



Standardization as sociolinguistic change

– a comparative study of three traditional dialect areas

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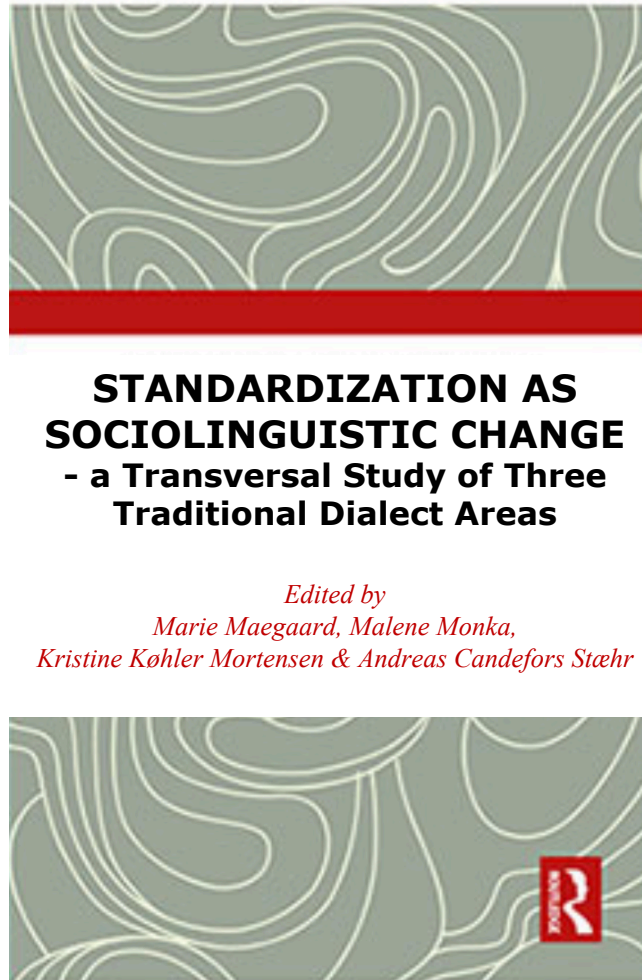
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Dialect in the Periphery (2015-18)

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Comparative study of three
traditional dialect areas in Denmark
Three generations in each of the
three field sites



Northern Jutland

Southern Jutland

Copenhagen

Bornholm



Bornholmian greeting

Aja: hvordan kører det [_ivɔŋ 'cøΛð]
what's up (pronounced in Bornholman dialect)



Bornholmian greeting

Aja: hvordan kører det [ˌvɔŋ ˈcøʌð]
 what's up (pronounced in Bornholman dialect)

Johanne: bonjour ha



Focus of this talk

- The *non-uniformity* of standardization processes
- The importance of a *transversal* approach in standardization studies
- An understanding of standardization as *sociolinguistic change*

Standardization in Denmark

- Standardization is advanced in Denmark
(Pedersen 2003, 2005; Kristiansen & Coupland 2011;
Grondelaers & Kristiansen 2013)
- Changes spread from Copenhagen to the rest of
the country (Jensen & Maegaard 2012, Maegaard et al
2013)
- Yet, local dialect is still used
(Schøning & Pedersen 2007, Monka 2013, Scheuer et al 2015;
Schøning 2016)

=> Lack of data from "the periphery"



Sociolinguistic change

- Studies of *sociolinguistic change* cover the existing variationist field and relates it to changes in beliefs and evaluations of language
- Social change integral to language change (Androutsopoulos 2016; Coupland 2009a,b, 2014 a,b, 2016; Mortensen 2019)
- The core process of change “is not language change, but language-ideological change, embedded in wider processes of social change” (Coupland 2009: 28)



Sociolinguistic change

- Standardization as sociolinguistic change
- Mediatization
- Geo-political changes



Participants and data

Location	Young generation	Parent generation	Grandparent generation
Northern Jutland	53	26	14
Southern Jutland	28	13	10
Bornholm	16	19	11

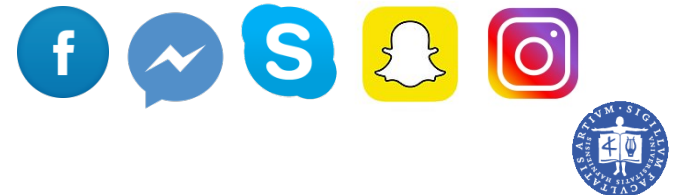
Sound/video

- Interviews
- Group recordings
- Self recordings

Exp data

- Verbal guise
- Recognition task

Social media



Ethnography in different fieldsites



Quantitative study, participants

Location	Young generation	Parent generation	Grandparent generation
Northern Jutland	7	11	9
Bornholm	6	11	10
Southern Jutland	5 (+ 23, Monka & Hovmark 2016)	10	10

- Data from group recordings
- Coding of variables

The variables, Bornholm

- Negation: *ikke* vs. *inte*
- /k/ before fronted vowel: [k] vs. [C] ('*køre*', '*kedelig*', '*kigge*')
- 'den' - /n/ is palatalized in certain contexts, [n] vs. [ɲ]

The variables, Northern Jutland

- The negation: *ikke* vs. *inte*
- Lengthening of short vowel in original two-syllable words where the final [ə] is not pronounced due to the Jutlandic apokope (e.g. 'suppe', 'hjemme')
- [v] vs. [w] in initial sound (e.g. 'vi', 'vil', 'ved')
- Pronunciation of final -et in the present participle, nouns in neuter, adjectives in neuter
 - Three realizations possible: [əð] vs. [əd] vs. [ə]
- In prepositions used as adverbials or without following object: + *glottal constriction* vs. *no glottal constriction* (e.g. 'på', 'i', 'fra')

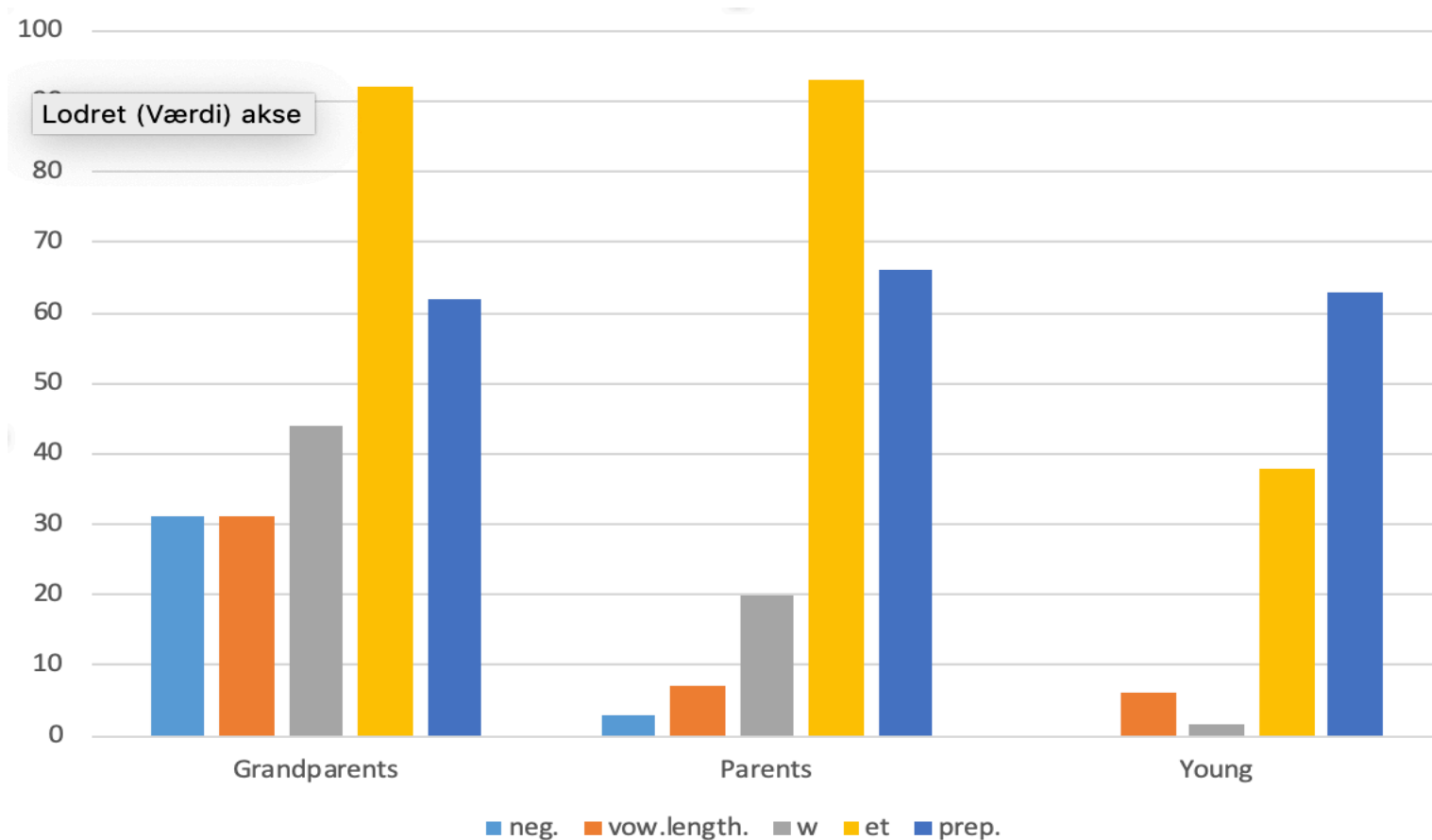


The variables Southern Jutland

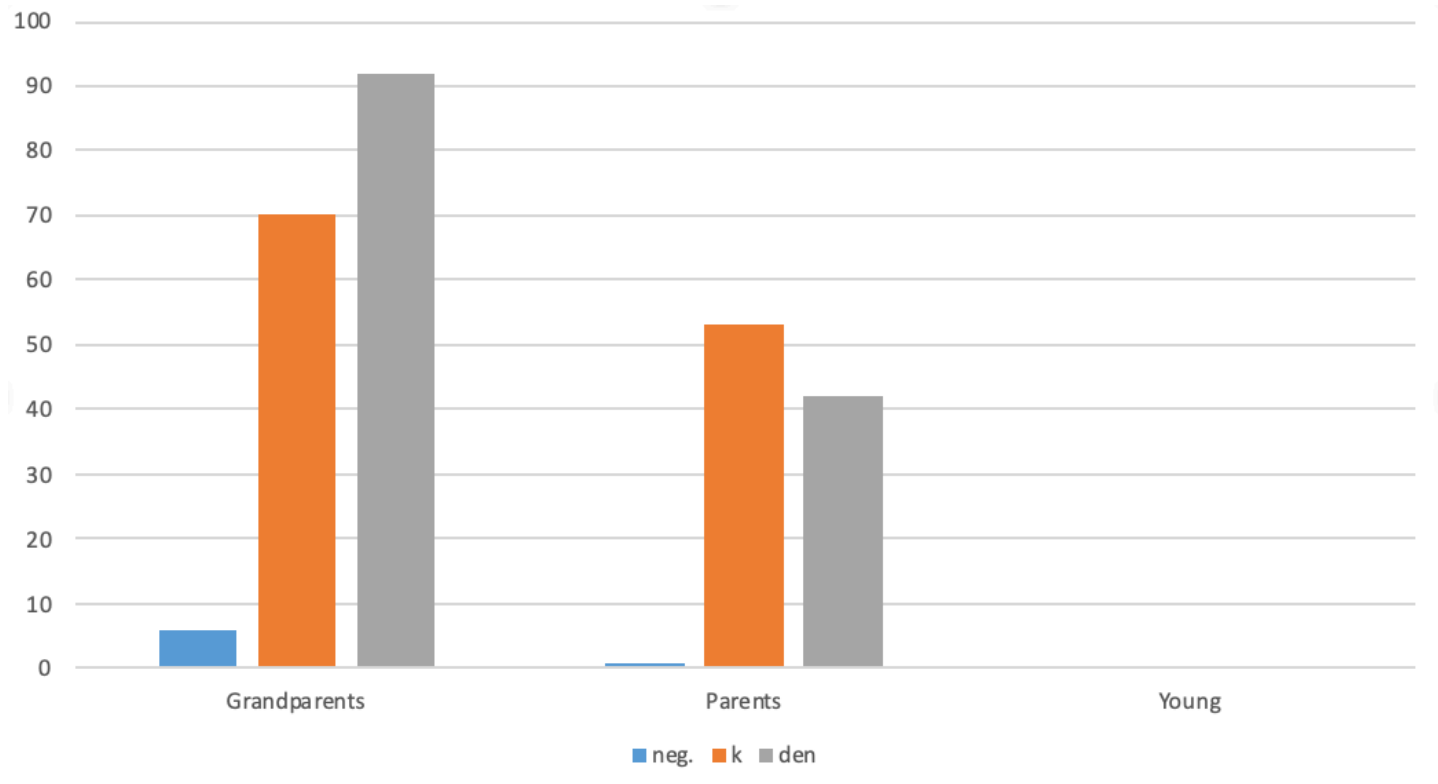
- Negation: *ikke* vs. *it* / *'t*
- 1st person pronoun: *jeg* vs. *æ*
- Definite article: *huset* vs. *æ hus*
- Umlaut in present tense of six verbs: [p:ʔ] vs. [ɛ]
'*får*', '*går*', '*står*', '*forstår*', '*slår*', '*foreslår*'



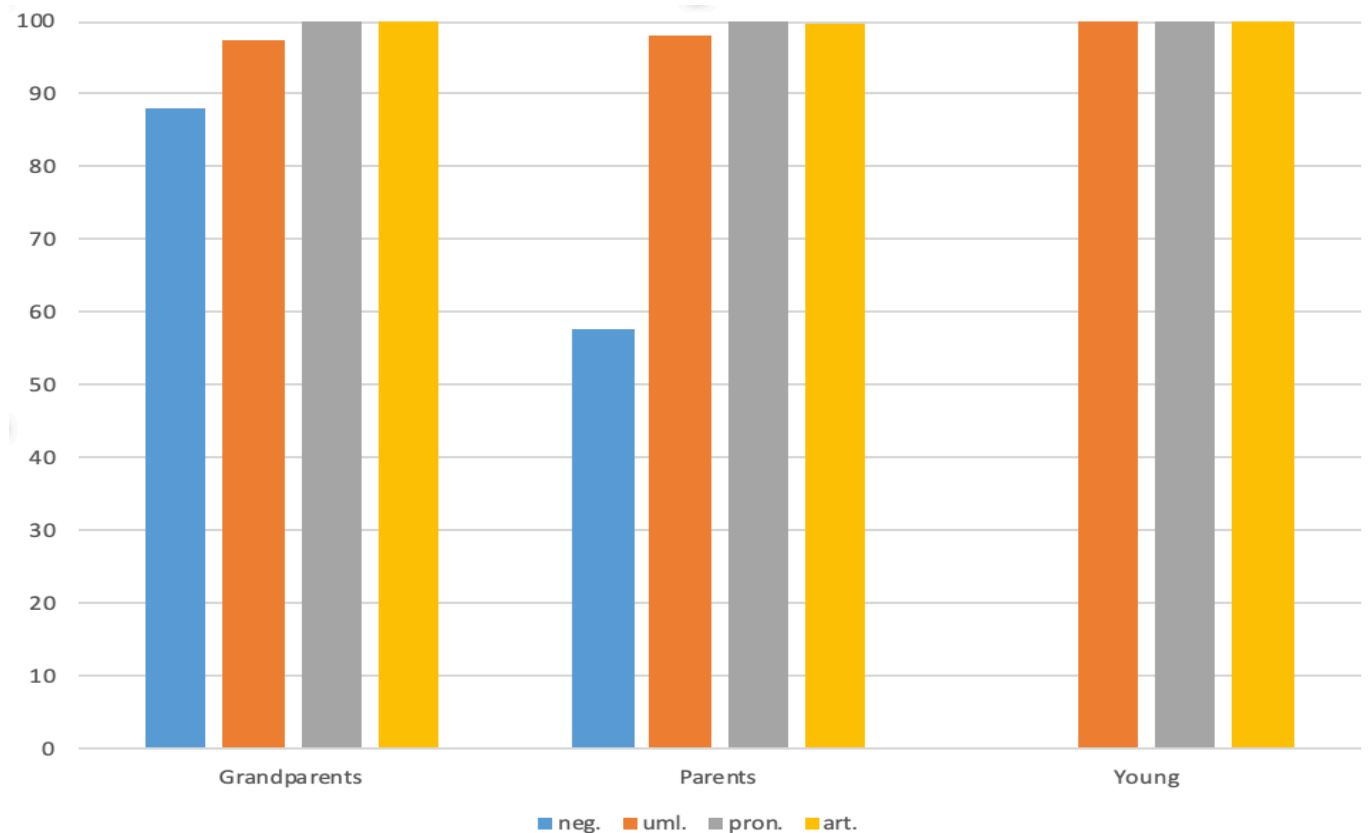
Results Northern Jutland



Results Bornholm



Results Southern Jutland



Why are the patterns different?

Two points:

1. Standardization processes happen very differently due to differences in historical geopolitical processes
2. The quantitative analysis only tells part of the story – we need different types of data and more qualitative analyses to fully grasp the way linguistic variation is used by the participants

Northern Jutland

- Young people in Northern Jutland use some Jutlandic features but at a much lower frequency than their parents and grandparents, and they present it as "normal"
- Resembles a well-known pattern from previous studies showing the impact of early initiation of the standardization process and a local social elite in a regional centre (eg. Monka 2013, Nielsen 1998, Pedersen 2017)
- Lower meta-linguistic awareness

Bornholm

Standardization process initiated late, possibly due to:

- The geographical characteristics of Bornholm being an island far from the rest of Denmark meant isolation. Now the island is better characterised as the Copenhagen hinterland
- The very abrupt shift between generations can be understood as a consequence of Bornholmian dialect being the only Eastern Danish dialect spoken in Denmark. There is no regional area with other similar dialects (contrary to the situation in Jutland)

Southern Jutland

The history of the area as under German rule 1864-1920

→ Two consequences leading to a stronger local dialect:

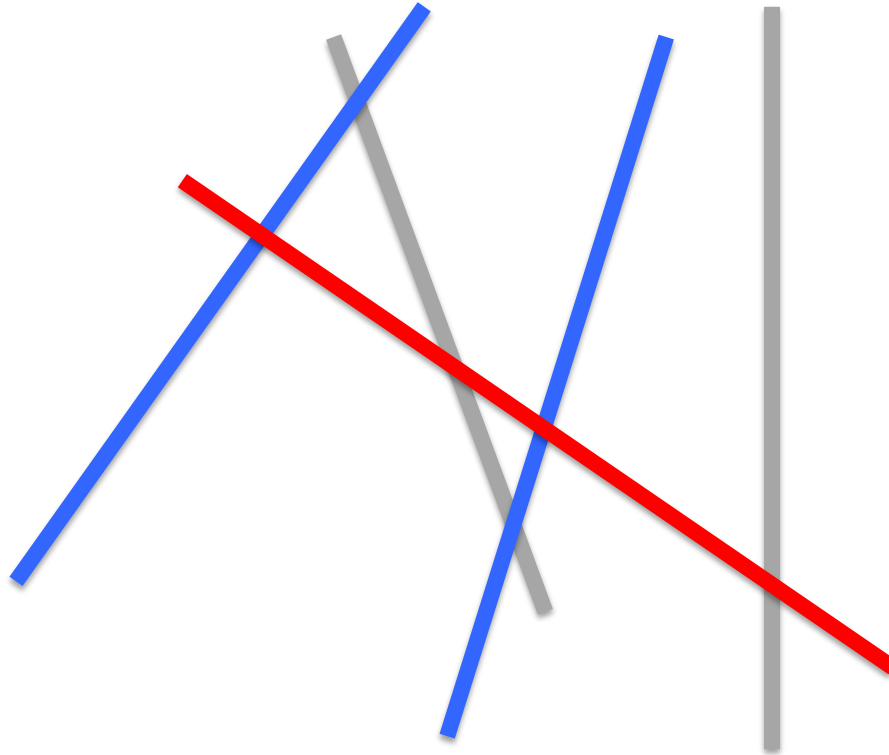
- Lack of institutional standard Danish influence (similar to Auer et al. 2015)
- The Southern Jutlandic dialect ideologically becomes a Danish language in opposition to German, and the Southern Jutlandic people "the most Danish of Danes" – the local awareness of the special history of the area also leads to Southern Jutlandic being associated strongly with local identity

Summing up, first point

Standardization processes happen very differently due to differences in historical geopolitical processes leading to differences in language-ideology and linguistic practice

A transversal approach

The quantitative analysis only tells part of the story
– we need different types of data and more qualitative analyses to fully grasp the way linguistic variation is used by the participants



Examples from Bornholm

Ethnography and qualitative analyses of self-recordings and online communication shows:

- Young people on Bornholm do in fact use some Bornholmian dialect, but they use it in specific contexts and for specific purposes, mainly in stylizations
- Dialect features are used online and offline to manage socially sensitive situations

William



Aja



Friendly greetings

	Original	Translation
01 Mie:	gud hej Anna ha (1.3)	oh my God hey Anna ha (1.3)
02 Aja:	hey hey hey (0.4) er det er	hey hey hey (0.4) is it is
03	det er det Anna ((stiliseret bornholmsk))	it is it Anna ((Stylized Bornholmian))
04 Ann:	det er det ha (.)	it is ha
05 Aja:	hej (1.3) hvordan kører det ((stiliseret bornholmsk))	hello (1.3) what's up ((Stylized Bornholmian))
06	(.) ha er du her alene	(.) ha are you here alone
07	eller hvad (0.8)	or what (0.8)
08 Mie:	øh nej jeg har lige gået	eh no I have just been with
09	med min farmor og farfar	my grandmother and
10	men jeg bliver hentet lige	grandfather but I will get
11	om lidt	picked up soon
12 Aja:	nårh så er det jo meget	oh so that is cool
13	smart	

Greeting in
stylized
Bornholmian
dialect

The dialect is used to

- Accentuate friendship relations and in-group membership
- Downplay the seriousness and formality of the situation

Dialect use online: William the freeloader

 **William** 21-07-2015 23:37
Hva med **deng** fribillet der var

 **Dennis** 21-07-2015 23:40
Nu slapper du af din basse
Nasse basse

 **William** 21-07-2015 23:40
Du tilbød **deng**

 **Dennis** 21-07-2015 23:47
Jaja men der er lang tid til hamnafesten

 **William** 21-07-2015 23:47
2 dage

 **Dennis** 21-07-2015 23:47
Herregud
Du får den imorgen din satan
Kører bare til Birkevej

 **William**
E'ed et ærmbuinj eller **eng** billæt?

 **Dennis** 22-07-2015 00:47
Eng billæt
men du får jo nok armbånd når du indkasserer satanen

 **William** 22-07-2015 00:48
Det **kanj** jo nåk **vara**

: Dialect features

Tranlation:

William: **What about that free ticket**
Dennis: Now you relax buddy
Scrounger buddy
William: **you offered it**
Dennis: yaeh yaeh it's a long while
yet to the harbor festival
William: two days
Dennis: dear me
You'll get it to morrow you bastard
I'll drive to Birkevej
William: **is it a wristband or a ticket?**
Dennis: **a ticket**
But you will probably get a wristband
when you deliver the fucker
William: **maybe so**

Analysis:

The dialect is used to mitigate how William appears and how his request is received

Bornholmian dialect use

- Bornholmian dialect has **not** completely disappeared
- Dialect serves social functions among the young people



Example from Northern Jutland

Quantitative analysis:

- Young people speak regional Northern Jutlandic
- Language use involves segmental features as well as prosody
- This language use is usually presented as unmarked

Northern Jutlandic – 'unmarked speech'

*Jeg tror vi alle sammen taler sådan rimelig
rigsdansk jeg tror måske man ville kunne sige at
David han taler lidt københavnsk det vist så så
meget som det bliver*

***I think all of us speak pretty standard ('rigsdansk')
maybe you could say that David speaks a bit
Copenhagenish but that's pretty much it***

SISTER: sådan meget ... normalt synes jeg

Like pretty ... normal I think

ANDREA: ja neutralt

Yes neutral

SISTER: altså vi snakker ikke sådan dialekt

we don't speak like dialect

Mediated Northern Jutlandic

Andrea: men jeg synes også når man hører nogen i TV sådan hvis der er nogen der bliver interviewet i TV fra Nordjylland så synes jeg det lyder grimt og så tænker jeg sådan sådan der snakker jeg ikke men det gør vi [jo]

Dad: [ja]

Sister: [men] det gør man

XKM: hvorfor synes du det lyder grimt?

Andrea: jeg synes bare det lyder sådan mega bonde-agtigt ha

Andrea: but I also when you hear somebody on TV like if there's somebody being interviewed on TV then **I think it sounds ugly** and then I think I don't speak like that but we [do]

Dad: [yes]

Sister: [but] one
does

XKM: why do you think it sounds ugly?

Andrea: I just think it sounds **like totally farmer-like** ha



Summing up, second point

The quantitative analysis only tells part of the story

- we need different types of data, different types of methodological approaches and more qualitative analyses to fully grasp the way linguistic variation is used by the participants

Conclusion

- The quantitative analyses show that linguistic standardization takes place in all three areas under investigation
- However, it takes place in very different ways, and at different rates
- The framework of sociolinguistic change provides a good frame for understanding how and why this happens



Conclusion

- Geopolitical changes contribute to understandings of links between language and indexicality
- Mediatization plays an important part in language-ideological processes (both mass- and social media)
- Methodologically we argue for the need for transversal approaches in studies of standardization and in studies of language variation generally



Thank you

