every age group. Interestingly, the variant /dem/ seems predominantly used by men in the Hønefoss data. When it comes to the local variant /dum/, men also has a higher usage rate overall. Male speakers in Hønefoss use the local variant /dum/ 52.2% of the time, approximately twice as much as women who use the local variant 25.6% of the time, overall.

#### 4.3.6.9 Difference in Pronoun Usage by Educational Background in Hønefoss



**Figure 4.3.8 distribution of the personal pronoun variants across education categories**

The group of informants with the lowest education: informants without a diploma and informants with vocational training are the ones who use variant /di/ to the lowest extent in the Hønefoss data set. The informants with low university education do not use /di/ much more often, however. Interestingly, informants with low university education pattern more like informants with vocational training when it comes to pronoun variation than with informants with higher university education. The adults with high university education behave more like the adolescent informants whose scores are juxtaposed in figure 4.3.8 for comparative reasons. The similarity between the scores of these two groups could suggest that the informants with a high university education are early adopters of the linguistic change from usage of local pronoun /dum/ in Hønefoss to usage of /di/. The differences between usage rates of local variant /dum/ in speakers of different educational backgrounds and age groups are statistically significant, while the gender difference in usage of /dum/ is not significant, as illustrated in the following section.



#### 4.3.7 Multivariate Analysis of Usage of /dum/ in Hønefoss

This section investigates the statistical significance of the linguistic internal (subject or object position) and the social differences (age, gender and educational background) on usage of /dum/ in Hønefoss. Tables 4.3.6 and 4.3.7 show the results of the multivariate analysis in Goldvarb X (Sankoff D., Tagliamonte S.A., & Smith E., 2005). The input for the entire data set shown in 4.3.6 is .33. The input for the data set presented in table 4.3.7, from the adult informants, is .48, the application value in both runs is ‘dum’.

Application value: ‘/dum/’			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	132/188	70.2%	.76
Middle adult	35/151	23.2%	.45
Old adolescent	20/83	24.1%	.43
Young adolescent	12/119	10.1%	.21
<i>Range</i>			<i>.55</i>
Gender			
Female	80/313	25.6%	[ns]
Male	119/228	52.2%	[ns]
Sentence position			
Subject position	182/489	37.2%	[ns]
Object position	17/52	32.7%	[ns]

Table 4.3.9. Multivariate analysis of the effects on application of /dum/ as a personal pronoun in the Hønefoss data, input 0.33

To certify that there is no interaction between the variables age and gender in the data presented in table 4.3.6, the step-up/step-down analysis in Goldvarb X was examined closer. The factor weights for gender are relatively stable (men's factor weights fluctuate between .64 and .73 and women's factor weights fluctuate between .32 and .40) on all levels of the analysis. Although the gender sample is not evenly distributed across the age groups, there are no indications of problematic interactions between the two social groups in the multivariate analysis of the usage of /dum/. The factor gender does not contribute significantly to the model of variation in usage of /dum/ in Hønefoss.

Application value: '/dum/'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Education Level			
University 3+ years	24/125	19.2%	.29
University 1-3 years	30/55	54.5%	.49
Vocational training	98/132	74.2%	.69
No diploma after 16	15/27	55.6%	.60
<i>Range</i>			<i>40</i>

**Table 4.3.10. Multivariate analysis of the effects of education level on application of /dum/ as a personal pronoun in the *adult* Hønefoss data, input 0.48**

The Goldvarb X run presented in table 4.3.7 shows the same results for the other independent variables as those presented in table 4.3.6. Only the results from the education variable are presented, however.

Overall, the multivariate analyses presented in tables 4.3.6 and 4.3.7 show that the difference in pronoun variant usage is significant between age groups for the entire data set. The difference between adult informants of different educational

backgrounds is also significant. The factor group with the largest span of difference, range, is age with 55. Educational background has a range of 40. Neither the gender difference nor the difference of syntactic position, whether subject or object, contributes significantly to the model.

From the analysis so far it can be concluded that local variant /dum/ seems to disappear from the Hønefoss variety and that variant /di/ is becoming increasingly used. Next section will consider qualitatively to what degree pronoun variation in Hønefoss can be explained by influence from Bokmål.

#### **4.3.8 Influence from Bokmål: two-way distinctions between subject and object pronouns**

The spread of /di/ as a pronoun variant is hard to pin down to either Bokmål or Oslo influence, but could be diffusing to the Hønefoss variety from both sources. Hanssen (1976) blames the spread of /di/ on the low social prestige connected with variant /dem/ in Oslo. The variant /di/ is not a pronoun form traditionally used in any of the dialects surrounding the capital, and so the introduction of the feature in Oslo certainly can be linked back to Bokmål.

East Norwegian varieties all traditionally have pronoun form syncretism between the subject and object position in the 3*pl* personal pronoun. This allows for an investigation of the explicit influence of Bokmål on spoken language. If speakers employ a clear distinction between subject and object positions in their speech, this is almost certainly due to an effect from the standard language. This effect of a standard language ideology on pronoun variant choice is also attested for English (discussed in section 4.3.5) by Emonds (1986) and Parrott (2009) *inter alia*. A categorical difference between subject and object form is never attested for East

Norwegian varieties, to the researcher's knowledge. If a distinction is made by Hønefoss speakers, this is therefore fairly rare and a good indication that Bokmål has a strong influence on the way people speak in Hønefoss.

#### 4.3.8.1 Effect of Sentence Position on Application of /dem/

In Bokmål, variant /di/ is codified in subject and variant /dem/ is codified in object positions. To see whether Bokmål could be an influence on pronoun usage, it was first tested statistically whether variant /dem/ is more likely to occur in object position in Hønefoss speech. Firstly, a multivariate analysis was conducted on the data with application value /dem/. Table 4.3.8 shows distribution of /dem/ in the data set as well as the results of the multivariate analysis with regards to sentence position. There is a significant difference between usage of /dem/ between subject and object position. Quite a few tokens of /dem/ are used in subject position in the data set, however, as illustrated in table 4.3.8.

Application value: '/dem/'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
<i>Usage of /dem/</i>			
Subject position	34/489	7.0%	.47
Object position	11/52	21.2%	.78
<i>Range</i>			<i>31</i>

**Table 4.3.11 Results from Multivariate Analysis of application of /dem/. Input 0.054**

Percentagewise /dem/ is a lot more frequent in object position in the Hønefoss data set. This could be because speakers aim to use the variant like prescribed in Bokmål. There are not many tokens of object pronouns in the Hønefoss data set, only 52.

To see whether individuals are influenced by the standardised Bokmål variety, it was investigated whether a two-way distinction is maintained between subject and object position per individual.

Informant	Social information	Subject forms	Object forms
<b>Bjarne</b>	Male-73	/di/ /dum/ /dm/	/di/ /dm/
<b>Ragnvald</b>	Male-72	/di/ /dem/ /dm/	/di/ /dem/ /dm/
<b>Ditlef</b>	Male-70	/dum/ /dem/ /dm/	/dum/ /dm/
<b>Kurt</b>	Male-70	/di/ /dum/ /dem/ /dm/	/di/
<b>Peder</b>	Male-66	/dum/ /dm/	/di/ /dum/ /dm/
<b>Astrid</b>	Female-64	/di/ /dum/	/di/ /dum/
<b>Lasse</b>	Male-36	/dum/ /dm/	/dum/
<b>Guri</b>	Female-36	/di/ /dum/	/di/
<b>Ulrikke</b>	Female-26	/di/	/di/
<b>Thea</b>	Female-25	/di/ /dum/ /dem/ /dm/	/di/ dem
<b>Nora</b>	Female-18	/di/ /dum/ /dm/	/di/
<b>Pia</b>	Female -18	/di/ dem	/di/
<b>Qaisar</b>	Male-18	/dum/ /dm/	/dum/
<b>Wilhelm</b>	Male-18	/di/ /dum/	/di/
<b>Xavier</b>	Male-18	/di/ /dum/	/di/ /dum/
<b>Øydis</b>	Female-18	/di/ /dum/ /dm/	/di/
<b>Åsne</b>	Female-18	/dum/ /dm/	/dum/
<b>Louise</b>	Female-14	/di/ /dem/ /dm/	/di/ /dem/ /dm/
<b>Iver</b>	Male-26	/dum/ /dem/ /dm/	/di/
<b>Frode</b>	Male-34	/di/	/di/ /dem/
<b>Cathrine</b>	Female-14	/di/	/dem/
<b>Gina</b>	Female-14	/di/	/dum/
<b>Rikke</b>	Female-14	/di/	/di/ dem
<b>Ylva</b>	Female-14	/di/	/di/ dem
<b>Vilde</b>	Female-18	/di/	/di/ dem

Table 4.3.12 Hønefoss informants with pronoun variants attested in object and subject positions

For this analysis, the 133 tokens with an unclear vowel quality previously excluded were once more included in the analysis, as these could potentially be variants of /dem/. The total number of variants in the object position is 56. Only 25 informants have pronoun tokens in the object position, and this analysis could therefore only be

conducted with these 25 informants. Table 4.3.9 shows the variants that individuals use in the two syntactic environments subject and object position. Unfortunately, the number of tokens in the object position is very low. Importantly, what table 4.3.9 illustrates is that most Hønefoss speakers do not distinguish between subject and object position in their usage of 3*p*/ personal pronoun variants. Only 7 informants (highlighted in grey) have a difference between the two environments, and this information is only based on one or two tokens in the object position per speaker.

Only one speaker, Cathrine, has a two-way distinction between Bokmål-like variant /di/ in subject and /dem/ in object position. 5 other speakers use /di/ in subject and object and /dem/ only in object. These are 5 young girls, and Frode, a school teacher. Informant Iver has one token of /di/ used as an object, but has no attested cases of this variant where expected, in the subject position. It could be that more tokens from this informant would attest usage of /di/ in subject position as well. As presented here, however, Iver's pronoun usage pattern is hard to explain.

To conclude this section, there is some evidence in the Hønefoss data of a direct influence from the codified Bokmål two-way distinction in pronoun usage. However, variant /di/ is used to large extent, also in object form, and only 6 informants display a two-way distinction between subject and object pronouns.

#### **4.3.9 Variation in 3*p*/ Personal Pronouns in Oslo Compared to Hønefoss**

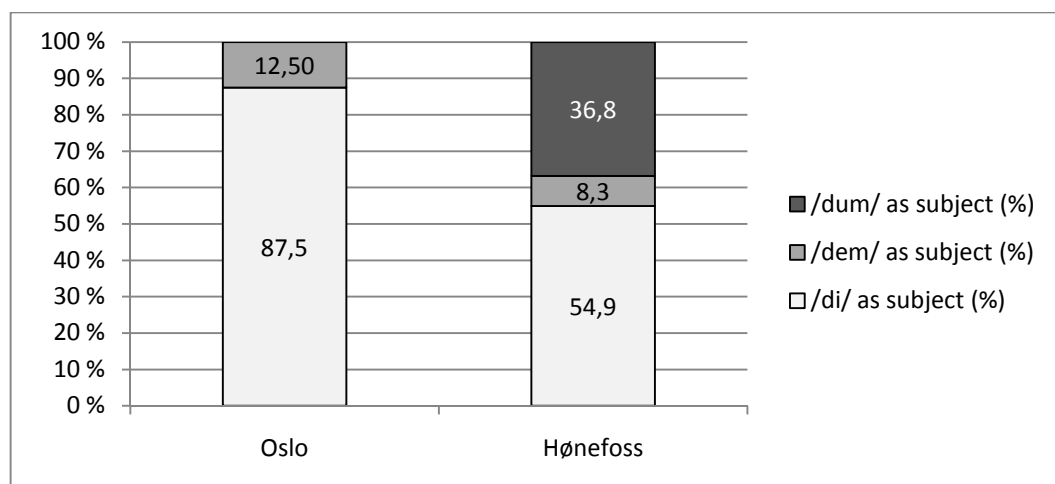
This section first presents the results from the small comparative analysis done with data from the NoTa corpus of Oslo speech. The comparative analysis will be done with pronouns in subject position only (due to a very small token count of pronouns in object position) and focus on the usage of variants /di/ and /dem/. The

distribution and social variation of pronoun variants in Oslo will be presented in sections 4.3.8.1-4.3.8.4. The results of the multivariate analysis, as well as the relevant token distribution, for Oslo variation is presented in section 4.3.8.5.

Hønefoss individuals' usage of variant /dem/ as a subject will be presented in section 4.3.8.6. Any attested usage of /dem/ in subject position in Hønefoss can be said to be an influence from the variety traditionally spoken in Oslo, and the relative influence of Oslo on pronoun usage in Hønefoss will be commented upon in that section.

#### 4.3.9.1 Overall Distribution of Subject Pronoun Variants in Oslo and Hønefoss

In total, there were 617 tokens of subject position 3<sup>rd</sup> personal pronouns produced by the 12 Oslo informants. 540 of the 617 tokens were /di/ and 77 were instances of /dem/. This distribution is illustrated in figure 4.3.9 comparatively with variants from the Hønefoss corpus.



**Figure 4.3.9 Overall Distribution of the pronoun variants in subject position in Hønefoss and Oslo**

Figure 4.3.9 shows that the traditional Oslo variant /dem/ is only used to a small degree in the NoTa corpus. Percentagewise, the variant is used to a similar degree in Hønefoss. /di/, the variant codified in this position in Bokmål, is used to the

largest extent in the Oslo corpus. In this respect, the two varieties are very similar.

Variant /dum/ is not attested in the Oslo data, neither are other 3*p*/personal pronoun variants.

#### 4.3.9.2 /dem/ and /di/ distributed across Age Groups in Oslo and Hønefoss

Figure 4.3.10 below shows the usage of /di/ and /dem/ by the three different age groups in the two locations. The young informants are the informants whose behaviour is the most alike in the two locations. This suggests Hønefoss and Oslo speech are converging varieties.

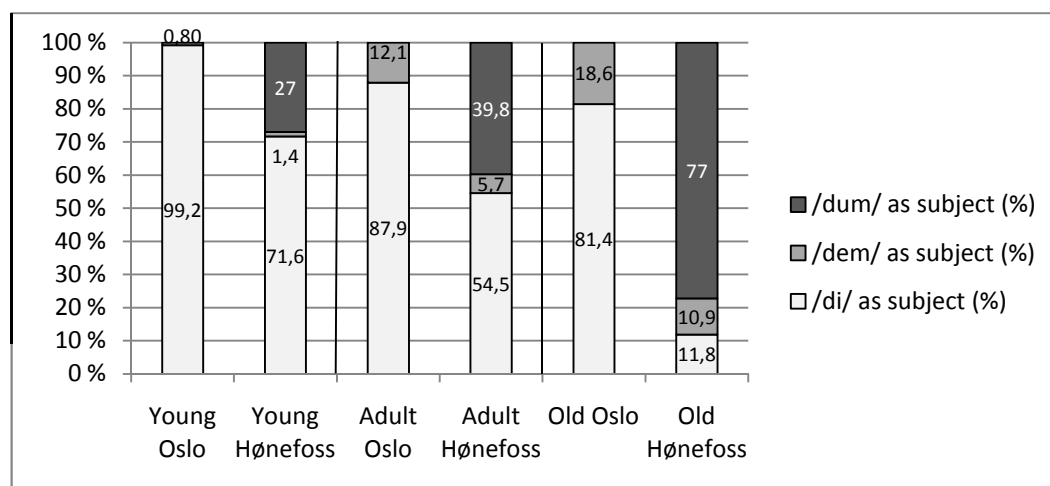


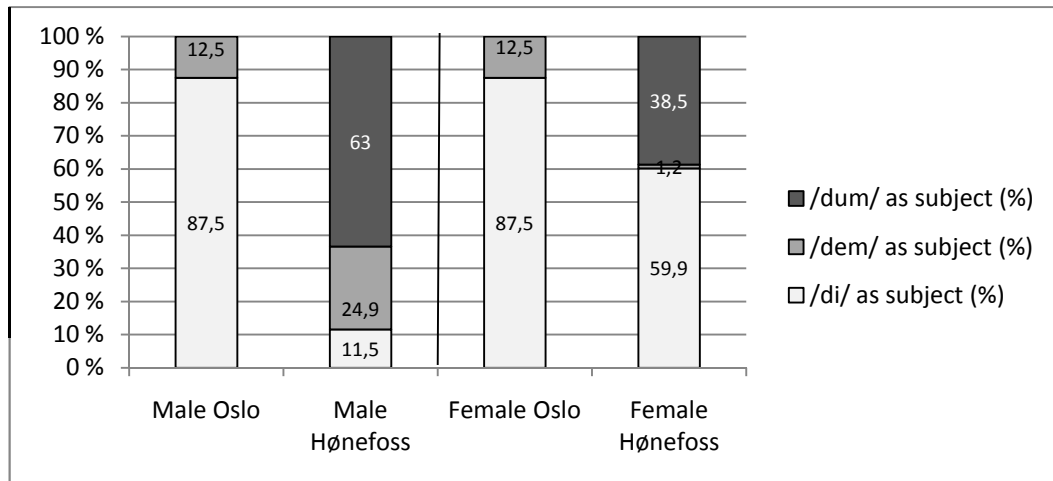
Figure 4.3.10 usage of /di/ and /dem/ in the two localities across age groups

Figure 4.3.10 shows a decrease of usage of variant /dem/ both in Oslo and Hønefoss with younger age groups. Both locations also show an increase in usage of /di/ with younger age. In the oldest age group in Hønefoss, the usage of variant /dem/ is almost identical to that of /di/. As discussed in section 4.3.6 the oldest speakers in Hønefoss are also the ones who use the dialectal variant /dum/ the most in the Hønefoss data.



#### 4.3.9.3 /dem/ and /di/ Distributed Across Genders in Oslo and Hønefoss

As seen in figure 4.3.11, gender has no effect on variation in the capital. The % of variant usage is identical between genders. In Hønefoss the female and male speakers have very different usage patterns of subject pronoun. This is especially the case for variant /di/.



**Figure 4.3.11 Usage of /di/ and /dem/ in Oslo and Hønefoss divided by genders**

It is also worth noting about the results shown in figure 4.3.11 that Hønefoss men use the traditional Oslo subject form /dem/ more than Oslo men, and the variant is preferred to /di/ in this particular speaker group.

#### 4.3.9.4. /dem/ and /di/ Distributed Across Education in Oslo and Hønefoss

For this comparative analysis informants with higher and lower university background make up the high education category and other adult informants (vocational training and no diploma) make up the low education informants. Figure 4.3.12 show the distribution of /di/ (left in the figure) and /dem/ (right in the figure) across educational backgrounds.

Figure 4.3.12 shows that the highest educated informants and those still in school are those who use the codified variant /di/ the most overall. In the lower educated group, the picture is dissimilar in the two locations. In the Oslo informants with low education, /di/ is the variant used the most but /dem/ is used to a much larger extent by this educational group than by any other speaker group.

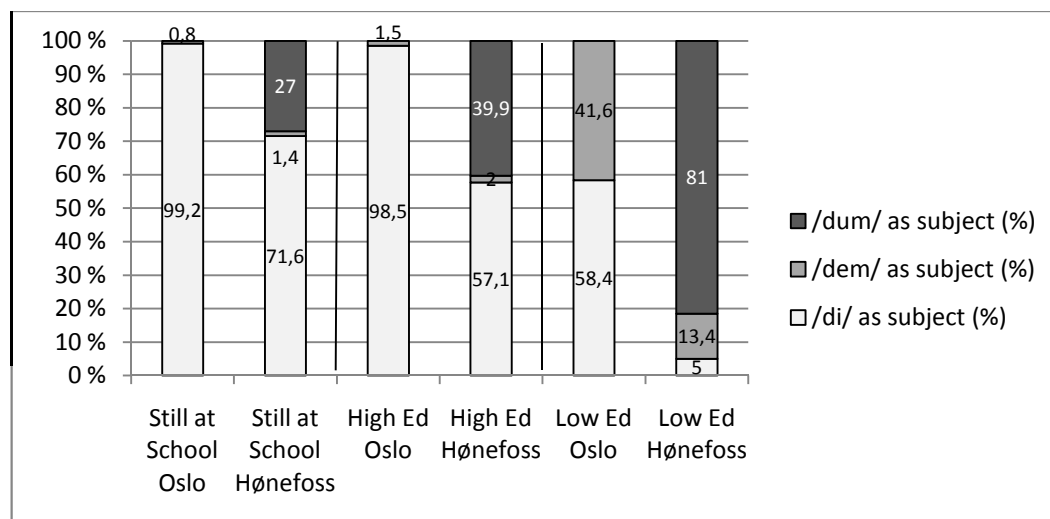


Figure 4.3.12 Usage of /di/ and /dem/ as subject in Hønefoss and Oslo by educational background

#### 4.3.9.5 Multivariate Analysis of Pronoun Variation in the Oslo data

A multivariate analysis was done on the Oslo data with the social constraints presented in sections above. Table 4.3.10 shows the output of the analysis of subject pronoun variation in the whole Oslo data set. The application value is the Oslo variant /dem/. The analysis shows that age significantly constrains the pronoun variation in the capital city. The Oslo variety is losing variant /dem/ in subject position, and like Hønefoss, is adopting the variant /di/. The youngest informants are the ones who disfavour /dem/ (and thus favour /di/).

Application value: '/dem/'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	46/247	18.6%	.70
Middle adult	30/247	12.1%	.48
Adolescent	1/123	0.8%	.17
	<i>Range</i>		<i>53</i>
Gender			
Female	41/328	12.5%	[ns]
Male	36/289	12.5%	[ns]

**Table 4.3.13 Multivariate analysis of pronoun variation in the entire Oslo data set, application value: '/dem/', input 0.028**

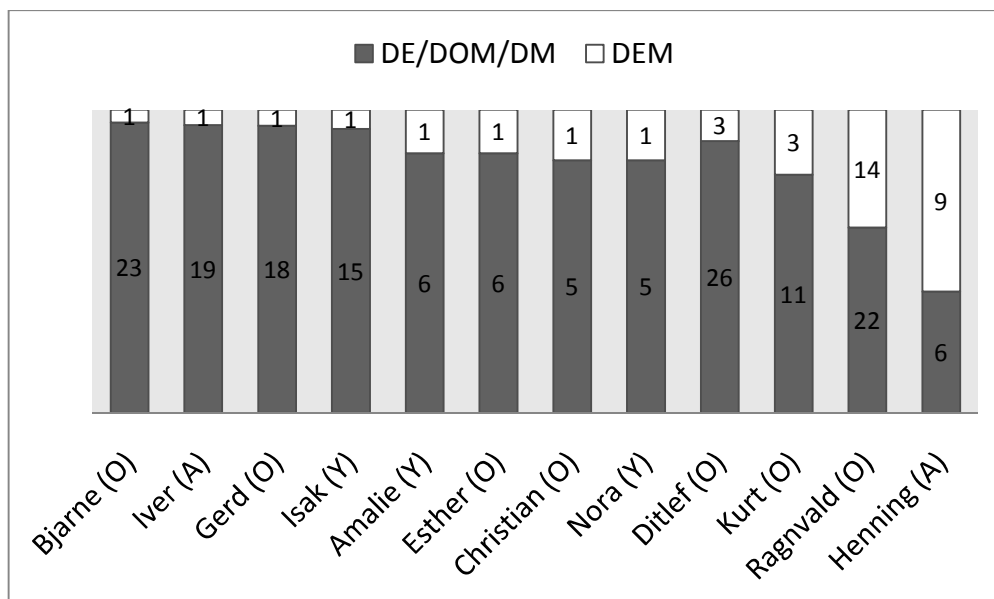
Table 4.3.11 shows the output from a multivariate analysis of pronoun variation on the adult part of the Oslo data set. Education and gender are both significantly contributing factors in this data set. The greatest contributor to the results in the Oslo data set, with a range of 75, is education. Age is also significantly contributing with a range of 53. Gender is significant in the adult data only, with a range of 15. Education and age were the only social factors that were significant in the analysis of retention of the local variant in the Hønefoss data set. This means that both in Hønefoss and Oslo older speakers and informants with a lower education level are the ones who retain local variants. In Hønefoss, there were certain differences in the usage of variant /dem/ in the adult speakers, but the differences in usage of the local Hønefoss variant /dum/ were not significant there.

Application value: '/dem/'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Education Level			
University	4/321	1.2%	.19
No University	72/173	41.6%	.94
	<i>Range</i>		<i>75</i>
Gender			
Female	41/190	13.3%	.43
Male	35/263	12.5%	.58
	<i>Range</i>		<i>15</i>

Table 4.3.14 Multivariate analysis of pronoun variation in the *adult* Oslo data. Application value '/dem/', input 0.047.

#### 4.3.9.6 The influence of Oslo pronoun usage on Hønefoss Speech

The sections above have found that Oslo and Hønefoss are becoming increasingly similar in their usage of variant /di/. This section briefly discusses the usage of variant /dem/ in Hønefoss. 35 tokens of this variant were found in subject position in the Hønefoss data. /dem/ is not a feature of the traditional Hønefoss dialect, and a usage of the form in subject position can therefore be viewed as direct diffusion from the capital area. Figure 4.3.13 shows which individuals in Hønefoss who use the tokens of /dem/. There are 12 informants and their age group is given in brackets behind their name (O = old, A = (middle) adult, Y = (adolescent) young)



**Figure 4.3.13** The speakers who have tokens of /dem/ (white) as a personal pronoun in subject position, and their token numbers. The informants' age between brackets: old (O), adult (A) and young (Y).

Henning and Kurt are two of the speakers who have the most forms of /dem/ in subject position. These two speakers are also the only ones in the data set to describe their own vernacular as having an Oslo influence. Henning even refers to his own variety as the 'Oslo dialect' (attitudinal data will be discussed in more detail in section 4.7). Ragnvald does not have a name for his dialect and argues that he does not really have one. The three speakers with the highest proportions of /dem/ in subject form are thus speakers who do not claim a dialectal belonging to the local area.

The other important point to be made about usage of /dem/ in Hønefoss is that 7 of the 12 speakers of the tokens in subject position belong to the oldest age group. The age group in Oslo that has the highest proportion of variant /dem/ is also the oldest age group. This could indicate that Oslo speech has had an influence on speech patterns for this older age group in Hønefoss. The variant could have previously diffused from the capital but is now being lost in Hønefoss.

#### 4.3.10 Summary of /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ variation

The sections with results from the investigation of the usage of variants /di/; /dem/ and /dum/ in Hønefoss and Oslo have shown that variation between these variants does not occur in all grammatical environments. The grammatical environments where variants clearly belong to the personal pronoun grammatical category have much more variation than environments where variants can be described as determiners. Variation in personal pronouns in Hønefoss is constrained significantly by educational level and age. Old and lower educated informants use the local Hønefoss variant /dum/ to a much larger degree than other speaker groups. The variant /di/ is increasing in usage in Hønefoss. This increase could, theoretically, both be due to an influence from Bokmål and Oslo speech, but in the analysis of variation patterns, the influence from Oslo on pronoun usage in Hønefoss is found to be more likely: hardly any informants in the Hønefoss data set have a clear distinction in speech between subject and object position, something which is codified in Bokmål.

The variation in Hønefoss and Oslo is very similar for this variable, on the other hand. In both locations educational level and age constrain pronoun variation. The traditional Oslo variant /dem/ is found in a number of Hønefoss informants. That linguistic variant is hardly used in subject position by younger Hønefoss speakers, and is also becoming obsolete from the capital's variety. Variant /di/ is used to a large degree by young speakers in both locations.

The results from this variable show us that Oslo and Hønefoss speech is converging, and that similar social factors constrain variation in both locations. This is evidence that there is regional dialect levelling in these locations in East Norway.

When it comes to the background for the regional dialect levelling, the direct influence of Bokmål on pronoun usage in Hønefoss can be attested only in some speakers, while it is likely that Oslo speech influences pronoun usage in Hønefoss.

#### 4.4 Phonetic Variation of <rd>

This section deals with variation between the retroflex flap and the alveolar tap in the environment <rd> in certain lexical items in East Norwegian. The variation between [ɾ] and [r] for <rd> occurs in a limited set of words: those derived from Old Norse where the spelling was *rð*. The variable will be referred to as <rd> (<> reflect its written form). The <rd> variable context does not occur very frequently in free speech. Tokens with <rd> analysed in this chapter have mostly been elicited in a map task (cf. section 3.3.3). This results section begins with a discussion of the variable and its variants in section 4.4.1. Section 4.4.2 reviews previous studies of variation in <rd> as well as commenting especially upon the social position of the variant [ɾ]. Section 4.4.3 presents the results of the quantitative analysis of the variation in <rd> in the Hønefoss data. Section 4.4.4 presents the statistical analysis done on the variation in that data set. Section 4.4.5 shows the results from the comparative investigation of variation in this environment in Oslo. Finally, section 4.4.6 is a summary of the findings for this linguistic variable.

Linguistic variable 3:	<rd>	
	<u>Variant 1</u>	<u>Variant 2</u>
	(Hønefoss)	(Supra-local)
	[ɾ]	[r]
	(‘retroflex flap’)	(‘apical tap’)
Example: <i>bord</i> ‘table’	[bu:ɾ]	[bu:r]

Figure 4.4.1 Illustration of variable <rd> and its variants [ɾ] and [r]



#### 4.4.1 The Variable <rd> and Variants [ɾ] and [r]

This section describes the variable context and the phonetic properties of the variants in 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2. Sections 4.4.1.3 and 4.4.1.4 focus on the variant [ɾ] as this is a variant that could be disappearing from Hønefoss. The other variant in this study, [r], is the usual representation of /r/ in East Norway. For a more extensive discussion of rhotics in East Norwegian see Kristoffersen (2000).

##### *4.4.1.1 The Variable Context: Phonological and Lexical Limitations for Variation in <rd>*

This section gives a description of the envelope of variation for the retroflex flap and the alveolar tap of <rd>. Variant [ɾ] also occurs as an allophone of /l/ in Norwegian (see sections below), while [r] is usually the East Norwegian representation of /r/. Variation in the <rd> environment only occurs in East Norwegian speakers with retroflex sound inventories. The retroflex sounds in East Norwegian will be discussed in more detail in sections below. It is not expected that individuals without retroflex sound inventories will be found in the Hønefoss group of informants, although these could exist in the Oslo sample.

The lexical envelope of variation for this investigation is easily circumscribed. There is a limited set of lexemes where variation between [r] and [ɾ] is possible in East Norwegian. Variable words are those that had Old Norse cluster *rð*. Some accounts of the retroflex flap accredit the origin of the retroflex flap in Norwegian from the Old Norse *rð* environment, as the articulatory process of this cluster could have been similar to a retroflex flap

(e.g. Christiansen, 1948: 138). The set of lexemes analysed in this study are: *bord* ‘table’ *ord* ‘word’ *jord* ‘earth’ *gjerde* ‘fence’ *gård* ‘farm’ *nord* ‘north’ *gjorde* ‘did’ and *fjerde* ‘fourth’. The Norwegian loan into English ‘fjord’ is not part of the variable context, as the Old Norse item it is derived from is *fjōrd*, i.e. without the *rð* cluster (Bokmålsordboka, 2009). Although we do not investigate the usage of the retroflex flap for <l> in this study, it is important to note that the variable context is much larger when dealing with the flap as a variant of <l> than that of <rd>. An investigation of lexical effect will be conducted to see whether variation in <rd> is patterned differently between the lexical items above. There is no indication from previous research that a variant is more favoured in one word over another with the <rd> environment. However, one lexical item in the list above, *gjorde* ‘did’ stands out as being the only verb and the most frequent lexical item. If variation is patterned differently in this word, for instance, this could give us more information about the linguistic background of the potential change in progress in <rd> environments.

Many of the lexical items in the envelope of variation can be part of compounds or have affixes attached to them. The retroflex flap variant can only occur syllable-finally and after the vowels /o, æ, u/. If the retroflex flap precedes any of the coronal alveolar consonants /d, t, l, n, s/ in speech, the outcome is often an assimilation of the two sounds to [d], [t], [l], [n] or [s]. Both the flap and the tap variants can assimilate with succeeding coronal consonants in an apical, often retroflex variant of the latter consonant. This assimilation process happens across morpheme and word boundaries (cf. Kristoffersen, 2000 for a more in depth discussion). This is crucial to the

envelope of variation for this investigation, because if any of the coronal consonants succeed <rd> in an utterance, there is a chance the sounds will assimilate and neither [r] nor [ɾ] will be produced. The process is predictable in a set of tokens, especially those that have the definite article suffix <en> that is almost always produced as a syllabic consonant [ɲ]. This syllabification happens, for instance, in *jord-en* ‘earth-the’ and *gård-en* ‘farm-the’ and leads to assimilation between the syllabic consonant and the preceding retroflex. The outcome of this assimilation for speakers of East Norwegian will be [ju:ɲ] and [go:ɲ]. Another predictable context is before genitive suffix –s, as in *ords (betydning)* ‘words’ (meaning)’ where the outcome is [u:ʂ] with an assimilation of the retroflex and coronal into [ʂ]. Lexical items with a coronal suffix are excluded from the data set. In the analysis, remaining tokens were all analysed individually even if succeeded by a word starting with a coronal consonant. A pause between <rd> and the following consonant will block assimilation and some words could be in the variable contexts while others are not, depending on the utterance. The number of tokens for this variable was therefore not entirely predictable before the auditory analysis of the recordings. As a starting point, the lexemes listed above together with their lemmas (apart from those that have a coronal suffix such as definite article /en/ or genitive /s/) were all included.

#### *4.4.1.2 A Description of the Variants for the Study of <rd>*

The retroflex flap [ɾ] and alveolar tap (sometimes trill) [r] are the two variants for realisations of <rd> focussed on in this study. These two variants have very different auditory qualities. In rapid speech, the flap may not be realised

completely, but even without the release the two sounds are easy to discriminate auditorily. The flap has a retroflex tongue movement towards the palate whereas the tap is a coronal alveolar sound.

Figures 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 show spectrograms of [ɽ] (4.4.2) and [ɽ] (4.4.3) in the variable context *bord* ‘table’. The words were produced by the researcher in the carrier sentence *jeg sa \_ her* ‘I said \_ here’ with sound /h/ after <rd> to avoid retroflex assimilation (see section 4.4.3). [ɽ] is represented with L in the transcription tier in figure 4.4.2 and [ɽ] is represented with R tier in figure 4.4.3.

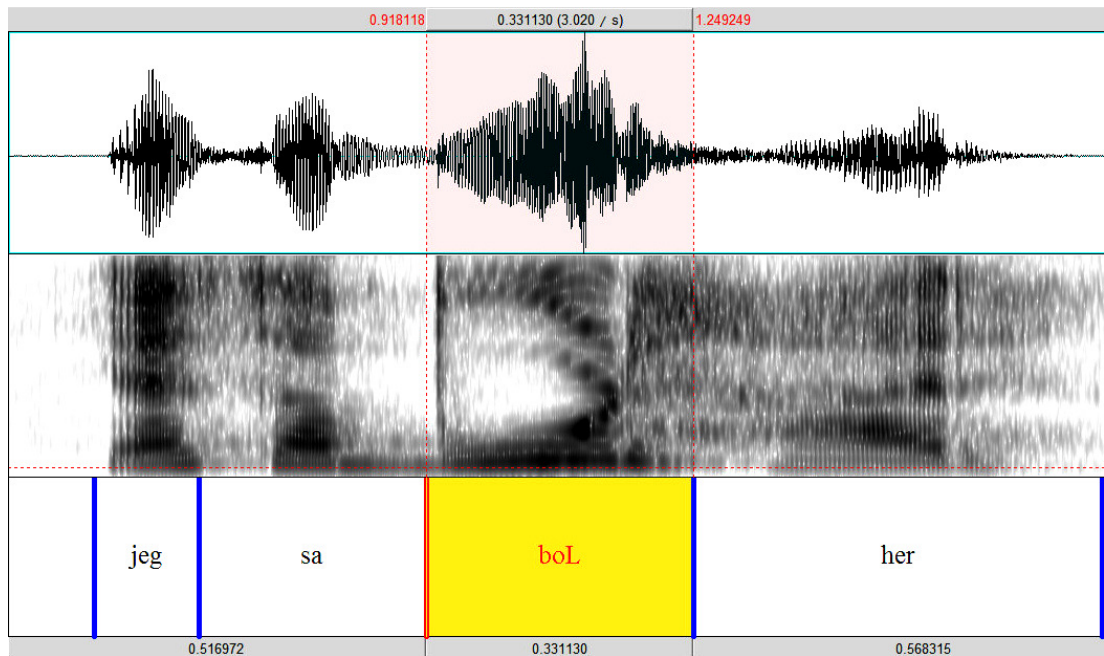


Figure 4.4.2 [ɽ] ‘I said nest/table here’ word produced with a retroflex flap

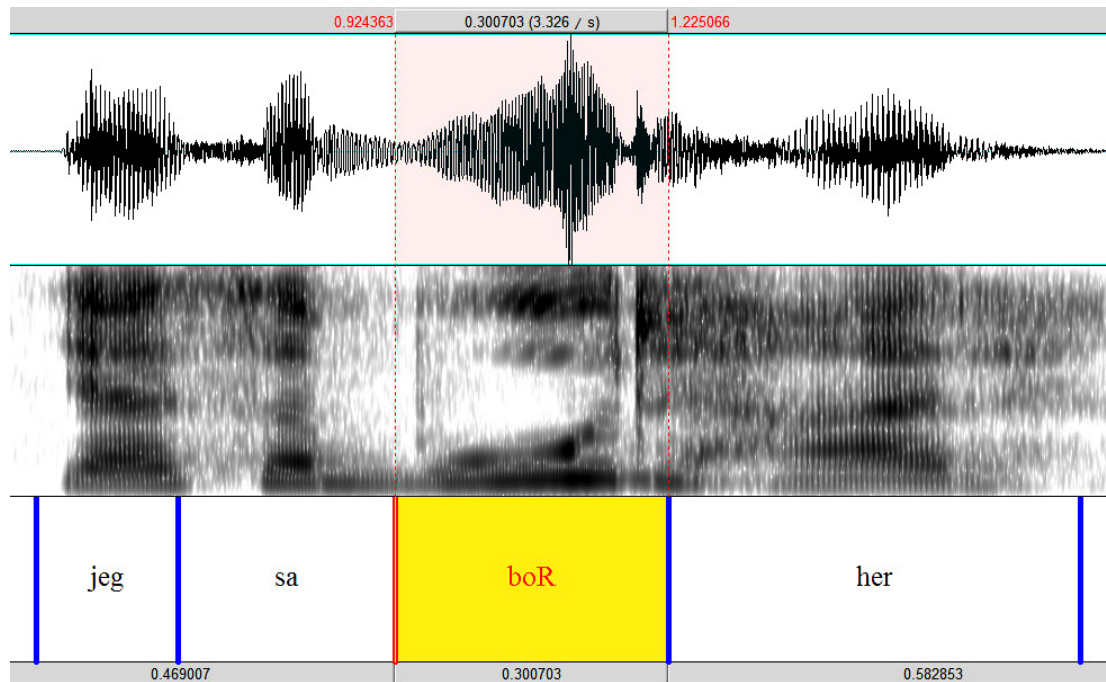


Figure 4.4.3 [bur]: ‘I said table here’ word produced with the alveolar tap

Figure 4.4.2 shows rapid convergence of formants before the flap occurs for [ɾ]. In figure 4.4.3, the tap can be seen in the spectrogram, and the same rapid convergence of formants above F1 is not seen for [r].

In addition to functioning as a variant of <rd>, [ɾ] can be a realisation of <l> along with [l] and [ɫ]. The utterance illustrated in 4.4.2 is consequently ambiguous and could either mean *bord her* ‘table here’ or *bol her* ‘nest here’. Figure 4.4.4 illustrates the other variant of /l/ that is available to the researcher in this postvocalic environment: [ɫ].

The three sounds in 4.4.2-4.4.4 after [bu] are clearly distinguishable, also in spectrograms. After the vowel, formants 1-3 pattern dissimilarly with a rapid convergence for [ɾ] in figure 4.4.2 and come together in a more gradual way in figure 4.4.4 for [l]. In figure 4.4.3 transients at the release of the tap can clearly be seen.

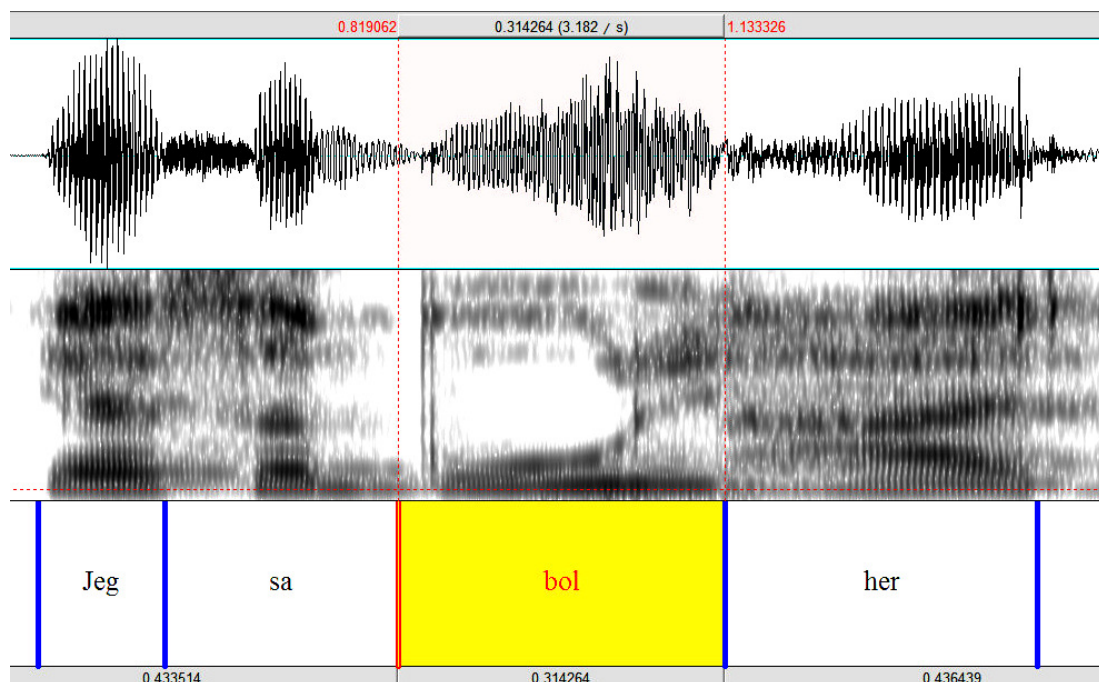


Figure 4.4.4 [bul] her: ‘I said nest here’ word produced with a alveolar lateral

#### 4.4.1.3 The Retroflex Flap in East Norwegian Phonology

Previous phonological and dialectological literature both consider the retroflex flap to be a pronunciation of <rd> and <l> in East Norwegian (cf. Skjekkeland, 2005; Kristoffersen, 2000). The status of the retroflex flap as a phoneme in East Norwegian is disputed and has been the focus of a number of studies (e.g. Endresen, 1974, Fretheim, 1974, Hovdhaugen, 1974) that discuss its part in the phonology. The flap is not the only retroflex sound in East Norwegian. There is also /d̠ t̠ l̠ ʃ̠ n̠/, realisations of alveolar consonants in assimilation after /r/ or, indeed, the flap (the ability to assimilate coronals to retroflexes is something that makes the flap stand out from the other retroflex segments). On the one hand the retroflex flap can be viewed as a phoneme as it can distinguish such minimal pairs, as illustrated in example 4.4.1; ‘cool’ and ‘bump’ being distinguished only by a flap in the second word. The flap is, on

the other hand, optional and 4.4.1 b can also be realised without the flap as a homophone to 4.4.1 a.

4.4.1 a. /kʰl/ *ku*l ‘cool’

b. /kʰɾ/ *ku*l ‘bump’

Conclusive evidence for describing the retroflex flap as a phoneme would be if the sound were obligatory in some words. Such words exist, but the list is very small as the lexical items that have an obligatorily retroflex flap are very few. Jahr (1981: 335) presents 17 words found in the Oslo dialect where a retroflex flap is obligatory. All these words also exist in the Hønefoss variety too. Some examples are presented in example 4.4.2

4.4.2 a. /gæɱɾə/ *gaule* ‘holler’

b. /møɾ/ *møl* ‘mess’

c. /køɾə/ *køle* ‘doodle’

The three words in 4.4.2 all have to be produced with a retroflex flap (cf. Jahr, 1981). This does not mean, however, that all speakers of Norwegian have these words in their lexical inventory. Although 4.4.2 c is the only word in the group not found in a Norwegian dictionary, all the words above have synonyms that non-flap users could easily employ instead: e.g. a. *skrike*, b. *makkverk*, c. *drodle*.

[ɾ] cannot be described only as an allophone of other phonemes in Norwegian either. Firstly, [ɾ] occurs as a variant both for phonemes /r/ and /l/. More problematically, however, is that the flap does not occur in

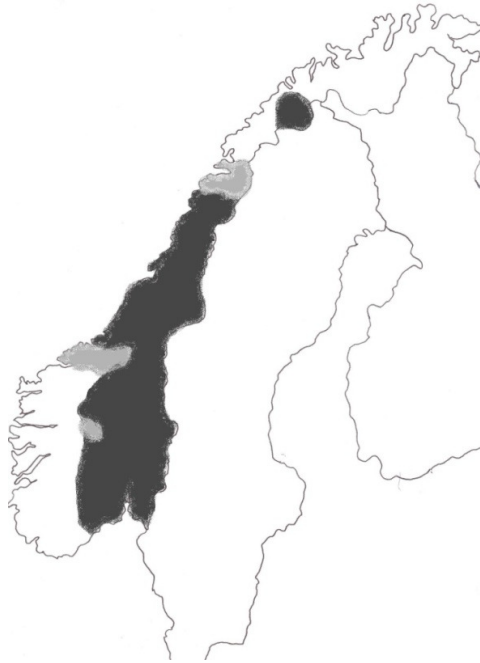
complementary distribution with other allophones. The positions the flap *can* occur in are linguistically constrained, but [l], [l̥] or [r] could always occur in the same positions if we exclude the short list of lexical items where the flap is obligatory. [ɾ] is thus a feature that is difficult to define within a framework of traditional phonology as either a phoneme or an allophone. Hovdhaugen (1974: 304) notes that a variable rule for the retroflex flap is needed rather than a strict classification of the sound into phonological categories. This chapter will focus on the variation in usage of the retroflex flap, both on an inter-speaker and on an intra-speaker level. The somewhat difficult position of the flap in phonology, however, means that it is not directly predictable whether the individual speakers in this investigation all have, or use, the flap as a variant of both <rd> and /l/. We will assume that this is the case for the time being, however.

#### *4.4.1.4 The Geographical Distribution of the Retroflex Flap*

Traditional accounts of Norwegian dialects state that the retroflex flap is used by speakers belonging to dialect areas roughly outlined in Figure 4.4.4. [ɾ] can be found in large areas of Norway, in almost the entire East Norway region in addition to some areas to the north of the country (cf. Sandøy, 1987; Skjekkeland, 2005). Speakers from West and South Norway generally do not have [ɾ] as part of their phoneme inventories. Figure 4.4.4 is based on maps of dialect features in Aksnes, Akselberg, Dahl, Hambro, Hanssen and Røskeland (1998) and Sandøy (1987: 66) and illustrates the areas where the flap is used both for /l/ and <rd> (dark grey areas) and where it is used for /l/ only (light grey areas). As we can see from figure 4.4.5, [ɾ] has traditionally been used



fairly widely in Norwegian. The sound has been found in the entire East Norway region, both as a variant of <rd> and of /l/.



**Figure 4.4.5** Map of approximate areas of Norway where [ɾ] is traditionally used: dark area is where [ɾ] is used for both /l/ and <rd>. In light grey areas [ɾ] is used for /l/ only. In areas without colour the flap is not part of speakers' phonology.

#### 4.4.2 Sociolinguistic Variation with the Retroflex Flap

Recent claims in the media (e.g. Lundervold, 2008) indicate that the retroflex flap may no longer be as wide spread as assumed in traditional dialect literature. There are indications that [ɾ] is less used as a variant of <rd> than may be assumed in traditional dialectologist literature and that even as a variant of /l/ it might be losing ground in the urban areas (e.g. Jahnsen, 2001). The sections below discuss previous studies of variation between [ɾ] and [r] but also consider studies that look at variation in the other variable context that [ɾ] features in, as a variant of /l/.

#### 4.4.2.1 Earlier accounts of [ɾ] in Hønefoss

Skulerud (1926) and Lyse (1976) both attest [ɾ] as the variant used for <rd> as well as /l/ in Hønefoss in their accounts of speech in Ringerike county. The traditional Hønefoss variant in this investigation is thus [ɾ].

Hilton (2004) looked at the usage of the retroflex flap as a variant of /l/ in formal styles. Two groups of teenagers were recorded for an experiment: 10 male and 10 female. The teenagers were from two different secondary schools in Hønefoss, one that offers university-preparatory classes only and one that offers vocational training. The study took the *Talemålsundersøkelsen i Oslo* (TAUS cf. section 2.3.5.1) investigations from the 1970s as a starting point. Results presented from these in Jahr (1986) indicate that [ɾ] was not used to a large extent by the informants in the capital. The highest usage rate at 39% for [ɾ] was found in East Oslo boys. Only a few older informants had a percentage rate higher than 20%. Jahr (1986:23) states that the fact that women use the retroflex flap less than men confirms the low social status of the linguistic variant. Hilton (2004) tested whether there was a social difference 30 years later in Hønefoss speech. It was investigated whether there would be a substantial difference in usage rates between teenagers with different socio-economic aspirations: those aiming for a university education as opposed to those who had chosen a vocational profession, and whether a gender difference could be found in the usage rates of the retroflex flap.

The informants in Hilton (2004) were recorded speaking in formal style only, reading a word list and a reading passage. In both styles, [ɾ] was used more than half of the time. In some phonological contexts it was used up to

80% on average across all speakers, even in the word list style. Hilton (2004) showed that of the Hønefoss teenagers' 1212 tokens with <l>, 60% were realised with [ɽ]. This indicates that the flap is very much a part of the teenagers' vernacular. Surprisingly, there was no clear correlation between academic aspirations and usage of [ɽ] for <l> with the teenagers. With high usage rates even in formal speech styles, usage of the retroflex flap had either changed considerably during the 30 years in East Norway, or was substantially different in Hønefoss than in Oslo.

The results from Hilton (2004) mean that we can assume that the [ɽ] is available to the informants in this investigation, at least as a variant for <l>. There is little evidence to suggest the retroflex flap in this phonological environment holds particularly negative social connotations in Hønefoss (Hilton 2004) but we know nothing about its status as a variant of <rd>.

#### *4.4.2.2 Earlier accounts of [ɽ] in Oslo*

Jahr (1986) investigated usage of variants for /l/ in Oslo as part of the TAUS investigation (section 2.2.6.1). The TAUS corpus was collected in Oslo in the 1970s. The study of variants of /l/ focused especially on the sociolinguistic difference between genders and two regions of the capital: East and West Oslo. East Oslo has traditionally been the working class area of the city whereas West Oslo is home to higher social classes. Jahr (1986), thus, assumes that region (East or West Oslo) in the corpus correlates with social class (Low or High).

Two important results regarding [ɽ] from Jahr (1986) are especially relevant to this investigation. Firstly, in the TAUS corpus [ɽ] was used more by the lower socio-economic classes, or, in East Oslo. Secondly, the younger

informants used [ɾ] slightly more than the older speakers in the corpus. The average percentage of usage of the flap was 2.3%-22.1% in the adult speakers (depending on region) and 1.8-34.4% of the time in the adolescent speakers (depending on region) (Jahr, 1986: 23). This could indicate that although a feature traditionally used by the lower social classes, [ɾ] was increasing in usage.

In a study of reported usage of linguistic features in the capital some 30 years later (Jahnsen, 2001 cf. section 2.3.5.4), a similar picture to that presented by Jahr (1986) is found. Adolescents in the capital report that they use [ɾ] for /l/ between 0-41% of the time, with adolescent East Oslo boys reporting the highest usage rate of [ɾ] (Jahnsen, 2001: 88). Although one cannot assume that self-report of language usage necessarily reflects actual language usage, this could indicate that region, or social class, in Oslo is still an important social constraint on the usage of [ɾ] (Jahr, 1986). Interestingly, however, the reported usage rate of [ɾ] is still fairly low, and on average only 17%. This gives us indications that although [ɾ] is used to some degree in Oslo, it remains a lesser used variant of /l/. It can also be assumed based on the studies discussed above, that [ɾ] for <l> is more popular in Hønefoss (Hilton, 2004) than in Oslo (Jahr, 1986; Jahnsen, 2001).

Not nearly as much has been written about [ɾ] as a variant of <rd> as [ɾ] as a variant for /l/. Jahnsen (2001) reports findings from self-reported usage of [ɾ] in Oslo for usage of [ɾ] as a variant for <rd> as well. Jahr (1986) makes a note of the fact that the flap does occur for <rd> in some few speakers in the TAUS corpus but that its instances are very few. The retroflex flap of

<rd> in the TAUS corpus seems to occur only in exceptional cases in West Oslo (Jahr, 1986: 21), but we are not given any numbers in support of this statement. Jahnsen (2001) describes adolescents' reported usage of the retroflex flap for <rd> in the words *jordet* 'the field', *gård* 'farm', *bordet* 'the table', *fjord* 'lake' and *hard* 'hard'. She finds that of her 24 adolescents, only two actually report to be using a flap as a variant of <rd> and their reports of flap tokens only make up 2.4% of the entire data set. The retroflex flap of <rd> is reported as used much less in the capital than the flap for /l/ (Jahnsen, 2001).

#### *4.4.2.3 Earlier accounts of [ɾ] in Other East Norwegian Locations*

Only two recent studies of East Norwegian have looked at actual usage of [ɾ] for <rd>. Skolseg (1994 cf. section 2.3.5.2) studies dialect change in Romerike and concludes that although informants use [ɾ] to a large extent as a variant of /l/, [ɾ] is not used as a variant of <rd> nearly as often. Certain speakers in Romerike use the flap up to 100% of the time in the variable context for /l/, whereas in the variable context of <rd> [ɾ] is used much less (Skolseg 1994: 259). The speakers in Skolseg (1994) have a much higher usage rate of the flap than what is reported in Oslo by Jahnsen (2001) (Skolseg, 1994: 259). Even if the frequency of [ɾ] for <rd> is somewhat low, it is still a used variant in Romerike whereas Jahnsen's (2001) data indicates it could be almost obsolete from the Oslo dialect. This study thus indicates that the variation of <rd> found in more rural areas to the east of Oslo is quite different to that in the capital.

Another more recent study that investigates the usage of the flap for <rd> is Holland (2005 cf. section 2.2.6.4) that looks at the usage of [ɾ] as

opposed to [r] in the city Hamar and surrounding towns. Unfortunately, the token numbers in this study are extremely low with counts ranging from 0-8 tokens in the youngsters and 5 and 15 tokens in the two older informants' speech (Holland 2005: 104). The overall token number is therefore also low; only 66 <rd> -tokens were elicited in the study. Of these 66, however, 51 are retroflex flaps. Based on limited data, therefore, we can still conclude that the retroflex flap is found as a fairly frequent variant of <rd> in Hamar and its surrounding areas. [ɾ] is also used both by younger and older speakers in Holland's (2001) study.

Kristiansen (1995) investigates self-reported language usage and attitudes towards the retroflex flap as a variant of <rd> in Drammen. In that urban area (approximately 60 km south-west of Hønefoss), the elicited opinions towards [ɾ] for <rd> are different than those reported from Oslo (Jahnsen 2001). Data collected from adolescents in Drammen indicate a difference between [ɾ] used as a variant for /l/ and [ɾ] as a variant of <rd> (Kristiansen, 1995). 89.5% of the informants in Drammen report using [ɾ] for /l/ but, in comparison, only 47.7% report using [ɾ] for <rd>. It is noteworthy that the reported usage rate of [ɾ] as variant of <rd> is much higher in Drammen than in Oslo: 47.7% against 2.4% (Kristiansen, 1995; Jahnsen, 2001).

Kristiansen (1995: 118) also reports different results regarding the attractiveness of [ɾ] depending on the variable context in which it occurs. Whereas 74.6% of Drammen informants think [ɾ] is an attractive variant of /l/, 54.6% think [ɾ] is an unattractive variant of <rd> (Kristiansen 1995: 118). Kristiansen explains this by the difference between the two orthographic

features [ɾ] can represent and states that [ɾ] is more likely to be perceived as a variant of <l> than of <rd> by speakers (Kristiansen, 1995: 119). This is not supported by additional research by Kristiansen (1995), however. It could be that because the variable context with /l/ occurs more often in East Norwegian speech, there is a frequency effect and [ɾ] becomes more representative of /l/ to speakers. There is no empirical evidence for this, however, and furthermore no reason why this should be influenced by orthography. The results from Drammen show that although the [ɾ] of <rd> is not necessarily viewed as an attractive feature of speech, informants nevertheless self-report using [ɾ] to a much larger extent in Drammen than in the capital city.

#### *4.4.2.4 Attitudes towards [ɾ] for <rd> expressed by Språkrådet*

As described in section 1.2 there is no recognised pronunciation norm for Norwegian. Sometimes advice is given by the Norwegian Language Council Språkrådet (see section 1.2.1) on language matters concerning pronunciation on television, however. In Språkrådet's set of guidelines on how to read Bokmål and Nynorsk (the intended users for these guidelines are presenters in television and radio), they state that usage of [ɾ] for <rd> is not widespread or general enough to be a part of their pronunciation norms (Språkrådet, 2001). What precisely is meant by general or widespread, however, is not clarified. This is presumably based on the council's assumptions that usage of the flap for <rd> is disappearing from spoken varieties in East Norway (a conclusion they would have had to reach based on the limited data from Oslo).

Usage of the flap for /l/ in Bokmål, on the other hand, is viewed as an accepted pronunciation of Bokmål by Språkrådet. Although finding a direct

effect of these guidelines on the way most people speak in Norway is unlikely, Språkrådet's guidelines might be viewed as reflecting certain linguistic changes that are taking place, and more importantly, language attitudes in Norwegian society. Språkrådet's guidelines, and the assumption that [ɾ] of <rd> is not sufficiently widespread in Norway might be an indication, therefore, that [ɾ] of <rd> is a socially less acceptable variant than [ɾ] of /l/.

Data from previous studies and Språkrådet presented above indicate a unique situation as far as regional dialect levelling is concerned for this linguistic variable. There is attitudinal data that could imply [ɾ] for <rd> is not used in the speech of Oslo informants (Jahnsen 2001). Data from self-reports of usage in other East Norwegian towns indicate, on the other hand, that [ɾ] is still used as a variant of <rd> (Skolseg, 1994; Kristiansen, 1995; Holland, 2005). A divided picture has thus been presented with a different (reported) usage rate found in the capital from all the other locations where the [ɾ] of <rd> has been investigated.

Furthermore, studies that have looked at [ɾ] both as a variant of <rd> and of /l/ in East Norway indicate that [ɾ] is used less in the <rd> environment than as a variant of /l/ (Skolseg, 1996; Jahnsen, 2001). We have good indications that the flap is a highly favoured variant of <rd> in Hønefoss, even in formal speech styles (Hilton, 2004). This might mean that [ɾ] can be found as a variant for <rd> as well, albeit probably with a lower usage percentage than that which was found as a variant of <l> in Hilton (2004).

One can also infer from earlier studies and the attitudes manifested by the national language council *Språkrådet* that usage of [ɾ] for <rd> is neither



part of the vernacular in Oslo nor the read Bokmål used in media. If [r] is a retained variant of <rd> in Hønefoss, this will be an indication of divergence both from Oslo speech as well as Språkrådet's normalised pronunciation of Bokmål.

#### **4.4.3 Results from the Quantitative Investigation of <rd> in Hønefoss**

Of the 452 total tokens extracted of <rd> from the Hønefoss data set 264 are from map task conversations. 172 tokens come from the interviews done by the researcher. Remaining tokens are from the story-retelling (3) and conversations (13) informants had without the interviewer present in the room. During the auditory analysis it became clear that 78 tokens were succeeded by a coronal consonant in rapid speech (see section 4.4.1 above). The retroflex segments that resulted from the resulting assimilation are not part of this analysis and these tokens were therefore removed. The remaining presentation of the results is only concerned with the tokens where the following segment is either a non-coronal consonant; a vowel or a pause. This results in a total of 390 tokens. The oldest informant for this study, Esther, was not able to perform the map task due to her poor vision and only has 1 token (cf. figure 4.4.5).

Section 4.4.3.1 presents the overall distribution of the variants for <rd> found in the Hønefoss data set. Sections 4.4.3.2-4.4.3.5 present the distribution of the variants across different social groups. Section 4.4.3.6 shows how the variants pattern across the limited set of lexemes in the data set and explores whether there is a lexical effect on the variation.

#### 4.4.3. Overall distribution of Variants of <rd>

Variant	Ns	%
Retroflex Flap	140	35.9
Alveolar Tap	250	64.1
Total	390	100

**Table 4.4.1 Overall Distribution of Variants for <rd> in the Hønefoss data**

Overall, the percentage of [ɽ] in the <rd>-environment is 35.9%. The variant used the most is [ɾ]. The percentage of [ɽ] is lower than the percentage found for [ɽ] for /l/ (closer to 60% in formal speaking styles) in Hilton (2004). The individual speakers' percentage of [ɽ] and [ɾ] and token numbers are found in figure 4.4.5.

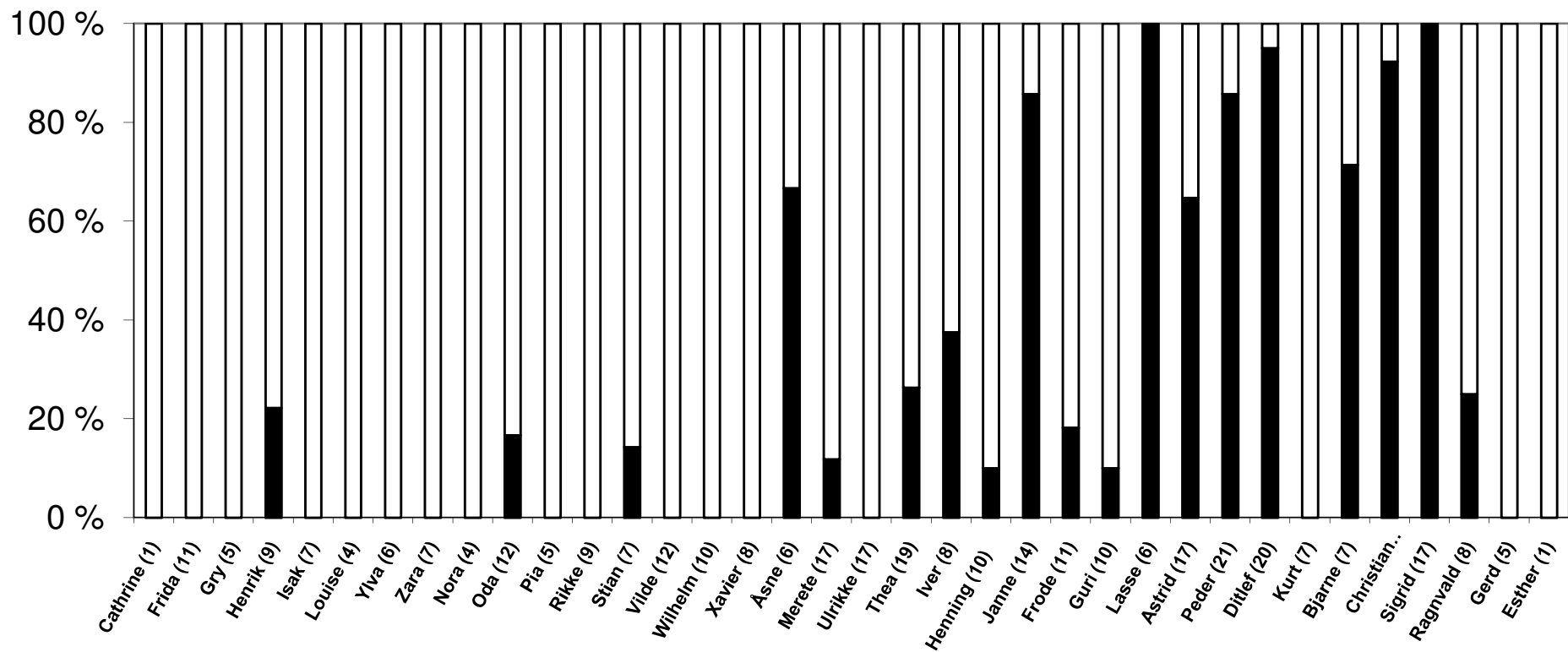


Figure 4.4.6. % [ɹ] for every informant, token numbers are between brackets. Young speakers (from left until informant Åsne) are ranged by alphabetical order within age group. Older informants are ranged by age.

#### 4.4.3.2 Distribution of the Variants of <rd> across Age Groups

Figure 4.4.7 illustrates the usage of [ɾ] and [r] across age groups in the Hønefoss data set. The oldest informants in the Hønefoss data set use [ɾ] the most. In the youngest age group the variant used is almost exclusively [r]. 84 tokens of [ɾ] come from the oldest age group, whereas the rest of the informants have 56 tokens of [ɾ] in total.

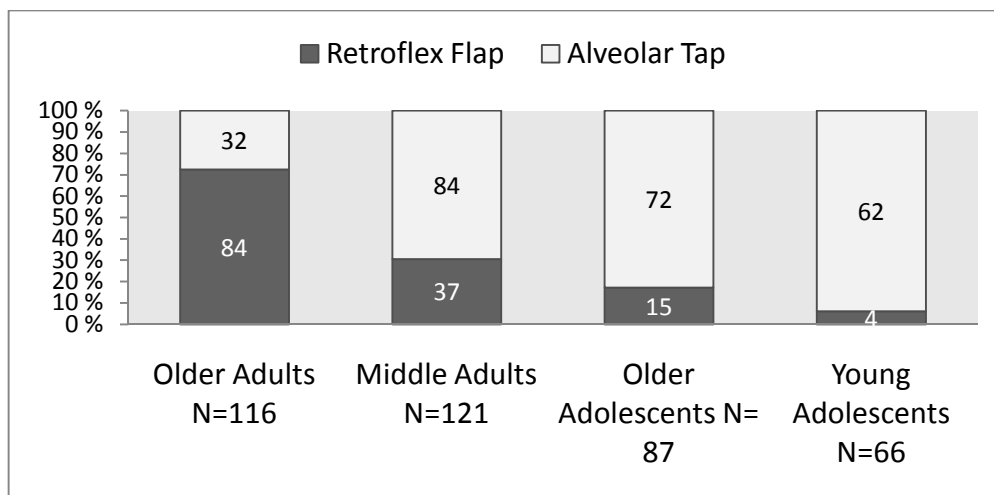


Figure 4.4.7 Distribution of the retroflex flap and the alveolar tap for <rd> across age groups.

#### 4.4.3.3 Difference between Young and Old Adolescent Girls: <rd> variation

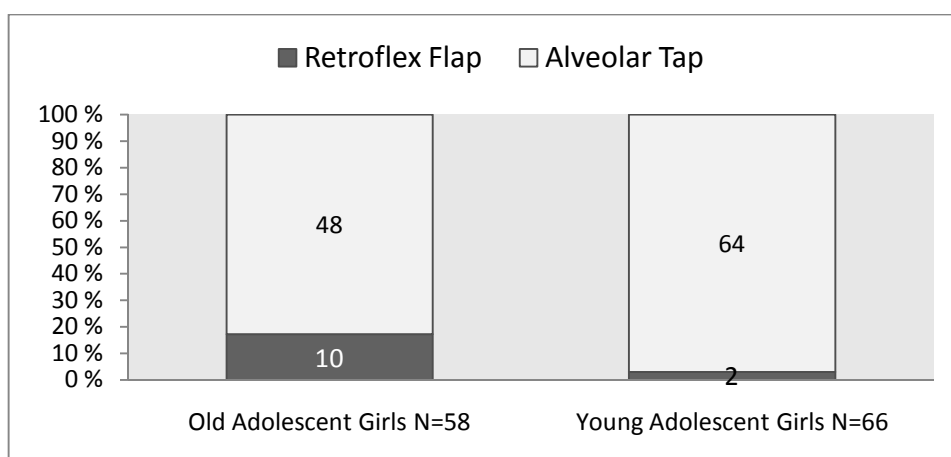


Figure 4.4.8 Distribution and % of <rd> variants across the two groups of adolescent girls

Figure 4.4.8 shows the proportion of variants of <rd> between young and old adolescent girls in the Hønefoss data set. Of the two groups, the girls who attend the regional school, the old adolescent girls, have the most tokens of [ɾ]. The difference to the youngest adolescent girls who attend a local school is more than 10%. The youngest girls only have 2 tokens of [ɾ] in their data.

To compare the variation in the youngest two age groups, a chi-square test was done on the <rd> data set. The test was computed to explore whether there is a difference between girls who attend a large regional school (18 year olds) and girls who attend smaller local schools (14 year olds) when it comes to usage of variants [ɾ] and [r]. The test compared the distributions of observed instances of the variants from older adolescent versus the younger adolescent girls. There was a significant difference between the number of instances of the variants between older adolescent girls and younger adolescent girls in the chi-square (1, 106) = 5.681,  $p = .03$ . The age group that uses [ɾ] the least is the youngest adolescents, the pupils who attend a local school. Although the difference between the two age groups is significant, the data shows the opposite pattern from what was hypothesised in section 2.2.6. Adolescents in regional schools do not use more non-local features than adolescents in local schools.

#### *4.4.3.4 The Distribution of Variants of <rd> Across Genders*

Figure 4.4.9 illustrates that male speakers in the Hønefoss data set use [ɾ] almost half of the time (75 tokens of 161) whereas the female speakers use [ɾ] only about a third of the time (65 tokens of 164). This difference is not statistically significant in the multivariate analysis. The two genders behave similarly: the usage of the retroflex flap is rapidly declining in younger age groups.

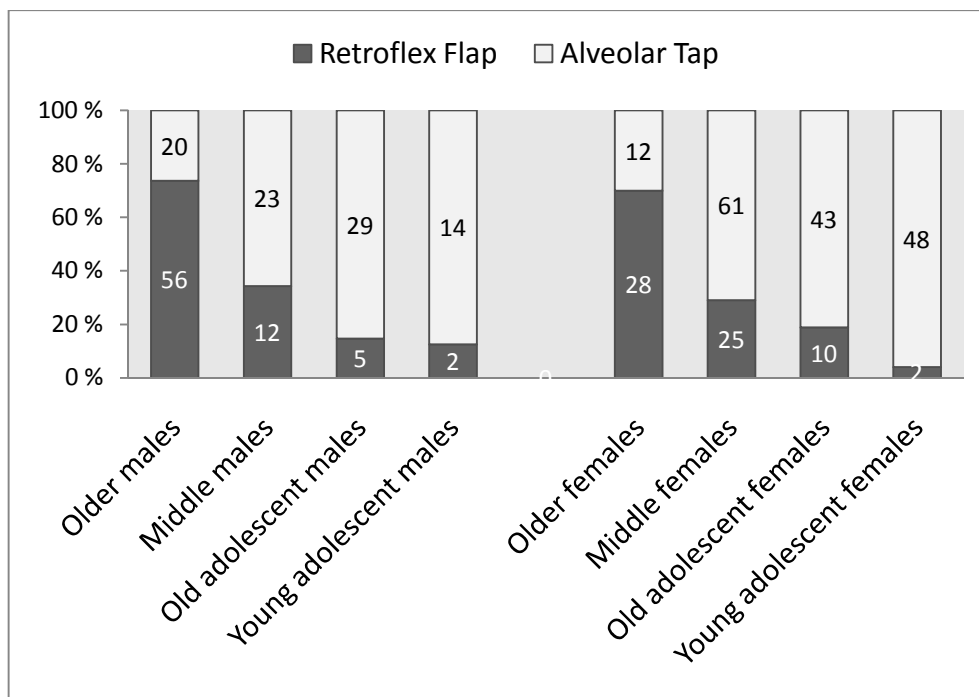


Figure 4.4.9 The distribution of the <rd>-variants across genders and ages

#### 4.4.3.5 Distribution of Variants for <rd> across Educational Background

The distribution of the two variants [ɾ] and [r] across educational background is illustrated in figure 4.4.10. The data from the adolescent informants are included in the figure for comparative purposes.

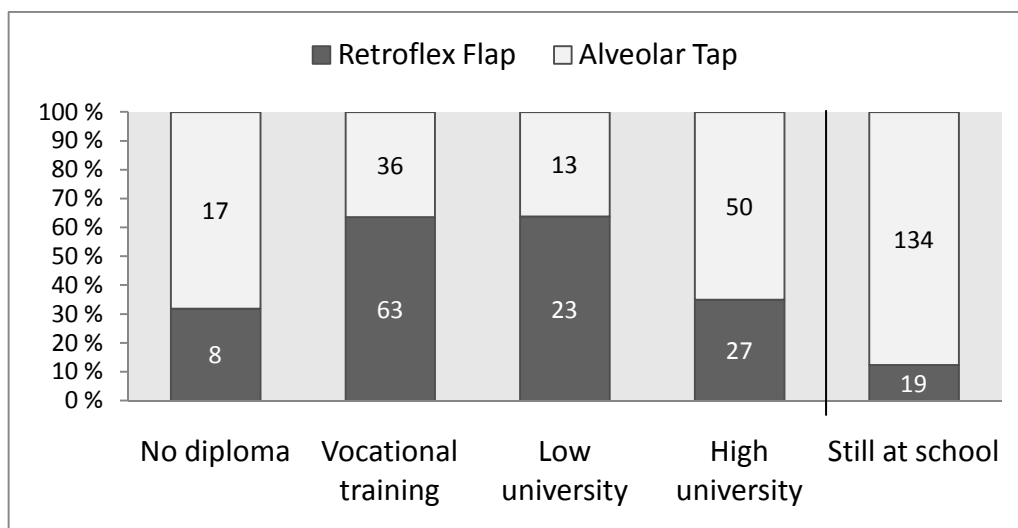


Figure 4.4.10. Distribution of the variants for <rd> across Educational Backgrounds

Figure 4.4.10 shows that there is no real difference in terms of percentage between the speakers who have low university education and those that have vocational training in the data set, both groups use local variant [ɾ] around 65% of the time. More surprising is the fact that speakers with no diploma pattern in the same way as the highest educated speakers. Both these groups use [ɾ] approximately a third of the time. The pattern in educational background and variation for <rd> is not clear. In the multivariate analysis, educational background is not a significant factor in explaining variation in the <rd> environment.

#### 4.4.3.6 Distribution of Variants of <rd> across Lexemes

The set of lexemes elicited in this study of variation in the <rd> environment are: *bord* ‘table’ (164); *ord* ‘word’ (44); *jord* ‘earth’ (75); *gjerde* ‘fence’ (16); *gård* ‘farm’ (55); *gjorde* ‘did’ (32); *nord* ‘north’ (3) and *fjerde* ‘fourth’ (3). Figure 4.4.11 shows how variants [ɾ] and [r] pattern across the most frequent lexical items, excluding types ‘north’ and ‘fourth’ with low token numbers in the Hønefoss data.

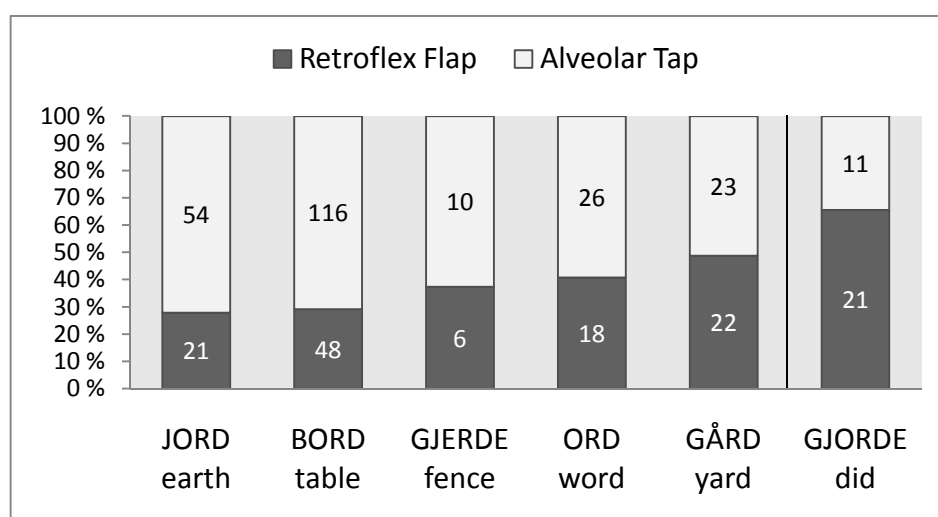


Figure 4.4.11 Distribution of the Variants for <rd> across Most Frequent Lexical Types

Figure 4.4.11 shows a certain difference between the different lexical items in the Hønefoss data set. The word types were produced by a number of speakers, the

variation between them is not due to one speaker's usage of specific tokens. 25 informants had words of the type *gård* 'yard' whereas the 32 tokens of *gjorde* 'did' are distributed between 20 different informants, for instance.

The word type with the highest rate of [ɾ] is *gjorde* 'did' where the usage rate of [ɾ] is close to 70%, whereas the overall distribution of that variant in the data set is 35.9%. This word is also probably the most frequent type found in everyday speech, although it is not the most frequent in this data set where a lot of tokens have been explicitly elicited. The high rate of [ɾ] in this category could be due to a frequency effect, where the traditional variant is retained in words that are very frequent (cf. Bybee, 2001).

#### **4.4.4 Multivariate Analysis of Variation in <rd> in Hønefoss**

Tables 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 show the output from the multivariate analysis of variation in <rd> in Hønefoss. Application value in the analysis is [ɾ]. The constraints age and lexeme are both statistically significant in the multivariate analysis. The factor group with the highest range (79) is age, while word type, or *lexeme*, has the second highest range (53).

Old adult speakers are the only speaker group that favour application of [ɾ] with a factor weight of .88. Young adolescents have the lowest factor weight, but all adolescents and the middle adult age group disfavour application of [ɾ] for <rd> in the Hønefoss data set. The constraint hierarchy on variation in Hønefoss Norwegian is 1. Age, 2. Lexeme. Lexemes *gjerde* 'fence'; *gård* 'yard'; *gjorde* 'did'; and *bord* 'table' are all lexemes that favour application of [ɾ] for <rd> in the Hønefoss data set.



Application value: '[r:] (retroflex flap)'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	84/116	72.4%	.88
Middle adult	37/121	30.6%	.47
Old adolescent	15/72	17.2%	.33
Young adolescent	4/66	6.1%	.09
Range			.79
Lexeme			
GJERDE	6/16	37.5%	.74
GÅRD	22/55	40.0%	.68
GJORDE	21/32	65.6%	.65
BORD	48/164	29.3%	.57
JORD	21/75	28.0%	.42
OTHER	4/10	40.0%	.30
ORD	18/44	40.9%	.23
Range			.51
Speaker Gender			
Male	75/161	46.6%	[ns]
Female	65/164	28.4%	[ns]

**Table 4.4.2 Multivariate Analysis of variation in <rd> in Hønefoss. Application value '[r:]': Input. .30**

There is little evidence to believe that age and gender are interacting factors when taking into the account the result in table 4.4.2. Gender is non-significant, while age is a significant factor in the model. In the step-up/step-down analysis in Goldvarb X the factor weights for gender are stable (men's factor weights fluctuate between

.53 and .61 and women's between .42 and .48) on all levels of the analysis.

Although the gender sample is not evenly distributed across the age groups, there are no indications of problematic interactions between the two social groups in the multivariate analysis.

Application value: '[r] (retroflex flap)'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Education Level			
High University	27/77	35.1%	[ns]
Low University	23/36	63.9%	[ns]
Vocational training	63/99	63.6%	[ns]
No diploma after 16	8/25	32.0%	[ns]

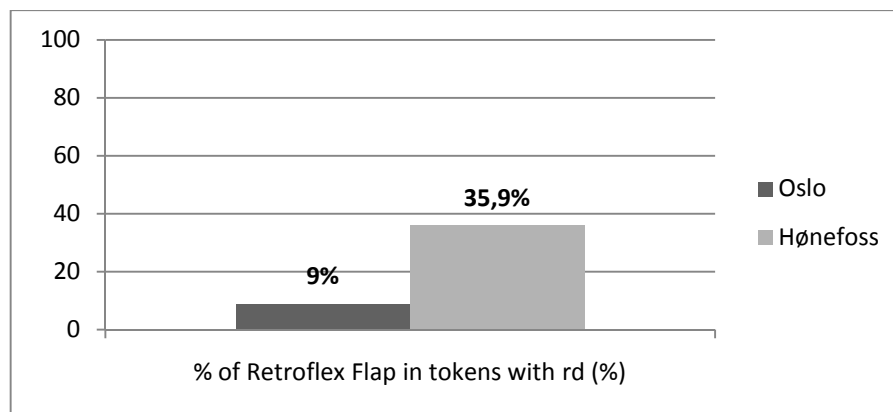
Table 4.4.3 Multivariate analysis of educational background and [r] in the *adult* Hønefoss data. Application value '[r]', input: .51.

Table 4.4.3 shows the results from the multivariate analysis with the adult data only, to investigate the effect of education on usage of variant for <rd>. Education does not contribute significantly to the model of <rd> variation.

#### 4.4.5 Comparative Analysis of Variation in <rd> Oslo and Hønefoss

This section presents the data from the small comparative analysis done with data from the NoTa corpus of Oslo speech. Lexemes found in the Hønefoss corpus were searched for in the NoTa corpus. The same approach of token extraction was taken for Oslo and Hønefoss: assimilated tokens (if <rd> clusters were followed by a coronal consonant tokens) were excluded from the analysis. This approach resulted in a total token count of 67 in Oslo.

##### 4.4.5.1 Distribution of variants of <rd> in Oslo and Hønefoss samples



**Figure 4.4.12 % Distribution of variant [ɽ] in the Hønefoss and Oslo Data Sets**

The usage rate of [ɽ] is substantially lower in Oslo than in Hønefoss. Prior to this investigation, however, it was questionable whether any instances would be found of [ɽ] for <rd> in Oslo at all. 9% of 67 total tokens are variant [ɽ], the remaining 91% are [r]. There are only 6 tokens of [ɽ] in the Oslo data set. This is not a token count that a further discussion of social variation can be based upon.

#### 4.4.5.2 *The Oslo Individuals who Use Variant [ɽ]*

Instead of a comparative analysis between social groups in Hønefoss and Oslo this section presents the individuals who use variant [ɽ] in the Oslo data set. There are 6 tokens of [ɽ]. These are produced by the speakers and in the context presented in table 4.3.3.

As illustrated by table 4.3.3 there is one adult and two older informants who use [ɽ]. The informants all have a low education background. Two of them are female, and one is male. The only lexemes with variant [ɽ] attested in the Oslo data are *bord* ‘table’ and *gård* ‘yard’ or ‘farm’. The three informants each produce two tokens. A statistical analysis is not conducted on the limited Oslo data set.

Informant	Gender	Age	Education	Lexical Items (2 each)
1	Female	81	Low	gård (the yards); bordet (the table)
2	Female	39	Low	gård (yard); bordet (the table)
3	Male	72	Low	bord (table); bordplata (table top)

**Table 4.4.4 Informants in Oslo who use the variant [ɾ] for <rd>**

#### 4.4.6 Summary of Variation in <rd> in Hønefoss and Oslo

The results from the investigation of variation in the <rd> environment in Hønefoss indicate that the traditional local variant [ɾ] is disappearing from the local dialect. The oldest informants accounted for a large proportion of the tokens of [ɾ] in the data set, and age is a significant social constraint on the variation between [ɾ] and [r]. Gender and educational differences were not significant in the statistical analysis of <rd> variation in Hønefoss. There is a lexical effect on variation, however, and especially highly frequent verb *gjorde* ‘did’ is significantly more likely to be pronounced with [ɾ], as are tokens *gård* ‘yard’; *gjerde* ‘fence’; and *bord* ‘table’. What the role is of lexical effect on retention of [ɾ] in East Norwegian is unclear, this can be the focus of future investigations. In the Oslo data set only 6 of 67 tokens were found with variant [ɾ]. These tokens all belonged to the lexemes ‘table’ and ‘yard’. No young speakers use variant [ɾ] in the Oslo data. This means that the youngest speakers in Hønefoss and Oslo are the age groups with the most similar linguistic behaviour across locations. This pattern is similar to that seen for previous linguistic variables, and show that the varieties in the two locations are converging.

## 4.5 Plural Definite Suffix Variation in Masculine and Neuter Nouns

This results section presents the investigation into the variation in plural definite article suffixes in nouns. The aim of this part of the investigation is to find whether Bokmål codification affects usage of definite article suffixes. The two variable contexts and the variants investigated are presented in figure 4.5.1

Linguistic variable 4:		'definite article suffix'	
<i>Variable context 1:</i>			
<i>Masculine and neuter nouns that have variable suffixes codified in Bokmål</i>			
	<u>Variant 1</u>		<u>Variant 2</u>
	(Hønefoss and Bokmål)		(Bokmål)
	/a/		/ene/
Examples:	<i>år</i> 'year' /ora/ ('the years')		/orene/ ('the years')
	<i>liv</i> 'life' /li:va/ ('the lives')		/li:vene/ ('the lives')
<i>Variable context 2:</i>			
<i>Masculine nouns that only have suffix /ene/ codified in Bokmål</i>			
	<u>Variant 1</u>		<u>Variant 2</u>
	(Hønefoss)		(Bokmål)
	/a/		/ene/
Examples:	<i>unge</i> 'child' /uŋa/ ('the children')		/uŋene/ ('the children')
	<i>stein</i> 'rock' /stæina/ ('the rocks')		/stæmene/ ('the rocks')

**Figure 4.5.1 Linguistic variable 4: plural definite article suffix: two different variable contexts and the variants.**

Neuter nouns always have two plural definite article suffixes (<ene> and <a>) codified in Bokmål, as does a group of masculine nouns (there are 6

different types in the current investigation). Another group of masculine nouns, however, can only be written with one plural definite article suffix in Bokmål: <ene>. This investigation views these two groups of nouns as two different variable contexts: one where variability is codified in Bokmål and another where there is only one variant available. The variants available in Hønefoss for all the masculine and neuter nouns discussed in this section are always /a/ and /ene/. If there is a significant difference in the usage of variant /a/ between the first variable context (where the variant is codified) and the second context (where the variant is not codified) it is taken as indication that Bokmål is an influential force on speech variation in Hønefoss.

Section 4.5.1 describes the two variable contexts investigated and the relevant variants in more detail. Section 4.5.2 presents previous studies of suffix variation in East Norwegian. Section 4.5.3 is a note on the elicitation of tokens for the two variables. Section 4.5.4 presents the results from the quantitative investigation of definite suffix variants in the entire Hønefoss data set along with an overview of individuals' suffix variant usage. Section 4.5.5 presents the results from the first variable context: where two variants are codified in Bokmål. Section 4.5.6 presents the results from the second variable context: where only one variant is available in Bokmål. Section 4.5.7 presents the statistical analyses performed on the Hønefoss data sets, the multivariate analysis within the two variable contexts. A multivariate analysis was also done to test the effect of codification on the variation across the two variable contexts. Section 4.5.8 presents results from the comparative analysis with Oslo speech for this variable. Finally, section 4.5.9 is a small summary of the findings relating to suffix variation.

## 4.5.1 The Variable: Plural Definite Article Suffix

### 4.5.1.1 The Grammatical Variable Contexts

The variable investigated in this section is the definite article suffixes in masculine and neuter nouns. The suffixes available to speakers of the Hønefoss dialect are /ene/ and /a/, as illustrated by an example from the neuter noun variable context in 4.5.1. There is no semantic difference between the two variants presented in the example.

4.5.1	stem	plural definite	<i>or</i>	plural definite
	hus	hus- <b>ene</b>		hus- <b>a</b>
	house	house-DEFpl		house-DEFpl

Traditionally, in Hønefoss the local variant for the plural definite article suffix in masculine and neuter nouns has been /a/ only, as attested in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Skulerud, 1926: 38, 41). The suffix /ene/ is the traditional suffix variant for feminine nouns in Hønefoss, which means that variants /ene/ and /a/ have traditionally both been available to speakers of the Hønefoss dialect, although in different grammatical contexts. There is no variation in case morphology on nouns in (Hønefoss or Bokmål) Norwegian.

The variable context for this research is twofold: in nouns where /a/ and /ene/ are both allowed in the written standard on the one hand, and in nouns where /ene/ is the only variant allowed in the written standard on the other hand. In neither variable context do the suffixes carry different semantic meaning, but the variants may index stylistic or social differences. Potential

stylistic suffix variation is discussed in section 4.6. This section considers social and codification effects on the suffix variation.

There are certain lexical restrictions for the two variable contexts defined above. For the variable where two variants are codified in Bokmål, there exist a small number of neuter noun tokens (not more than 20) where /ene/ is viewed as highly archaic (Faarlund, Lie, Vannebo, 2005: 180) and is not extensively used. These lexical items are Old Germanic words like *barna* ‘the children’; *beina/bena* ‘the legs’; *nauta* ‘the cattle’ or ‘the idiots’.

For the variable context where only one variant is codified in Bokmål, there are also restrictions on the envelope of variation. The plural definite article suffix is only a linguistic variable in tokens that cannot become homophonous with a definite singular common gender (masculine and feminine) noun, as illustrated in example 4.5.2 below.

4.5.2	sing.	sing. def.	plural	plural def.	
	a) (ei) dør	<b>dør-a</b>	dør-er	dør-ene	<b>* dør-a</b>
	b) (en) dør	dør-en	dør-er	dør-ene	<b>* dør-a</b>
	(a) door	the door	doors	the doors	

Nouns belonging to this grammatical gender can receive a variation of suffixes in their singular form. If the plural definite article suffix is added to the stem of a common gender noun the suffix <a> makes the outcome homophonous to a possible singular definite form of the noun. A noun like *dør* ‘door’ is common gender and consequently cannot be assigned plural suffix <a>, as illustrated in example 4.5.2. Tokens that fall into the category of common gender nouns illustrated in example 4.5.2 are not included in the current variable context. It is



believed that these have a non-variable definite plural suffix, as the usage of the <a> suffix would make these homophonous to their singular definite variant. Note again that there is no semantic difference between 4.5.2 a) and b). The number of common gender nouns in East Norwegian is substantial, and the total number of common gender nouns excluded from this investigation was approximately the same amount as tokens of masculine nouns that remained for data analysis: 110.

#### 4.5.1.2 The Variables and their Variants

A summary of the section above is presented in table 4.5.1 with an overview of the variable, the variable contexts and variants.

	Variants expected in Hønefoss	Variable context	Exceptions
<b>Variable 1</b> ‘Suffix variable with two variants codified in Bokmål’	/a/  /ene/ (?)	All definite plural neuter nouns and definite masculine nouns where two suffixes are codified in Bokmål	Lexical exceptions <a> is only variant: <i>barna</i> ‘children’ <i>bein/ben</i> ‘legs’ (after Faarlund, Lie, Vannebo, 2006)
<b>Variable 2</b> ‘Suffix variable with one variant codified in Bokmål’	/a/  /ene/ (?)	Definite masculine nouns where one suffix is codified in Bokmål	Nouns that can variably be conjugated as feminine nouns (as in example 4.5.2)

**Table 4.5.1. Summary of section 4.5.1: the variable, variable contexts and the variants**

#### 4.5.1.3 Historical Background for two Variable Contexts

As briefly discussed in section 1.2.1, the development of the two variants for the plural definite article suffix can be traced back in history to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. An attempt to ‘Norwegianise’ Bokmål from Danish by reforms in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the introduction of <a> as a definite article suffix. This

was in addition to the already existing form <ene> that is the plural definite article suffix still used in Danish. The existence of two different definite article suffix variants in Bokmål is linked to a series of choices between two different variants in Bokmål. The recognition and maintenance of more than one variant is part of the corpus planning to make Nynorsk and Bokmål become more similar, and is also the aim of the Samnorsk movement (Landslaget for språklig samling, 2009) that promotes the development of one Norwegian written language, instead of the maintenance of two. <a> was introduced as suffix to Bokmål in reforms during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in 1917 and 1938 (Hansen, Hanssen, Papazian and Vikør, 2009) respectively. Although a partial language planning aim of the introduction of more vernacular-like forms was probably to move away from Danish, both suffix variants, <a> and <ene>, have co-existed as available to writers of Bokmål since. The collection of the Danish forms is often referred to as ‘Conservative Bokmål’ while the forms that also exist in Nynorsk are referred to as ‘Radical Bokmål’ forms (cf. section 1.2.2).

#### **4.5.2 Previous Research of Suffix Variation: Linguistic-internal and Social Constraints**

The usage of /a/ as a definite suffix is heavily discussed in online forums (16,800 hits for the term *a-ender* 12.05.2009), and can therefore be said to belong to the more salient linguistic variables in the investigation. However, few sociolinguistic studies have focused systematically on individuals’ variation between <a> and <ene>. Only two studies have investigated in depth the variation found in spoken language but there have been more investigations into variation in written language.

Western (1977) investigates variation between the two suffixes as part of a larger investigation of Oslo speech: Talemålsundersøkelsen i Oslo (TAUS, described in section 2.3.5.1) that looked at linguistic variation in the capital city in the 1970s. His main aim for investigating suffix variation in Oslo was to develop a modern methodology for a computed phonetic and statistical analysis. This automated methodology is used to look at the social constraints on suffix usage in Oslo Norwegian (Western, 1977). Western (1977) finds that men use suffixes that end with /a/ more often than women, and that the degree of usage of /a/ is less in informants with higher education in the capital. Table 4.5.2 shows Western's (1977) overall findings.

	<b>/ene/</b>	<b>/a/</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Neuter Nouns</i>	74,6%	25,4%	100%
<i>Masculine Nouns</i>	74,6%	25,4%	100%

**Table 4.5.2 % usage of the two suffix variants in the two variable contexts in Western (1977)**

Interestingly, there is no difference between the usage of the two variants in the different grammatical contexts in the data in table 4.5.2. The /ene/ suffix is used about 75% of the time and this is true both in neuter and in masculine nouns (where masculine includes words that do not have the two suffixes codified in Bokmål). The variant /a/, Western (1977: 128) concludes, is a socially less prestigious suffix variant than /ene/.

Western (1977) reports no grammatical gender effect on the usage of the suffix variants, but rather describes a semantic effect on the variation. Nouns that represent a concrete feature are more likely to have an /a/ suffix than a noun that represents an abstract thing. This effect is smaller in the younger

informants than the older (Western, 1977: 90, 104). Western (1977: 128) also concludes that there is a formality, or stylistic, difference in the data. It seems possible that abstract nouns are used to a larger degree in formal speech and that the distinction found is an outcome of this. Although few studies attest such a link, Connor (1995) for example, finds one between abstract lexical choice and formal writing style in a study of stylistic variation in the writings of English speaking nationals in different countries. The current investigation will focus on style difference in usage of the suffixes, rather than the semantic difference between nouns. As most of the tokens in the current study are elicited through the map task, the majority of nouns are concrete concepts pictured on a map.

The lack of differences in suffix usage in nouns of different grammatical genders found in Western (1977) is interesting. In the current study the 73 tokens (of 6 types) of the 191 noun tokens are masculine in the variable context where two variants are codified. The remaining 118 tokens (of 21 types) are neuter. All 122 nouns found in the variable context where only one variant is codified are masculine. Although Western (1977) did not investigate the effect of Bokmål codification as is done in the current study, it is likely that the results in table 4.5.2 reflect a distinction between two variable contexts to some degree (after all, the majority of masculine nouns belong in the variable context where only one variant is codified in Bokmål, and all neuter nouns have two variants codified). Based on the data presented by Western (1977), therefore, the hypothesis for the Hønefoss data is that if a difference in suffix usage between the variable contexts where two variants are codified in Bokmål (mostly neuter nouns) and the context where only one variant is codified (only

maculine nouns) is found, this is likely to primarily be influenced by Bokmål as no suffix usage difference is reported in Oslo speech.

Another study that investigates suffix variation in East Norwegian is Røynealand (2005, cf. section 2.3.5.6) who finds only a very small proportion of suffix /ene/ in her data from Røros and Tynset. In her study of regional dialect levelling the local variants of the suffix are not entirely maintained, as the distinction between dative and nominative suffixes is lost in some speakers (Røynealand, 2005: 352). However, the Bokmål variant /ene/ is only used 3.2% in the group of speakers in Røros and Tynset with the highest usage rate of the variant. The influence of the Bokmål variant on those dialects is thus minimal. The preferred variant in Røros and Tynset is the form /an/, which is spreading in the entire mid region of Norway (Røynealand, 2005: 164). This indicates that the usage of (the standardised) variant /ene/ may not be such a widely used variant in East Norwegian varieties outside Oslo.

Although the usage of the two suffixes is not investigated in detail in many recent sociolinguistic accounts of Norwegian speech, a number of studies have investigated writing, and comment on the usage of the suffix variants in schools and media. Omdal (1999) reports a study of first year students and school teachers that investigates to what extent these groups are aware of the <a> suffix as an available variant in Bokmål. Surprisingly as many as 56% of the students in Omdal's (1999) investigation think the <a> suffix is non-standard or incorrect in Bokmål. It is also unexpected that 24% of school teachers think the same (Omdal, 1999: 189). On the basis of Omdal's (1999) data it can be concluded that the <a> suffix does not hold a strong position in

Norwegian writing, something that is also pointed out in Omdal's (1999: 190) own discussion of his results.

Similarly, Johansen (1999) investigates the usage of 'Radical Bokmål' variants in 82 texts written by secondary school students in the south of Norway. Definite article suffix <a> in neuter nouns is used only 29% of the time in these texts. Johansen (1999: 131) concludes on the basis of these findings, and additional qualitative data, that students are not fully aware of the availability of both variants in writing. This is an interesting finding, as the corpus planning of Norwegian is done to maintain both forms due to their frequency in spoken dialects.

A similar issue is raised in Torp (2004) who gives anecdotal evidence for the resistance towards usage of radical Bokmål forms in writing, especially in large formal newspapers where conservative forms are still most widely used. Although not based on empirical evidence, Torp (2004) claims there might be a current increase in usage of the radical Bokmål forms. The point of departure taken in Torp (2004) is that, unless a linguistic internal factor blocks the change, an increase of radical form <a> in nouns where Bokmål allows both variants could bring with it increased usage of /a/ in speech as well. It is not within the scope of the study to look at writing, but it must be noted that although speakers are not always aware of the availability of the <a> suffix, the variant is far from obsolete from the written language as some plural nouns, like *barna* 'the children' cannot be written with <ene> (cf. section 4.5.1 above).

On the basis of the studies presented above, it is probable that /ene/, or <ene>, is the majority variant both in Oslo speech and in Bokmål. There is no reported difference in suffix usage between the masculine and neuter nouns in Oslo speech (Western, 1977), and so the grammatical difference in Bokmål does not seem to influence variability in the vernacular in the capital. The definite article suffix <a> is deemed as incorrect in Bokmål usage in a study by Omdal (1999). There is some evidence, however, that the <a> variant is also increasingly used (e.g. Torp 2004). On the basis of the results presented above the hypothesis for this part of the study of regional dialect levelling is that an increasing usage of suffix /ene/ in Hønefoss speakers will be found. This is because the suffix variant is the favoured variant both by some Bokmål users, and in Oslo speech. Taking into account that the traditional suffix form in Hønefoss is /a/ this variant may occur especially in words where Bokmål allows it. It is hypothesised that if Bokmål has a large influence on variation in Hønefoss, there will be a difference in usage of the suffix variants in the data dependent on the codification status of the tokens. Tokens where only one variant is codified in Bokmål are expected to display a higher usage of variant /ene/ than tokens where two variants are codified, and this can be interpreted as a direct influence of Bokmål on speech.

#### **4.5.3 Elicitation of Definite Article Suffixes**

The plural definite article suffix does not occur as frequently in free speech as loanwords and pronouns do, but is still a relatively frequent variable. In frequency count it is comparable to variable <rd>. Morphosyntactic variable contexts can sometimes be infrequent (cf. Kerswill 1994, for instance, where

233 differences between the Bergen and Stril varieties are found that could be divided into 87 different variable contexts). For this study, it was important to ensure a relatively large token count. This was done through the map task (cf. section 3.3.3) that aimed to elicit both the variable context where only one variant codified in Bokmål: [stu:lene] (*stulene*) or [stu:la] (\**stola*) ‘the chairs’ and [tuma:tene] (*tomatene*) or [tuma:ta] (\**tomata*) ‘the tomatoes’ as well as the variable context where two variants are allowed in the written language: [jurbæ:ne] (*jordbærene*) or [jurbæ:ra] (*jordbæra*) ‘the strawberries’ and [bu:rene] (*bordene*) or [bu:ra] (*borda*) ‘the tables’. The number of tokens elicited through this task was still low, however. 213 tokens were elicited for these two variables from the map task. Another 104 tokens were extracted from the interview data. For the analysis all masculine and neuter nouns were extracted from the data set. The masculine nouns were inspected individually to decide whether they could alternatively have feminine grammatical gender. Those that could were excluded from the analysis (cf. section 4.5.1).

#### 4.5.4 Overall Results Suffix Variation Hønefoss

Table 4.5.3 shows how the different definite article suffix tokens are distributed across the entire data set, both in nouns where one variant is codified in Bokmål and in tokens where two variants are codified. The two variants are used to approximately the same degree: /ene/ is used 50.5% of the time and variant /a/ is used 47.3% of the time. 2.2% of the data are variants /ane/ and /en/ that are traditionally found in rural areas outside Hønefoss.



<b>Variant</b>	<b>Ns</b>	<b>%</b>
<i>/a/</i>	<b>148</b>	<b>47.3%</b>
<i>/ene/</i>	<b>158</b>	<b>50.5%</b>
<i>/ane, en/</i>	<b>7</b>	<b>2.2%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>313</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4.5.3 Overall distribution of the variants in the data set in both variable contexts**

Figure 4.5.2 shows the individual usage of the variants in the Hønefoss data set and the total token numbers for every individual. Most informants have a small token count for this variable. Some individuals, however, have a rather large number of tokens and this might affect the social variation analysis. This will be discussed in sections 4.5.5.5 and 4.5.6.5 below.

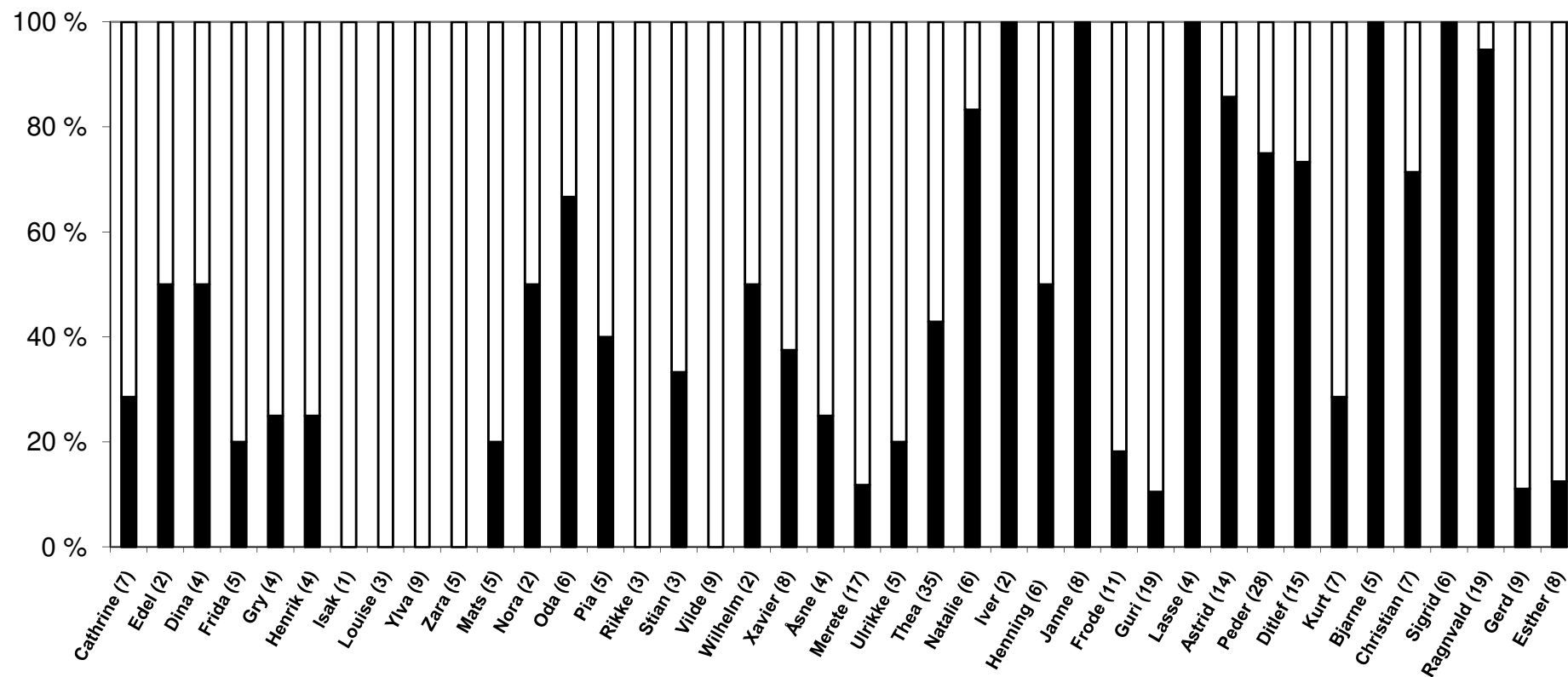


Figure 4.5.2. % /a/ for every informant, token numbers are between brackets. Young speakers (from left until informant Åsne) are ranged by alphabetical order within age group. Older informants are ranged by age.

#### 4.5.5 Suffix Variation in the Variable Context with two Variants Codified in Bokmål

##### 4.5.5.1 The Overall Distribution of Suffix Variants in Hønefoss

Variant	Ns	%
/a/	107	56
/ene/	81	42.5
/ane, en/	3	1.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 4.5.4 Overall distribution of variants in nouns with two suffix variants codified (Hønefoss)

In table 4.5.4 The percentage of /a/ is fairly high in nouns where the variant is allowed in writing, and is the preferred variant in this context. Suffix /ene/ is used 42.5% of the time, which means it is also a quite frequently used variant in these nouns in the Hønefoss dialect.

##### 4.5.5.2. Distribution of the suffix variants across age groups

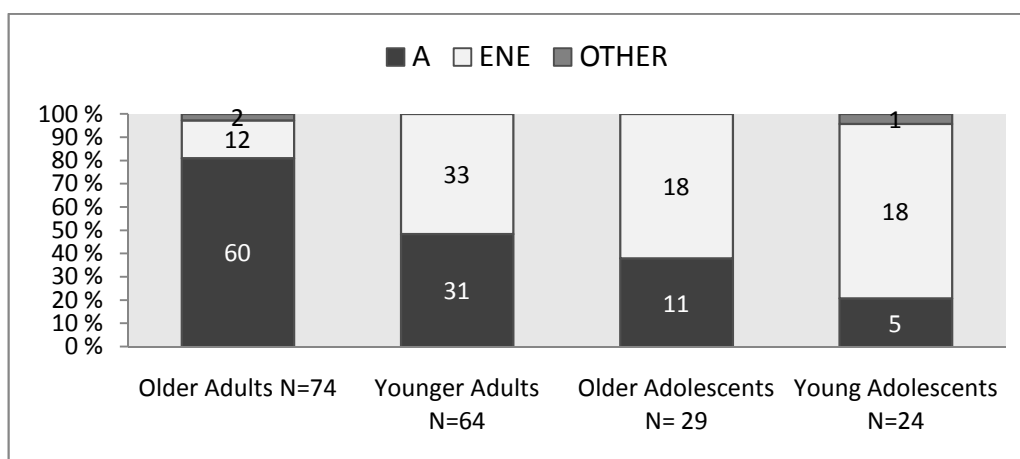


Figure 4.5.3 Distribution of suffix variants where 2 variants are codified in BM by age

Figure 4.5.3 shows that the usage of /ene/ is increasing in the younger age groups. Suffix /a/ is still used to a degree, 20-40%, in adolescent speakers, however, and is not obsolete.

#### 4.5.5.3 Difference between Young and Old Adolescent Girls: Suffix in Bokmål

##### Variable Nouns

Figure 4.5.4 shows the proportion of /a/ and /ene/ in the tokens extracted from the adolescent girls. Percentagewise, there is a clear difference, but token numbers are relatively small for this variable in this age group and the results are therefore not conclusive. The results indicate that there is a difference between the girls who attend regional schools (the older) and those that attend local schools (the younger).

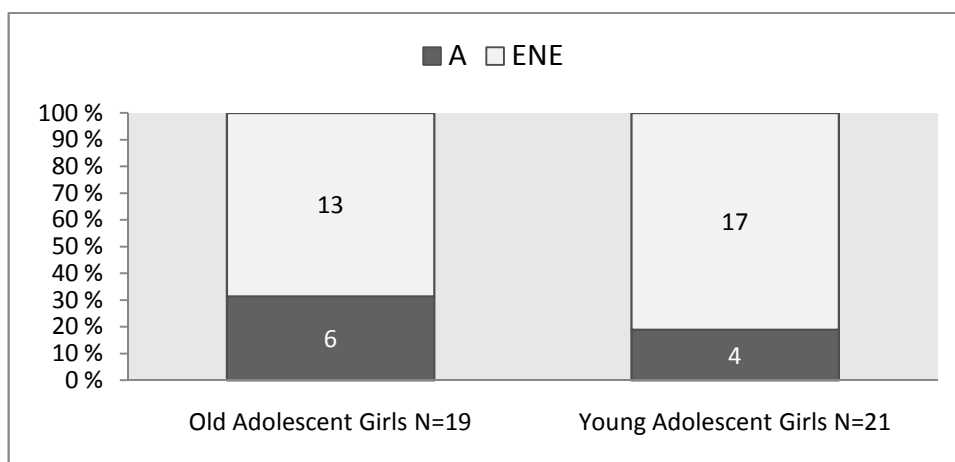


Figure 4.5.4 Distribution and % of /a/ and /ene/ across the two groups of adolescent girls

A chi-square test was performed on the data from the young and old adolescents to explore whether there was a significant difference between the observed and expected pattern of suffix variation in this context where both variant [ene] and [a] are codified in the written standard. It shows no significant difference between the observed and expected pattern of suffix variation: chi-square: (40, 1) 1.492,  $p = .22$ .

#### 4.5.5.4. Distribution of Suffix Variants across Genders

Figure 4.5.5 indicates that men use /a/ to a larger degree than women in every age group (overall this difference is a 73% usage rate of /a/ for men compared to a

42% usage rate of /a/ for women). This difference is not statistically significant in the multivariate analysis of suffix variation, however.

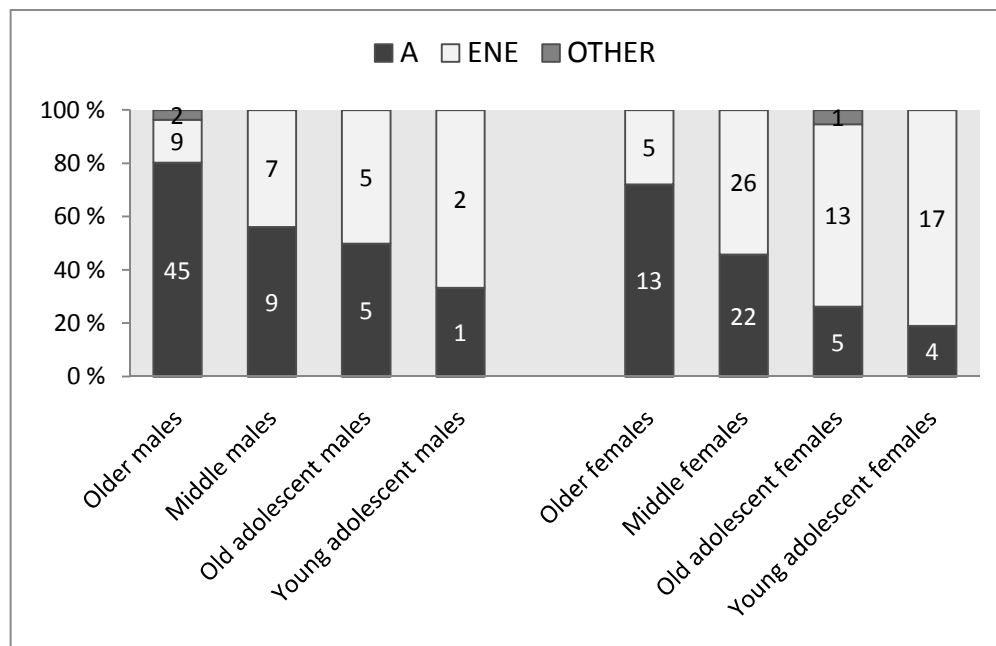


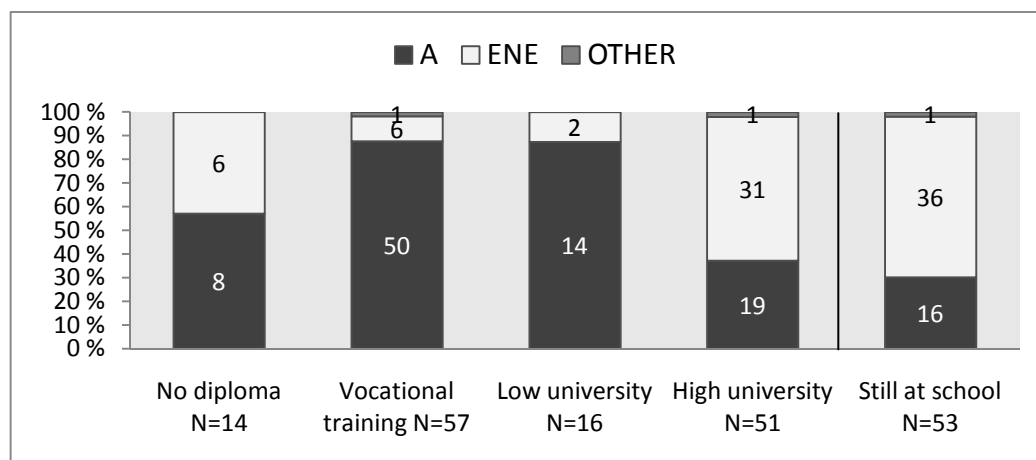
Figure 4.5.5 Distribution of suffix variants where 2 suffixes are codified in BM by genders Hønefoss, males: total N=85, females: total N=106

#### 4.5.5.5. Distribution of the Suffix Variants across Education Backgrounds

Figure 4.5.6 shows that in suffix variation where two variants are codified in Bokmål there is a difference between the informants without a diploma and the speakers with lower university backgrounds on the one hand and the highest educated informants and those with vocational training on the other. The adolescent informants are juxtaposed in the figure for comparative reasons.

The group without education or with lower education use suffix /a/ in the majority of the cases, while the informants who have a highly educated background or are still at school use /ene/ in the majority of cases. The two groups with

vocational training and low university are the speakers who behave differently in figure 4.5.6.



**Figure 4.5.6 Distribution of suffix variants where 2 suffixes are codified in BM by education**

This is most likely due to certain individuals having a much larger token number than others. Peder and Ragnvald both belong in the vocational training group, and use /a/ 90% and 93% of the time respectively. They are responsible for 35 of the tokens of that speaker groups, and thus skew the results. The same is the case for the educational group low university, where informants Janne and Astrid who use /a/ 100% and 87.5% of the time respectively provide 13 of the 16 tokens. The influence of educational background on suffix variation is therefore not something that can be investigated to an adequate degree with this data set.

#### **4.5.6 Suffix Variation in the Variable Context Where One Variant Is Codified in Bokmål**

##### *4.5.6.1 Overall Distribution of Variants in Hønefoss*

In nouns where only suffix <ene> is codified in Bokmål, the usage of variant /a/ is substantially lower than in the previous variable context. Variant /ene/ is by far

the preferred variant and used 63.1% of the cases. Variant /a/ is used 33.6% of the time and other variants are used 3.3% of the time, as illustrated in table 4.5.5.

Variant	Ns	%
/a/	41	33.6
/ene/	77	63.1
/ane, en/	4	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 4.5.5 Overall distribution of the variants in nouns with two suffix variants codified

#### 4.5.6.2. Distribution of the suffix variants across age groups

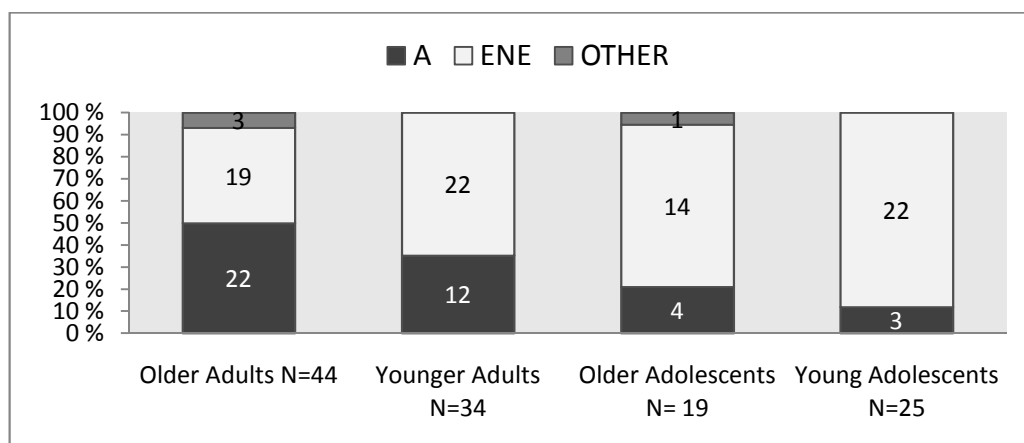


Figure 4.5.7 Distribution of suffix variants in words with one variant codified in BM by ages

Figure 4.5.7 shows the distribution of variants /a/ and /ene/ across age groups in the Hønefoss data set. The figure looks similar to figure 4.5.3 and we see that variant /a/ is decreasing, while /ene/ is increasing, in younger age groups, where /a/ is used 16% of the time on average.

#### 4.5.6.3 Difference between Young and Old Adolescent Girls: Suffix in Bokmål

##### Non-Variable Nouns

Figure 4.5.8 shows the proportion of /a/ and /ene/ in the suffix data extracted from the younger and older adolescent girls in the Hønefoss data set. The token numbers for the old adolescent girls are too small to base a judgement on.

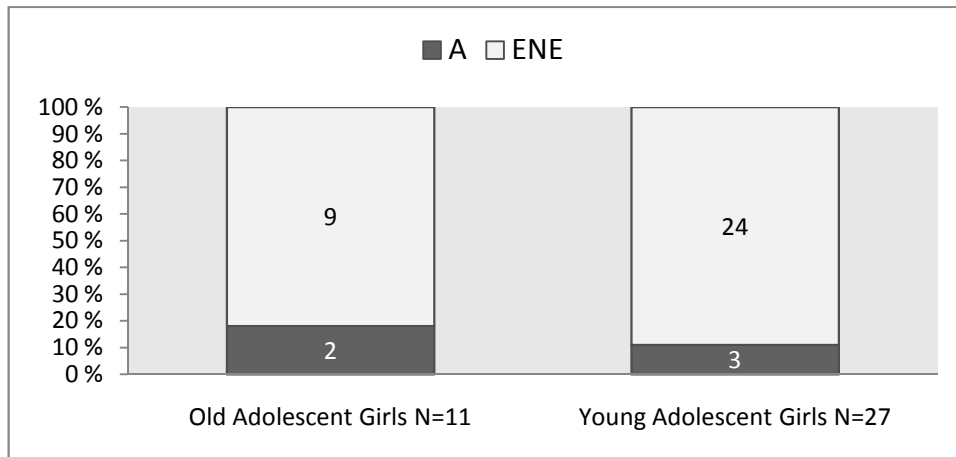


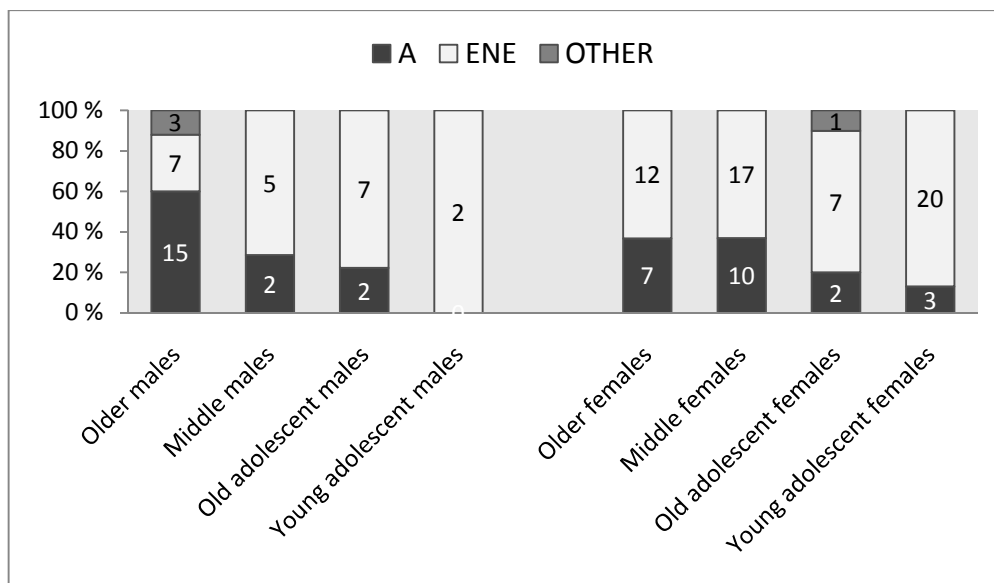
Figure 4.5.8 Distribution and % of initial stress across the two groups of adolescent girls

In a chi-square test, the difference between the observed pattern of suffix variation is not significantly different to the expected pattern of suffix variation for the two age groups. Chi-square: (38, 1) 0.342,  $p = .56$ .

#### 4.5.6.4. Distribution of the suffix variants across genders

Figure 4.5.9 shows that males use suffix /a/ proportionately more than women in the oldest adult and oldest adolescent age groups. Gender is not a significant factor in the multivariate analysis of suffix variation, however.



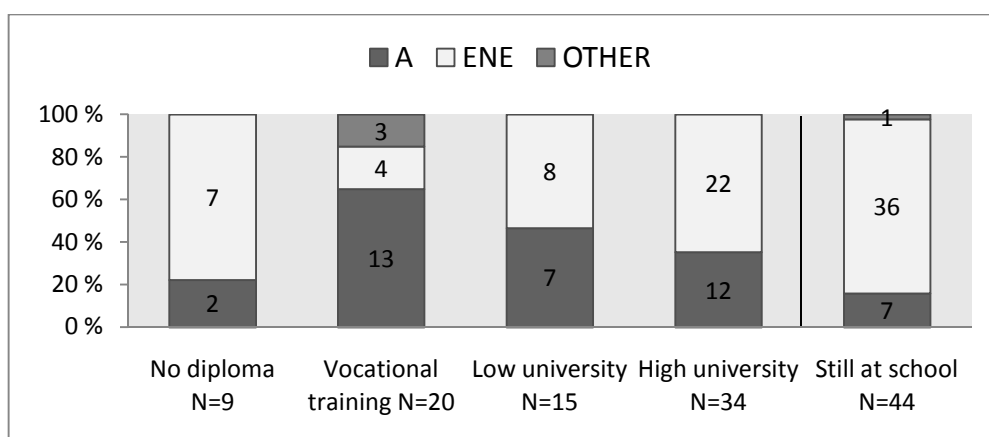


**Figure 4.5.9** Distribution of the suffix variants, nouns with one variant codified in Bokmål by gender, males: total N=43, females: total N=79

There are few tokens for the male speakers overall, and most tokens are produced by the oldest speakers. Overall, the male speakers use /a/ 44% of the time, whereas the women use the variant 28% of the time.

#### 4.5.6.5. The Distribution of the suffix variants across education backgrounds

Figure 4.5.10 illustrates the differences in suffix variant usage between informants of different educational backgrounds.



**Figure 4.5.10** Distribution of the suffix variants across education backgrounds

The informants who have vocational training behave differently to the informants in the other education groups, and have by far the largest proportion of suffix /a/. It is the preferred variant for the informants in this education group. Unfortunately the token numbers are fairly small for each education group. This is particularly the case for the speakers without a diploma, where Ester, who does not use variant /a/, contributes 4 of the 9 tokens. Although there is an indication that variant /a/ decreases with increased educational level, the data is not sufficient to conclude this.

#### **4.5.7 Statistical Analysis of Suffix Variation**

##### *4.5.7.1 Multivariate analysis of suffix variation*

Multivariate analyses were done in Rbrul (as it allows inclusion of individual speakers as factor group) for the two variable contexts in section 4.5. The results in sections 4.5.5 and 4.5.6 indicate that there could be a speaker effect in variation of the definite article suffix in Hønefoss. Speaker was included as a random effect in the Rbrul model, in addition to fixed factors gender and age. In addition to the social factors, it was tested whether the grammatical gender of the tokens would be a significant factor in the model of suffix variation. Educational level was excluded from the model because certain speakers with high token numbers made up a large proportion of certain educational groups (see especially section 4.5.5.5). Table 4.5.8 shows the output of the analysis of the variation in words where Bokmål allows both <a> and <ene> as suffix variants. Table 4.5.9 shows the output of the analysis of the variation in words where Bokmål allows the <ene> suffix only. Informants with more than 7 tokens in the data set are presented in the tables.

Application value: '/a/'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	60/74	81.4%	.82
Middle adult	31/64	48.4%	.60
Old adolescent	11/29	37.9%	.39
Young adolescent	5/24	20.8%	.18
Speaker			
Ragnvald (Old Male)	14/15	93.3%	.67
Peder (Old Male)	18/20	90.0%	.63
Thea (Middle Female)	9/18	50.0%	.43
Guri (Middle Female)	2/14	14.3%	.18
Grammatical gender			
Masculine	47/73	64.4%	[ns]
Neuter	60/118	50.8%	[ns]
Gender			
Male	62/85	72.9%	[ns]
Female	45/106	42.5%	[ns]

**Table 4.5.6 Output of Rbrul Analysis of suffix variation in Hønefoss where two variants are available in Bokmål. Application value /a/. Input: 0.59.**

Table 4.5.6 shows the output from the model with gender, age and speaker as independent variables on dependent variable /a/ and /ene/. Age and speaker are both significantly affecting the variation. Age has a significance of  $p = .004$ , while speaker is highly significant with  $p = .0006$ . Adult informants (old as well as middle age group) favour application of suffix /a/ in this context where both

variants are codified in Bokmål. The data on speaker effect show that Peder and Ragnvald are informants both with many tokens and a high factor weight, which means they favour application of /a/ to a large degree. Guri has a very low factor weight that lies far below the factor weight of her age group (middle adult). The gender difference in the data is not significant, nor is the grammatical gender of the tokens. The tokens of masculine and neuter gender thus behave similarly when it comes to suffix variation.

Table 4.5.7 below shows the output from the analysis of variation in the context where only one variant is available in Bokmål. Again, gender is not significant. Age is significant  $p = .02$ , as is speaker  $p = .0001$ . The inter-speaker variation is large in this data set. Speakers Ditlef and Gerd, for instance, both belong to the old age group but have factor weights, and variation patterns, that differ tremendously (.75 and .01). Age difference comes out significantly from the analysis, which shows that on the whole the older speakers favour /a/ more than younger speakers.

Application value: '/a/'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	22/44	50.0%	.85
Middle adult	12/34	35.3%	.77
Old adolescent	4/19	21.1%	.23
Young adolescent	3/25	12.0%	.16
Speaker			
Ditlef (Old Male)	6/8	75.0%	.67
Peder (Old Male)	3/8	37.5%	.32
Thea (Middle Female)	6/17	35.3%	.39
Gerd (Old Female)	0/7	0.0%	.06
Gender			
Female	22/79	27.8%	[ns]
Male	19/43	44.2%	[ns]

**Table 4.5.7 Multivariate Analysis output for suffix variation in Hønefoss with one variant codified in Bokmål application value '/a/' Input: .32**

#### *4.5.7.2 Differences between the two Variable Contexts*

The focus of this section is the different effect of the two variable contexts on the suffix form variation. A multivariate analysis was conducted on the basis of the data presented in table 4.5.8 to see whether there is a significant difference between the variability in nouns that have two variants codified in Bokmål and in nouns that only have one variant codified in Bokmål.

	<i>Variable context where two variants are codified in Bokmål</i>		<i>Variable context where one variant is codified in Bokmål</i>	
Variant	Ns	%	Ns	%
/a/	107	56	41	33.6
/ene/	81	42.5	77	63.1
/ane, en/	3	1.5	4	3.3
Total	191	100	122	100

**Table 4.5.8 Overall distributions of the variants in the two variable contexts**

Table 4.5.9 shows the output of the multivariate analysis run on the entire suffix data set (both variable contexts) and the effect of the independent variable codification in Bokmål on usage of variant /a/. There is a significant difference between suffix variation in the two variable contexts, as described above. Usage of suffix /a/ is favoured in the context where the variant is codified in Bokmål (variable context 1), and disfavoured in the context where it is not codified (variable context 2).

<b>Application value: '/a/'</b>			
<b>Factor Group</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Weights</b>
Variable context			
1. /a/ codified in Bokmål	107/191	56.0%	.60
2. /a/ not codified in Bokmål	41/122	33.6%	.35

**Table 4.5.9 Multivariate analysis of all suffix data and the effect of variable context. Application value: /a/, input: .44**

#### 4.5.8 Comparative Analysis of Definite Article Suffix Variation between Oslo and Hønefoss Data

A comparative analysis of suffix variation in the capital city was conducted with the sub corpus of speakers from the NoTa corpus (cf. section 3.5). The search for the suffix variables in the NoTa corpus was done by searching for plural masculine and neuter nouns ending in ‘ene’ or ‘a’ to establish the number of plural masculine nouns with definite article suffixes. The nouns were subsequently divided into two groups: those that have optional variability in Bokmål and those that do not. Results from the variable context where both <ene> and <a> are codified in Bokmål will be presented first in sections 4.5.8.1-4.5.8.5. The results from the variable context where <ene> only is codified will be presented in sections 4.5.8.6. The descriptive statistics for suffix variation in Oslo is given in sections 4.5.8.5 and 4.5.8.6.

##### 4.5.8.1 Variation in suffixes with two Bokmål Variants in Oslo and Hønefoss

There are 191 tokens in the Hønefoss corpus of nouns with the plural definite article suffix where two variants are allowed in Bokmål. In the Oslo corpus 156 tokens were found. 42 of these were produced with /a/.

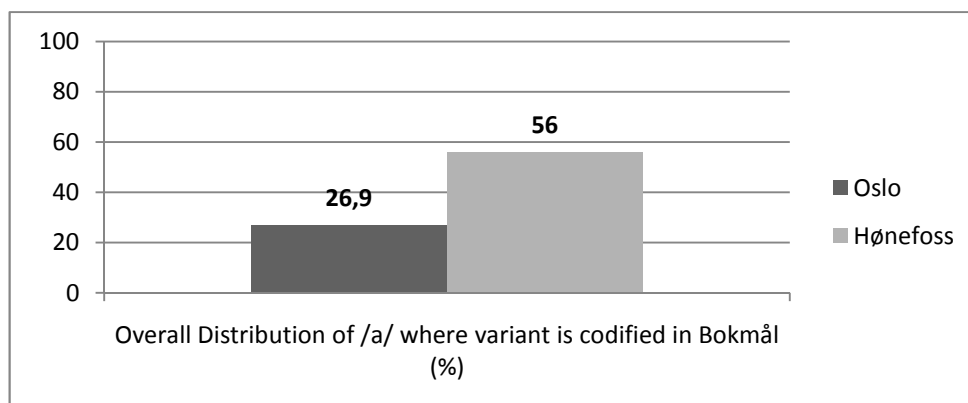
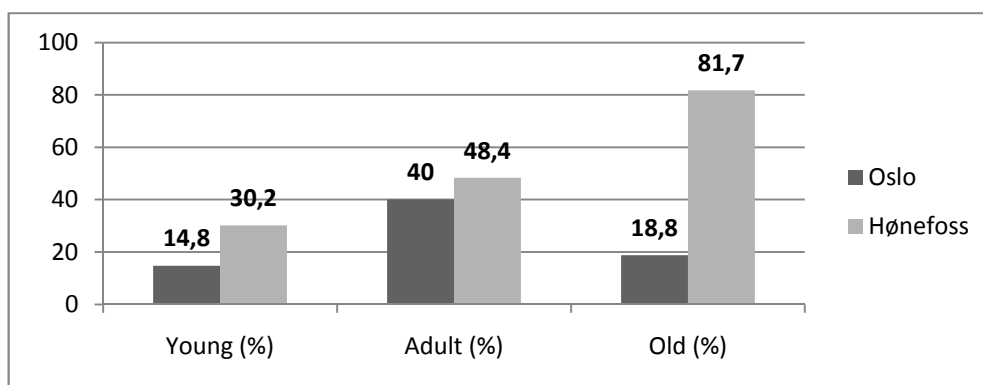


Figure 4.5.11 % of –a in definite article suffixes where two variants are available in Bokmål

The Hønefoss speakers use /a/ as a suffix 56% of the time, whereas the Oslo speakers use the same suffix 26.9% of the time.

#### 4.5.8.2 Variation in Bokmål-variable Suffixes by Age in Oslo and Hønefoss

Figure 4.5.12 illustrates the age differences in usage of suffix variants in Oslo and Hønefoss. Adult speakers in Oslo have the highest usage proportion of /a/. In Hønefoss the decline of the local variant from old to young is the same as witnessed for other variables. The percentages for the adult speakers are the most similar in the two locations.



**Figure 4.5.12 % of /a/ where two variants are codified in Bokmål by age group in Oslo and Hønefoss**

The difference between the two groups of older speakers is very large. This variable might be a stable variable (cf. Labov, 2000) in the capital city, its usage rates form a u-curve, and more data is needed to establish how the feature changes in real time. As of now, no conclusions can be reached about the trajectory of change of the variants in the capital city.



#### 4.5.8.3 Variation in Bokmål-variable suffixes by Gender in Oslo and Hønefoss

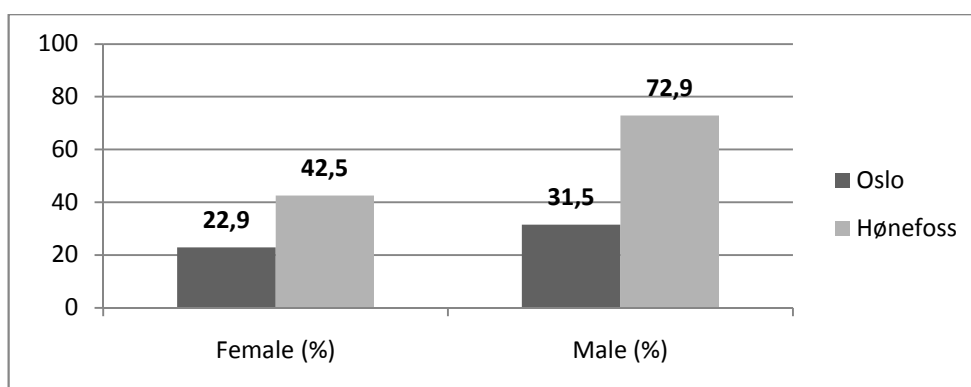


Figure 4.5.13 % of /a/ where two variants are codified in Bokmål by genders in Oslo and Hønefoss

The patterns in the gender variation are fairly similar in the two locations. Male speakers use /a/ suffix the most, and women the least in both locations. The difference between the two genders is rather small in the capital, however, compared to that found in Hønefoss (although the difference in Hønefoss was found to be non-significant).

#### 4.5.8.4 The distribution of /a/ across education groups in Oslo and Hønefoss

In the Hønefoss data, educational background was not a good predictor of variation mainly due to the high token number of certain informants. Figure 4.5.14 presents the variation in usage of variant /a/ by educational background in Hønefoss and Oslo. Note that the educational group *high* comprises Hønefoss informants with low university education as well as those with high. These two groups did not behave similarly in the Hønefoss data set (as discussed in section 4.5.5.5). Speakers with a low educational background in Oslo are far more likely to use /a/ than speakers with higher education.

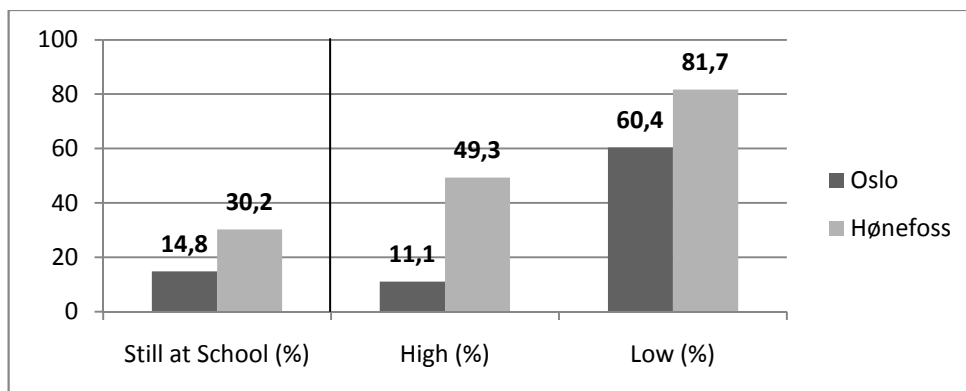


Figure 4.5.14 % of /a/ when two variants are codified in Bokmål by education in Oslo and Hønefoss

4.5.8.5 Multivariate Analysis and Ns of Suffix Variants in Variable with Two Bokmål Variants: Oslo

Application value '/a/'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	12/64	18.8%	[ns]
Middle adult	26/65	40.0%	[ns]
Adolescent	4/27	14.8%	[ns]
Gender			
Female	23/73	31.5%	[ns]
Male	19/83	22.9%	[ns]

Table 4.5.10 Output multivariate analysis on suffix variation when two variants are codified in Bokmål on the entire Oslo data set, application value /a/, input 0.22.

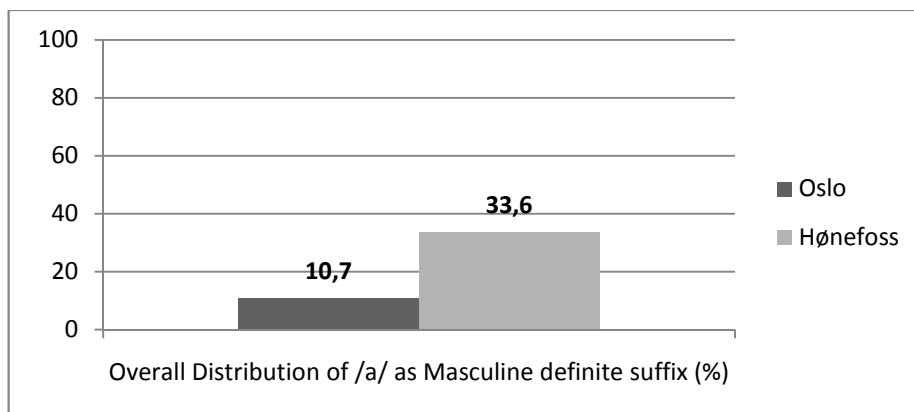
Application value ‘/a/’			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Education Level			
University	9/81	11.1%	.28
No University	29/48	60.4%	.83
<i>Range</i>			<i>54</i>

**Table 4.5.11 Output multivariate analysis on suffix variation when two variants are codified in Bokmål on the *adult* Oslo data set only. Application value: /a/, input 0.24.**

Tables 4.5.10 and 4.5.11 show that although age and gender have no effect on the suffix variation in the Oslo data set, educational level is a significant factor group in the model of the variation in the adult population (factors gender and age were not significant when excluding the youngest speakers from the analysis). Adult speakers with low educational background favour application of /a/ variant, whereas adults with a high educational background disfavour application of /a/. In Hønefoss, the factors age and speaker were significant constraints on variation. The variation in this variable does not pattern similarly in the two locations.

#### *4.5.8.6 Variation in Suffixes where One Variant is Codified in Bokmål in Oslo and Hønefoss*

112 tokens were extracted from the Oslo corpus for this variable. Figure 4.5.14 shows the percentage of variant /a/ in Hønefoss and Oslo. In this variable context, where only <ene> is part of the Bokmål standardisation, only 10+.6% of the tokens are produced with /a/ in Oslo. This is only 12 tokens. In Hønefoss, the usage rate of /a/ in this variable context was substantially higher with 33.6% of the tokens produced with /a/.



**Figure 4.5.15 % of /a/ as definite article suffix where it is not codified in Bokmål**

Because only 12 tokens in the Oslo data set have suffix /a/, a further analysis of the social constraints on this variation will not be conducted. Instead table 4.5.12 shows the speakers in the Oslo corpus who used variant /a/.

Informant	Gender	Age	Education	Number of tokens of /a/
1	Female	36	High	1
2	Male	37	Low	1
3	Female	39	Low	8
4	Male	72	Low	1
5	Female	81	Low	1

**Table 4.5.12 Informants in Oslo corpus that use variant /a/ where only /ene/ is codified in Bokmål**

Table 4.5.12 shows that informant 3 has a particularly high usage rate of variant /a/ in the Oslo corpus. This informant has 14 tokens of this variable, and six of them are produced with /ene/. There is no indication from the data in table 4.5.10 that there is a gender difference in suffix variation in Oslo. It could be that education constrains variation in the capital city to some extent, but the limited data set is not large enough to conclude this. What can be said is that there are no adolescents in the Oslo data that use variant /a/ as suffix when only <ene> is codified in Bokmål. This means that the adolescents in Oslo and Hønefoss are the speaker

groups that behave the most similarly with regards to variation in plural definite article suffixes.

Importantly, the speakers in Oslo behave differently in the two variable contexts in this study. The percentage of variant /a/ is much larger in the environment where two suffixes are codified in Bokmål (26.9%) than in the environment where only one variant is standardised (10.7%). This result is different from that of Western (1977) who found difference in variation between masculine and neuter nouns. The result is the same as the one found in Hønefoss, however, and shows that speakers in both Hønefoss and Oslo are likely to be influenced by Bokmål codification.

#### **4.5.9 Summary: Variation in the Definite Article Suffix in Masculine and Neuter Nouns**

Definite article suffixes in masculine and neuter nouns are variably /a/ or /ene/ in East Norwegian. This study has shown that usage rates of the traditional Hønefoss variant /a/ are declining with younger age groups in that location. Importantly, there is a rather large speaker effect in the data set. The next results section will consider whether there are stylistic constraints on suffix variation. It is not within the scope of this study to look more in depth at this inter-individual variation that is partly explained by age differences, but not by gender differences. Future studies could investigate more in depth which other social factors might constrain variation in these suffixes.

There is a significant difference in suffix variation patterns between the two variable contexts in the Hønefoss data. In one context two variants are standardised through Bokmål and in the other only one variant is standardised. Variant /a/ is

used to a much larger extent in nouns where that variant is also available in Bokmål. This is an indication that Bokmål has some effect on dialect change in Hønefoss.

The data set from suffix variation in Oslo where only one suffix variant is codified in Bokmål is not large enough to make any claims about the social variation. Importantly, however, there is also a difference within the Oslo data set between variation in the two different variable contexts. This could indicate that the standardisation of suffix variants affects variation in Oslo as well, and that variants [a] is predominantly used in contexts where < a > is codified in Bokmål.

The data presented in this section show, once again, that linguistic variant usage in Oslo and Hønefoss is becoming more similar with the younger age group. This is evidence that can be used to attest regional dialect levelling. There is a significant difference in variation patterns in the two variable contexts in the Hønefoss data set. Bokmål codification influences variant usage in plural definite article suffixes in Hønefoss, and this informs us further about the forces behind regional dialect levelling. Bokmål seems to be an influence on the language change in progress considering this suffix data. Little evidence has been presented to attest an influence from Oslo speech on suffix variation in Hønefoss. The social conditioning of the variation appears rather different in the two locations, but unfortunately there is only limited amounts of data from Oslo to base this assumption upon.

## 4.6 Read Speech and Stylistic Variation

This section presents the quantitative analysis of read speech in Hønefoss. The data from the reading passage, the retelling of it, and word list elicited by the selected group of informants are presented. The term read speech will be used for the data elicited from the reading passage condition and the word list conditions. Speech elicited in the interview and retelling conditions will be referred to, contrastively, as free speech. The main focus of this section is to provide a description of read speech in Hønefoss, and to evaluate quantitatively and qualitatively whether it differs from the variety spoken in the town, described in previous results sections. To evaluate whether Bokmål has any effect on change in progress in the Hønefoss dialect, the linguistic features people use when reading are important to take into account. It is also of interest to the investigation to determine comparatively to what extent speakers adhere to Bokmål norms when speaking. If the varieties used when reading and speaking are the same, this could be interpreted as evidence to suggest Bokmål could have some influence on the current language change in East Norway.

About one fourth of the Hønefoss informants were selected to read a reading passage, a word list and to retell the reading passage. The selection of the subgroup of 11 informants (ages 14-73, 5 males and 6 females) is described in detail in section 3.2.2. For a description of the reading passage and word list with the tokens of interest for this investigation, see sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.5.

The presentation of read speech focuses on the five linguistic variables investigated in earlier results sections of chapter 4. Section 4.6.1 presents the stylistic variation found in the 11 speakers by age group (Individuals' usage rates of the linguistic variants can be found in appendix G). Section 4.6.2 gives an overview

of the collected usage of linguistic variants in the different styles as well as the results from the statistical analysis to see if potential stylistic differences are statistically significant. Section 4.6.3 is a brief impressionistic analysis of read speech in Hønefoss. Finally, section 4.6.4 is a summary of the findings relating to read speech and influence stylistic constraints on language use in Hønefoss.

#### 4.6.1 Usage of Hønefoss Variants by Age Groups

The results from usage of local variants in four different stylistic conditions are presented by age groups, with the oldest informants first and the youngest last. For the individual scores of the informants, see appendix G.

##### 4.6.1.1 Stylistic Differences in Old Speakers

Astrid, Bjarne and Kurt	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	66/121	54.5	15/31	48.4	12/54	22.2	4/15	26.7
/dum/	35/43	81.4	4/10	40.0	0/19	0.0	0/3	0.0
[t] for <rd>	16/31	51.6	4/4	100	5/13	38.5	4/14	28.6
/a/ in BM variable words	9/12	75.0	1/5	20.0	0/12	0.0	0/12	0.0
/a/ in BM non- variable words	6/9	66.7	0/5	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/12	0.0

**Table 4.6.1** Old informants Astrid, Bjarne and Kurt's usage of Hønefoss variants in different styles

The usage of Hønefoss variants by the three oldest informants Astrid, Bjarne and Kurt in the four different speech styles is presented in table 4.6.1. A stylistic conditioning of the variation can be seen in this age group. In the phonological variable contexts stress and <rd> the local Hønefoss variant is used in all styles. Usage rates of local phonological variants drop during the reading tasks, however. The morphological and syntactic variables *3p/* personal pronoun and definite article



suffix have no instances of the localised form in the data from the reading tasks. Local variants are thus not used in this style when the Bokmål variant is the one found in orthography. Overall there is a large difference in the usage of linguistic variants between read speech and other speech styles in the data set from the three older Hønefoss speakers.

#### 4.6.1.2 Stylistic Differences in Middle Speakers

Iver, Janne and Thea	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	27/60	<b>45.0</b>	1/17	<b>5.9</b>	0/54	<b>0</b>	3/15	<b>20.0</b>
/dum/	25/48	<b>52.1</b>	3/13	<b>23.1</b>	0/15	<b>0</b>	0/3	<b>0</b>
[ɾ] for <i>rd</i>	20/41	<b>48.8</b>	2/4	<b>50</b>	0/11	<b>0</b>	4/15	<b>26.7</b>
-a in BM non- variable words	8/20	<b>40.0</b>	0/3	<b>0</b>	0/15	<b>0</b>	0/12	<b>0</b>
-a in BM variable words	17/26	<b>65.4</b>	2/3	<b>75</b>	0/12	<b>0</b>	0/12	<b>0</b>

**Table 4.6.2 Middle Informants Iver, Janne and Thea's usage of Hønefoss variants in different styles**

Table 4.6.2 shows the middle adult speakers Iver, Janne and Thea's usage of Hønefoss variants in different speech styles. There is once more a clear difference in usage of local variants between the four stylistic conditions. Hønefoss variants are used the most in the interview and retelling condition. In the collected data from the reading passage condition the local Hønefoss variants are not used at all. In the word list condition, initial stress and [ɾ] of <rd> is used 20% and 26.7% of the time. In the middle age group there is a substantial difference between data that is read and data that is collected in other conditions. Read speech does not sound identical to interview and speech in retelling conditions.

#### 4.6.1.3 Stylistic Differences in Adolescent Speakers

Read speech was only collected from one informant in the old adolescent age group (Xavier). His results will be presented with those of the young adolescents in table 4.6.3. The table shows the stylistic differences in usage of the five linguistic variables in the four different stylistic conditions in the Hønefoss data.

Cathrine, Frida, Henrik, Zara and Xavier	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	10/55	18.2	2/18	11.1	0/90	0.0	0/25	0.0
/dum/	1/28	3.6	8/31	25.8	0/24	0.0	0/5	0.0
[t] for <i>rd</i>	2/37	5.4	0/1	0.0	0/18	0.0	1/25	4.0
-a in BM non- variable words	3/14	21.4	0/11	0.0	0/25	0.0	0/20	0.0
-a in BM variable words	3/11	27.3	1/2	50.0	0/19	0.0	0/20	0.0

**Table 4.6.3 Adolescent informants Cathrine, Frida, Henrik, Zara and Xavier's usage of Hønefoss variants in different styles**

Table 4.6.3 shows 18-year old Xavier and 13 year-olds Cathrine, Frida, Henrik and Zara's usage of local variants and their stylistic variation. The difference between the usages of local variants between styles is smaller in table 4.6.3 than it was in tables 4.6.1 and 4.6.2.

Table 4.6.3 covers some inter-speaker variation within the youngest age group. Speakers Cathrine, Frida and Zara, all female, hardly use local linguistic variants in any styles. Cathrine has two tokens of /a/ where this is a codified Bokmål variant; Frida has one token of /a/ where /ene/ is the only variant codified in Bokmål; and Zara has two tokens of initial stress. These three girls thus have very similar usage patterns of local variants between different styles (cf. tables with

individual usage rates of variants in appendix G). Data from the youngest age group in Hønefoss indicate that certain speakers use a variety of speech in interviews and retelling styles that adheres closely with read Bokmål speech.

#### 4.6.2 Stylistic Variation in Usage of Local Hønefoss Variants

This section presents the stylistic conditioning of speech by variable and the results on multivariate analyses to see if style significantly constrains variation in the variable contexts.

##### 4.6.2.1 The Stylistic Variation of Stress

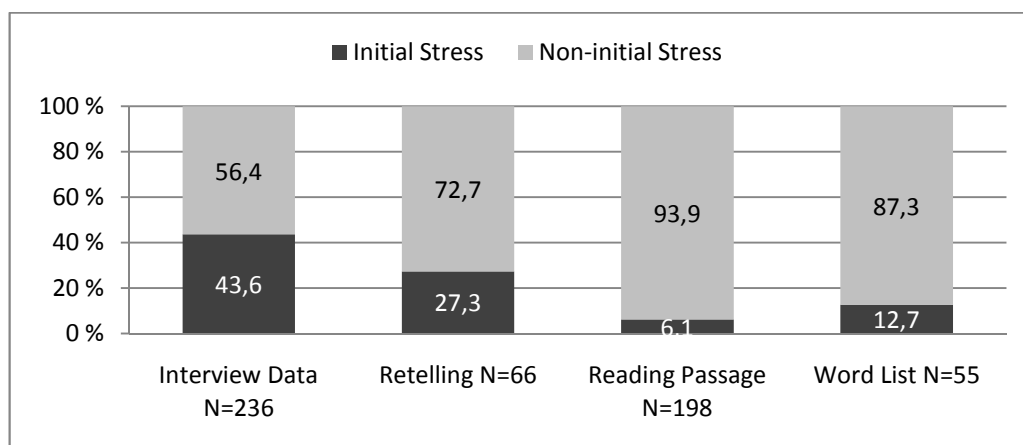


Figure 4.6.1 % of the two stress variants in different styles in the sub-corpus

Figure 4.6.1 illustrates the stylistic variation in usage of initial stress. It is clear that initial stress is subject to stylistic constraints in Hønefoss. Especially in read speech local variant initial stress is used to a small degree. Data from the retelling of the fairytale also shows a lower percentage of the local variant. This condition is performed immediately after the reading tasks and it could be possible that informants' speech pattern is influenced by their reading style. All in all, initial stress does not occur often in read Bokmål by Hønefoss informants.

#### 4.6.2.2 The Multivariate Analysis of Stylistic Stress Variation

Factor Group	Application value 'initial stress'		
	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	97/221	43.9%	.90
Middle adult	31/146	21.2%	.46
Adolescent	12/188	6.4%	.17
	<i>Range</i>		<i>73</i>
Gender			
Female	53/305	17.4%	.33
Male	87/250	34.8%	.71
	<i>Range</i>		<i>38</i>
Style			
Interview	103/236	43.6%	.92
Retelling	18/66	27.3%	.38
Reading Passage	12/198	6.1%	.07
Word List	7/55	12.7%	.36
	<i>Range</i>		<i>85</i>

**Table 4.6.4 Multivariate analysis of stress variation, application value 'initial stress' Input .25**

The multivariate analysis of stress variation in interview speech in Hønefoss in section 4.1 showed that social factors gender; age and education all constrain the variation significantly. The analysis conducted in this section includes the same social factors in addition to the independent variable style to look at their relevance for stress variation.

Table 4.6.4 shows the results of the multivariate analysis of stress variation on the data set from all the Hønefoss speakers who recorded speech in four different conditions. The results show that age, gender and style are all significant factor groups that constrain variation. Initial stress is favoured by speaker groups with old age, with low university and vocational training. It is also favoured by male speaker and in the interview setting. In table 4.6.5, the output from a multivariate analysis with the data from the adult informants that recorded speech is presented. The effect of age, gender and style was also significant contributors to the model in this data set (but not displayed in table 4.6.5). In addition, educational differences between the adult informants significantly contribute to explaining stress variation.

Factor Group	Application value 'initial stress'		
	Frequency	%	Weights
Education Level			
High University	2/59	3.4%	.01
Low University	49/147	33.3%	.51
Vocational training	61/70	87.1%	.99
No diploma after 16	16/91	17.6%	.18
	<i>Range</i>		<i>97</i>

**Table 4.6.5 Multivariate analysis of stress variation in the adult data set, application value 'initial stress' Input .18**

The results from the two multivariate analyses are in line with those found in section 4.1. The results also inform us that style is a significant constraint on this linguistic variable.

#### 4.6.2.3 The Stylistic Variation of 3pl Personal Pronouns

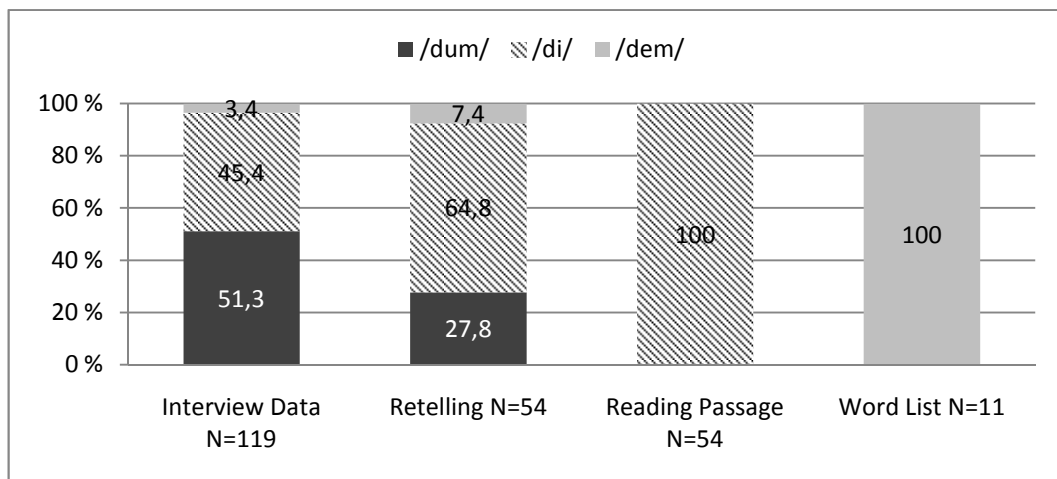


Figure 4.6.2 % of the three pronoun variants (subject position) in different styles in the sub-corpus

The variant /dum/ was not elicited in read speech from the 11 Hønefoss informants. The word list contained the token <dem>, which all informants produced as /dem/. In the reading passage all pronouns were represented with <de> which all informants, perhaps unsurprisingly, produced /di/. The local Hønefoss variant /dum/ is not a possible representation of <dem> in read speech. Neither is /dum/ ever found as a variant of <de> when reading. The usage of the dialectal variant /dum/ in speech could be stylistically constrained, as /dum/ is used to a larger extent in the interview data than it is in the retelling.

#### 4.6.2.4 The Multivariate Analysis of Stylistic Pronoun Variation

Figure 4.6.2 above shows that in the 3pl personal pronoun context there is no variation with regards to usage of local Hønefoss variant /dum/ between the reading passage and word list data. The multivariate analysis of the data was therefore done between that from interview and retelling conditions only. In section 4.3 about pronoun variation in the larger Hønefoss data set factors age and education were found to significantly constrain pronoun variation, whereas gender was non-

significant. Table 4.6.6 shows the output from the multivariate analysis of the data from two different speech settings. Age is non-significant in this data set from 11 Hønefoss speakers. The two conditions interview and retelling also significantly affect variation. /dum/ is favoured in the interview condition but not in the retelling condition. Gender is also significant in the data set from the 11 speakers in the two stylistic conditions, male speakers favour application of /dum/.

Application value 'dum/			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	34/109	31.2%	.16
Male	42/63	66.7%	.95
	<i>Range</i>		<i>79</i>
<b>Style</b>			
Interview	61/118	51.7%	.58
Retelling	15/54	27.8%	.33
	<i>Range</i>		<i>25</i>
<b>Age</b>			
Old adult	39/53	73.6%	[ns]
Middle adult	28/61	45.9%	[ns]
Adolescent	9/58	15.5%	[ns]

**Table 4.6.6 Multivariate analysis results from Hønefoss data set with two styles. Application value /dum/ Input 0.311**

Table 4.6.7 below shows the output from the multivariate analysis on the adult speakers only. Education is a significant contributor to the variation among

the adult informants. Speakers with low university, vocational training and no diploma favour variant /dum/. Speakers with a high university level disfavour application of local Hønefoss variant /dum/. The style difference illustrated in table 4.6.6 was significant in the run of the analysis shown in table 4.6.7 as well. There is no significant age difference between the old and middle adult informants.

Application value ‘/dum/’			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
<b>Education Level</b>			
High University	4/27	14.8%	.09
Low University	30/42	71.4%	.64
Vocational training	19/22	86.4%	.86
No diploma after 16	14/23	60.9%	.52
<i>Range</i>			<i>77</i>

Table 4.6.7 Multivariate analysis results on *adult* Hønefoss speakers’ read speech. Application value /dum/ Input .60.

#### 4.6.2.5 Stylistic Variation in <rd>

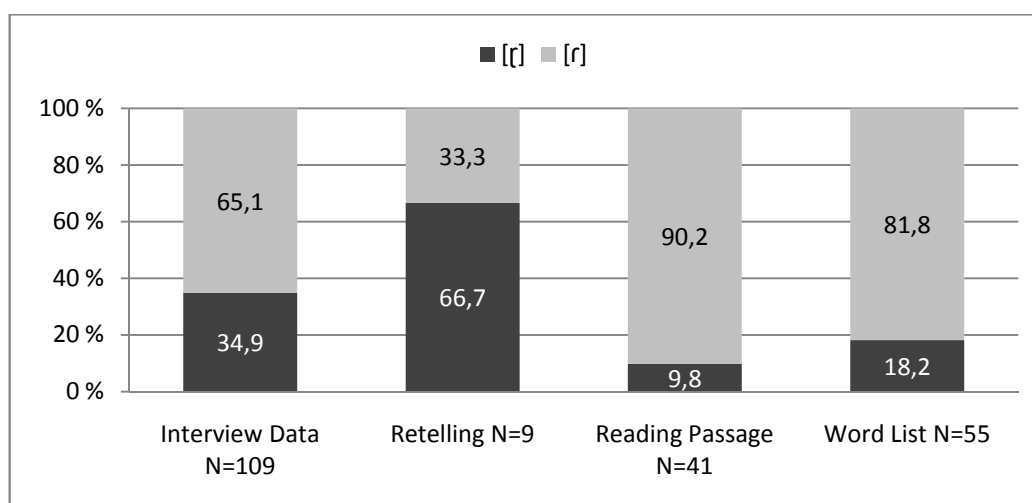


Figure 4.6.3 % of the two variants for <rd> in different styles in the sub-corpus



As illustrated in figure 4.6.3 stylistic differences in the usage of the retroflex flap of <rd> pattern slightly differently than for other local Hønefoss variants. The variant retroflex flap is used the most in the retelling condition. There are only 9 tokens of <rd> in the retelling of the fairytale. The retold data consists mainly of tokens from informants Astrid, Bjarne and Iver (cf. individual variant usage in appendix G). If we disregard the retelling style the differences in usage of the retroflex flap are fairly small between the four conditions. The feature is used the most in interview speech, but also to some degree in word lists and reading passage speech.

#### *4.6.2.6 Multivariate Analysis of Variation in <rd>*

Table 4.6.6 shows the results of the multivariate analysis of variation of <rd> in data from the four different speech settings produced by 11 speakers. In section 4.4, age and lexeme were significant factor groups in the statistical analysis of variation in <rd>.

Lexeme is not investigated here as the word types in the read speech are very few (cf. 3.3.4). Gender and education level did not constrain <rd> variation significantly in the Hønefoss data set discussed in section 4.4.

In table 4.6.8 below it can be seen that all social factors age and gender are significant contributors to variation, as is the condition in which speech is recorded. Variant [ɾ] is favoured by speaker groups old adults and middle adults; by male speakers and in the interview and retelling recordings of speech.

Application value: '[r] – retroflex flap'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	29/62	46.8%	.54
Middle adult	26/71	36.6%	.88
Adolescent	3/78	3.7%	.14
<i>Range</i>			<i>74</i>
Gender			
Female	33/125	26.4%	.27
Male	25/89	28.1%	.81
<i>Range</i>			<i>54</i>
Style			
Interview	38/109	34.9%	.72
Retelling	6/9	66.7%	.89
Reading Passage	4/37	9.8%	.10
Word List	10/55	18.2%	.37
<i>Range</i>			<i>79</i>

Table 4.6.8 Multivariate analysis output of variation in <rd> application value [r].Input 0.114

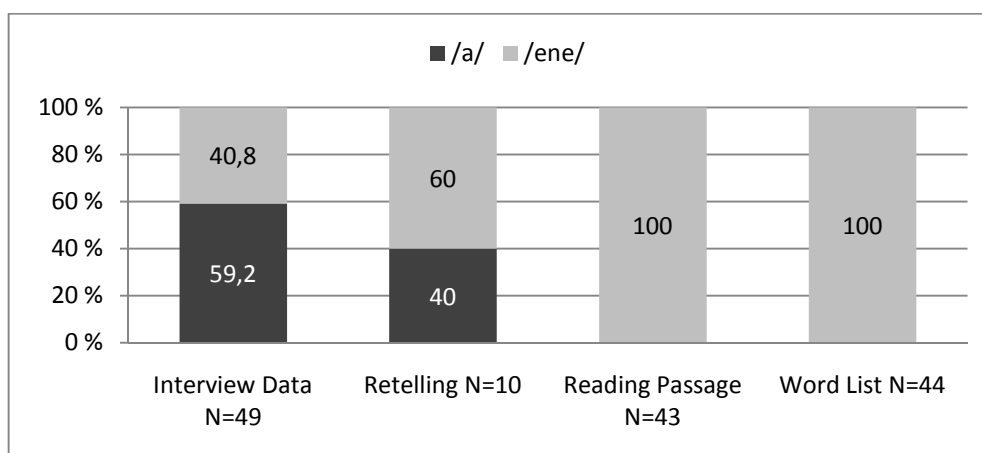
Table 4.6.9 shows the output of the multivariate analysis with the data from the adult informants only. Educational level significantly contributes to the model of variation in environment <rd> in the adult data set.

Application value: '[r] – retroflex flap'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
<b>Education Level</b>			
High University	5/28	17.9%	.09
Low University	28/50	56.0%	.73
Vocational training	17/19	89.5%	.99
No diploma after 16	5/36	13.9%	.12
<i>Range</i>			<i>90</i>

**Table 4.6.9** Multivariate analysis of variation in <rd> in adult Hønefoss speakers, application value [r].Input 0.35

Gender was not a significant contributor to the variation in <rd> when removing the data from the adolescent informants. Style and age differences were still contributing to the variation, however.

#### 4.6.2.7 Stylistic Variation of Suffixes in Bokmål-Variable Nouns



**Figure 4.6.4** % of the definite article variants in words with words with variation in Bokmål across styles in the sub-corpus

In this section the stylistic variation in the usage of the two variants of definite article suffixes, /a/ and /ene/ are examined in the variable context where both variants are codified in Bokmål. Figure 4.6.4 shows that the proportion of /a/ is

slightly larger in interview data than in the retelling style for the 11 speakers. Unfortunately the token numbers in the retelling style are very low. Variant /a/ is not found in read speech. All definite article suffixes in the word list and the reading passage were represented <ene> .

#### *4.6.2.8 Multivariate Analysis of Suffix Variation in Bokmål-Variable Nouns*

In the previous multivariate analysis of suffix variation in this particular variable context (section 4.5.7) a large speaker effect on the variation was found. Age was a significant constraint on variation, whereas gender was a non-significant contributor to variation. Education was not tested for in section 4.5.7 as most tokens in the larger Hønefoss data set could be attributed to a few speakers only (see section 4.5.5). In the data set currently described the inter-speaker variation in token number is less large, although this suffix variable context does occur more frequently in certain speakers than others in the interview condition. The total token count for this variable is not large on the whole. Variation will only be analysed in the retelling and interview context as there is no variation in the reading passage and word list data, as described above.

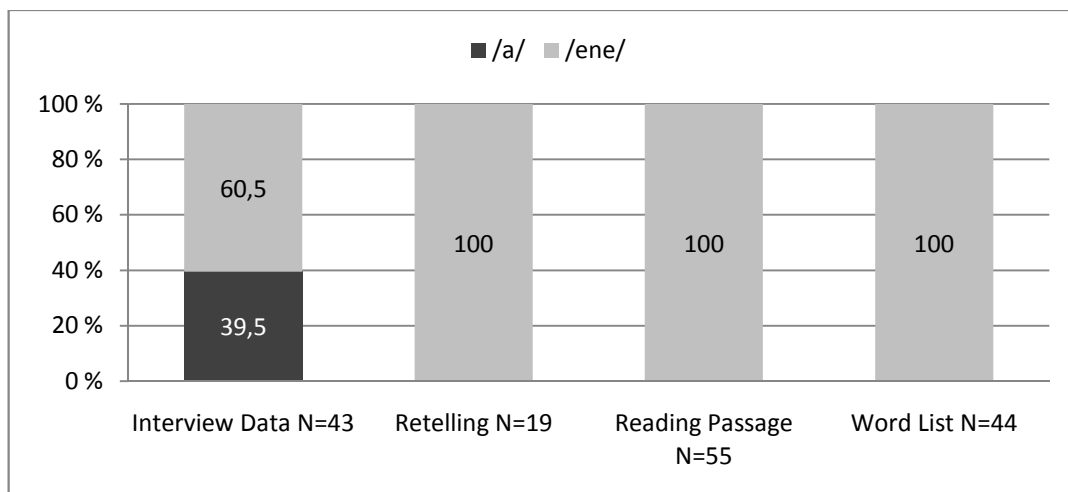
The output in table 4.6.7 shows that no factor group in the model actually constrains variation significantly in this data set. This could be due to a speaker effect on the variation instead, as was the case in section 4.5.7. Importantly, however, there is no significant difference in the usage of suffix variants between the two conditions interview speech and retold speech.

Application value: '/a/'			
Factor Group	Frequency	%	Weights
Age			
Old adult	10/17	58.8%	[ns]
Middle adult	19/29	65.5%	[ns]
Adolescent	4/13	30.8%	[ns]
Gender			
Female	23/39	59.0%	[ns]
Male	10/20	50.0%	[ns]
Style			
Interview	29/49	59.2%	[ns]
Retelling	4/10	40.0%	[ns]

**Table 4.6.10 Multivariate analysis of definite article suffix variation where Bokmål has two variants. Input 0.559**

#### 4.6.2.9 Stylistic Variation in Suffix in Words that only have <ene> in Bokmål

Figure 4.6.5 below illustrates the style differences in usage of the definite article suffix /a/ in words where only <ene> is a codified variant in Bokmål. We see a clear stylistic difference between the interview data and the other styles. As Bokmål suffixes were all represented <ene> in the written texts, it is not surprising that no instances of /a/ were encountered in the read speech. There is a large difference in the usage of /a/ as a suffix between the conditions *interview speech* and *retelling* as well, however.



**Figure 4.6.5 % of the definite article variants in words with words without variation in Bokmål across styles in the sub-corpus**

No multivariate analysis was possible on this data set, as the only variation that occurs is in the interview speech. This speech data is part of the data set investigated in section 4.5 and the statistical analysis of that data is presented in section 4.5.7.

### **4.6.3 A Qualitative Description of Read Speech in Hønefoss**

Sections 4.6.1 and 4.6.2 show that in the investigation of the five linguistic variables read speech in Hønefoss sounds fairly homogeneous across speakers. There is some inter-speaker variation in usage of phonological variants, but as shown in section 4.6.1 this variation is not large. There exists a small number of individuals in the sample described above that use linguistic variants to the same degrees both when speaking and reading. These informants do not use many dialectal markers in their free speech. The lack of variation found in this data indicates convergence of read Bokmål and the Hønefoss variety varieties in these speakers, but there may be other linguistic variables to consider.

It cannot be concluded on the basis of the analysis of five linguistic variables that read speech and interview speech sound identical. However, it is the author's impression that there are only a few variables apart from the ones covered in sections above that could vary between read and free speech. This section is an impressionistic analysis of further differences that exist between read and free speech in Hønefoss. Comments elicited from Hønefoss informants about read speech will also be considered.

#### *4.6.3.1 Usage of Phonological Variants in Read and Free Speech*

Firstly, the retroflex flap as a variant of /l/ seems part of read Hønefoss speech for all informants, although to variable degrees. Hilton (2004) showed that the retroflex flap of /l/ was part of read speech for young adolescents and this holds true for the sample of speakers in this study too. The other variant of /l/ used in Hønefoss is the alveolar lateral. Some adolescents in this sample have instances of a palatal lateral, however. There seems to be variation between usage of the retroflex flap, the palatal and the alveolar lateral in these speakers. This linguistic variation could be an interesting focus for future studies. There is inter-individual and intra-individual variation in usage of the lateral variants in free as well as read speech. (l) is a phonological variable in Hønefoss.

There are instances of the variant [ʃ] for the traditional variant [ç] for <tj>, <ki>, <ky> and <kj> among the youngest speakers. Especially Mats, Birthe and Camilla use sound [ʃ] where [ç] has traditionally been the used variant. The usage of [ʃ] is categorical, and these speakers seem to have lost phoneme [ç]. This change in progress has been attested elsewhere, especially in the capital city

(discussion in English available in Simonsen and Moen, 2004). There are not enough tokens in the Hønefoss data set to make any substantial claims about this linguistic feature. What can be said is that [ʃ] is used by certain younger individuals in free speech, and that it would presumably also be part of these speakers' read speech.

Finally a small note can be made about lexico-phonological variations between individuals. Informant Bente notes that instead of saying [çɪrkə] as she would read the word <kirke> 'church', she says [çærkə] when speaking. She also makes a point of saying [gøɾv] and not [gʌlv] for <gulv> 'floor' as she does when reading. Informants Bjarne and Astrid make a similar comment about the form [gøɾv] as the [gʌlv] sounds too posh and archaic although they use the latter when reading. Lowering and fronting of these vowels was attested by Skulerud (1926) as part of the Ringerike dialect as well, and seem to have been retained by the speakers above.

#### *4.6.3.2 Usage of Morphological Variants in Read and Free Speech*

A morphological variable that is commented upon by Hønefoss informants is usage of the singular definite article suffix in words that are of variable grammatical gender in Bokmål. Some nouns are variably feminine or masculine and will be assigned a singular definite article suffix accordingly. The word that elicited comments for this linguistic variable was <kirken>, 'the church'. A number of the youngest informants mentioned that they will say [çɪrkə], instead of [çɪrkən] for this token. The word for 'the church' has at least three variants in spoken Hønefoss dialect: [çɪrkə], [çærkə] (as produced by Bente in section 4.6.3.1) and [çɪrkən]. It



could be the case that suffix /a/ as singular definite article is more widespread in free speech in Hønefoss than the variant /en/, but this has not been investigated quantitatively in this investigation. /en/ is a variant that a lot of younger informants state that they identify with Oslo speech, and a more refined way of speaking. In reading aloud, however, orthography will be decisive for which suffix variant that is used, as was seen in section 4.6.2 above. If a singular suffix is spelt <a> in the word list the variant produced will be /a/ and if the orthography states <en>, the phonological variant used is /en/.

Finally, usage of past tense marker /et/ or /a/ in variable verbs is another feature where one finds variation. As was attested for singular definite articles in the section above, suffix /a/ is stated as being more common in free speech and reported as the preferred variant by a number of speakers when a verb inflection. /et/ is stated to be more refined or more ‘Oslo’ sounding, but is realised by speakers if <et> is in the orthography.

Interestingly, the variation discussed in this section concerns variation between variants codified in the conservative and radical versions of Bokmål (as described in section 1.2.2). This perceptive value of this variation, and therefore also many of the linguistic features described above, will be discussed in more detail in section 4.8.

#### **4.6.4 Summary: Read Speech and Stylistic Variation**

There are clear differences in the corpus of 11 Hønefoss speakers’ usage of linguistic variants in four different speech conditions. Importantly, morphological and syntactic local variants are not used when reading aloud if Bokmål variants are

in orthography. Local phonological variants are also used to a significantly smaller degree in read speech than in free speech. A group of young informants have very low usage rates of local speech variants in their interview and retelling data, which means that their read speech sounds near-identical to their free speech, at least when considering the five variables investigated in this study.

For the stress variable; the pronoun variable and one suffix variable the local linguistic variant is used to a lesser extent in the retelling data than in the interview data. This could indicate that the reading of a passage (done in the time between these two conditions) influences usage patterns of local variants. There could be a priming effect of reading on subsequent free speech. The data from the variable <rd> could be interpreted as a contradiction to this, as the retroflex flap is used more in the retelling condition than in the interview condition. The data from this variable context is very limited however, and only from a small group of speakers. There is thus some indication that reading out loud influences the usage of dialectal variants negatively in Hønefoss.

In an impressionistic analysis it seems radical Bokmål variants are viewed more positively by Hønefoss informants than variants that can be called conservative Bokmål variants (cf. section 1.2.2). Overall, there is a lot of variation found between variants belonging to the different codifications of Bokmål. As shown in section 4.5, usage of radical plural definite article suffix /a/ is not much larger than usage of suffix /ene/ in the Hønefoss data set. As there is some indication in this section as well as in section 4.5 that Bokmål influences speech in Hønefoss, section 4.8 will partly focus on which variants (if any) found in Bokmål are prestigious to Hønefoss informants.

Data presented in this section has informed us about what read speech sounds like in Hønefoss. Results in this section have also shown that for some speakers there are minimal differences between read and interview speech. It also seems a possibility, based on these results, that reading Bokmål out loud could influence the usage of dialectal variants in subsequent speech. For the investigation of influence from language standards on regional dialect levelling, these results are crucial. If Bokmål is the sole influential force on the language change at hand in East Norway (although this would be unlikely), the way the codified variety sounds when read aloud should sound increasingly identical to people's vernacular speech. The relationship between the read data and the results in other sections of the results chapter will be discussed more in depth in chapter 5.

## 4.7 The Identity Questionnaire and Overt Attitudinal Data

All the Hønefoss informants, whose linguistic data are analysed in the previous sections, answered questions from an identity questionnaire (cf. Llamas, 2007) described in detail in section 3.4.1. In this section, 4.7, the first subsection gives a summary of the attitudes collected through the questionnaire and correlates attitudinal scores with usage of dialectal variants (initial stress; /dum/; [ɾ] and suffix variant /a/ in two variable contexts). Section 4.7.2 considers other spontaneously elicited attitudes and their importance for the study of regional dialect levelling. A summary of attitudinal data from Hønefoss will be given in section 4.7.3.

### 4.7.1 Questions Relevant to the Study of Regional Dialect Levelling

Eight key questions from the identity questionnaire were chosen as focus for the following analysis. These are the ones concerned with the local accent, the perceived linguistic region, the capital Oslo, and the local area Hønefoss. The elicited attitudes reported in this section were given as answers to the eight questions below:

- What accent would you say you had?
- ...and do you like it?
- Can you recognise the local (Hønefoss or Ringerike) accent?
- Where, geographically, would you say people stop talking the same as you and start sounding different?
- What would you think if someone thought you came from Oslo?
- How would you describe Hønefoss to someone who had never been?
- If you could, would you change where you came from?
- How often do you visit Oslo?

Not all informants answered in a clear way to every question. This was mainly due to the focus of the interviewer to keep the conversation as natural as possible. Some of the questions did not have to be raised directly as the informants would express an opinion on the topic without being directly asked. Similarly, if informants did not answer the question first time the question was asked, the question was only raised again if the conversation topic allowed a natural repetition of it.

Informants all replied to the questions in their own words. The responses were later categorised and quantified by the author. The replies that fell along a scale were correlated statistically with individual percentage rates of dialectal variant usage (as described in sections above). Note that replies were only correlated for the informants who had replied to the respective question and who had more than 5 tokens to base the linguistic analysis upon. The answers to the question about how informants would describe Hønefoss; how far one has to travel before people start to sound different; how speakers would react if someone thought they were from Oslo and how often speakers visit Oslo were correlated with individuals' usage (%) of dialectal Hønefoss variants by computing a Pearson's correlation coefficient (Ns in the Pearson correlations reflect the number of informants) The questions that were not correlated with dialectal variant usage were not seen fit for the analysis, either because the replies did not fall along a scale, because of the homogeneity of the replies across the sample, or because of a low number of responses to the particular question.

#### *4.7.1.1 What Would You Call Your Dialect?*

The first set of reactions considered is those to the question 'What would you call your accent?' The responses can be grouped into 7 kinds of replies, as illustrated in tables 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 that break the answers down by age and gender. 44

informants replied to this question. The majority of the informants, regardless of age and gender, say they speak a local dialect. A large proportion of young speakers, and especially female speakers, refer to the accent they speak as ‘Bokmål’. In total more informants refer to their accent as ‘Bokmål’ than as ‘East Norwegian’.

	‘Hønefoss’ ‘Ringerike’	‘East Norwegian’	‘Normal’	‘A mix’	‘None’	‘Oslo’	‘Bokmål’
Old Adults	4	2	1	1	2	0	0
Middle Adults	6	3	0	0	0	1	0
Old Adolescent	6	0	0	1	0	0	5
Young Adolescent	8	0	0	0	1	0	3

**Table 4.7.1** Distribution of replies to question ‘what would you call your dialect’ by age in Hønefoss

	‘Hønefoss’ ‘Ringerike’	‘East Norwegian’	‘Normal’	‘A mix’	‘None’	‘Oslo’	‘Bokmål’
Men	7	3	1	2	1	1	2
Women	17	2	0	0	2	0	6

**Table 4.7.2** Distribution of replies to question ‘what would you call your dialect’ by gender in Hønefoss

A typical reply to the question about naming the accent is given in example 4.7.1 from the conversation between the 24 and 25 year-olds Merete and Natalie:

- 4.7.1 Interviewer: How would you refer to your accent if you had to call it something?  
 Merete: Hønefoss?  
 Natalie: Well you don’t need to go further than Jevnaker [village 15 km away] before it sounds completely different so, up in Ådalen [rural area 20 km away] there’s [mjøɾ] and [ˈput.tit] and [mjøɾk]  
 Merete: Yes it has to be Hønefoss  
 Natalie: Hønefoss

The girls in example 4.7.1 clearly define their accent by its difference to that in other geographical areas, and thus define it as local. This is a similar approach that is taken by male teen Xavier in the interview in conversation with other male teen informant Qaisar. The replies given by Xavier and Qaisar are translated in example 4.7.2.

- 4.7.2 Interviewer: What would you call your dialect?  
Qaisar: A mixture, no, it's probably more of a Ringerike dialect  
Xavier: No, I sincerely hope I do not have any idiosyncrasies from any area. It is as close to Bokmål as possible, I would almost say. Well, it is probably more towards Oslo because I don't have dialectal influence from home.

Xavier displays an important reflection: he states that his accent does not sound like it is from anywhere: it cannot be linked to a geographical area, so it is like Bokmål, which could sound like Oslo. The linguistic norm in Xavier's case, then, seems to be one that is not linked to a geographical area and one that sounds like the variety spoken in the capital. He also compares his variety to the written language, and his standard language ideology seems linked to the capital and to that of not belonging to a specific geographic area (although Oslo and East Norway clearly are geographical areas).

Finally, we consider a completely different way of describing the accent as Bokmål, as illustrated by Amalie and Birthe in example 4.7.3

- 4.7.3 Interviewer: What would you call you accent?  
Birthe: [...]  
Amalie: It is how I speak and completely how they speak here  
Birthe: I would call it Bokmål  
Amalie: Yes, Bokmål!

Amalie here uses the term ‘Bokmål’ to refer to the local way of speaking. This indicates a very different ideology than Xavier’s. In example 4.7.2 Bokmål represents an accent that does not belong to an area, in example 4.7.3, however, it is used to refer to the accent spoken where Amalie lives.

The results above show that ‘Bokmål’ means different things to different people. This is an important point; it shows that one should be careful assigning linguistic value to the variety ‘Spoken Bokmål’ (as done by e.g. Røyneland, 2005) before systematically gaining data of what linguistic features this variety could consist of. One cannot assume that speakers all have the same notions about which parts of language are standardised. The effect that standardisation has on language cannot subsequently be studied before information about these notions has been collected.

#### 4.7.1.2 Do you like Your Dialect?

A third of the informants gave no clear answer to the question whether they like their dialect. Tables 4.7.3 and 4.7.4 below only represent 27 replies.

	Very Negative	Negative	Relatively Negative	Neutral	Relatively Positive	Positive	Very Positive
Old Adults	0	0	0	2	0	3	2
Middle Adults	0	0	0	1	3	6	0
Old Adolescent	0	0	0	1	3	4	0
Young Adolescent	0	0	0	0	0	2	0

**Table 4.7.3** Distribution of replies to question ‘do you like your dialect’ by age in Hønefoss



	Very Negative	Negative	Relatively Negative	Neutral	Relatively Positive	Positive	'Very Positive
Men	0	0	0	2	1	6	1
Women	0	0	0	2	5	9	1

**Table 4.7.4** Distribution of replies to question 'do you like your dialect' by gender in Hønefoss

The lack of clear replies to this question could come from the fact that the question was raised in combination with the previous question (what the informants would call the local dialect). A large number of replies to this question has been branded 'No answer' (17), as some replies were either incomplete or simply not given. The difference between these replies and the 'neutral' ones was that the neutral informants clearly stated that they were, in fact, impartial to their own accent. Importantly, most informants, 64%, are positive to their own accent, and no one are openly negative to the way they speak. The answers from this question were not correlated with usage of dialectal variants as a large number of informants did not respond.

#### *4.7.1.3 Can You Recognise the Local (Hønefoss or Ringerike) Accent?*

	Absolutely Not	Reasonably Confidently Not	Probably Not	Don't know	Probably Yes	Reasonably Confidently Yes	Absolutely Yes
Old Adults	0	2	2	0	0	5	1
Middle Adults	0	2	3	0	1	4	0
Old Adolescent	2	4	3	2	1	0	0
Young Adolescent	3	2	2	0	3	0	0

**Table 4.7.5** Distribution of replies to question 'can you recognise the local dialect' by age in Hønefoss

	Absolutely Not	Reasonably Confidently Not	Probably Not	Don't know	Probably Yes	Reasonably Confidently Yes	Absolutely Yes
Men	2	3	4	2	1	5	3
Women	3	7	6	0	4	4	1

**Table 4.7.6 Distribution of replies to question ‘can you recognise the local dialect’ by gender in Hønefoss**

The question of whether the local dialect is a recognisable one, or not, is important. The answers indicate whether informants can establish a local versus a regional variety. It also indicates to which extent local features are noticeable in speech.

In light of the results in 4.7.1.1, where the majority of informants state they speak the local dialect, the picture presented in tables 4.7.5 and 4.7.6 is interesting. Only 15 of 44, 33%, of all informants say they can recognise the local dialect to some degree. Interestingly, as many as 27 of 44 informants, 61.4%, do not state they can recognise the local dialect. This means there is little awareness of which linguistic features constitute the Hønefoss dialect. Comparing this with the results in section 4.7.1.1 where 24 speakers state they speak the local dialect, it becomes clear that, to many informants, speaking a local dialect may be based on a social or geographical basis rather than on linguistic grounds, as informants do not seem to be aware of the Hønefoss or Ringerike linguistic features. The replies to this question were not correlated with usage of local linguistic variants.

#### *4.7.1.4 Which Speech Features are Local or Recognisable as Part of the Hønefoss Dialect?*

Tables 4.7.7 and 4.7.8 show the categories of replies that informants gave to the question about which linguistic features are part of the local dialect.

	Non-linguistic Description	Lexis	Suffixes	Phonology (Flaps)	Prosody (Stress)
Old Adults	1	7	2	0	0
Middle Adults	3	1	2	1	3
Old Adolescent	4	2	1	2	0
Young Adolescent	2	3	4	0	3

**Table 4.7.7** Distribution of replies to question ‘Which speech features are local?’ by age in Hønefoss

	Non-linguistic Description	Lexis	Suffixes	Phonology (Flaps)	Prosody (Stress)
Men	3	6	1	1	3
Women	6	7	6	1	5

**Table 4.7.8** Distribution of replies to question ‘Which speech features are local’ by gender in Hønefoss

The original question in the identity questionnaire was ‘Which feature do you recognise as part of the local dialect’. This had to be modified slightly by the researcher, as a number of informants maintained they could not recognise the local dialect. The majority of the informants then replied to the question, ‘which feature do you think is local?’ by mentioning certain lexical items they were unsure exist anywhere else. Many of these lexical items are in fact words that exist elsewhere, like *gossin* ‘cute’ and *dulle* ‘nurture’ or ‘pay excessive attention to’, the latter is also codified in Bokmål. A number of speakers mentioned stress or intonation patterns as being a typical Hønefoss feature. Examples of these are given in section 4.2.7 that discusses the social meaning of stress variation. A number of informants would also mention non-linguistic features when describing what could be local.

Example 4.7.4 illustrated this in a conversation with Peder, one of the older informants.

- 4.7.4 Interviewer: Can you think of any local speech features?  
Peder: Now, I don't have a particularly good ear for languages, so I don't recognise things  
Interviewer: No words or anything that is particularly local?  
Peder: Well no words in particular I think but I remember the house I lived in as a small boy, there lived an older married couple. The husband passed away early when I was a boy but she, Marje Foss, she was called. She had a particular way of speaking and some words may have been lost with her. ... They would talk, I think particularly the old people, and I think they believed it, it wasn't to scare the kids, but they would talk about the otherworldly.

As illustrated in example 4.7.4, Peder thinks of the content rather than the linguistic features themselves as being local. His answer thus classifies as a non-linguistic description of the local variety.

As illustrated by tables 4.7.7 and 4.7.8 both initial stress and suffixes are mentioned as local features, especially the non-usage of suffixes with /e/ (the definite article suffixes /en/, /et/ and /ene/ and past tense verb suffix /et/) are mentioned. Initial stress and suffix variants ending in /a/ are both, as discussed in chapters 4.1 and 4.5 respectively, features found in other areas than in the Hønefoss area. Suffix <a> is codified in Bokmål and Nynorsk and /a/ is used to a large extent in Oslo speech (cf. section 4.5). Below is an example 4.7.5 of a comment about suffix variation by 14 year old Edel.

- 4.7.5 Interviewer: Would you recognise the local dialect  
Edel: I would recognise it if it had been Oslo, because they are very like, the way they speak there, because what they are speaking is very posh language and I can speak that way sometimes ... they're used to me speaking with a-endings ... but when I use e-endings they'll say 'oh how posh you sound'

There seems to be difference in prestige between the suffix /a/ and the suffixes with /e/ (/ene/, /en/ and /et/) among the Hønefoss informants, and interestingly the first suffix is mentioned as a local variant. Both suffixes are codified in writing as variants in Bokmål. Interview data indicate that the variant that stands out to Hønefoss speakers as typical of Oslo are suffix variants with /e/. These stand out by being *fîn* 'posh' or 'refined' as well. The answers about which variants sound local were not correlated with individuals' usage rates of local linguistic features.

#### *4.7.1.5 How Far Do You Have To Travel Before People Start Sounding Different?*

Tables 4.7.9 and 4.7.10 illustrate that almost two thirds of the Hønefoss informants state one has to travel less than 15 km (10 miles) outside the city before people start sounding different. The Hønefoss dialectal area, as perceived by these informants, therefore only covers a small area. The furthest an informant mentions that one has to travel is the border to Oslo, but most informants mention the neighbouring counties Jevnaker or Hole as distinctly differently, linguistically speaking. Replies to this question are relevant to the discussion of regional dialect levelling because they inform us whether informants are aware of a regional linguistic variety, or whether they perceive dialectal differences within the larger geographic area.

	There are differences within the city	Not more than 5 km away	Not more than 15 km away	Not more than 30 km away	Not more than 50 km away
Old Adults	4	1	2	3	0
Middle Adults	0	0	9	1	0
Old Adolescent	0	0	8	4	0
Young Adolescent	3	1	4	2	2

**Table 4.7.9** Distribution of replies to question ‘How far do you have to travel from Hønefoss before people start sounding different?’ by age in Hønefoss

	There are differences within the city	Not more than 5 km away	Not more than 15 km away	Not more than 30 km away	Not more than 50 km away
Men	3	2	8	4	0
Women	4	0	15	6	2

**Table 4.7.10** Distribution of replies to question ‘How far do you have to travel from Hønefoss before people start sounding different?’ by age in Hønefoss

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between the percentage rate of Hønefoss dialectal variant used and opinion of where people start to sound different. This was done to assess whether there is a relationship between using dialectal features and assessing the dialectal area as a small one. Five correlation coefficients were computed, one for every linguistic variable. There was no significant correlation for usage of initial stress and opinion of where dialects start to differ  $r = -0.110$ ,  $N = 37$ ,  $p = .515$ . Neither was there a significant correlation between usage of variant [dum] and opinion of where dialects start to differ:  $r = 0.012$ ,  $N = 44$ ,  $p = .941$ . There was no significant correlation between usage of [ɾ] and the opinion of where dialects start to differ:  $r = 0.035$ ,  $N = 43$ ,  $p = .826$ . There was no significant correlation between usage of

suffix /a/, when only variant <ene> is codified in Bokmål, and opinion of where dialects start to differ:  $r = 0.110$ ,  $N = 38$ ,  $p = .513$ . Finally, there was no significant correlation between the usage of suffix /a/, when it is a codified variant in Bokmål, and opinion of where dialects start to differ:  $r = -0.149$ ,  $N = 37$ ,  $p = .380$ .

#### 4.7.1.6 How Would You Describe Hønefoss To An Outsider?

Tables 4.7.11 and 4.7.12 show the distribution of the answers to how informants would describe Hønefoss to an outsider. Table 4.7.11 shows a rather large difference between older and younger informants in their overt attitudes towards the local area, the oldest informants would describe the town very positively, whereas the other age groups have more variation in the replies.

	Very Negative	Negative	Relatively Negative	Neutral	Relatively Positive	Positive	Very Positive
Old Adults	0	0	0	0	0	7	3
Middle Adults	0	0	3	1	2	3	1
Old Adolescent	0	3	1	0	4	4	0
Young Adolescent	0	2	4	3	1	2	0

**Table 4.7.11 Distribution of replies to question ‘How would you describe Hønefoss?’ by age in Hønefoss**

	Very Negative	Negative	Relatively Negative	Neutral	Relatively Positive	Positive	Very Positive
Men	0	1	4	0	5	6	1
Women	0	4	4	4	2	10	3

**Table 4.7.12 Distribution of replies to question ‘How would you describe Hønefoss?’ by gender in Hønefoss**

The majority, 62%, of the informants would describe Hønefoss in positive terms. 29% of the informants would describe Hønefoss negatively and 9% would give a

neutral description. There does not seem to be a large gender difference in the way informants would describe the local area.

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between the percentage rate of Hønefoss dialectal variant used and degree of positivity in the description of the local town. This was done to explore whether there is a relationship between a positive attitude towards the town and a high usage rate of dialectal features. Five correlation coefficients were computed, one for every linguistic variable. There was no significant correlation for usage of initial stress and description given of Hønefoss,  $r = -0.218$ ,  $N = 37$ ,  $p = .194$ . There was, however, a significant correlation between usage of variant [dum] and description given of Hønefoss:  $r = 0.338$ ,  $N = 44$ ,  $p = .025$ . There was no significant correlation between usage of [ɹ] and description given of Hønefoss on a .05 probability level:  $r = 0.294$ ,  $N = 43$ ,  $p = .056$ , but this correlation was close to being significant. There was no significant correlation between usage of suffix [a], when only variant <ene> is codified in Bokmål, and description given of Hønefoss:  $r = 0.031$ ,  $N = 38$ ,  $p = .855$ . Neither was there were a significant correlation between the usage of suffix /a/, when it is a codified variant in Bokmål, and description given of Hønefoss:  $r = -0.311$ ,  $N = 37$ ,  $p = .061$ , but this correlation was also close to being significant on a .05 probability level.

The significant correlations between description, or overt attitudes, towards Hønefoss and usage of dialectal variant [dum] is likely due to the high rate of local variants used by the oldest age group and their positive attitudes towards the town. In the younger age groups, the attitudes differ whereas the linguistic behaviour of these informants is fairly homogeneous with a low usage rate of local variants. The overtly positive attitude towards the locality and usage of local features go hand in



hand to some degree therefore, but no causal effect can be attested for the relationship in this data set. It is not necessarily the case that the attitudes and language usage correlate well within age groups, but this should be tested on a larger sample of informants, as only 10-12 replies within age groups are available in the Hønefoss sample.

#### 4.7.1.7 *Would You Rather Have Come from Somewhere Else?*

Tables 4.7.13 and 4.7.14 show the distribution of replies to being questioned whether informants would rather have wanted to come from somewhere else.

	Yes	Possibly	Unsure but probably not	No
Old Adults	0	0	0	10
Middle Adults	0	1	3	7
Old Adolescent	1	2	2	7
Young Adolescent	3	3	0	6

**Table 4.7.13** Distribution of replies to question ‘Would you rather have come from somewhere else?’ by age in Hønefoss

	Yes	Possibly	Unsure but probably not	No
Men	1	1	1	14
Women	3	6	2	16

**Table 4.7.14** Distribution of replies to question ‘Would you rather have come from somewhere else?’ by gender in Hønefoss

Along with the replies in the previous section 4.7.1.6, answers to this question establish attitudes towards Hønefoss as a place. The majority of informants would describe the city in positive terms, and indeed the majority would not want to have

come from anywhere else in the world. 75% of all informants answer that they would (probably) not like to have come from anywhere else, while 25% would (potentially) have wanted to be from somewhere else. In these results the oldest informants are the most positive towards Hønefoss and they would also have given the most positive description of the town to strangers. The youngest informants are the most negative towards the locality. It is difficult to say based on the current data set whether a change in attitudes has taken place in the youngest generations or whether there is age grading in attitudes taking place. Data from more informants in addition to real time data would shed more light on this issue. The replies to the question whether informants would rather have come from somewhere else were not correlated with usage of linguistic features as the large majority answered they would not want to come from another place.

#### *4.7.1.8 How Would You React If People Thought You Were From Oslo?*

This question is the first that establishes the informants' views towards the capital as a region, and arguably its speech variety. The answers given to this question were variable and ranged from some extremely positive reactions to some extremely negative, as illustrated in tables 4.7.15 and 4.7.16.

	Very Negative	Negative	Relatively Negative	Neutral	Relatively Positive	Positive	'Very Positive
Old Adults	0	1	3	2	0	0	0
Middle Adults	1	4	0	3	0	1	0
Old Adolescent	1	0	5	1	2	3	0
Young Adolescent	0	3	3	5	0	0	1

**Table 4.7.15 Distribution of replies to question 'How would you react if people thought you were from Oslo?' by age in Hønefoss**

	Very Negative	Negative	Relatively Negative	Neutral	Relatively Positive	Positive	'Very Positive
Men	0	1	5	4	2	1	0
Women	2	7	6	7	0	3	1

**Table 4.7.16 Distribution of replies to question 'How would you react if people thought you were from Oslo?' by gender in Hønefoss**

The majority of informants would not react positively to being taken as someone from the capital city. 48% of all informants would react in a negative way if they were mistaken for someone from Oslo. 25% would react neutrally or indifferently to being taken for an Oslo citizen and 16% would react positively. 11% did not answer this question in a clear, quantifiable way.

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between the percentage rate of Hønefoss dialectal variant used and reaction to being taken for someone from Oslo. This was done to see whether a negative view of affiliation to Oslo would have a relationship to using dialectal linguistic features. Five correlation coefficients were computed, one for every linguistic variable. There was no significant correlation for usage of initial stress and reaction to being taken for someone from Oslo,  $r = -0.135$ ,  $N = 32$ ,  $p = .461$ . Neither was there a significant correlation between usage of variant [dum] and reaction to being taken for someone from Oslo:  $r = -0.134$ ,  $N = 39$ ,  $p = .415$ . There was no significant correlation between usage of [ɾ] and reaction to being taken for someone from Oslo:  $r = -0.137$ ,  $N = 38$ ,  $p = .412$ . There was no significant correlation between usage of suffix [a], when only variant <ene> is codified in Bokmål, and reaction to being taken for someone from Oslo:  $r = 0.000$ ,  $N = 33$ ,  $p = .988$ . Neither was there were a significant correlation between the usage of suffix [a], when it is a

codified variant in Bokmål, and reaction to being taken for someone from Oslo:  $r = -0.187$ ,  $N = 32$ ,  $p = .306$ .

#### 4.7.1.9 How Often Do You Visit Oslo?

This question is crucial in establishing the potential effect of spatial practice on language use in Hønefoss. Tables 4.7.17 and 4.7.18 show that the degree of contact is very variable between informants.

	Never	1 or 2 times a year	Not more than 6 times a year	Not more than once a month	Not more than twice a month	More than twice a month
Old Adults	2	3	4	1	0	0
Middle Adults	0	1	4	2	3	0
Old Adolescent	1	4	2	3	1	1
Young Adolescent	0	1	5	2	2	2

**Table 4.7.17** Distribution of replies to question ‘How often do you visit Oslo?’ by age in Hønefoss

	Never	1 or 2 times a year	Not more than 6 times a year	Not more than once a month	Not more than twice a month	More than twice a month
Men	2	3	5	3	3	1
Women	1	6	10	5	3	2

**Table 4.7.18** Distribution of replies to question ‘How often do you visit Oslo?’ by gender in Hønefoss

In the Hønefoss data set, 7% of informants state that they never go to Oslo, whereas the majority, 54% visit Oslo 1-6 times a year. 32% of the informants visit Oslo once or twice a month and 7% visit the capital more than every other week. Only very few informants visit the capital often, the majority seem to have only limited contact with Oslo in this sense.

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between the percentage rate of Hønefoss dialectal variant used and reaction

frequencies of visits to Oslo. Five correlation coefficients were computed, one for every linguistic variable. The correlation was computed to see whether a low frequency pattern of contact with Oslo means high usage rates of Hønefoss dialectal variants. There was no significant correlation for usage of initial stress and frequency of visits to Oslo,  $r = -0.286$ ,  $N = 37$ ,  $p = .086$ . Neither was there a significant correlation between usage of variant [dum] frequency of visits to Oslo:  $r = -0.231$ ,  $N = 44$ ,  $p = .132$ . There was no significant correlation between usage of [r] and frequency of visits to Oslo:  $r = -0.150$ ,  $N = 43$ ,  $p = .338$ . There was no significant correlation between usage of suffix [a], when only variant <ene> is codified in Bokmål, and frequency of visits to Oslo:  $r = -0.019$ ,  $N = 38$ ,  $p = .908$ . Neither was there were a significant correlation between the usage of suffix [a], when it is a codified variant in Bokmål, and frequency of visits to Oslo:  $r = -0.072$ ,  $N = 37$ ,  $p = .672$ .

#### **4.7.2 Other Attitudes Concerning Dialect Usage or Identity**

Some overt attitudes of interest were elicited that did were not part of responses to the identity questionnaire. Attitudes that concern Bokmål, Oslo and the local dialect are discussed especially. Some of these overt attitudes expressed also serve as foundation for the matched guise test (presented in sections 3.4.2.2 and section 4.8)

##### *4.7.2.1 Attitudes Expressed Concerning Dialects and Standard Language Ideology*

A number of comments were elicited during the interviews in Hønefoss that could cast further light on the standard language ideology held by informants and the role of dialects in Hønefoss. A frequently encountered sentiment when asking if there was such a thing as a local dialect was uncertainty whether one such thing existed or not. 18 year old Oda illustrate such a reaction in example 4.7.6

4.7.6 I don't know if I'd call it a specific dialect, I think, when I think about dialects I think about how they speak, I think more about specific dialects like Kristiansand and Stavanger and such, that's when I think dialect more.

In Oda's eyes the local dialect is not a real dialect, but the reason for this sentiment is not directly clear. 64-year old school teacher Astrid tells a story that could explain the view Oda holds in a more detailed way. In example 4.7.7 Astrid talks about her experiences as a teacher in the capital where she would try to use her local Ringerike variety.

4.7.7 I think East Oslo vernacular is influenced by the dialects in the surrounding areas to Oslo ... and subsequently it [the Hønefoss variety] became of lower social order, like, it did not become posh ... so when my generation came to Oslo we were told that it wasn't a dialect at all, because it just sounded like bad Vikamål [dialectologist description of varieties spoken in Oslo and areas to the west of the capital], or like they spoke in East Oslo, so it wasn't accepted.

The dialect of Hønefoss seems to not be viewed as a dialect simply because it is very similar to the Oslo variety spoken in the economically poorest areas of the capital. This view also implies that the Oslo variety, even the low class variety, is being regarded as something different from a dialect. This could be an indication there is another Oslo variety that is ideologically viewed as a standard variety, as it is defined as the opposite of a dialect, and that both Hønefoss and East Oslo varieties were inadequate versions of this linguistic norm. Before turning to accounts of the Oslo variety, a quote that concerns linguistic norms is considered in

example 4.7.8. The quote is from the interview with older informants Ditlef and Esther.

- 4.7.8 Ditlef: How is that with NAME, he, it's my grandchild, he's growing up outside Kongsberg [city to the west in the same province as Hønefoss], how is it with his dialect do you think?
- Esther: He speaks perfectly, yes I'm saying perfectly as I don't really know what I'm supposed to say
- Ditlef: He's in the second grade and speaks, perhaps, more properly than we do
- Esther: Yes, very like, well we have a dialect, us.
- Ditlef: It should be quite similar [to our dialect], but NAME [mother] is a teacher so it could be that they have been better at trying to get him to speak correctly

The statements in example 4.7.8 are easily interpreted as describing the existence of a correctness norm to the Hønefoss informants. Esther and Ditlef discuss a perfect way of speaking and it is different from speaking their dialect. The quotes above indicate that the Hønefoss variety is close to, but dissimilar to, a prestigious linguistic norm. Below in the next section, quotes are discussed that may help identify what this norm consists of.

#### *4.7.2.2 Attitudes Expressed Concerning Speech in Oslo*

The statements above indicate that a linguistic norm, or several linguistic norms, exists in Hønefoss. This is not easily identified, but the standardised variety Bokmål and the capital's variety could both potentially fill this role, as discussed in chapter 2. The Oslo variety is time and time again described as *fin* 'posh' or 'refined' by

the Hønefoss informants, as illustrated in example 4.7.9 with informants Christian and Ditlef.

4.7.9 Interviewer: What would you call the local dialect?

Ditlef: We speak differently than in Oslo at least

Christian: Oh yes, especially the poshest/most refined Oslo variety

On the basis of earlier literature (cf. Røyneland, 2005), and some comments presented thus far in the chapter, Oslo speech could be part of the standard language ideology as held by Hønefoss informants. The linguistic identity of the Oslo variety, however, is not often defined by the informants. The interview with 14-year olds Dina and Edel, however, gives some pointers, as illustrated in example 4.7.10

4.7.10 Interviewer: Do you speak like they do in Oslo?

Edel: No! Completely differently if you listen carefully, they speak more, they speak that way poshly/refined

Dina: They have lots more [e] suffixes

Edel: Yes, and then they have this posh/beautiful L

Impressionistically, the Oslo variety is identified by informants as being one without the suffix /a/ and with a posh variant of /l/. The posh /l/ is not likely to be the retroflex flap, but rather the alveolar lateral (based on the literature on the social standing of the flap presented in section 4.4). This means that, for Hønefoss speakers, a linguistic norm based on the capital's speech is a variety that uses suffixes codified in 'Conservative Bokmål' (cf. section 1.2) and no retroflex flap.



The impressionistic analysis of read speech in section 4.6 and Hilton (2004) showed that the retroflex flap for <l> is the main variant in Hønefoss when reading out loud. Suffix /a/ is codified in ‘Radical Bokmål’ as <a> and is used extensively across East Norway (including Oslo). Bokmål seems to influence suffix variation and data presented on stylistic variation show read speech affects dialect variant usage. Read speech could therefore be another linguistic norm to speakers in Hønefoss. This read speech can theoretically contain both suffix /a/ and retroflex flap for <l>, however.

Two possible and non-exclusive linguistic norms can be established in the investigation. Both are partly codified through the writing system Bokmål, but it is their functional properties that make them part of a standard ideology, not their linguistic properties. These are ‘standardised’ in the sense that they are not entirely localised and prestigious on different social dimensions. Section 4.8 will further establish the social meaning of these two varieties and explore if they are part of the standard language ideology, by which is meant whether either of the varieties constitute a correctness norm, are tied to Bokmål or the capital city, are viewed as educated speech or, lastly, whether they are connected to economic prosperity.

#### **4.7.3 Summary: Overt Attitudinal Data from the Interviews**

Overt attitudes about language; the locality and Oslo were collected from the Hønefoss informants. There is considerable variability in attitudes found, and there are no large differences found between young and old informants apart from when it comes to describing the local town, where the older informants are far more positive, and in replies to the question whether informants would rather have come

from someplace else, where younger informants are the only ones who state they would certainly want to have come from some other place.

There is only a significant correlation between positive attitude to the local area and usage of local dialectal feature /dum/. This is most likely due to older speakers' positive attitudes towards the local area and their high usage rates of local linguistic variants. It is unknown whether this correlation would be found within age groups. There is no significant correlation between other quantifiable attitudinal data and language usage. The majority of informants in Hønefoss are positive towards the local area, however, and would not like to have come from anywhere else.

Interestingly, the majority of informants state in interviews that they speak the local dialect. When it comes to linguistically describing this variety, however, most informants state they cannot do it. This is an interesting finding that could indicate that speaking a local, or regional, dialect does not necessarily mean using certain linguistic features. Rather, one could speak the local dialect simply by being native to a local area.

A number of informants state that they speak Bokmål. Spoken Bokmål is viewed both as a local variety and a non-local variety by young informants. There is thus variability in what speakers believe to be spoken Bokmål, variability in the language ideology. There are indications that speakers have a correctness norm in speech, but what linguistic features this norm consists of is unclear from the attitudinal data.

Attitudes towards Oslo elicited by informants show that the capital variety is viewed as a different way of speaking from that found in Hønefoss. The majority of

informants would react neutrally or negatively if they were taken for someone from the capital city. The suffix variants that informants report as typical of Oslo speech, however, can also be found in Bokmål. The following section, 4.8, will explore more in depth the social meaning of Oslo speech and Bokmål to listeners in Hønefoss and assess which linguistic factors belong to a linguistic norm in Hønefoss. In the overt attitudinal data presented in this section there are no indications that Oslo speech constitutes a linguistic norm.

The overt attitudes discussed in this section are crucial when addressing research questions about linguistic norms and the social meaning of language. The results indicate the relevance of Oslo and Bokmål for regional dialect levelling in Hønefoss. Informants' overt attitudes towards the locality and the capital city as well as their contact pattern with Oslo are also data that is needed to address the research questions stated in section 2.4. The findings made in this chapter will be discussed in light of the linguistic findings in chapter 5 of this thesis.

## 4.8 The Matched Guise Test and Covert Attitudinal Data

This section presents the results from the matched guise experiment conducted with a group mainly consisting of adolescent informants in Hønefoss. The construction of the experiment, and informants who took part in it, are presented in section 3.4.2.2 of this thesis. In section 4.8.1 of this chapter, a small background section is presented to explain the questions the experiment was set up to answer. Section 4.8.2 presents the results from the experiment as well as the statistical analysis of these. Finally, section 4.8.3 is a summary of the findings in section 4.7 and 4.8 that concern attitudes, linguistic identity and standard language ideology.

### 4.8.1 Background for Conducting a Matched Guise Experiment

The matched guise test was designed mainly to clarify what parts of language constitute the linguistic norm in Hønefoss, and to elicit covert attitudes about language in the town. The test was designed to determine the social meaning of ‘radical’ versus the ‘conservative’ forms in Bokmål (cf. section 1.2.2) along with an exploration of the social meaning of initial stress as well as that of the retroflex flap and [dum]. The experiment design and the informants who contributed are described in detail in section 3.4.2.2. Shortly summarised the experiment consisted of eight guises played to 44 informants. The guises were all recorded by female speakers, but four of the eight guises were recorded by the same speaker: the researcher. In this section only the data from the researcher’s guises will be presented and compared. An allophonic transcription of the guises can be found in appendix E. A short overview of the linguistic properties of the four guises is given in table 4.8.1.

	Loanword Stress	3 pl Pronoun	<rd>	(l)	Suffixes
<b>Guise with all Hønefoss dialect markers (4)</b>	Initial syllable	[dum]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[a]
<b>Guise with some Hønefoss dialect markers (3)</b>	Ultimate syllable	[dum]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[a]
<b>Guise without local variants with Radical Bokmål features (2)</b>	Ultimate syllable	[di]/[dem]	[r]	[ɾ]	[a]
<b>Guise without local variants with Conservative Bokmål features (1)</b>	Ultimate syllable	[di]/[dem]	[r]	[l]	[en], [et] and [ene]

Table 4.8.1 the four guises recorded by the researcher and usage of linguistic variants in the five variable contexts of interest.

By using the matched guise test it can be established whether any difference in social meaning is held by speakers for the two different versions of read Bokmål. Previously presented attitudinal data (section 4.2 and 4.7) show that Bokmål works as an overt linguistic norm to some speakers in Hønefoss. It is unclear, however, exactly which linguistic features constitute part of the norm, and which do not. In this experiment speech with morphological variants allowed in Bokmål and phonetic, prosodic or lexical variants that are non-local but also used in Hønefoss (as presented in section 4.7.1.4), was used to represent read Bokmål. As Bokmål has variable suffix forms, one of the four guises had suffix variants belonging to the conservative Bokmål set (guise 1). Another guise had suffixes belonging to the radical Bokmål set (cf. section 1.2.2). In addition, the radical Bokmål guise (guise 2) used retroflex flap for phoneme /l/, as this is reported to be part of read Bokmål in certain descriptions (cf. section 4.4). The conservative Bokmål variety (guise 1) was read with an alveolar lateral for /l/. In a third guise created by the researcher the retroflex flap (for both <rd> and <l>) and pronoun variant [dum] were used

in addition to the radical Bokmål forms to see if the addition of these local variants would affect the attitudinal ratings of the guises (guise 3).

In sections 4.1 and 4.2 of this thesis the social variation of word stress variation was explored along with a presentation of the overt attitudes found towards this stress variation. To further explore the social meaning of the linguistic feature in a situation of regional dialect levelling, the matched guise test was designed to elicit covert attitudes towards initial stress. It was of interest to the researchers to discover whether the social variation found in chapter 4.1 would be reflected in the social meaning of this linguistic feature and whether initial stress indexes the social meaning 'low education' to listeners in Hønefoss (as this social factor significantly correlates with initial stress usage in the multivariate analysis presented in section 4.1). A fourth guise (guise 4) was therefore added to the matched guise test to investigate in particular the social meaning of initial stress to listeners in Hønefoss. This fourth guise spoken by the researcher had all previous features, i.e. retroflex flap of <l> and <rd>, suffix /a/, [dum] as a personal pronoun, along with initial stress in non-Germanic loanwords.

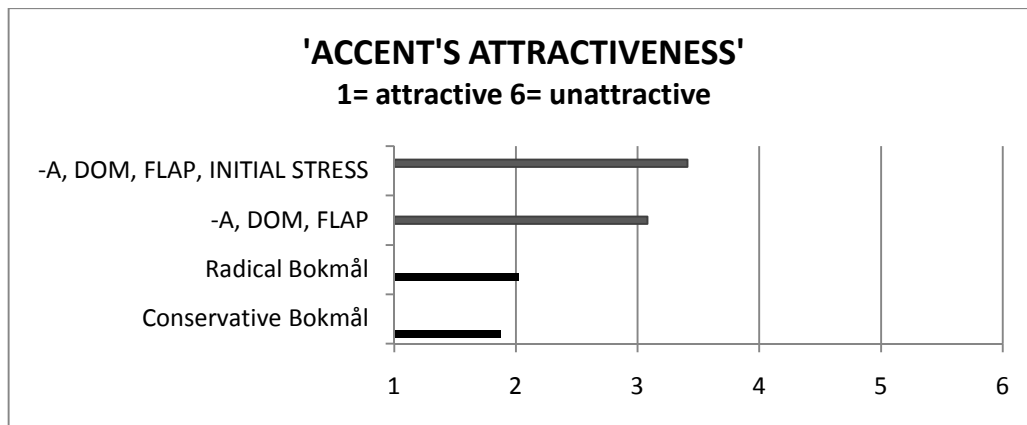
#### **4.8.2 Results from the Matched Guise Experiment**

Listeners were asked to rate the guises they heard for eight characteristics on a scale from one to six (see appendix F for the form listeners were asked to fill out). This scale was chosen as it forces informants to state an opinion rather than choose a middle, neutral, alternative. The informants were all informed, however, that they could refrain from answering to a question if they did not have an opinion. The characteristics that listeners were asked to rate the recordings for were: attractiveness, correctness and approachability of the accent, and the intelligence,

niceness, wealth, honesty and educational level of the speakers they heard. The mean scores were calculated for each ‘accent characteristic’ and ‘speaker characteristic’ as was the standard deviation from each mean found within the evaluation sample. The higher the standard deviation from the mean within the sample, the more variable the replies are across speakers. A high standard deviation indicates that certain (could be one informant only) informants evaluate the guise very differently to the mean. The guises with a deviation of less than 1.3 (a fairly low standard deviation on a six point scale) are presented with black-coloured lines below, whereas the dark grey lines are ratings with deviations between 1.31 and 1.5. The lines in light grey are ratings where the deviations were above 1.5 (a fairly high standard deviation on a six point scale). The evaluations of the accents will be presented first in sections 4.8.2.1-4.8.2.3 before turning to attitudes elicited about the speaker of the guises in sections 4.8.2.4-4.8.2.13.

#### *4.8.2.1 The Evaluations of the Accents’ Attractiveness*

The two guises rated the most consistently across the listener group were the two Bokmål-like varieties. Those guises were also rated as most attractive. The guises the informants disagreed on the most, i.e. guises with the highest deviation, were the ones where Hønefoss dialectal variants were produced. Crucially, the accents without Hønefoss features were rated as the most attractive, and the accent with the most dialectal linguistic features was rated as the least attractive. On average, however, all accents’ ratings are on the ‘attractive’ side (score less than 3.5).



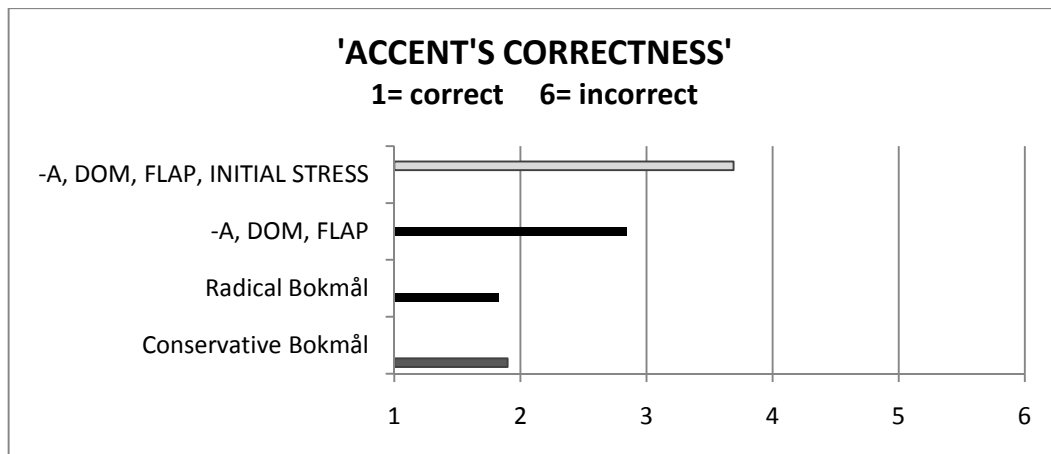
**Figure 4.8.1 Average ratings for the four guises' attractiveness. Ratings with lowest standard deviation in darkest colour with highest disagreement in sample in lightest grey.**

A one-way ANOVA with guise as fixed factor showed a significant difference in attractiveness ratings between the four guises  $F(3, 156) = 14.194, p = .001$ . A post-hoc Tukey test showed that the difference between the two 'Bokmål' guises was not significant, neither was the difference between the two guises with the most dialectal markers. The difference between these two pairs of guises, however, was significant ( $p = .005$ ).

#### 4.8.2.2 The Evaluations of Accents' Correctness

The four accents also received ratings on a correctness scale. The least correct sounding guise was the one with the most dialectal markers. As illustrated in figure 4.8.2, this is also the rating with the highest standard deviation. The ratings of the four guises for correctness are significantly different from each other.



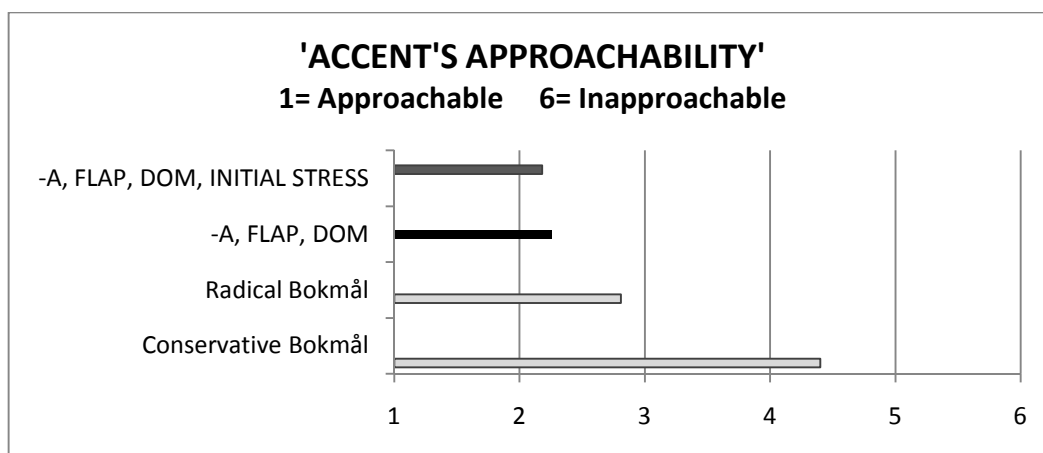


**Figure 4.8.2** Average ratings for the four guises on correctness. Ratings with lowest standard deviation in darkest colour with highest disagreement in sample in lightest grey.

A one-way ANOVA showed that fixed factor ‘guise’ was significant on the ratings of ‘correctness’,  $F(3, 149) = 17.376, p = .000$ . A post-hoc Tukey test showed that the conservative Bokmål guise and the radical Bokmål guise were not significantly different from each other in their ratings.

The two Bokmål guises together were significantly different from the guise with [dum] and the retroflex flap of <rd> ( $p = .005$  and  $p = .011$ ) as well as different from the guise with [dum], the retroflex flap and initial stress ( $p = .000$  for both). These latter two guises were not grouped together by the test and were significantly different from each other ( $p = .029$ ). The ANOVA results and figure 4.8.2 indicate that initial stress is a linguistic feature viewed as substantially less ‘correct’ than other linguistic features. Radical Bokmål variants are not viewed as less ‘correct’ than Conservative Bokmål variants, but instead slightly *more* correct on average. The difference between the two ‘standardised’ guises is not significant, however. Usage of [dum] and the retroflex flap makes a guise sound significantly less correct, as does usage of initial stress in non-Germanic loanwords.

#### 4.8.2.3 The Ratings of Accents' Approachability



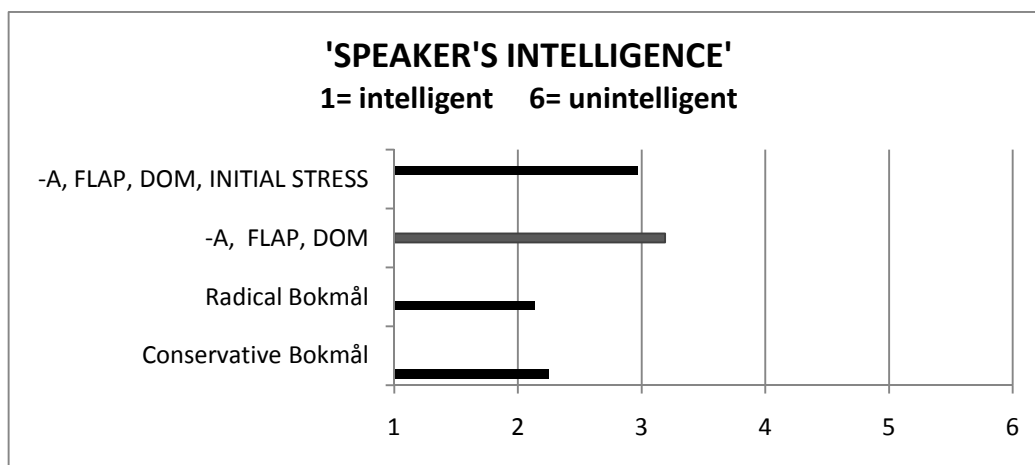
**Figure 4.8.3 Average ratings for the four guises on approachability. Ratings with lowest standard deviation in darkest colour with highest disagreement in sample in lightest grey.**

Figure 4.8.3 show that the guise with the most dialectal markers is rated as the most approachable of the four, whereas Conservative Bokmål is the one rated as the least approachable. A one-way ANOVA showed that the difference between the guises was significant,  $p = .001$  ( $F(3, 148) = 17.024$ ). The post hoc Tukey test showed, however, that Radical Bokmål and the two guises with Hønefoss dialectal features could be grouped together and were not significantly different from each other. They were significantly different from Conservative Bokmål, however ( $p = .001$ ). Usage of alveolar tap for <l> and suffix /ene/ sounds unapproachable to listeners in Hønefoss. The usage of the definite article suffix /a/ and the retroflex flap for /l/ makes a guise sound significantly more approachable than when suffixes with /e/ (/ene/, /et/ or /en/) and an alveolar lateral are used.

#### 4.8.2.4 The Rating of Speakers' Intelligence

As illustrated in figure 4.8.4 there is a difference in the ratings of the two guises with the most dialectal markers and the two Bokmål-like guises. The guises spoken

with fewer dialectal markers are rated as more intelligent-sounding than those with more dialectal markers.

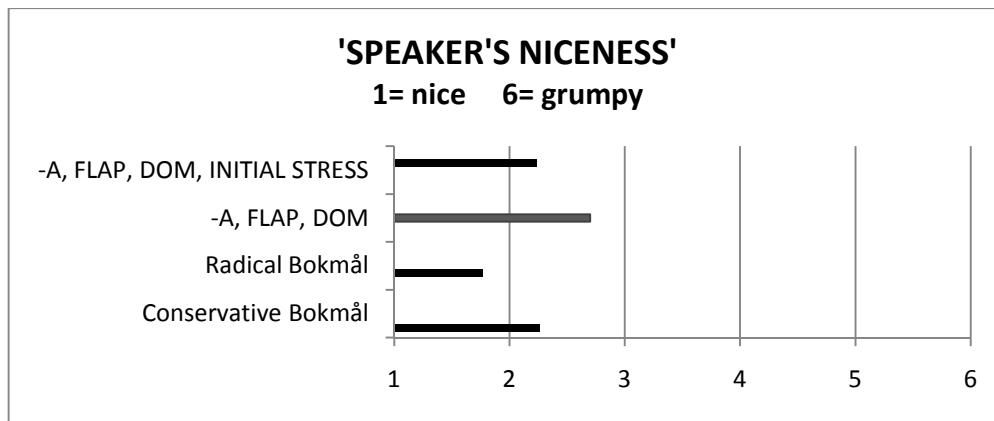


**Figure 4.8.4 Average ratings for the four guises on intelligence. Ratings with lowest standard deviation in darkest colour with highest disagreement in sample in lightest grey.**

The difference between the groups is statistically significant again ( $F(3,144) = 8.183, p = .001$ ). The post hoc Tukey test categorises the guises into two groups. The guises with the most dialectal markers are grouped together in the Tukey test, as are the two guises with Bokmål-like varieties. Importantly, although the speakers with fewer dialectal markers sound more intelligent than those with more markers, all guises' averages are on the 'intelligent' side of the spectrum (under 3.5).

#### 4.8.2.5 The Rating of Speakers' Niceness

All guises' averages in figure 4.8.2.5 are on the 'nice' end of the spectrum. There are no large differences in how the guises are rated. The Radical Bokmål guise sounds the nicest to the listeners on average.

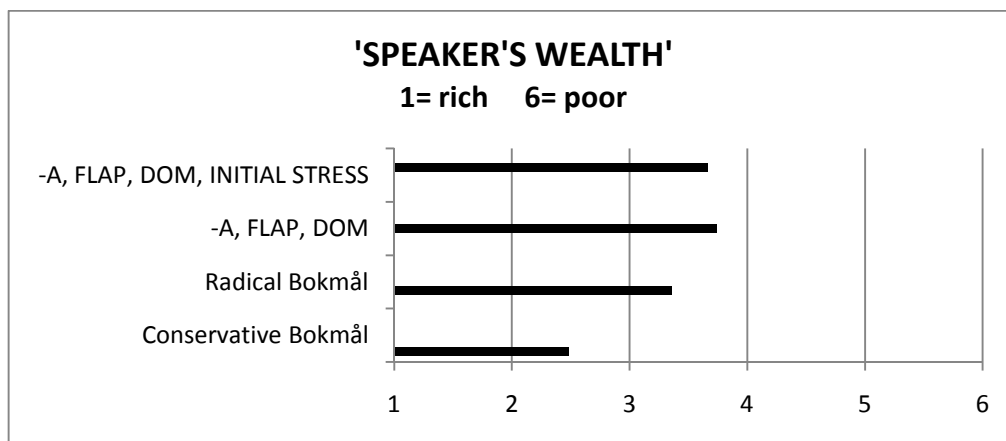


**Figure 4.8.5** Average ratings for the four guises on niceness. Ratings with lowest standard deviation in darkest colour with highest disagreement in sample in lightest grey.

The guise with usage of the retroflex flap and [dum] sounds the least nice, as illustrated in figure 4.8.5. There are no significant differences between the ratings of the four guises on a niceness dimension. This means that local features are viewed as sounding equally nice as linguistic features that are codified in Bokmål.

#### 4.8.2.6 The Rating of Speakers' Wealth

Figure 4.8.6 displays more stratified ratings for the speaker's wealth than for the previous characteristic 'niceness'.



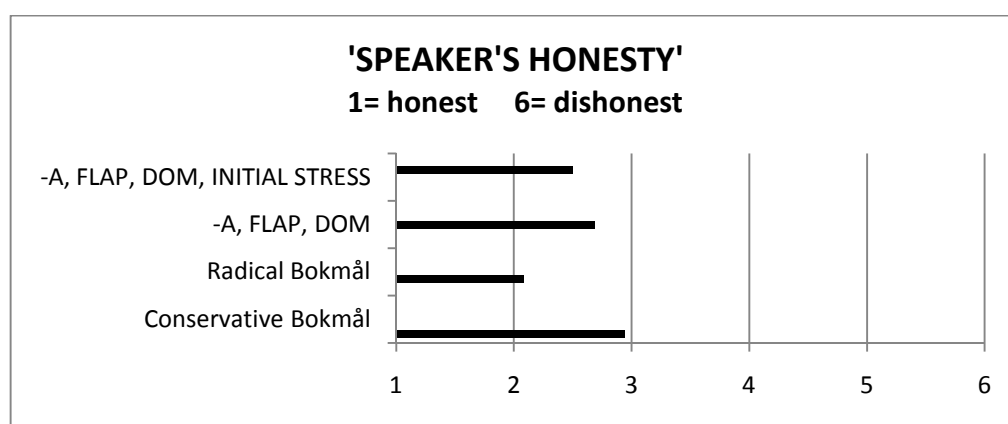
**Figure 4.8.6** Average ratings for the four guises on wealth. Ratings with lowest standard deviation in darkest colour with highest disagreement in sample in lightest grey.

The two guises with dialectal markers and Radical Bokmål are rated as poorer sounding than the Conservative Bokmål guise. Especially the two guises with the

most dialectal markers are on the poor, rather than rich, side of the average scores (average rating above 3.5).

The differences between the ratings of the four guises is significant in a one-way ANOVA test, ( $F(3,130) = 7,691, p = .001$ ). A post hoc Tukey test groups the two guises with dialectal markers together with Radical Bokmål. The group is significantly different to the rating of Conservative Bokmål. The usage of suffixes with /e/ and the alveolar lateral variant of /l/ makes a person sound wealthier than someone who uses suffix /a/ and a retroflex flap for /l/.

#### 4.8.2.7 The Rating of Speakers' Honesty

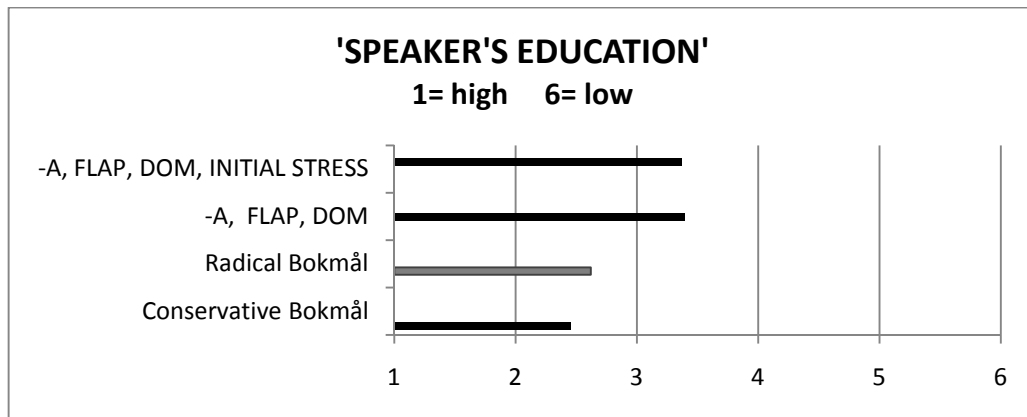


**Figure 4.8.7 Average ratings for the four guises on honesty. Ratings with lowest standard deviation in darkest colour with highest disagreement in sample in lightest grey.**

Figure 4.8.7 shows that there are small differences in the average ratings of the speakers' honesty by the listeners. Radical Bokmål variants sound the most honest. Conservative Bokmål variants are rated as the least honest-sounding. All the guises' average scores are closer to the honest side of the scale than to the dishonest side, however. The difference between the guises' ratings is not statistically significant.

#### 4.8.2.8 The Rating of Speakers' Education

The ratings for the speaker's perceived educational level are illustrated in figure 4.8.8. Conservative Bokmål is perceived as being spoken by the highest educated speaker.



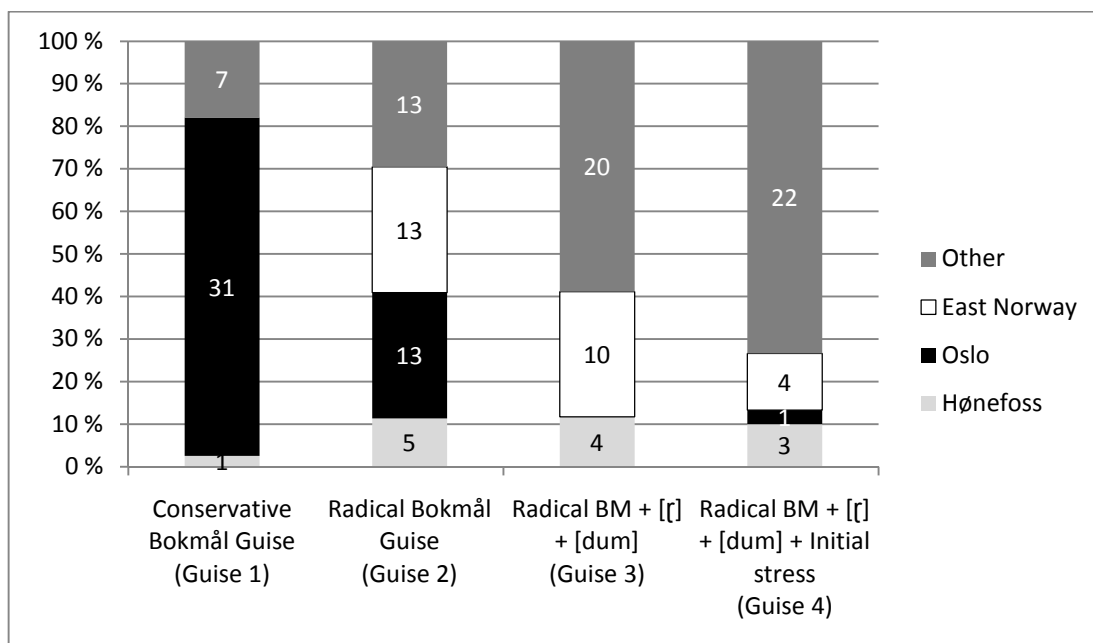
**Figure 4.8.8** Average ratings for the four guises on educational level. Ratings with lowest standard deviation in darkest colour with highest disagreement in sample in lightest grey.

Interestingly, Radical Bokmål does not have an average rating much lower than the guise without dialectal markers. The difference between the two Bokmål-like varieties is not significant. The two guises with three and four dialectal markers are rated equally, and as less educated than the Bokmål-like varieties. None of the guises' average ratings are at the end of the scale for sounding poorly educated. The differences between the ratings of the guises is significant in a one-way ANOVA ( $F(3,140) = 5.165, p = .002$ ). A Tukey post hoc test showed that the two guises with the most dialectal markers are significantly different to Bokmål varieties,  $p = .05$ . Using any local dialectal features (apart from suffix /a/ where this is codified in Bokmål) makes a person sound less educated to informants from Hønefoss.

#### 4.8.2.9 Guises' Age Ratings

The listeners in the matched guise experiment were asked, in an open question, to state how old they thought the speaker of the guises they heard was. The four guises that are of interest to us in this investigation were not assigned significantly differently ages by the listeners. The listeners' age evaluations ranged between late teens and late 30s for all four guises produced by the researcher.

#### 4.8.2.10 Location Ratings of the Guises



**Figure 4.8.9 Listeners' locative ratings of the four different guises in the matched guise experiment**

In figure 4.8.9 the place ratings of the different guises is presented. More than two thirds of the informants placed the Conservative Bokmål guise within the Oslo province. Only a very small proportion of the listeners thought this guise originated in Hønefoss. One speaker stated 'Norway', only, as the origin. The usage of an alveolar lateral and conservative suffix /e/ sound Oslo-like to listeners to Hønefoss.

Figure 4.8.9 also shows the location given by the listeners to the guise with radical Bokmål variants and the retroflex flap ([ɾ]) of <l>. This guise is placed

rather differently to the guise with conservative Bokmål features. It can therefore be claimed that usage of the conservative suffixes with /e/ (definite article suffixes /en/, /et/ and /ene/), and alveolar laterals sounds more Oslo-like to Hønefoss informants than usage of variants [a] in suffix and the retroflex flap ([ɽ]) for /l/. For the Radical Bokmål guise the ‘other’ responses comprise answers like neighbouring provinces Oppland and Vestfold (3 answers) and interestingly ‘Norway’ was given as a location on 6 occasions for this guise. This is the guise where the country was given as location the most times, indicating it could be the one that is the hardest for informants to place geographically.

The guise with the most consistent usage of the two linguistic features [dum] and retroflex flap ([ɽ]) of <rd> (guise 3) is assigned a number of different locations by informants. Approximately 10% of the informants think the guise with dialectal pronoun and [ɽ] is spoken by someone from Hønefoss. The majority, however, mention other locations like places in neighbouring provinces like Oppland and Vestfold. The two local features [dum] and [ɽ] for <rd> do not index a local identity to the majority of listeners. Importantly, none of the listeners think this speaker hails from the capital city.

Finally, the ratings of guise 4, showed in figure 4.8.9, are only from 30 informants. Recall that this guise only differs from the previous with respect to usage of initial stress in non-Germanic loan words. The ‘other’ category for this guise consists predominantly of East Norwegian places in rural areas. Initial stress in combination with the other linguistic features /a/; [dum] and [ɽ] for <rd> does not seem to index a local Hønefoss identity in this experiment, despite the relatively high usage rate of the linguistic feature in the town. It could be the case that there is



a cumulative effect of the initial stress in addition to the other variants. Because the other variants do not index a local identity to listeners it is unlikely that the addition of initial stress to the guise can make the guise sound more local. Importantly, however, there are indicators that initial stress is looked upon as a rural feature by informants in the matched guise experiment. Answers to where the speaker for this guise originated includes ‘far out in the country side’ and mentions of rural areas ‘Toten’ and ‘Gudbrandsdalen’.

#### *4.8.2.11 Summary of Covert Attitudes Hønefoss*

In this experiment that elicited covertly held attitudes towards language in Hønefoss, findings were made that were in line with the overtly held attitudes presented in section 4.7. The conservative Bokmål guise sounds to the majority of the listeners like it originates in the capital city. This variety without the retroflex flap for /l/ and with suffixes belonging to the conservative set of variants in Bokmål sounds to listeners in Hønefoss as an Oslo variety. This is in line with the overtly held attitudes reported in section 4.7 where informants state that alveolar lateral variant of /l/ and suffixes with vowel /e/ belong to Oslo speech. These linguistic variants index an Oslo identity to Hønefoss informants therefore. The variety with the conservative variants is rated as correct, attractive, as well as its speaker being deemed educated and intelligent. The variety is also rated the least approachable and the least honest. It would be fair to state this variety is a correctness-ideal and linked to educated speech. It is also linked to an economically wealthy identity. The variety scores less well on a social attractiveness scale, however, and is not entirely positively rated overall. It is fair to say this variety presents a linguistic norm to Hønefoss speakers, however.

The Radical Bokmål variety is rated very positively on every evaluative aspect informants were asked to rate. The guise with a retroflex flap for /l/ and suffix variant /a/ is viewed as attractive; the most correct and is linked to a high education and intelligence. The speaker is rated as the most honest and the nicest of the four recordings. Overtly held attitudes presented in section 4.7 indicated that usage of the retroflex flap for /l/ and suffix variant /a/ were viewed as local to informants. These features do not index a local identity in this experiment. Informant Xavier states that a speech variety close to Bokmål sounds non-local, a statement that is supported by the findings in this section where the guise with radical Bokmål variants (which Xavier uses, c.f. sections 4.2-4.5) were not located to a specific place by informants. Although this guise sounds near-identical to the spoken varieties of younger informants, as reported in previous sections, speakers do not necessarily consider the variety local. This variety seems a correctness ideal as well as an attractive form of speech to people in Hønefoss. This variety is likely to be a linguistic norm to speakers of the Hønefoss variety.

Linguistic features retroflex flap of <rd> and pronoun form [dum] make a guise sound less correct and less associated with educated speakers and intelligence. The speaker of this guise sounds more approachable, however, but also less wealthy. The guise is not linked to any geographical area in particular.

Finally, the addition of initial stress is rated significantly differently from other dialectal features only when it comes to correctness. Initial stress, in this experiment, is seen as incorrect. It is also, along with local features [dum] and retroflex flap of <rd> viewed as less educated and less intelligent features of speech. The speaker of the guise with [dum], retroflex flap and initial stress sounds

honest and nice but not very wealthy. The rating of initial stress as incorrect complies with the findings of overt attitudes towards stress reported in section 4.2. Initial stress also seem to be linked to rural areas in this experiment but this could be due to the inclusion of local features [dum] and the retroflex flap of <rd> along with initial stress in the guise.

The results that have been presented in this section are crucial to address the research questions about linguistic norms and the social meaning of language to speakers in Hønefoss. The results help indicate why certain linguistic features disappear in a situation of regional dialect levelling, and why others are retained. The results also inform us about which linguistic features could be a part of a standard language ideology (linked to correctness, education and wealth) and which features that are not. The results from this section will be discussed in light of the linguistic results, presented in sections 4.1, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5, in chapter 5 of this thesis.

## 5 Discussion

This chapter discusses findings made in chapter 4 in light of the research questions identified in chapter 2. Each section in the current chapter focuses on one of the research questions. Section 5.1 discusses the linguistic convergence between varieties in East Norway. Section 5.2 discusses the social mechanisms behind this language change on a group level and considers how the social factors of age, gender and education constrain linguistic variation. Section 5.3 discusses the relative influence of the Oslo variety and the written variety (Bokmål) on dialect change in Hønefoss, as well as discussing attitudes towards capital city and the writing standard Bokmål. Section 5.4 deals with the social meaning assigned to certain linguistic features by listeners in Hønefoss and assess the relationship between these and dialect change. Section 5.5 discusses whether attitudes affect dialect change in Hønefoss and section 5.6 discusses whether contact with the capital city can be an influential factor for linguistic variation in Hønefoss. Section 5.6 also present a set of case studies for illustrative purposes which show to what extent the results discussed here are reflected in the data collected.

### 5.1. Regional Dialect Levelling

*'Is the Hønefoss variety becoming increasingly similar to other East Norwegian varieties?'*

The results used to address this research question comes in particular from sections 4.1; 4.3; 4.4 and 4.5 that present the quantitative analysis of four linguistic variables (stress; personal pronouns; <rd>; plural suffixes in two variable contexts depending on codification in Bokmål) in Hønefoss and Oslo speech. The literature review of

previous sociolinguistic studies in Norway presented in chapters 2 and 4 are also used to assess whether Hønefoss speech is becoming more similar to other East Norwegian varieties.

Based on recent literature on the status of local dialects in East Norway (e.g. Røyneland, 2005; Skjekkeland, 2005; Mæhlum, et al 2006), it was hypothesised that signs of regional dialect levelling would be found in Hønefoss. In the review of literature concerning which (socio) linguistic changes might be considered regional dialect levelling, two processes were identified as lying at the heart of this type of language change: the geographical diffusion of linguistic features, and a decrease of linguistic heterogeneity between varieties in a region. These processes can, in theory, occur individually. Linguistic features can spread from one geographical area to another without causing varieties in the two locations to become structurally more homogeneous, as a new linguistic variant may co-exist with other, already available, variants. Increased homogeneity can also, presumably, occur without the introduction of a new variant. A structural simplification of a linguistic variety could result in increased similarity with another variety that already has the same simplified system. This does not necessarily rely on the introduction of a new linguistic feature to any of the varieties, however.

To establish whether we see evidence for regional dialect levelling in Hønefoss, the current study investigated the linguistic variation in Hønefoss and the capital city Oslo. We considered to what extent we find an increase of supra-local linguistic variants in Hønefoss as well as whether there is a decrease in usage of local linguistic variants in the two locations.

Firstly, the variants were assessed to determine whether those which increased in usage in Hønefoss are variants that are recent introductions to the variety, whether

we are witnessing geographical diffusion, or supra-localisation, of linguistic features. It is fair to conclude on the basis of the historical data and other background literature presented in the results chapter, that the linguistic variants that have increased in usage in Hønefoss are new introductions in the linguistic environments they are currently found.

Most of the features that are being increasingly used, stress to the right in a word, [r] and suffix /ene/, have traditionally occurred as variants in other linguistic environments in the Hønefoss variety (as described in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by Skulerud, 1926). Stress to the right in a word is also used, for example, if de-stressed prefixes are adjoined to native Norwegian morphemes. [r] is an allophone of phoneme /r/ in most East Norwegian varieties, and suffix /ene/ is the plural definite article for feminine nouns in the Hønefoss dialect. It is unknown whether variant /di/ has been available as a plural determiner in the traditional Hønefoss dialect, but it was used categorically by almost all informants in the demonstrative determiner contexts, reported in section 4.3.6.3, so this could be the case. Importantly, however, the spread of the linguistic features to environments where they have previously not been attested in the Hønefoss dialect is likely to be an effect of geographical diffusion. Right-bound stress assignment; usage of /di/ as a 3pl subject form pronoun; [r] for <rd>; and suffix /ene/ in plural masculine and neuter nouns are variants that are found in Oslo as well as in other East Norwegian localities (Holland, 2001; Røyneland, 2005).

The comparative linguistic study of Hønefoss and Oslo speech also shows increasing similarity in the usage of linguistic features by age groups. In Hønefoss, usage of initial stress; local pronoun variant /dum/; the retroflex flap for <rd> and plural suffix /a/ are all the lowest in the youngest age group. A variant of stress assignment to the right in a word is predominantly used by the youngest informants,

together with the supra-local personal pronoun variant /di/, [r] for <rd>; and suffix /ene/. Those variants are the same as those used by Oslo adolescents. For a number of young speakers from Hønefoss and Oslo, therefore, there are no differences in language usage found, at least not for the linguistic variables considered in this study.

The fact that Hønefoss and Oslo speakers are becoming increasingly similar in an apparent time study does not mean that there is increasing homogeneity overall between the two varieties in the different locations. The local Hønefoss variants are all used by the majority of speakers from the town. If we consider the dialect as being the sum of all speakers' vernaculars we are left with a situation where the homogeneity between the two dialects has not actually increased. This is in many ways a similar situation to that described in the UK (cf. Williams and Kerswill, 1999; Stuart-Smith, 2005) where, as pointed out by Maguire (2007) *inter alia*, one does not necessarily find increased homogenisation between varieties, but merely a diffusion of linguistic features, for instance TH-fronting (as discussed in chapter 2.3.2). The fact that the youngest speakers in Hønefoss increasingly use the pronoun form /di/ instead of /dum/, does not mean, for instance, that the numbers of variants available in the linguistic systems of Oslo and Hønefoss have become the same. In the linguistic system used in Hønefoss the variants /dum/ as well as /di/ still exist, even among the youngest speakers. The number of variants used in Hønefoss is the same in the youngest as well as the oldest age groups. Speech in Hønefoss and Oslo is becoming increasingly similar, however. The data from Hønefoss indicate that local variants are disappearing and that supra-local variants will be the only ones available in the future. It is a prediction therefore that speakers in Oslo and Hønefoss could have identical sets of variants available to them in the future.

The comparative sociolinguistic analysis that considered the relative effect of different social factors on linguistic variation in Hønefoss and Oslo showed interesting results with regards to the similarity of the two speech communities. It was hypothesised in section 3.6.2 that if the Oslo and Hønefoss varieties are converging one would find similar social conditioning of linguistic variation. This has been attested in the current investigation.

For the linguistic variables where a comparative analysis was possible: stress, 3pl personal pronoun and definite article suffix in words with variable Bokmål suffixes (there were not enough tokens of variant retroflex flap for variable <rd> nor of suffix variant /a/ in the variable context where one suffix is codified in Bokmål), the social constraints on the variation were very similar. Education and age are the most influential social factors on variation in stress and in 3pl personal pronouns both in Hønefoss and Oslo.

For suffix usage in words that have variability codified in Bokmål educational background influenced choice of variant significantly in Oslo (section 4.5.8.5). In Hønefoss, education was not tested for (in section 4.5.7.1) as a small number of individuals had very large token counts and would thus distort the statistical analysis of the effect of education on variation. Instead it was found that there is a speaker effect in usage of suffixes in this variable context. Importantly, however, the same social factors have been found to constrain linguistic variation (for certain variables) in the two locations Oslo and Hønefoss.

Both diffusion of new linguistic variants to the Hønefoss variety and an increase of similarity in linguistic variation between the varieties spoken in Hønefoss and Oslo were attested in this study. This is evidence of regional dialect levelling between these linguistic varieties in East Norway.



## 5.2 Social Mechanisms behind Dialect Change

*‘How does linguistic variation pattern across social categories age, gender and educational level in Hønefoss?’*

To gain insight into the social mechanisms at work behind the linguistic change regional dialect levelling, the social background of speakers in Hønefoss and Oslo was considered in the quantitative investigation of speech from the two locations. Results presented in sections 4.1, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 showed large inter-speaker differences in usage of linguistic variants, especially within Hønefoss. It is the results from these chapters that are primarily used to address the question whether social background has an effect on language usage in a situation of regional dialect levelling. In this section, the effect of age on linguistic variation in Hønefoss and Oslo will be considered first before discussing the relative effects of gender and educational background. As indicated by the previous section, the social conditioning on linguistic variation was similar in the two locations in this study.

Firstly, the results from this investigation show that age is a strong explanatory factor of the linguistic variation found in Hønefoss. Age differences in language usage are especially large in the data set collected and a decrease of all Hønefoss dialectal features can be witnessed with decreasing age of the informants.

In Oslo, age is an important factor for most, but not all, linguistic variables. In section 4.5.8 which presents results from the linguistic variable definite article suffix in Oslo, age was not a significant factor in the analysis. Interestingly, the oldest and the youngest age groups in Oslo have near-identical usage rates of the linguistic variant /a/ for this variable. This lack of age effect in the data from the capital indicates that variants /ene/ and /a/ are stabilised in Oslo speech and that social differences within age groups condition the variation more than age itself (and indeed

education is a factor tested for that constrains variation significantly). Findings from read speech in Hønefoss, presented in section 4.6.2, show that the usage rates of suffix variants when retelling a reading passage differs from usage rates in interview speech. Speakers use variant /a/ to a much smaller degree when retelling a story they had just read to the researcher. It is possible that this could be a priming effect of Bokmål, but the data then still show indications that Bokmål has a direct influence on speech. The conditioning of suffix variation by stylistic constraints is something that can be investigated with more data from Oslo, as there was not enough data to draw any conclusions about stylistic variation of this variable in Oslo in the current investigation.

The investigation of age differences in Hønefoss included two separate groups of adolescent speakers, older and younger ones. The adolescents in Hønefoss are those with the lowest usage rates of local dialectal variants overall. A concern was raised in background sections 2.3.5.5 and 3.1.2.1 whether data from adolescent informants are reliable for studies of (regional) dialect levelling. Hernes (2006) showed that adolescents' usage of linguistic variants can change considerably in 5 years during the ages of 15 and 20. For the current study it was therefore investigated whether the school situation the adolescents find themselves in could have an effect on usage of dialectal variants. The oldest adolescents (18 year olds) go to schools that welcome pupils from the entire province. This means that adolescents have day to day contact with other pupils who come from as far as 50 km from Hønefoss. The regional schools in Hønefoss also have a number of pupils from neighbouring counties closer to Oslo. The oldest adolescents are in a situation, therefore, where speakers of a number of different varieties come together. Most Norwegian studies of regionalisation of language have focussed on the speech of adolescents who attend regional schools like

those described above (e.g. Røyneland, 2005; Holland, 2001). For this reason a comparison was made in the current study of the speech of adolescents attending regional schools with the speech of younger adolescents (14 year olds) who attend local schools. Very few adolescent boys volunteered to take part in the study, and so the data for this part of the investigation were taken from girls only. Speech pattern differences between the two groups of adolescent girls were significant for the usage of the retroflex flap for <rd> and for the usage of the Bokmål suffixes. However, in all instances, and indeed this is true for usage of dialectal variants in all variable contexts, it is the youngest adolescents attending *local* schools who use the fewest dialectal features. Pupils attending schools with peers from a large region do not, therefore, use the least dialectal markers. This finding indicates that the influence on youngsters' speech patterns could come from sources outside their peer groups, but does not sufficiently inform us about its origin to make any further claims. This also indicates that the linguistic results presented in Holland (2001) and Røyneland (2005) were representative for the young generation of speakers in the locations studied. The fact that speaker samples were collected from regional schools was not likely to have had an effect on the findings presented in Holland (2001) and Røyneland (2005).

Secondly, the effect of gender on linguistic variation in Hønefoss and Oslo is considered. When it comes to gender differences in the Hønefoss data, a consistent difference is found: male speakers have higher usage rates of dialectal features than women (cf. tables of individual and gender-based variation in result sections 4.1.11; 4.3.6; 4.4.3; 4.5.4-4.5.6). The difference is only statistically significant in the stress assignment data, where men use initial stress more than women (cf. section 4.1.12). Gender differences are non-significant for other variables, which could indicate that the effect of gender on language usage in Norway is less prevalent than the effect of

other social factors, supporting findings by Skramstad (1999); Røyneland (2005) and Hernes (2006).

The third social factor discussed in this section is educational background. In both Hønefoss and Oslo, education is the social factor besides age with the largest effect on linguistic variation. Educational level significantly constrains variation for the linguistic variables of stress and *3p/* personal pronouns in Hønefoss and for stress, pronouns as well as plural definite article suffixes (in Bokmål-variable nouns) in Oslo.

A high education level means a lower usage rate of dialectal features in the Hønefoss data. Adult informants with university education and the youngest informants, i.e. the informants who are still at school, are the informants who use the fewest local dialect features. In Hønefoss the linguistic dissimilarity between people of different educational backgrounds is especially apparent in the data on stress assignment variation, presented in sections 4.1 and 4.2. In the middle age group, education not only constrains variation significantly, but the number of tokens of loan words is substantially lower in informants with low education than in those with high education (cf. section 4.2.2.3). Linguistically, this pattern is interesting. Kristoffersen's (2000) theory claims that stress falls on a syllable to the right in these loan words, and must subsequently be moved to the initial syllable. The most economical solution 'not moving stress' is thus chosen by those who have the choice most often, the informants who use the most non-Germanic loan words. Lexical variation is not looked at in this study of speech in Hønefoss, but future studies could go more in depth to explore speakers' lexical choices in a combination with a variation study of, for example, usage of stress in Norwegian. There are clear indications in the Hønefoss data that usage of loan words corresponds not only with educational background but also with low usage rates of initial stress. The educational system is where speakers come in

contact with the standardised language, Bokmål. The next research question was formulated to explore of the role that Bokmål and the standard language ideology plays in regional dialect levelling.

### **5.3 The Capital City, the Standardised Variety and Language Change**

*‘Do the Oslo dialect and Bokmål act as linguistic norms to speakers in Hønefoss and do these varieties influence the usage of the Hønefoss dialectal features covered in this study?’*

To answer whether Oslo and Bokmål act as linguistic norms in Hønefoss results reported in sections 4.2, concerning the social meaning of stress, and 4.7 and 4.8, reporting overt and covert attitudinal data, are particularly relevant. The important evidence for answering whether Oslo speech and Bokmål influence Hønefoss speakers’ language is taken from sections 4.1; 4.3; 4.4 and 4.5 that present the comparative analyses of Oslo and Hønefoss data as well section 4.6 that presents results from the reading tasks and retelling in Hønefoss.

Literature about dialect convergence argues that language standardisation has been influential in language changes in Europe during the last century (e.g. Auer and Hinskens, 1996, Kristiansen, 1998). The role of standardisation in a situation of regional dialect levelling is unclear, however. Data from the UK show that it is non-standard (not RP) linguistic features that spread across regions (cf. studies in Foulkes and Docherty, 1999). Norwegian studies have claimed that the standard language influences dialect levelling, but this influential standard language, however, is mostly represented by Oslo speech in such literature (e.g. Røyneland, 2005; Kristoffersen, 2000). The relationship between the Oslo variety and the written codified variety Bokmål is unclear. In literature the educational system and the capital city are

identified as driving forces behind standardisation of speech (e.g. Jahr, 1984; Pedersen, 2005). Milroy and Milroy (1999) state that language standards are not actual linguistic realities, but ideologies. One of the main focuses of the current investigation is the role that language standards play in a situation of regional dialect levelling. If standard languages are not linguistic realities, then the study of standardisation effects on regional dialect levelling must instead explore the standard language ideologies that speakers hold. Notions of language norms linked to the education system; correctness and intelligence were explored in section 4.8. Results discussed below concerning attitudes towards the linguistic variety of the capital city were presented in sections 4.7 and 4.8. Results used to explore the role of Bokmål as a linguistic norm were presented in sections 4.2; 4.7 and 4.8 of this thesis.

Linguistic features codified in Bokmål hold a high social status in Hønefoss. In the results from the matched guise experiment, presented in section 4.8, guises with East Norwegian phonology only featuring variants codified in Bokmål are rated as by far the most socially superior in Hønefoss. The guises representing both the conservative and radical sets of Bokmål variants (introduced in section 1.2.2) are deemed the most educated, attractive, intelligent, correct and wealthy-sounding of all guises. These results show that these varieties represent linguistic norms to listeners in Hønefoss. On the basis of these results alone, however, it cannot be claimed that the guises represent Bokmål to listeners in Hønefoss, and not just the variety spoken in Oslo. As shown in sections 4.1; 4.3; 4.4 and 4.5 a number of Oslo speakers only employ variants codified in Bokmål in speech.

The interview data from Hønefoss and informants' rating and geographical placing of the guises in the matched guise experiment, allows us, however, to make a distinction between the normative roles of Oslo and Bokmål. The guise with the most

conservative Bokmål variants is perceived as Oslo-like by the informants in Hønefoss. The guise with other variants codified in Bokmål is not located to a particular geographical place, however. The two different Bokmål guises are rated identically for most social characteristics. Importantly, however, the conservative guise, located to Oslo, is evaluated the most negatively of all on an approachability scale (usnobbete-snobbete). In the covert attitudinal data this guise is rated as the least approachable to Hønefoss informants, a finding which supports overt attitudinal data elicited in Hønefoss. In interviews, informants claim that Oslo speech is different to Hønefoss speech. Informants deny speaking in the same way as people speak in the capital and state the speech there is much more ‘refined’ (or ‘posh’: *fin*) than in the small town. The majority of informants in Hønefoss state in interviews that they would react negatively if an outsider thought they were from Oslo, indicating that ‘refined’ is a term not only with positive connotations.

As shown in section 4.7.1.5, 32 of the 44 Hønefoss informants, a large majority, feel that one does not have to travel further than 15 kilometres before people start sounding different. The informants do not indicate in answers to this question that they think the Oslo and Hønefoss varieties sound the same. It is not the case that speakers think of their local linguistic area as being the Oslo area, although speech in Oslo and Hønefoss is becoming more homogeneous. Results presented in section 4.7.1.8 show that 27 informants in Hønefoss would react negatively if someone took them as being from Oslo whereas only 7 would react positively (the remaining 10 were neutral or gave no clear answer). These responses indicate that regionalisation of language and affiliation with the larger region, instead of the local area, does not necessarily go hand in hand.

In addition to the high status attested for Bokmål variants in the covert attitudinal data from the matched guise test, the role of Bokmål as a linguistic norm is evident from the overt attitudinal data from interviews with informants about stress assignment (presented in section 4.2). The school teacher Gerd, in her interview, states that she corrects children in her classes if they use initial stress. This is because non-Germanic loan words are normally not written with double consonants in Bokmål. Stress movement to an initial CVC syllable in Norwegian results in a gemination of the final C, which makes the word sound like it should be represented with a double consonant in Bokmål orthography. Similarly, informant Henning states he does not understand why people cannot speak correctly and pronounce the word for telephone with stress on the ultimate syllable, when initial stress makes the word sound like it is spelled with two *ls*. The remarks above make clear that the standardised writing system forms some kind of a linguistic norm to speakers in Hønefoss.

The written variety Bokmål and the Oslo dialect thus both represent linguistic norms to people in Hønefoss, but do so in different ways. Only one informant in the entire Hønefoss data set claims to speak an Oslo dialect, whilst a number of informants state that they speak Bokmål (see section 4.7.1.1) in Hønefoss. The Oslo variety is much less of an overt norm to speakers in Hønefoss than the written variety Bokmål is. However, both guises with Bokmål features were rated the most positively for the three characteristics education, intelligence and correctness by Hønefoss listeners. These social characteristics can be linked with the concept of a standard language ideology (as discussed in sections 2.2; 2.4 and 3.4.2.2). It is fair to presume, therefore, that linguistic features in both Bokmål guises are part of the standard language ideology held by informants in Hønefoss. This further suggests that listeners in Hønefoss hold standard language ideologies with variable linguistic properties. The



standard language ideology in Hønefoss is not linguistically uniform. There is a likely connection between the fact that Bokmål has variability codified and that guises with both Bokmål sets (Radical and Conservative) of linguistic variants are deemed correct by listeners. This is further evidence of the influence that the standardised written variety has on the language ideology held by speakers.

Bokmål seems to work as an overt norm to a number of Hønefoss speakers. On a conscious level, the role of Oslo as a linguistic norm is less clear cut to Hønefoss informants, however. Hønefoss informants do not admit to actively converging towards the language variety spoken in the capital, and informants do not seem to associate themselves with people from, or the dialect spoken in Oslo. In the model of dialect convergence put forward by Auer and Hinskens (1996) presented in section 2.3.3.1, change of local dialects can either be on a vertical dimension towards overt linguistic norms, a standardised variety, or on a horizontal dimension towards another linguistic variety with a less overtly high social status. Convergence between Hønefoss and Oslo speech can therefore be modelled on a horizontal, rather than a vertical, dimension whereas convergence with Bokmål is towards a conscious linguistic norm for many Hønefoss speakers, and therefore indisputably on the vertical dimension in the model (in section 2.3.3.1).

This does not mean, however, that Oslo speech has no influence on the Hønefoss dialect. The decreasing usage of retroflex flap for <rd> in Hønefoss and increase of pronoun variant /di/ in object, as well as subject position cannot be directly traced to an influence from Bokmål. Only 6 of the 44 Hønefoss informants consistently differentiate between pronoun variant /di/ for subject position and /dem/ for object position. These 6 can be said to be influenced by the standardised language, as there is no historical evidence to suggest that East Norwegian vernaculars have

traditionally had a two-way distinction in their 3*p*/ pronoun system. As can be seen in table 4.3.9 (section 4.3.8.1), variant /di/ is being increasingly used in object, as well as subject, position by the youngest speakers in Hønefoss. This variant is replacing the traditional Hønefoss variant /dum/. Variant /di/ is also by far the most used variant in the Oslo data, where it also features as a form both in subject and object positions. The linguistic variable 3*p*/ personal pronoun thus illustrates the dual influence on the Hønefoss dialect. There are three patterns found in the Hønefoss pronoun data in particular. Some speakers retain traditional dialectal pronoun patterns with form /dum/ syncretised across both subject and object positions in syntax. A second group, the majority of Hønefoss speakers, use more than one variant but show an increase in the usage of form /di/ in both syntactic positions. This change is most likely an influence from speech in Oslo. The third group of speakers are those with a clear difference between one variant in subject and another in object position. This speech pattern is likely to be an influence from Bokmål. Linguistic influence both from Bokmål and Oslo speech can thus be found in the results presented in section 4.3 on pronoun variation.

Certain patterns in the linguistic variation in Hønefoss can directly be assigned to the influence of Bokmål on speech. The difference in usage of plural suffixes in two different variable contexts, presented in section 4.5, is an example of this. There is a significant difference in usage of suffix variant /a/ between nouns that have both <a> and <ene> available in Bokmål and the nouns where only <ene> is available in the standardised variety. There is no linguistic reason why the two groups of nouns should have different suffix variation patterns, but Bokmål seems to exert an influence on variant usage in Hønefoss speakers' plural noun data. In the same way, there are indications in the stress assignment data (in section 4.1.11.6) that orthography could

influence stress variation. Some non-Germanic loanwords spelled with double consonants in their initial syllable are more likely to have initial stress than other loan words. This possible relationship between orthography and prosody should be investigated (experimentally) more in future studies as no significant effect was found in the relatively small data set used for this investigation.

The data from the reading passage also give evidence of the influence Bokmål has on speech in Hønefoss. In results from the retelling condition of the reading passage, presented in section 4.6.1, local linguistic variants are used to a much smaller degree by informants than in the interview condition. This result could indicate that reading Bokmål has a priming effect and directly influences Hønefoss informants' variant usage. Also, a number of the youngest speakers in the Hønefoss data sound near-identical when reading and speaking in an interview setting. Read Bokmål sounds the same as interview speech for these informants. The youngest informants are also the ones who state that they 'speak' Bokmål. In a number of cases, there are, indeed, no large differences between the way these informants read out loud and how they speak in an interview setting.

This section so far has shown that Oslo and Bokmål constitute different linguistic norms for speakers in Hønefoss and that linguistic change in the small city can be traced back to influence from both the variety spoken in Oslo as well as the written variety Bokmål. The next section investigates more in depth the social meaning of different linguistic features to establish exactly which guises with different linguistic variants can be said to form part of the speech norm in Hønefoss.

#### 5.4. Social Meaning of Language and its Connection to Change

*'Which linguistic variants are linked to particular favourable social characteristics or personality traits by Hønefoss listeners, and are these variants increasing in usage too?'*

The important evidence to address this question comes from the experimental results that were designed to elicit covert attitudes from informants. The results used to discuss the role of social meaning of linguistic features were presented in section 4.8 reporting from the matched guise test.

The results in section 4.8 show that guises with local Hønefoss dialectal features are rated negatively by listeners for certain characteristics. The local linguistic variants used in the guises were initial stress; /dum/ and the retroflex flap for <rd>. These features make guises sound less attractive, less correct, less intelligent, less wealthy and less educated than the two Bokmål guises. However, the guises with dialectal markers are rated as equally nice and honest and more approachable than the Bokmål guises. Although Bokmål features form a standard language ideology, therefore, Hønefoss linguistic features are still relatively positively evaluated overall. Local linguistic forms are not rated as highly as Bokmål on features linked to superiority, but in many other respects are as socially attractive as the standardised forms.

Although Hønefoss features are deemed approachable-sounding and agreeable, this does not mean they are popular with young language users. The guises that are deemed the least correct, educated and intelligent in the matched guise test are those with linguistic variants that are being lost in the Hønefoss data: initial stress, /dum/ and the retroflex flap for <rd>. The speech features in the two Bokmål varieties are the speech features predominantly used by the adolescents in the Hønefoss data. There

seems, therefore, to be a clear link between the social meaning of linguistic features and their subsequent usage patterns in a speech community. Features linked to a high level of education, intelligence and correctness are popular in the Hønefoss speech community.

The relationship between social meaning and variation between different social groups' language usage was studied thoroughly in this investigation for one linguistic variable: stress assignment in non-Germanic loan words. The matched guise experiment was created partly to explore the relationship between social meaning and social variation of a linguistic feature within the same speech community. The experiment aimed, among other things, to elicit covert attitudes towards initial and ultimate stress in non-Germanic loanwords. The social variation of stress in Hønefoss and Oslo showed that age, gender and educational background all constrained variation in the two data sets. In addition, the usage rates of initial stress were substantially higher in Hønefoss than in the capital. It was of interest to the investigation to find whether initial stress would index an old, uneducated or local identity to listeners from Hønefoss, as the feature is primarily used by speakers who belong to one or all of the social categories mentioned above in the speech community.

The matched guise results show that the two guises with Hønefoss features with and without initial stress are rated identically for all characteristics but one. Initial stress is rated as significantly less correct than ultimate stress by listeners in Hønefoss (cf. section 4.8.2.2), but there was little evidence to suggest the feature would index a local or old identity. Initial stress is thus seen as incorrect in the experimental data. Interestingly, however, the results from the quantitative investigation of social variation of initial stress are not entirely reflected in the social meaning results

collected in the same community. The fact that lower educated speakers, old speakers and many male speakers use initial stress to a large extent does not mean that initial stress indexes these social characteristics to listeners in the same community. Which mechanisms enable the social indexing of linguistic features is something that can be investigated in more depth in future studies.

In this study, the experimental approach to investigating the social meaning of initial stress has further informed us of the social background to regional dialect levelling and established the connection between perceived correctness in speech and usage of regionally available linguistic features. In the situation at hand usage rates of initial stress in Oslo and Hønefoss are converging. The notions of what constitutes and what does not constitute correct language use, seems a crucial factor to determine which linguistic variants are retained and which are lost in Hønefoss. ‘Incorrect’ initial stress is disappearing from the variety. This is a key finding for the discussion of the role of a standard language ideology on language change, as a notion of correctness could be part of this ideology (cf. the discussion in chapter 2.2). There is some evidence, as presented above, that the notions that people hold about what constitutes standard language are influential in this situation of dialect change.

This section discussed attitudinal data that was elicited indirectly in experiments. The next section discusses in detail what the overt attitudinal data collected in Hønefoss can tell us about regional dialect levelling in East Norway.

### **5.5 Attitudes and Linguistic Change**

*‘Do personal attitudes towards the locality and the dialect correlate in any way with the usage of dialectal features?’*

In this study, Llamas' (2007b) identity questionnaire was employed to explore informants' orientation to the local community and the local dialect. The responses given to the identity questionnaire were presented in section 4.7, and their correlation with language usage will be discussed here.

When it comes to the link between attitudes and usage of dialectal features, sociolinguistic studies have not always found a consistent relationship. Khan (2006: 300) found in his study of a multi-ethnic community in Birmingham that orientation towards the city itself does not correlate with the usage of linguistic features in a consistent way. Røyneland (2005) found a clear correlation, however, between the usage of dialectal features and positive attitudes towards location in her study of dialect feature usage in areas north of Hønefoss in Norway.

The majority of speakers in the Hønefoss data set are positively inclined towards their local town. Only a small number would rather have come from somewhere else. 27 of the 44 Hønefoss informants would describe the city in a positive way, but in the group of 27, the speakers who use the most dialectal features, as well as those who use the fewest, are represented. In the oldest generation, however, all informants would describe Hønefoss positively, whilst in other age groups, negative replies are also found. The linguistic variable that correlates with a positive view of the town is the *3p/* personal pronoun. This positive correlation is probably present, however, due to the positive attitudes and high usage rates of dialectal variants found in the oldest speakers. Although there is a relationship between age, positive views and high usage rates of local variants, the data set is not large enough to investigate this correlation in depth. It is unknown whether this correlation could also be found within younger age groups. This relationship is

something future investigations of regional dialect levelling should explore in more detail, however.

Interestingly, as many as 24 of 44 informants in Hønefoss claim to speak the local dialect, but only 10 of 44 claim confidently to be able to recognise this local dialect. This information indicates that, for many, speaking a local dialect is not necessarily viewed as using specific local linguistic features. When asked which dialect they would say they spoke, the informants tend to reply the local dialect with the justification that they grew up in the local area. To the question of whether speakers like their own dialect, no one was negative. Of the 24 informants claiming to speak Hønefoss or Ringerike (the county) variety, 15 were positive towards it, and 9 were neutral. On the basis of the answers from the direct questioning one can conclude that many informants in Hønefoss do not have an overt awareness of the linguistic properties of their local dialect.

The overt attitudes towards the local dialect are not entirely in line with the covert attitudes elicited towards the localised dialectal features in the matched guise test. It could be that the informants who are negative towards the Hønefoss variety would not admit to using it, and that the negative attitudes towards the variety are not elicited in the interviews because of this. Another possible reason for the discrepancy between the ratings of local linguistic features and answers to whether one likes the local dialect could be the type of questioning used. Informants reply in a more positive fashion when asked directly about the local dialect than in an experimental situation when presented with local linguistic features. This indicates a difference between the overt, or explicit, and covert, implicit, attitudes expressed by informants. Interestingly, the Hønefoss data indicate that it is the local dialect that is the most favourably viewed in the *overt* attitude data, whilst in the *covert* attitudes negative evaluations are shown



towards local linguistic features. Compared to findings in Trudgill (1972) where RP features enjoy an overt prestige whilst non-standard Norwich features hold covert prestige, this is an interesting finding. There could be a relationship between the fact that local dialects in Norway hold a relatively high official social status (as discussed in section 1.2) and the overtly positive views towards the local dialect expressed in Hønefoss.

## **5.6 Spatial Practice and Illustrative Case Studies**

*Does travel frequency to Oslo correlate with the usage of dialectal features in Hønefoss?*

The final research question considers the role of contact patterns with Oslo for individuals' dialectal usage. The evidence used to address this question is taken from section 4.7.1.9. In this section six case studies are also presented to illustrate the claims made in this chapter and show how the results discussed are grounded in the data.

Britain (2010) considers individuals' geographical mobility to be a main factor behind supra-localisation (or spatial diffusion) of linguistic features. A relatively frequent contact pattern with the capital city may influence Hønefoss informants' usage of dialectal features. A partial aim in this investigation was therefore to consider informants' spatial practices with respect to the capital, and see whether this in any way correlates with their usage of dialectal features.

The majority of informants from Hønefoss travel to Oslo on a regular basis. About a quarter of the informants in the data set visit the capital more often than once a month. Frequency of travel to Oslo does not directly correlate with language usage in the Hønefoss data set. The data available from Hønefoss show that even contact

with the capital and its speakers on a weekly basis does not influence usage of dialectal features significantly. The speakers with the highest frequency of visits to the capital are all in the middle and young age group. These speakers' usage patterns of dialectal features do not diverge significantly from other age group members' usage patterns. This finding gives further indications that speech in the capital city may not be as large an influence on regional dialect levelling as previously assumed in Norwegian literature (Røyneland, 2005; Mæhlum et al, 2006). Ethnographic studies that map out mobility and contact frequency would give us further information about the dynamics of these external factors in situations of regional dialect levelling. Future research should therefore consider mobility and spatial practices more in depth and consider more exhaustively whether daily or weekly contact with the capital by speakers from the surrounding region really has no effect on these speakers' usage rates of supra-local linguistic features in East Norway.

Thus far, chapter 5 has discussed the role of social background, attitudes towards the locality and the dialect as well as travel patterns in a situation of regional dialect levelling. Attitudes towards the dialect and travel patterns have no significant correlations with usage of language patterns in the data set and the relationship between attitudes towards the locality and usage rates of dialectal features are likely to be largely influenced by age differences in language usage and attitudes. The individual variability in attitudes as well as language usage in the Hønefoss data set is rather large. To give a holistic picture, therefore, of how attitudes, social categories and language usage work together on an individual level, 6 informant portraits are presented below. The informants who are on each end of the continuum of dialectal variant usage are chosen for these sections. For each age group, the informants with

the lowest and highest proportion of dialectal markers are considered to illustrate how social information, questions of identity and language usage correlate in Hønefoss.

### 5.6.1 Case Studies Old female informant Gerd and Old Male Informant Bjarne

There are large differences within the oldest age groups when it comes to usage rates of dialectal Hønefoss features. The two informants on each side of the spectrum are informants Gerd and Bjarne.

Gerd is one of the oldest informants in the data set but among the ones with the lowest usage rates of local features. She has university education and works as a school teacher. She has a clear standard language ideology expressed in her interview when speaking of initial stress in non-Germanic loanwords. She states she does not like the dialectal feature because children are confused about spelling because of it. She says children spell initial syllables with two consonants instead of one because of the gemination that initial stress brings with it, and that the feature is therefore incorrect. Still, Gerd claims she speaks the local dialect and she is extremely positive towards her home town. She would not have come from anywhere else and would react negatively if anyone thought she came from Oslo. She visits the capital city 6 times a year for cultural events mainly.

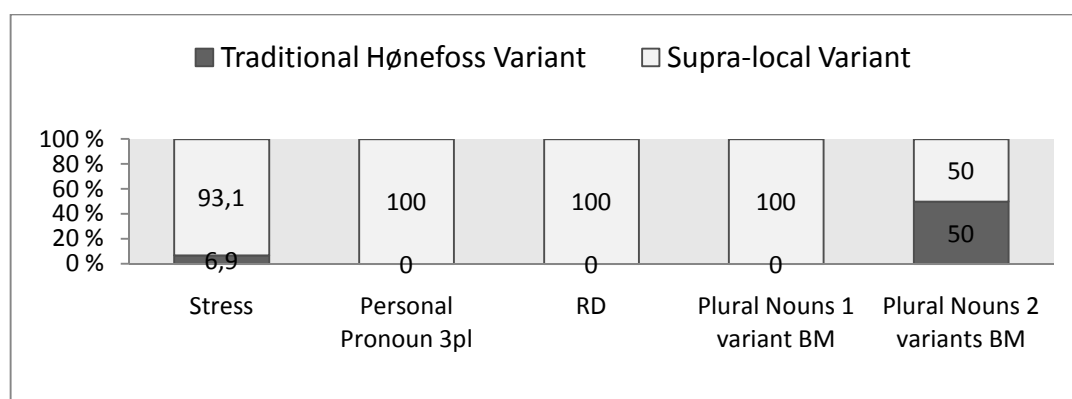
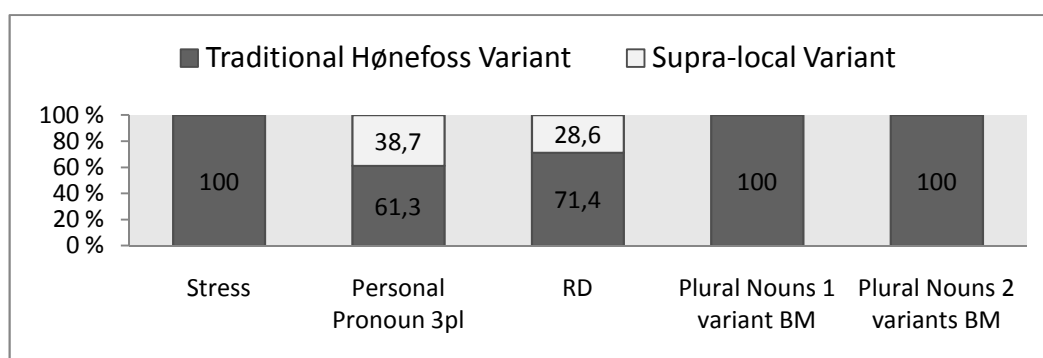


Figure 5.1 Informant Gerd's Usage Rates of Dialectal and Supra-local Variants

Gerd's usage rates of local features are very low. The only variant the informant uses to a large degree is that codified in Bokmål, the plural noun suffix /a/. Her spoken language is in many ways a representation of Bokmål with East Norwegian phonology and prosody.

The informant with the highest usage rates of local features in the Hønefoss data set is Bjarne. Bjarne is 73, has worked as a manual labourer most of his life. He has no education outside of his vocational training.



**Figure 5.2 Informant Bjarne's Usage Rates of Dialectal and Supra-local Variants**

Bjarne states that he speaks the Hønefoss variety and he is positive towards his own language. He says he would be able to recognise the Hønefoss variety as well, but states that people can speak with different dialects within the city limits. Bjarne would react neutrally if people thought he came from Oslo. He visits the capital about 6 times a year, which is the same amount of times that Gerd visits. Bjarne, like Gerd, is very positive towards Hønefoss and would not have come from anywhere else.

The two old informants have things in common when it comes to their attitudes, therefore. The largest difference between them is their educational and occupational background. Gerd is clear about what constitutes correct and incorrect language usage to her, and is likely to have been influenced in her language usage by

her background in education. Bjarne does not mention language spontaneously in his interview.

### 5.6.2: Case Studies Middle Female Informant Guri and Male informant Lasse

In the middle age group, the informant who uses the least dialectal variants is Guri, and the one who uses the most is Lasse. Guri is 37, works for the local council and has a university degree. Guri states in her interview that she speaks the Hønefoss dialect, and she likes the way she speaks. She is one of the informants who does not think she would be able to recognise the Hønefoss dialect if she heard it on television or radio, but who claims to speak it herself. She is very positive towards the locality and would not have wanted to come from anywhere else. She visits the capital city every other month on average, and would neither react negatively nor positively if someone thought she was from there. Guri's usage rates of dialectal features are given in figure 5.3.

Lasse is 36, works in the health sector, but trained as a carpenter originally. He also states he speaks the local dialect and is positive towards the way he speaks. He is not sure whether he could recognise the local dialect himself, but tells anecdotes of others who can. Lasse is fairly negative towards the locality and has sometimes wished he lived or came from somewhere else. Lasse visits Oslo every other month.

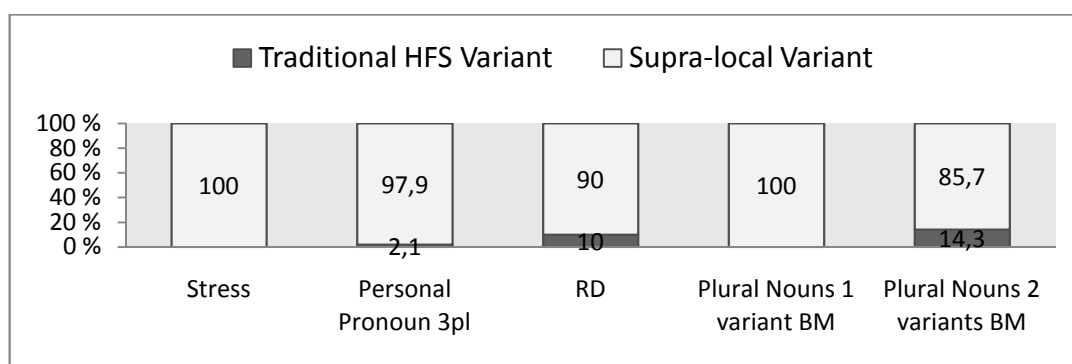
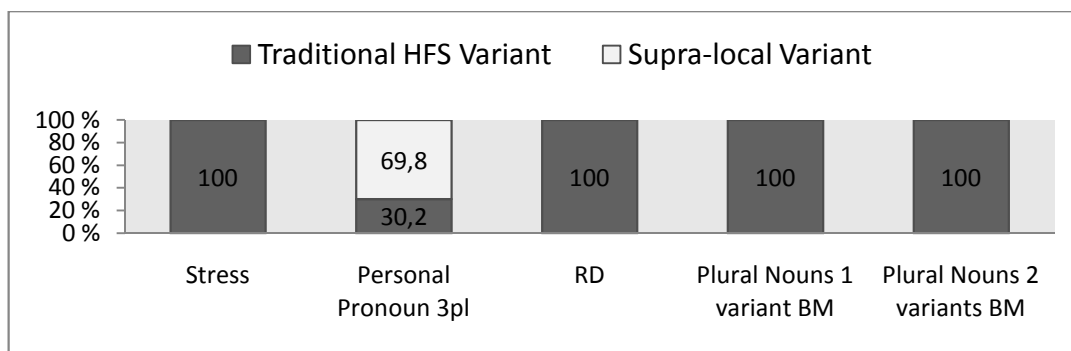


Figure 5.3 Informant Guri's Usage Rates of Dialectal and Supra-local Variants



**Figure 5.4 Informant Lasse's Usage Rates of Dialectal and Supra-local Variants**

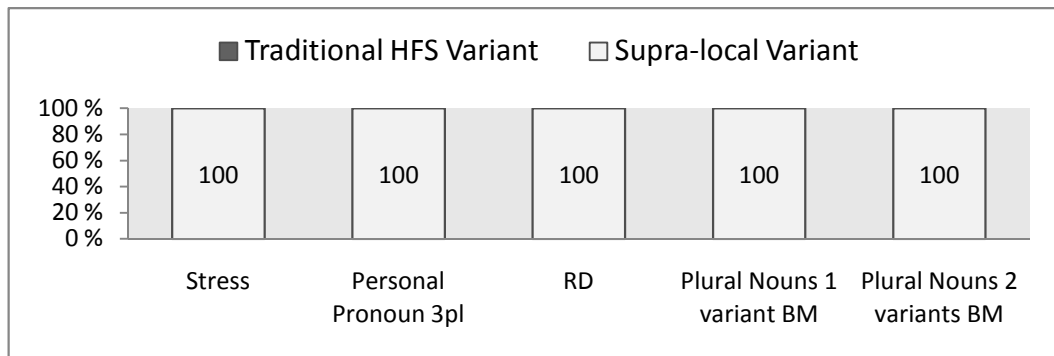
Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show the two informants' difference in usage rates of Hønefoss features. Guri and Lasse give very similar information when it comes to their own language use and attitudes towards the local dialect. They also have the same frequency patterns of visits to the capital. Lasse is more negative than Guri to the locality, but uses local dialect features to a much larger extent than her. The informants have the same age; the most substantial difference between them is their educational level and gender. The gender differences are not large in usage of local variants in the middle age group that Guri and Lasse belong to, as can be seen figures in sections 4.2.2.3; 4.3.6.8; 4.4.3.4; 4.5.5.4 and 4.5.6.6.

### *5.6.3: Case Studies Adolescent Female Vilde and Adolescent Female Åsne*

The adolescent informants with the highest and lowest usage rates of local features are both girls in upper secondary school, Vilde and Åsne.

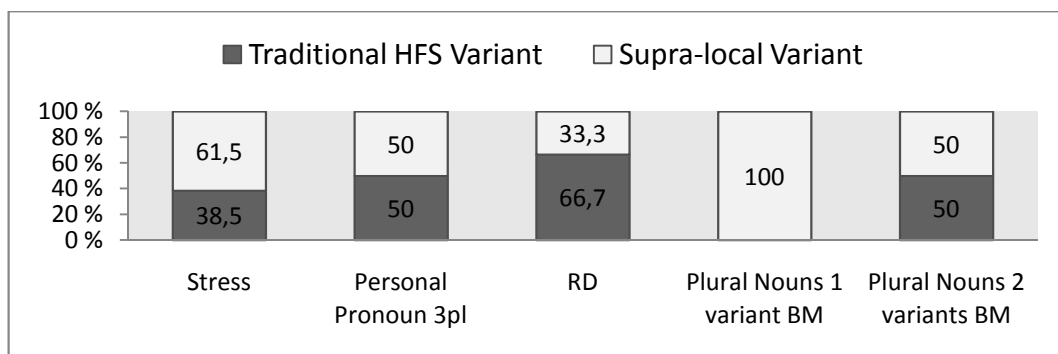
Vilde only uses variants that are found in Bokmål or in Oslo speech, the supra-regional variants. She states this herself and refers to her own variety as Bokmål. She is positive towards her own way of speaking. She could never recognise the Hønefoss dialect but states that one only has to travel about 15 kilometres outside the city before people start sounding different than they do there. She is negative towards the locality

and would rather have come from somewhere else. She visits Oslo about once a month and would react positively if people thought she came from there instead of Hønefoss.



**Figure 5.5 Informant Vilde's Usage Rates of Dialectal and Supra-local Variants**

Åsne is the adolescent informant with the highest rate of dialectal features. She says she speaks the local dialect but is not sure she would be able to recognise it if she heard it somewhere. She thinks one has to drive at least 30 kilometres before people start sounding different, and is thus not aware of large dialectal differences in the close vicinity. She would react very negatively if people thought she came from Oslo and only visits the capital city about once or twice a year. She is positive towards the home town Hønefoss and would not have come from anywhere else.



**Figure 5.6 Informant Åsne's Usage Rates of Dialectal and Supra-local Variants**

Åsne and Vilde are the same age and attend the same kind of secondary school programme in the same year. Their educational background as of now is thus near identical. The main difference between the two girls is in their attitudes towards the

locality, their home town. Åsne is very positive and uses a lot of local features, whereas Vilde is very negative and has no local linguistic features in her speech.

#### *5.6.4 Summary of Case Studies and their Relationship to the Other Results*

Which social factors play a role for the usage of dialectal features seems variable between age groups. In both the older and middle age groups, educational background is a good predictor of usage rates of local features. There are no differences in educational background for the adolescents. The case studies above illustrate the effect of education: Guri and Gerd are both among the informants in the data set with the highest educational background. Lasse and Bjarne both have a low educational background.

Attitudes do not correlate well with usage of dialectal features in the Hønefoss data set, and the case studies of the four middle and old speakers above illustrate in particular how positive attitudes towards the locality do not necessarily go hand in hand with usage of local linguistic features. In the youngest speakers, attitudes could be a better predictor of difference in linguistic behaviour. Røyneland (2005) found a significant correlation in her adolescent speakers between positive attitudes towards the locality and usage of local features. The importance of attitudes could therefore be dependent on the setting at hand, rather than a factor that consistently affects linguistic behaviour in all speakers.

The results discussed in this chapter would indicate that context is particularly important when it comes to the study of regional dialect levelling. Both the standardised written variety Bokmål and the speech of the capital city Oslo influence speech in the small town Hønefoss. The relationship between notions that speakers hold about standard language and regional dialect levelling seem to be a close one in East Norway. The correctness ideal that speakers hold is not one homogeneous entity



but rather consists of features viewed as belonging to the speech in capital as well as to Bokmål. All in all, standard language ideology affects dialect change in Hønefoss. The linguistic convergence with Oslo speech can be traced back to the overt norm presented by Bokmål and the covert norm that Oslo speech represents. Future sociolinguistic research of dialect change should take into account the standard language ideologies that people have, and not overlook the effect codified varieties might have on speech.

## 6 Conclusion

This study has investigated language change in the city of Hønefoss in East Norway. Using a comparative analysis of linguistic variation in Hønefoss and the Norwegian capital city Oslo, combined with an analysis of the social evaluation of the written standard language Bokmål, the study aimed to map out some of the social and linguistic mechanisms involved in the linguistic change referred to as regional dialect levelling. Of particular interest was the role that standard language ideology plays in this type of dialect change where localised forms are disappearing and speech varieties across localities are becoming more homogeneous. In a number of locations across Europe such diffusion of linguistic variants and increased linguistic homogeneity within regions are attested dialect changes (e.g. Auer and Hinskens 1996 in the Netherlands, Kristiansen 1998 in Denmark and Williams and Kerswill 1999 in the UK). However, previous studies have not thoroughly investigated what role individual speakers' abstract linguistic norms play in these processes. By examining, in depth, speakers' standard language ideologies in a situation of regional dialect levelling, this study offers a contribution to the advancement of sociolinguistic theory.

Norway was chosen as a setting for this study because of its particular language planning history and the high social status that localised dialects enjoy there. All dialects of Norwegian are assigned official status in the country through governmental policies that aim to ensure that children's vernaculars are employed in schools and that speakers can write a variety of Norwegian that is close to their own form of speech. The Norwegian sociolinguistic context, therefore, offers an interesting framework in which to study regional dialect levelling, as no overt, or

codified, speech norm exists in theory. In this respect the context studied in the current investigation is very different to that of the UK, the Netherlands or Denmark, where previous studies have attested regional dialect levelling (e.g. Williams and Kerswill 1999, Auer and Hinskens 1996 and Kristiansen 1998).

Results from this study show that in the youngest generation of speakers investigated in Hønefoss, the majority claim they speak the local dialect. These young speakers are not retaining the local dialectal variants investigated in this study, however, as their usage rates of local linguistic features is very low. The youngest speakers in Hønefoss attach no overt stigma to the local dialect but, interestingly, there appears to be no covert prestige attached to the Hønefoss dialect by this group of informants either. In results from a matched guise test, speech with localised dialect features does not hold covert prestige with young informants in Hønefoss but is instead seen as unattractive. The lack of implicit positive evaluations of the local dialect in Hønefoss is different from findings made in the UK (e.g. Trudgill 1972) where localised features may hold covert prestige while being overtly stigmatised, or not part of the speech standard RP (Trudgill 1972). The findings in the current study from East Norway are also different to those of Williams and Kerswill (1999) who attest diffusion of linguistic forms across a large geographic area of the UK. Williams and Kerswill (1999) find that linguistic features not part of RP are the ones that spread to new locations across England. In East Norway, the features that spread across geographical locations are not features that are overtly stigmatised, but rather the linguistic variants that can be found in the standardised variety Bokmål. The results from this study show that in a situation where local dialects are promoted through official channels, the overt (explicit) as well as covert (implicit) linguistic norm lie with varieties that are not local.

The spatial diffusion of linguistic variants and increased linguistic homogenisation are both aspects of regional dialect levelling. The varieties spoken in Hønefoss and Oslo in East Norway are becoming increasingly homogeneous linguistically as a result of the adoption of variants used in the capital city by speakers in Hønefoss. In this respect, the situations in the UK and Norway are similar, as the capital city, London, is pin-pointed as a source of the spatial diffusion of linguistic features in the UK also (e.g. Williams and Kerswill 1999). In the UK, however, the features that spread from the capital are not part of the standard speech variety, whereas in East Norway, the forms that diffuse from Oslo to Hønefoss are, for the most part, codified in Bokmål.

Although speech in the youngest informants in Hønefoss and Oslo is very similar comparatively, the convergence of the spoken varieties does not necessarily mean that Oslo speech represents an overt linguistic norm for speakers in Hønefoss. From qualitative and quantitative analyses of attitudinal data in Hønefoss it becomes clear that the written standard Bokmål is an overt norm for what constitutes correct and attractive language in Hønefoss. Oslo is not an overt norm as Hønefoss speakers do not wish to sound like they come from the capital city. Neither is the variety spoken in the capital city deemed very approachable by Hønefoss listeners, although implicit attitudinal data show that Oslo speech is viewed as a correct and an attractive form of speech. The role of the capital city variety as a socially prestigious accent is not clear cut when considering these results. The variety in the capital city is neither stated as an overt norm by Hønefoss speakers nor is it heavily stigmatised by the informants. The overt linguistic norm for many Hønefoss informants is Bokmål, and these results could indicate that implicit attitudinal data are positive towards Oslo speech in Hønefoss

primarily because the Oslo variety's linguistic properties lie close to those of the written language Bokmål.

In the East Norwegian context, regional dialect levelling and language standardisation are very closely linked. Language standardisation in this sense refers to a convergence of speech towards an abstract linguistic norm, a standard language ideology. This study aimed to explore individuals' standard language ideologies, i.e. which notions are expressed with regards to the superiority of language due to its link to codification, education, socio-economic privilege or the capital city. The linguistic variants that increase in usage in Hønefoss are those associated with high education and correctness (compliance with codified language) of speech. These social factors have consistently been linked to standard language ideologies in previous literature. On evaluative aspects that reflect social attractiveness, like approachability and honesty, the local Hønefoss variants score well (and sometimes highest) with listeners as do the non-local features. The variants that are being lost in Hønefoss are linked to rural East Norwegian areas whilst some linguistic variants, like suffix /ene/ that is increasingly used in Hønefoss, are linked to an Oslo identity by speakers. The standard language ideology in Hønefoss thus overtly constitutes features from the written variety Bokmål whilst it covertly constitutes features used in Oslo. Importantly, the norms contain linguistic variability, like Bokmål does. A number of linguistic variants for the same variable are all viewed as equally correct and educated sounding to Hønefoss listeners, as was seen in the results from the matched guise test where guises with different suffix and (l) variants were evaluated near-identically on those dimensions.

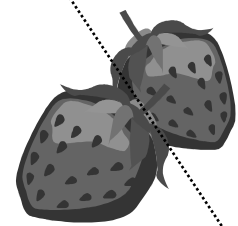
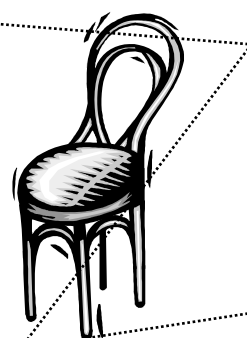
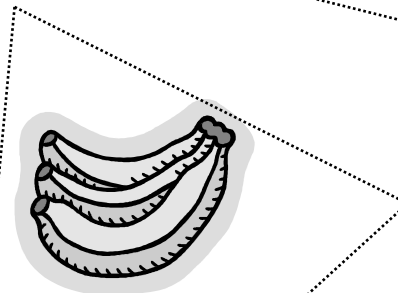
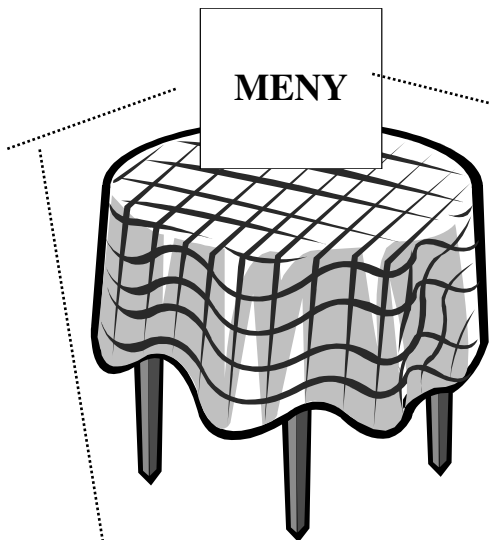
An investigation of the social meaning of language is thus necessary to fully understand the processes behind dialect change, and especially those behind regional dialect levelling, as the change can be viewed as an outcome of social, as well as linguistic factors. The linguistic features that are being lost in Hønefoss are stigmatised and linked to a low education; unattractive language; low intelligence and incorrectness by listeners. Certain features that are disappearing also index a local identity to listeners. There is no indication that the regional linguistic features that are increasing in usage are tied to a specific locality and this could indicate that speakers are aware of the features' regional, or supra-local, distribution.

The variable usage of linguistic features depending on social background of speakers in Hønefoss reflects, to some extent, the social meanings these features hold in the community. It is a consistent finding in the Hønefoss data set that usage of local linguistic variants is conditioned by a speaker's educational background. Speakers with a high university education hardly use local linguistic features initial stress; pronoun [dum]; or [r] for environment <rd>. It is not the case, however, that speakers with positive attitudes towards the locality use dialectal features more. Neither is there a correlation between usage of local linguistic features and stating that one speaks the local dialect. The majority of speakers in Hønefoss claim to speak the local dialect, including a large number of the youngest speakers. Most informants cannot describe any linguistic features found in the dialect, nor do they think they would recognise the variety, however. Speaking a local dialect does not necessarily entail linguistic knowledge of the local dialect. Stating that one speaks the local dialect could therefore be bound to a social or geographical affiliation instead. Although features that are deemed local are being lost, it is not the case that speakers do not want to index their local affiliation. The data from Hønefoss

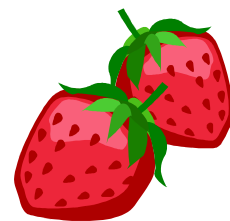
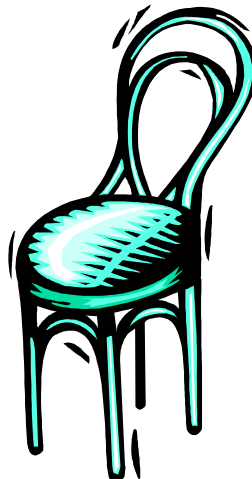
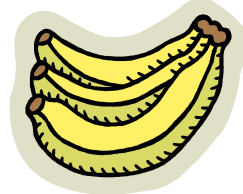
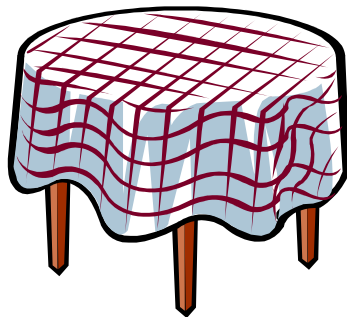
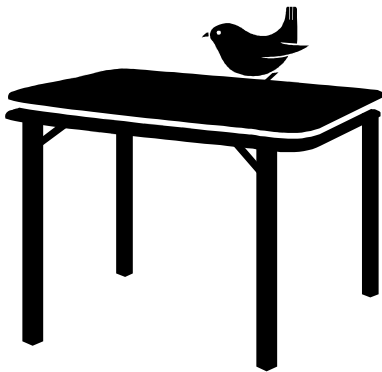
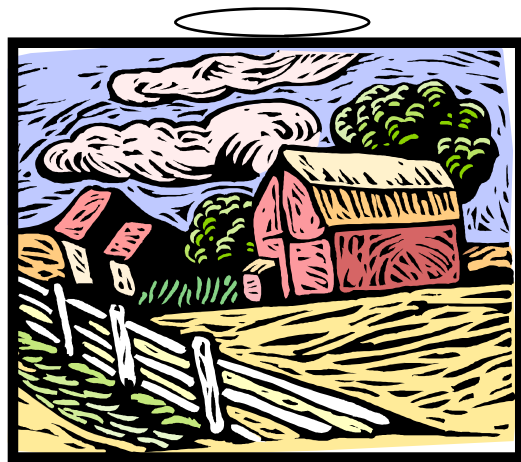
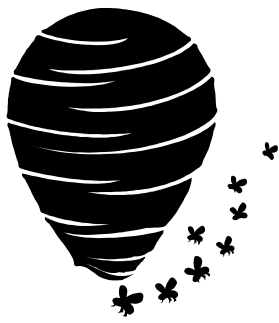
indicate that regional dialect levelling is an outcome of linguistic and certain social changes rather than a shift in affiliation from the local to the regional.

Within the wider context of sociolinguistics the findings of this study show that the study of linguistic norms and standard ideologies are important when considering a loss of local linguistic features to supra-local ones. In the East Norwegian context where official language policies are especially aimed at maintaining dialectal differences, the standardised variety and the closely connected standard language ideologies informants hold are driving forces behind dialectal levelling. However, the lack of the attachment of overt stigma to localised dialects through institutional channels in Norway may mean that highly localised forms do not carry covert prestige in the same way they might in the UK, for example. This could be one of the reasons why these local varieties are being lost. This study thus shows that the social and political context of the standard language and the social evaluation of speech varieties are crucial to understanding regional dialect levelling.

APPENDIX A: MAP TASK







## APPENDIX B: READING PASSAGE

Det var en gang en konge og en dronning som hadde vært barnløse lenge da de endelig fikk en liten prinsesse. De ble så glade da hun ble født at de bestemte seg for å ha stor fest til ære for henne. Til festen var tre gode feer invitert, men kongen og dronningen hadde unngått å invitere en ond trollkone som bodde i distriktet.

Festen var en stor suksess og to av de tre gode feene hadde brukt magi og gitt den lille prinsessen eksepsjonell skjønnhet og intelligens i gave. Like før den tredje feen skulle gi gaven sin kom den onde trollkone inn i salen. Hun var rasende på kongen og dronningen fordi de ikke hadde invitert henne til festen og ropte ut en forbannelse over den lille datteren deres:

"Når prinsessen har fylt femten år, skal hun stikke seg på en spinnetein og dø"

Alle i salen ble forferdet av den onde spådommen de akkurat hadde hørt. Kongen og dronningen ba de gode feene om råd, men selv om de ikke kunne oppheve forbannelsen hadde ikke den tredje feen gitt noen gave ennå. "Prinsessen skal ikke dø, hun skal bare sove i hundre år" sa den tredje feen, og gjorde dermed forbannelsen mildere. Kongen og dronningen var allikevel bekymret og ga bud om at alle spinneteiner i hele landet skulle brennes.

Prinsessen vokste opp og ble like intelligent som feene hadde spådd. Hun het Aurora. Aurora var spesielt god til å synge og avisene i landet skrev at hun var vakrest av alle i verden.

Alt var idyll i kongeriket frem til jentas femtenårsdag. Da var hun på oppdagelsesferd i tårnene på slottet. I et av dem fant hun en lang stige og gikk opp den til toppen av tårnet. Der satt den gamle trollkona og spant. Aurora ble oppslukt av spinneteinen og rørte ved den og stakk seg. Hun falt i en dyp søvn som bredde seg ut av tårnene, gjennom slottet, fram til foreldrene og til alle tjenerne, til alle lå og sov på hele kongsgården.

Så fort alle på slottet hadde sovnet vokste det en høy hekk rundt tårnene på slottet. Ingen klarte lenger å komme seg gjennom gjerdet inn til kongefamilien for å vekke dem. De neste årene gikk det ikke så bra i kongeriket. Bøndene mistet avlingene sine og mennene måtte reise ut av distriktet for å få seg jobb andre steder.

Butikkene i landsbyen måtte stenge for familien på slottet hadde vært deres beste kunder.

I hundre år sov prinsessen og familien hennes på slottet. I mellomtiden hadde hundrevis av menn prøvd å komme gjennom gjerdet inn til slottet, men den store tornehekken hindret alle mennene som prøvde å komme gjennom.

Så en dag kom en soldat ridende. Uniformen hans var slitt for han hadde vært i lange kamper med fienden. Han stoppet utenfor slottet og fikk øye på en åpning i gjerdet. Tornehekken la seg til side da han kom fram og han spankulerte lett gjennom, og inn på slottets gård. Inne på gården så han sitt eget speilbilde i et vindu og skvatt litt da han så at uniformen hans var som ny. Han så i grunn ut som en prins, tenkte han, og gikk inn i det store slottet. Der fant han en stige opp til et tårn, og øverst i tornet lå Aurora og sov. Prinsen gikk bort til henne og vekket henne med et kyss. Forbannelsen var brutt og hele slottet våknet til live igjen. Prinsen giftet seg med prinsessen og de levde lykkelig til sine dagers ende.

APPENDIX C: WORD LIST

SÅLEN	HYLLE
LYSENE	TELEFON
UNDERVISE	PLANTER
SERVIETT	JORDET
FUGLER	ELV
SKAPENE	SØNNENE
KU	MÅLE
BLOMSTERJORD	GULV
KIRKEN	GRISENE
KASTET	KJOLE
FJORD	KIKKERT
BONDEGÅRD	NÅLA
HUSENE	TULIPANER
MISTET	FJELLENE
INTERESSANT	FAMILIE
SPURV	DEM
NEGLENE	MÅKEN
FJERNET	BORDBEIN
HENDENE	

## APPENDIX D: IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE (ADAPTED FROM LLAMAS 2007B)

### Your Language

- What accent would you say you had, and do you like it?
- Can you recognise the accent of Hønefoss (e.g. if heard on the radio or TV)? If so, how?
- Do you think older and younger people talk the same here (pronounce things the same and use the same words)?
- Have you ever been in a situation where you've deliberately changed the way you talk? If so, why?
- Do you think there's a difference between how males and females speak here?
- Where, geographically, would you say people stop talking the same as you and start sounding different?
- What would you think if your accent was referred to as Oslo?

### Your Area

- If you were watching a *regional* news programme, what places would you expect to hear news from?
- What image or description of Hønefoss would you give to someone who didn't know it?
- If you wanted a day out shopping, where would you go?
- Do you think Hønefoss is a fashionable place to be?
- If you could, would you change where you came from? Why/why not?
- What do you consider the best and worst things are about growing up and living in Hønefoss?
- Have you ever seen Hønefoss on a national T.V. programme (e.g. a documentary)?
  - If so, how was it portrayed?
- If an outsider was complaining about Hønefoss, would you defend it even if you agreed with what s/he was saying? Why/why not?
- How often do you visit Oslo?
- For adult informants: Why did you decide to stay in Hønefoss/move back to Hønefoss
- For adolescents: Have you got friends that don't attend the same school as yourself?

## APPENDIX E: TRANSCRIPTIONS MATCHED GUISE STIMULI

### Conservative Bokmål Orthography:

I generasjoner har det bodd folk på denne gården. På tunet står en bonde og prater med to kamerater. Han ser nedover et nypløyd jorde mens de to andre bøndene snakker om de nye butikkene som har åpna i tettstedet i nærheten. De er alle enige om at gårdene i området har bedre tider og se fram til etter de siste åra med fraflytning til byen. Mennene står rolig og ser nedover veien da de får øye på noe de har venta på. Tre kvinner kommer gående mot grinda i det hvite gjerdet nederst på gårdsplassen. Kameratene skynder seg og samler sammen noen kurver på bakken og rusler bort til kvinnene for å overraske dem med de fine jordbærene de plukka tidligere på dagen.

### Guise without local speech variants with Conservative Bokmål features

[ɪ genəra'ʃu:nər ha dɔ̃ bʊd folk pɔ̃ denə go:ŋ pɔ̃ tæ:nə sto:r ən bunə ɔ̃ pra:tər mə tu  
kamə'ra:tər han se: ŋe:dɔvər ət nyplœyd jurə mens di tu andrə bœn.nə snakç um di nyə  
bæ'tikənə som har ɔ:pnet i tetste:də i næ:rhe:tŋ di ær alə e:nije um at go:ŋə i umrɔ:də har  
be:drə ti:dər ɔ̃ sɛ frəm til etç di sistə ɔ:rənə mə fra:flytŋ til by:n men.nə stor ru:lɪ ɔ̃ se:  
ŋedovər væjən da di fo:r œyə pɔ̃ nuə di har ventet pɔ̃ tre: kvinər komər go:ənə mu:t  
grmen i de vitə jæ:rə ne:deʃt pɔ̃ go:ʃplasŋ kamə'ra:tənə ʃynə ʃæj ɔ̃ samlər samən nuen  
kærvər pɔ̃ bakŋ ɔ̃ ræʃlər buç il kum.nə fɔr ɔ̃ ɔ:vəraskə dem mɛ di fi:nə jurbæ:ŋə di pçuket  
ti:lirə pɔ̃ da:gən]

### Guise without local speech variants, with radical Bokmål features

[ɪ genəra'ʃu:nər ha dɔ̃ bʊd foɾk pɔ̃ denə go:ŋ pɔ̃ tæ:nə sto:r ən bunə ɔ̃ pra:tər mə tu  
kamə'ra:tər han se: ŋe:dɔvər ət nyɾœyd jurə mens di tu andrə bœn.nə snakç um di nyə  
bæ'tikənə som har ɔ:pna i tetste:də i næ:rhe:tŋ di ær alə e:nije um at go:ŋə i umrɔ:də har  
be:drə ti:dər ɔ̃ sɛ frəm til etç di sistə ɔ:ra mə fra:flytŋ til by:n men.nə stor ru:lɪ ɔ̃ se:  
ŋedovər væjən da di fo:r œyə pɔ̃ nuə di har venta pɔ̃ tre: kvinər komər go:ənə mu:t grna  
i de vitə jæ:rə ne:deʃt pɔ̃ go:ʃplasŋ kamə'ra:tənə ʃynə ʃæj ɔ̃ samçər samən nuen kærvər pɔ̃  
bakŋ ɔ̃ ræʃlər buç il kum.nə fɔr ɔ̃ ɔ:vəraskə dem mɛ di fi:nə jurbæ:ŋə di pçuka ti:lirə pɔ̃  
da:gən]

Guise with Radical Bokmål features but also [dum] and [r] of <rd>

[I genəra'ʃu:nər ha dɛ bud foɾk pɔ denə go:ŋ pɔ tæ:nə sto:r ən bunə ɔ pra:tər mə tu  
,kamə'ra:tər han se: ŋe:dɔvər ət nypɾæyd juɾə mɛns dʊm tu andrə bœn.nə snakɾ um dʊm  
nyə bə'tikənə som har o:pna i tetste:də i næ:rhe:tŋ dʊm ær alə e:nije um at go:ŋə i umrɔ:d  
ə har be:drə ti:dər o sɛ fram til etɾ dʊm sistə o:ra mə fra:fɾytŋ til by:n mɛn.nə stor ru:lɪ o  
se: ŋedovər væjən da dʊm fo:r æyə pɔ nuə dʊm har venta pɔ tre: kvinər komər go:ənə  
mʊt grɪna i de vi:tə jæ:ɾə ne:dɛft pɔ go:ʃplasn̩ kamə'ra:tənə ʃynə ʃæj ɔ samɾər samən nuə  
n kærʊər pɔbakŋ ɔ rʊʃlər buɾ il kʊm.nə fɔr ɔ o:ʊəraskə dʊm mɛ dʊm fi:nə juɾbæ:ŋə dʊm  
ɾɿuka ti:lirə pɔ da:gən]

Guise with Radical Bokmål features and [dum], [r] of <rd>, and initial stress in loanwords

[I 'genəra,ʃu:nər ha dɛ bud foɾk pɔ denə go:ŋ pɔ tæ:nə sto:r ən bunə ɔ pra:tər mə tu  
'kamə,ra:tər han se: ŋe:dɔvər ət nypɾæyd juɾə mɛns dʊm tu andrə bœn.nə snakɾ um dʊm  
nyə 'buɾ,tikənə som har o:pna i tetste:də i næ:rhe:tŋ dʊm ær alə e:nije um at go:ŋə i umrɔ:  
də har be:drə ti:dər o sɛ fram til etɾ dʊm sistə o:ra mə fra:fɾytŋ til by:n mɛn.nə stor  
ru:lɪ ose: ŋedovər væjən da dʊm fo:r æyə pɔ nuə dʊm har venta pɔ tre: kvinər komər  
go:ənə mʊt grɪna i de vi:tə jæ:ɾə ne:dɛft pɔ go:ʃplasn̩ 'kaməra:tənə ʃynə ʃæj ɔ samɾər  
samən nuən kærʊər pɔbakŋ ɔ rʊʃlər buɾ il kʊm.nə fɔr ɔ o:ʊəraskə dʊm mɛ dʊm fi:nə  
juɾbæ:ŋə dʊm ɾɿuka ti:lirə pɔ da:gən]

## APPENDIX F: MATCHED GUISE QUESTIONNAIRE

### Lytteprøve 1

- Hvor tror du denne personen er fra? .....
- Hva synes du om dialekten?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver dialekten:

**fin**  
**korrekt**  
**snobbete**


**stygg**  
**ukorrekt**  
**usnobbete**

- Hva tror du om personen?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver denne personen:

**intelligent**  
**rik**  
**snill**  
**ærlig**  
**høyt utdannet**


**uintelligent**  
**fattig**  
**slem**  
**uærlig**  
**lavt utdannet**

### Lytteprøve 2

- Hvor tror du denne personen er fra? .....
- Hva synes du om dialekten?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver dialekten:

**fin**  
**korrekt**  
**snobbete**


**stygg**  
**ukorrekt**  
**usnobbete**

- Hva tror du om personen?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver denne personen:

**intelligent**  
**rik**  
**snill**  
**ærlig**  
**høyt utdannet**


**uintelligent**  
**fattig**  
**slem**  
**uærlig**  
**lavt utdannet**



### Lytteprøve 3

- Hvor tror du denne personen er fra? .....
- Hva synes du om dialekten?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver dialekten:

**fin**  
**korrekt**  
**snobbete**


**stygg**  
**ukorrekt**  
**usnobbete**

- Hva tror du om personen?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver denne personen:

**intelligent**  
**rik**  
**snill**  
**ærlig**  
**høyt utdannet**


**uintelligent**  
**fattig**  
**slem**  
**uærlig**  
**lavt utdannet**

### Lytteprøve 4

- Hvor tror du denne personen er fra? .....
- Hva synes du om dialekten?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver dialekten:

**fin**  
**korrekt**  
**snobbete**


**stygg**  
**ukorrekt**  
**usnobbete**

- Hva tror du om personen?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver denne personen:

**intelligent**  
**rik**  
**snill**  
**ærlig**  
**høyt utdannet**


**uintelligent**  
**fattig**  
**slem**  
**uærlig**  
**lavt utdannet**

## Lytteprøve 5

- Hvor tror du denne personen er fra? .....
- Hva synes du om dialekten?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver dialekten:

**fin**  
**korrekt**  
**snobbete**


**stygg**  
**ukorrekt**  
**usnobbete**

- Hva tror du om personen?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver denne personen:

**intelligent**  
**rik**  
**snill**  
**ærlig**  
**høyt utdannet**


**uintelligent**  
**fattig**  
**slem**  
**uærlig**  
**lavt utdannet**

## Lytteprøve 6

- Hvor tror du denne personen er fra? .....
- Hva synes du om dialekten?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver dialekten:

**fin**  
**korrekt**  
**snobbete**


**stygg**  
**ukorrekt**  
**usnobbete**

- Hva tror du om personen?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver denne personen:

**intelligent**  
**rik**  
**snill**  
**ærlig**  
**høyt utdannet**


**uintelligent**  
**fattig**  
**slem**  
**uærlig**  
**lavt utdannet**

## Lytteprøve 7

- Hvor tror du denne personen er fra? .....
- Hva synes du om dialekten?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver dialekten:

**fin**  
**korrekt**  
**snobbete**


**stygg**  
**ukorrekt**  
**usnobbete**

- Hva tror du om personen?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver denne personen:

**intelligent**  
**rik**  
**snill**  
**ærlig**  
**høyt utdannet**


**uintelligent**  
**fattig**  
**slem**  
**uærlig**  
**lavt utdannet**

## Lytteprøve 8

- Hvor tror du denne personen er fra? .....
- Hva synes du om dialekten?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver dialekten:

**fin**  
**korrekt**  
**snobbete**


**stygg**  
**ukorrekt**  
**usnobbete**

- Hva tror du om personen?

Sett kryss i boksen nær karakteristikken du best synes beskriver denne personen:

**intelligent**  
**rik**  
**snill**  
**ærlig**  
**høyt utdannet**


**uintelligent**  
**fattig**  
**slem**  
**uærlig**  
**lavt utdannet**

APPENDIX G: INDIVIDUAL RESULTS READ SPEECH AND STYLISTIC VARIATION

Informant Astrid's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

Astrid	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	34/72	47	0/9	0	0/18	0	0/5	0
[dum]	18/19	95	0/2	0	0/7	0	0/1	0
[ɹ] for <i>rd</i>	11/17	65	1/1	100	0/4	0	0/5	0
/a/ in BM non-variable words	5/6	83	0/1	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	4/4	100	0/1	0	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Bjarne individual scores when reading and in free speech:

Bjarne	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	31/31	100	15/16	94	11/18	61	4/5	80
[dum]	15/17	88	4/5	80	0/7	0	0/1	0
[ɹ] for <i>rd</i>	5/7	71	3/3	100	5/5	100	4/4	100
/a/ in BM non-variable words	1/1	100	0/3	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	3/3	100	1/2	50	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Kurt's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

Kurt	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	1/18	6	0/6	0	1/18	6	0/5	0
[dum]	2/7	29	0/3	0	0/5	0	0/1	0
[ɹ] for <i>rd</i>	0/7	0	-	-	0/4	0	0/5	0
/a/ in BM non-variable words	0/2	0	0/1	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	2/5	40	0/2	0	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Iver's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

Iver	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	14/17	82	0/4	0	0/18	0	0/5	0
[dum]	10/11	91	2/2	100	0/5	0	0/1	0
[t] for <i>rd</i>	3/8	38	2/3	66	0/4	0	0/5	0
/a/ in BM non-variable words	-	-	-	-	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	2/2	100	-	-	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Janne's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

Janne	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	11/13	85	1/7	14	0/18	0	3/5	60
[dum]	11/15	73	1/6	17	0/5	0	0/1	0
[t] for <i>rd</i>	12/14	86	-	-	0/4	0	4/5	80
/a/ in BM non-variable words	2/2	100	-	-	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	6/6	100	1/1	100	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Thea's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

Thea	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	2/30	7	0/6	0	0/18	0	0/5	0
[dum]	4/22	18	0/5	0	0/5	0	0/1	0
[t] for <i>rd</i>	5/19	26	0/1	0	0/3	0	0/5	0
/a/ in BM non-variable words	6/18	33	0/3	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	9/18	50	1/2	50	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Xavier's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

<b>Xavier</b>	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	6/24	25	2/7	29	0/18	0	0/5	0
[dum]	0/3	0	8/10	80	0/5	0	0/1	0
[t] for <i>rd</i>	0/8	0	-	-	0/4	0	0/5	0
/a/ in BM non-variable words	2/4	50	0/1	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	1/3	33	-	-	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Zara's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

<b>Zara</b>	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	2/6	33	0/1	0	0/18	0	0/5	0
[dum]	0/10	0	0/6	0	0/5	0	0/1	0
[t] for <i>rd</i>	0/6	0	0/1	0	0/3	0	0/5	0
/a/ in BM non-variable words	0/3	0	0/2	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	0/1	0	0/1	0	0/3	0	0/4	0

Informant Cathrine's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

<b>Cathrine</b>	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	0/9	0	0/3	0	0/18	0	0/5	0
[dum]	0/5	0	0/8	0	0/4	0	0/1	0
[t] for <i>rd</i>	0/1	0	-	-	0/4	0	0/5	0
/a/ in BM non-variable words	0/4	0	0/3	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	2/2	100	-	-	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Henrik's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

Henrik	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	2/9	22	0/3	0	0/18	0	0/5	0
[dum]	1/4	25	0/2	0	0/5	0	0/1	0
[r] for <i>rd</i>	2/9	22	-	-	0/3	0	1/5	20
/a/ in BM non-variable words	0/1	0	0/3	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	0/2	0	1/1	100	0/4	0	0/4	0

Informant Frida's individual scores when reading and in free speech:

Frida	Interview speech		Retelling Passage		Reading Passage		Word List	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Initial stress	0/7	0	0/4	0	0/18	0	0/5	0
[dum]	0/6	0	0/5	0	0/5	0	0/1	0
[r] for <i>rd</i>	0/13	0	-	-	0/4	0	0/5	0
/a/ in BM non-variable words	1/2	50	0/2	0	0/5	0	0/4	0
/a/ in BM variable words	0/3	0	-	-	0/4	0	0/4	0

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