PROJECT for The Danish National Research Foundation

Center for Language Change in Real Time (LANCHART): Denmark 1900-2000 as an example

Principal applicant: Frans Gregersen

Applicants:
J. Normann Jørgensen
Tore Kristiansen
Inge Lise Pedersen

University of Copenhagen

MARCH 2005

By way of introduction

This is a national project on Danish and an international project on language change rolled into one. It is also an empirical project and a theoretical one at the same time. It is a sociolinguistic project which aims to solve at least some of the remaining mysteries of linguistic change. Obviously, a danger is that we try to do too many things at once. The way we see it is that we have to.

Though some of us are linguists by training, we have not felt compelled to refer to the vast literature on linguistic change except in so far as it is directly relevant to the issues raised here. Anyway, an obligation to mention all indirectly relevant literature would be tantamount to writing a brief history of linguistics.

In what follows we shall outline our project according to the format determined for us by the Danish National Research Foundation. In the introduction we answer the fundamental questions of why that now? and why in Denmark? In the next section, we detail the core LANCHART project. The next two sections are devoted to cooperation on subjects where we need outside expertise. In the annexes you will find a budget, the CVs and publication lists, and finally the organization of the center is laid out in Annex 3 while the host, in this case the University of Copenhagen, and its Faculty of Humanities endorse the project in Annex 4.

PART I

Introducing the problem, the time, the place, and the preconditions

I.1 Introduction

The aim of establishing a center for *theoretical and empirical studies of language change in real time* (the LANCHART center) is to develop, and, as far as possible, empirically test a new theory of language change.

A theory of language change must integrate knowledge from different disciplines, i.a.:

Knowledge from developmental and social psychology about the role of language in the socialization process, in the identity formation of individuals and groups, Knowledge from history about social processes that formed the circumstances, under which particular languages, dialects or sociolects were used,

and, last but not least, all this knowledge should be integrated with:

Knowledge from general linguistics

about the different modes in which language is produced and received, primarily speech and writing, and the interaction between them, and about the different layers of language (from phonetics to pragmatics), as well as

Knowledge from sociolinguistics

about variation and what meaning it has and is given, and about the relationship between variation and speaker variables.

Summing up the above, the purpose of the center is:

To formulate and test a model for language change by performing a large scale survey of change in real time with a view to integrating sociolinguistics and language history by taking into consideration the biological, neurological, and developmental and social psychological constraints on language maintenance and change, and by including specific historical processes as determinants.

I.2 Why study language change?

In the first half of the 19th century linguistics attained independence by developing its own methods adapted to solving a specific problem: How does language change? The focus was on sound changes and on formulating so-called sound laws.

In the era of structuralism linguists' efforts were concentrated on disclosing the internal coherence of language structures. This era has not ended yet in so far as the internationally dominating linguistic trend (Chomskyanism) accepts the structuralist concept of autonomy: language is an object, which must necessarily be viewed as a structure *sui generis*, an immanent and independent entity.

In 1966, however, William Labov published *The Social Stratification of Language in New York City* and by doing so founded sociolinguistics. Sociolinguists focus on variation in contemporary speech communities and maintain that variation is vital for understanding the processes whereby languages change. Traditional language histories take written texts as the only data since we do not have access to speech from communities before recording was possible. It is a fundamental tenet of Labov's that contemporary processes of change are in principle of the same kind as the processes in the past; that is the *Principle of Uniformity*. Unless we abide by this principle, we could have no idea on how vernacular speech changed. We would have to continue studying the written sources only.

However, as Labov is well aware, the *Principle of Uniformity* is theoretically untenable if we by 'history' understand the history of mankind. This is so, because speech and writing take part in a number of unidirectional socio-historical processes, which cause the present to be irremediably different from the past. The most obvious example concerns the epochal changes from oral to literate societies, and the subsequent changes from manuscript literacy to printing press societies, from written to audiovisual mass media, and from audiovisual media to computer-based networked multimedia. This unidirectional development has had obvious consequences for the conditions for production and reception by the individual, the group, as well as the speech and writing communities. One obvious consequence has been the state regulated norms for orthography in nation states such as Denmark and the availability of speech models nationwide by first the Danish Radio, later on various types of audiovisual media. It simply became impossible not to be aware of other ways of speaking Danish than one's own.

A rejection of the Principle of Uniformity has, however, considerable consequences for any empirical linguistics. If, based on our empirical studies of speech in modern societies, we want to draw conclusions about the nature of language changes in e.g. the Middle Ages, we commit a classic category error. This said, it remains to detail the precise differences between

the two kinds of society, in order to forge a theoretical link between an empirical sociolinguistics of speech and the traditional language histories of written texts.

But the empirical methods of sociolinguistics themselves may also be disputed. A speech community may conveniently be described through interviews with a large number of informants at a given time, carefully selected to represent variation in gender, class, and age. This gives a cross-sectional picture. This picture in apparent time shows, according to standard practice, the developments of the speech community in real time, viz. in the time range which your informants span. A picture in apparent time is obviously a relatively easy way to solve the problem of how to detail change in time. But a more realistic way would be actually to paint the picture in real time. A number of researchers have done so (cf. below: Table 1). But we still lack the large scale survey of a whole speech community in real time which will for the first time give us a test of the possible difference between a picture in apparent time and one in real time. The LANCHART proposes to do just that for the speech community of Denmark: As many as possible of the informants who took part in earlier Danish sociolinguistic and dialectological studies will be re-interviewed. A number of linguistic variables spanning the whole range of linguistic levels will be analyzed for all informants in order to detect language changes in real time by comparing the earlier recordings with the new ones.

I.3 Why the period 1900-2000?

A number of studies on the evolution of language have posited biologically based theories of language change (notably Dixon 1997; Mufwene 2001). In contrast to purely biologically based models, the socio-historical school points to specific historical processes as being decisive for the nature and character of language changes. In a Danish context, and with particular reference to the period of study 1900-2000, the following processes may be singled out:

Urbanization

The Establishment of the Danish nation state Changes in socialization practice The internationalization of the Danish society (cf. further below Section III.1 and III.2).

I.4 Why Denmark?

As in a number of other areas, Denmark is uniquely suited for this project by way of previous documentation. The documentation covers the following areas:

Language history

Several detailed historical publications on the Danish language have been published, most

notably of course the important History of the Danish language by Peter Skautrup, an original and immensely useful work (1944-70). A new project on the history of the Danish language directed by senior researcher Ebba Hjorth at the Danish Society for Language and Literature is currently being planned. The center will cooperate with this project (cf. below Section III. 3). The center's studies will treat a significant period of the Danish speech and writing community's history, viz. 1900-2000, arguably the most turbulent period of its history.

Dialectological and sociolinguistic studies

Research on spoken Danish has been carried out from the beginning of 1800 (e.g. by the famous Rasmus Rask who wrote an important manuscript on the language of the Funen peasants, Andersen 1938). The LANCHART applicants have been the leading researchers behind sociolinguistic and dialectological projects from around 1977 ff.: Vissenbjerg, Næstved, Copenhagen, Copenhagen in the Øresund region, DASVA, Odense, the Køge project on Danish as a second language. Other researchers have contributed considerably to our knowledge of the Danish speech community. In particular we wish to include the Odder project (Jul Nielsen and Nyberg) and the early Vinderup project (Kjeld Kristensen) in the stock of projects which we will replicate. For the Vissenbjerg project only, the original informants have already been re-interviewed.

Monographs of the most important dialects are available as are comprehensive collections for the two dialect dictionaries that are being published, the Jutland Dictionary (JyO) and Ømålsordbogen (ØMO, covering the dialects of the isles of Denmark excluding Bornholm) (cf. Ejskjær 1993 for an overview).

A re-analysis of the existing documentation at the dialect archives in Copenhagen and Århus, Jutland, will form the basis of an overall description of the Danish speech community around 1900.

Descriptive work on standard Danish

An extremely thorough descriptive dictionary of Danish pronunciation (*Den Store Danske Udtaleordbog* – The Great Danish Pronunciation Dictionary, Brink et al.1991) and a number of detailed analyses of Danish phonetics and phonology by among others Hans Basbøll (fthc.), Jørgen Rischel and Nina Grønnum (2001) are available. In this connection we also have to mention the basic description of the Copenhagen Standard, a sociolinguistic classic by Brink and Lund (Brink and Lund 1975).

Language attitude research

Language attitude studies from a number of places in Denmark are available, and language attitude studies have been particularly refined and perfected in Denmark. A language form

cannot only differ from other language forms on a usage level. It must also differ on an attitude level. This idea is being pursued in descriptions of the de-dialectalization process which Denmark has gone through in the period 1900-2000 (cf. the works by Tore Kristiansen and Inge Lise Pedersen annexed to their CV's below).

Denmark as a multilingual society

Extensive documentation of the many languages now being spoken in Denmark and comparatively reliable statistics on the number of users are available as is an internationally unique longitudinal study of the interaction between the most important minority language (Turkish) and Danish (the Køge project).

A macro-sociolinguistic study of the various first languages other than Danish in Denmark and the influence of these languages on Danish must necessarily form part of a valid description of the Danish speech community around 2000 (cf. Milroy 2002 on the tendency for sociolinguists to describe isolated speech communities, or speech communities as if they were isolated entities; Chambers 2002 on mobility). An on-going discussion of the influence of English on Danish (Jarvad 1995, 1999; Jørgensen (ed.) 1991; Holmen and Jørgensen (eds.) 2001; Preisler 1999; Heidemann Andersen 2004 with references) will see to it that the difference between writing the history of the Danish language and the history of the Danish speech community comes to the fore. Thus the work of the LANCHART must not fall prey to a nationalistic ideology by excluding from view languages other than Danish.

Grammatical and semantic descriptions of - mostly written - standard Danish
Grammatical and semantic analyses of modern Danish are available – in an extent and of a
quality that makes it possible to find detailed descriptions of most language phenomena (Ruus
1995; Togeby 1993; Togeby 2003; Hansen and Heltoft fthc.).

In conclusion, the Danish speech community is so typical for Western European industrialized and informationalized countries — and yet so unique, so well described, and so thoroughly documented in important linguistic respects that it is ideal as a laboratory of linguistic change. The testing of a theory modelling the interaction between historical and other constraints on linguistic change and documenting the actual historical changes in the speech community as a whole and the individuals making up the community (or communities) is the aim of the LANCHART center.

PART II LANCHART, the core project

II.1 Theoretical issues

When modern linguistics was founded, it became part and parcel of a new romantic idea of a unity between people, country and culture mediated by language. In this Herderian thought, language formed the primeval treasure trove of forgotten folk-lore and thus the earliest texts in the national languages were edited and commented upon, dictionaries for the national languages were published, and histories of the national languages became a priority; the national philologies were born. This has remained a problem for work on linguistic change and has itself led to the study of what seems to negate the very idea of unity of national languages, so-called loans (Thomason 2001; Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Loans, code shifting and code mixing are different words for the same phenomenon, viz. that the Herderian unity has always been precarious. It seems to be time for a deconstruction of the centrality in real linguistic life of the idea of a national language. The time has come to ascertain what consequences it would have for the history of language practices in prehistory and historical times if we could free ourselves of the romantic idea of the close connection between language and ethnicity. It has to be remembered that the isoglosses of the oral communities, or indeed the subcultures existing in societies with restricted or no literacy, did not necessarily bundle closely together to form such linguistic frontiers as the nation state frontiers seem to force upon us. In some cases they did, but most often isoglosses as well as boundaries between the various dialect words followed their separate tracks through a particular region, uniting individuals on both sides of any border.

Another problem is inherent in the use of the phrase 'language use'. Are we speaking about perception or production? It has probably always been the case that individuals had a broader repertoire perceptively than they could muster in production. If this so-called asymmetry of perception and production is ancient, it might lead us to believe in societies with extended contact with other societies without their necessarily sharing a productive language. They might simply communicate in the contact zone, for instance used for trade, the exchange of cultural products - or the exchange of spouses - by producing in one language while being able to perceive another sufficiently well for all practical purposes (cf. Braunmüller and Diercks 1993; Braunmüller 1995 on Low German and the Scandinavian languages).

A central concern of the theoretical work of the project will be to follow through on the idea of 'languaging'. This concept was introduced by J. Normann Jørgensen to capture *the use of any linguistic means regardless of what national language they 'belong to' for communicative purposes*. On the one hand, we will thus not presuppose the romantic concept of 'a national language'. On the other hand, we will certainly not return to an associationist view of language consisting of unordered elements (or items) with no particular internal structure (i.e. forming a pool) (pace Nettle 1999:5ff).

A further central concern will be the character, evolution and possible function of the

asymmetry between production and perception of language.

II.2 Empirical work

Our strategy for the *empirical work* involves first establishing a baseline in the form of a description of the Danish speech community at 1900. In 1912 the basic work on the traditional dialects, Valdemar Bennike and Marius Kristensen's Kort over de danske Folkemål (ie. a map of the traditional popular dialects based on historical principles) was published. It summarizes empirical work since the beginning of Danish dialectology. This book and Feilberg's dictionary of the Jutland dialect as well as the unfinished grammar of the same dialect by Lyngby created a solid base for all subsequent dialectological work. Indeed it might be argued that later dialectologists deepened their insights by reworking the same informants as Bennike and Kristensen (cf. Pedersen 1996) since Danish dialectology more or less followed the strategy of interviewing the 'best' speakers of the traditional dialect thus often ending up with older citizens (but *not* with the male bias reported in the NORM (i.e. Non-mobile, Old, Rural Men) formula for British dialectological work by Chambers and Trudgill 1980, cf. Gregersen, Møller and Pedersen 1994: 164). The present state of knowledge of dialects and other speech and language varieties at the turn of the century will be summarized, using the available evidence at the Department of Danish Dialectology as well as the collections at the Jutland dictionary.

The main effort, however, will be to create a base of new data through the replication of a number of studies of language use carried out since the 1970'es. The studies we aim to replicate as fully as possible, are the following:

The Vinderup language study (Kristensen 1977): 119 informants audiorecorded in 1973 The Vissenbjerg study of language use and language attitudes (Pedersen 1994): 54 informants audiotaped in 1982-83. Of these 16 have been interviewed again in 1998-99

The Odder project (Jul Nielsen and Nyberg 1992f), 82 informants audiorecorded 1986-89 The Copenhagen project in Urban Sociolinguistics (Gregersen and Pedersen eds. 1991): a total of 65 informants audiorecorded 1986-87

- The study of language use and language attitudes in Næstved (Jørgensen and Kristensen 1994; Kristiansen 1991), a total of more than 160 persons, 48 of them audiorecorded 3 times during the years 1986-1990
- The Køge longitudinal project (Normann Jørgensen et al 1996): A total of 40 grade school students audiorecorded, of these 10 were recorded in 4 different situations each year 1989-1997

Project DASVA on the language contacts and language attitudes of Danes and Swedes

(Gregersen and Svensson 2002): A total of 16 Danish informants audiorecorded in 2000-2001

[Cf. the enclosed map Denmark with locations of projects]

The LANCHART project also has the aim of creating a new panel which may be used for later studies. Consequently, we shall attempt in all cases to supplement the data base with interviews with 10 informants in the age group15 - 25 years in each of the regional studies and distributed in the same way as the previous projects. This will make it possible for later studies to choose from the panel a representative group of informants to re-interview 15 years from now. Where feasible, we will, furthermore, attempt to supplement the panel with carefully selected speakers from other age groups as well.

Obviously, it will be impossible, given limitations following from mortality, and the time and personnel we bring to the task, to locate and re-interview all of the informants from previous studies. But we might still manage with less than all of them. An estimate of a 50% ratio of success would still yield a total of more than 200 re-interviewed individuals, and they will be regionally well distributed.

What is the great attraction about conducting a large scale real time study of language change?

The founders of sociolinguistics insisted that the study of contemporary variation could and should be used to elucidate the elusive question of language change. Variation between individuals of different ages was seen as the clue to the time dimension, hence to change. Thus, standard sociolinguistic practice is to include in population samples an age variable such that a specific number of persons 'represent' a specific number of age groups. The precise definition of what age variable to use (social age or biological age) varies (cf. Coupland 2001). So does the delimitation of the various age groups (cf. Eckert 1997), but there is unanimous agreement that age groups are a *sine qua non*.

In this way a sample is produced which is stratified in so-called 'apparent time', older age groups representing the recent past and younger age groups the near future of the speech community (Chambers 1995: 193ff). This works ideally for the variables which do not change with age. But crucially, for the variables which do enter into a relationship with age we do not know whether to interpret this as 'age grading' (Chambers 1995: 188ff), i.e. as a variable that is peculiar to the age group in which it is used, or as proper change. Age graded variants are conventionally given up by everyone as they pass to another age group. Normally, this is taken to apply to very young groups of informants (Chambers 1995: ibid.) But the particular heavily institutionalized upbringing in Denmark might make age grading more pervasive. A project comparing children's speech at home and at school is currently being prepared by Bettina Perregård and Marianne Johansen.

The use of the apparent time paradigm has obvious advantages. It is feasible and it is cheaper, but there is a snag here. What if individuals continuously develop their language either because they are mobile geographically, socially or mentally (or all three), or because they participate in the new and vigorous sound changes which go on around them (Labov 1994:81f). In one case study reviewed by William Labov the informant actually did participate in a new and vigorous sound change thus changing her language even though she was way past the critical age when she was interviewed the first time (Labov 1994:103, cf. the discussion in Gregersen 1999). The whole concept of a critical age may also be questioned (Bohn 2004). Several sociolinguists used to take it for granted that individuals fossilize linguistically speaking at a certain age (late puberty) and cannot consciously or subconsciously change their linguistic profile (at least not their casual speech style) later on. This may or may not be true, but we shall never know unless we interview individuals more than once in a lifetime - hence the real time study.

Only by performing a large-scale real time study can we begin to answer the question of whether language change after a certain age is a matter of generation change so that all generations after puberty keep their linguistic characteristics for the rest of their lives, while the speech community changes simply because new generations have or get new linguistic profiles (Labov 1994:83) or it is the case that some - or all types of - variables may change for the individual across his or her life span (Labov 1994: ibid). This is a crucial question for the theory of language change and for the modelling of how change goes on.

We shall attempt in the LANCHART project to address this crucial question.

Labov 1994 distinguishes two types: *trend studies* and *panel studies*. A trend study interviews informants picked from the same population in exactly the same way as the study to be replicated, whereas a panel study re-interviews the informants from the original study. As will be obvious from the above, we plan to perform a panel study, or rather a number of panel studies while supplementing the panel so that we actually perform both types of study simultaneously.

Real time studies are not numerous but recently the number has increased. In 1999 Gregersen surveyed the studies available at the time. Sankoff 2002 lists some more and one Japanese study has become available in English since 1999. In table 1, we give the relevant parameters for the studies which we know:

TABLE 1: REAL TIME STUDIES OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

Re-	Trend or			Infor-		Type of	
searcher	panel	Time	Place	mants	Variables	speech	Source

		1899-1904	Charmey Switzer-		Phonolo-	Dialecto-	Labov
Hermann	Trend	1929	land	/40	gical	logical Intv.s	1994: 85f
Steinsholt	Trend	1938/1968	Hedrum, Vestfold, Norway	137/41	Phonolo- gical and Morpholo- gical	Dialectolo- gical Intv.s	Steinsholt 1964; 1972
Labov	Trend	1933/1940 / 1944/1975	Philadel- phia, USA		Phonolo- gical	Various	Labov 1994: 79ff
van de Velde et al.	Trend	1935/19-5 0/1965/19 80/19-85	The Nether- lands		Phonolo- gical	Radio talk	van de Velde et al. 1996, 1997
Sibata	Trend	1957-61/ 1975	Itoigawa, Japan		Vocabu- lary	Brief inter- views	Sibata 1999
Joy Fowler	Trend	1966/ 1986	New York, USA	264/264	Phonolo- gical	Elicitation	Labov 1994:86-9 4
J.Normann Jørgensen	Trend	1970-71/ 1974-75	Copen- hagen, Denmark	48/56	Phonolo- gical	Brief interviews	Normann Jørgensen 1980
Trudgill	Trend	1968/ 1983	Norwich UK	60/17	Phonolo- gical	SI	Trudgill 1988
MacLagan and Gordon	Trend	1983/ 1988/ 1993	Christ- church, New Zealand	105/113/	Phonolo-	Elicitation	MacLagan and Gordon 1996
Hansen	Trend	1972-74/ 1989-93	Paris, France	16/26	Phonolo- gical	SI	Hansen 1998; 2002
Blake and Josey	Trend	1962/2000	Martha's Vineyard, Mass. USA	69/16	Phonolo- gical	SI	Blake and Josey 2003
Pope	Trend	1962/2002	Martha's Vineyard, Mass. USA	69/116	Phonolo-	Formal SI	Pope 2003
Yoneda	Trend/ Panel	1950/1971 /1991	Tsuruoka, Japan	577/107/ 314	Phonolo- gical	Question- naire	Chambers 1995:194ff
Peng	Panel	1950/1971					Peng 1979
Cedergren	Panel	1969-71/ 1983	Panama City, Panama		Phonolo- gical	SI	Labov 1994:94-9 7
Paunonen	Panel	1970/ 1990	Helsinki, Finland	96/29 +16	Morpho- logical	SI	Paunonen 1996
Blondeau	Panel	1971/ 1984/ 1995	Montreal Canada	120/72/ 14	Phonological, morphological, discourse	SI	Blondeau 2001
Mees	Panel	1976/ 1981/ 1985	Cardiff Wales	75/36/??	Phonolo- gical	SI	Mees 1983, Mees and Collins 1999
Cukor- Avila	Panel	1988-1998	rural Texas, USA	4/4	Morpho- logical	SI	Bailey 2002: 320f

Sundgren	Both	1967/1996	Eskilstuna, Sweden	83/85 (13 of the 1967 sample)	Morpholo- gical	SI	Sundgren 2002; 2004
Schilling- Estes	Both	1980'es/ 1999-2001	Smith Island, Maryland, USA		phonolo- gical	SI	Schilling- Estes

Explanation: Trend or panel cf. p. 11 above; SI in column 7 means 'sociolinguistic interview' and the rightmost column refers to the bibliography below. The rest should be self explicating.

As can readily be seen from this table, the LANCHART project distinguishes itself by including 7 coordinated panel (and, to a certain extent, trend) studies evenly distributed regionally all over Denmark so that patterns of change and diffusion in real time may be discovered. This type of study has never been performed before, for the simple reason that it is very costly and that you have to have earlier studies to replicate.

The problem of field work in real time studies

Following the lead of William Labov (primarily Labov 1984, Labov 1972), Danish sociolinguistics has given much thought to the methodological problem of sociolinguistic field work (cf. Gregersen et al. 1994, Møller 1993, Heegaard et al. 1995). Special problems arise, however, with the replication of studies which did *not* use Labovian techniques such as the Odder study and in certain respects the Næstved and Vinderup studies as well (cf. Bailey 2001: 326). The crucial question is whether to emulate the techniques used in the first study as closely as possible in order to keep the interviewing technique as constant as possible or whether to use the same technique for all new interviews. A related problem is whether to use interviewers who have the same age and sex relation to the interviewer now as they did originally (i.e. ideally the same interviewer who by now is from 30 to 15 years older) or to have interviewers who have the same age now as the original interviewers had when they conducted the interviews (Gregersen 1999). We will not take a final decision but put it to the International Council as their first task to advise us in this matter.

As to technical matters of how to audio record the interviews and which techniques to use, we shall take care to confer with the expertise in the Danish Broadcasting (DR), cf. below Section II.4, on what equipment to use that will make digitalization easy and will allow for the best sound quality so that in a number of cases acoustical measurements can be performed directly on the data.

Issues of ethics

No one should be interviewed without having given her or his full consent. The standard practice involves not only getting a positive answer to a query but also to give clear promises that all use of material will be untraceable. This we will do by making all names illegible or

by changing all names and by omitting from publications any passage which may make it easy to identify the person talking or any person talked about. In the matter of using the material on the net or for pedagogical purposes, there are still graver concerns about traceability. The LANCHART will develop a simple statement of policy which all informants will be asked to sign before they allow the project to use the material. The statement will cover three kinds of use:

- Use for research purposes only, i.e the writing of research reports, MA theses or PhD or doctoral dissertations. Full anonymity is secured but it is possible to prevent traceability by having all subjects involved in the research process sign papers detailing rules of discretion.
- Use as data published on the net in the national data base and subject to a certification process which secures full anonymity and no traceability both for transcriptions and sound files.
- Use for pedagogical purposes. This will in any case be made conditional upon renewed consent by the informant.

Integrating studies of language attitudes and lectal perception with studies of language use

Studies of language attitudes are numerous in Denmark (cf. for an overview Kristiansen 2003). Recently they have been expanded to cover attitudes to the neighbouring language of Swedish (Kristiansen 2004). In the important Nordic project on loan words 'Importord i Norden' attitudes towards English are a central concern. Finally, attitudes to non-native lects have been studied by Normann Jørgensen and Quist (2001). Two problems, however, still await proper treatment:

The knowledge that informants have of the lects (including 'languages') they categorize and the type of categorization they use in order to ascribe to the speakers of such lects (or 'languages') particular characteristics

The relationship between language attitudes and language use for the individual and the group

The LANCHART project will address both problems by developing an identification test for Danish dia- and sociolects and by using the techniques of perceptual dialectology (Preston 1999). Furthermore the design of the LANCHART project will make it possible to relate performance on the identification test, answers to traditional evaluation tests (like 'label ranking' and 'speaker evaluation'), and the tasks of perceptual dialectology to language use in a number of respects, in particular focusing on the informant's use of lectal variants on which they have, directly or indirectly, expressed an opinion.

II. 3 Identifying linguistic variables, cooperating with the DanPASS project on phonological and phonetic variables, cooperating with the Roskilde Center, the Grammaticalization project, and the Functional Grammar group on grammatical variables

All the projects which the LANCHART aims to replicate are different. It would of course have been optimal if the analyses carried out already by the various projects themselves were directly comparable but this is not quite the case. Luckily, they are, however, not totally different. Most projects have included impressionistic phonetic analyses of a number of variables. For the LANCHART we have chosen to focus on the development of the following variables through real time:

phonological and phonetic variables

the short [a]-system (cf. Kristensen 2003: 33ff; Gregersen and Pedersen eds. 1991: 120ff; Gregersen 2002)

the front vowel system, the raising of [æ] to [e] and a possible chain shift or mergers under way in the system as a whole (cf. Gregersen and Pedersen eds. 1991: 214ff). In the case of the [æ]-raising, Anita B. Hansen's study of the patterns of lexical diffusion for Parisian French nasal vowels may be useful (Hansen 2001)

R-influenced segments (cf. Kristensen 2003: 33ff; Gregersen and Pedersen eds. 1991:169ff) length as a phonological variable

the alveolar and dental oral stop, obstruent and fricative system (d, t, s, soft d): It is a common observation that the Copenhagen t is or was an affricate [ts] with a tendency towards becoming an [s] (Brink and Lund 1975: 353ff). In recent years we have noted a tendency for the 'soft' (obstruent) d to become velarized while the [s] pronunciations often sound palatalized or even retroflex (Albris et al. 1988:106ff).

The phonological and phonetic variables will be negotiated with the Carlsberg Foundation financed project DanPASS, a corpus of IPA transcribed, phonetically annotated, spontaneous spoken Danish, directed by Nina Grønnum.

morphological variables

the use of preterite participles in -ed or -et where the latter form traditionally was used only by persons born or identifying themselves as belonging West of the Great Belt

As to grammatical variables, we propose to collaborate with the functional grammar group of Copenhagen, arguably the most original group of grammarians in Denmark for a long time. The Copenhagen functionalists try to steer a middle course between the substantialist or

directly semantic functionalism of e.g. Tom Givón, and the more formalist theories of e.g. the Dutch Simon Dik group. This means that the Copenhagen school gives more importance than most structuralists to the variations of grammatical structure that characterize various languages. They are, in short, less universalist in their outlook than both the formalists and the semanticist functionalists. A possible link here between the peculiarities of grammatical structure and the specifics of the socio-historical point of view make the two approaches commensurable. We also hope to benefit from the advice of M.A.K.Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan on how the Systemic Functional Linguistic approach may connect semantics and socio-history. Thus we shall discuss all grammatical variables with the Functional grammar group as well as the newly formed Danish grammar center at Roskilde University with Lars Heltoft as its obvious leader. In general we wish to identify - in cooperation with the SHF project on Grammaticalization - syntactic or lexical elements which participate in grammaticalization processes 1900-2000.

A number of grammatical variables suggest themselves: *grammatical variables*

main clause word order in subordinate sentences (cf. Gregersen and Pedersen 2000, Jensen 2003)

the two ways of forming a conditional clause (with or without a conditional subjunction, cf. *Hvis jeg kommer hjem før dig*, skal jeg nok støvsuge (If I return before you, I'll vac) vs. *Kommer jeg hjem før dig* skal jeg nok støvsuge (same meaning))

the use of the demonstrative to form determinate nominals, in particular as heads of relative clauses (*det hus* min fader boede i (det/den plus N plus restrictive relative clause) vs. *huset* min fader boede i (determinate N plus restrictive relative clause) vs. *et hus* min fader i øvrigt har boet i (indeterminate N plus parenthetical relative clause))

the reflexive system (hans vs. sin)

the system of indefinite pronouns (Laberge and Sankoff 1980, Blondeau 2001) where Danish has the same competition between so-called third person 'man' (Fr. *on*) with the accusative 'en' and the genitive 'ens' and second person 'du' (Fr. *tu*). Also third person plurals and first person plurals may be used with 'indefinite' meaning.

The grammatical variables will be studied both quantitatively and qualitatively.

We have in the Copenhagen project worked with a number of higher order variables such as the number and density of narratives (Møller 1991) and the relationship between various grammatical variables (Nedergaard Thomsen 1991). In the LANCHART we shall develop this perspective in a study of the relationship between speech events, speech genres (in the Hallydayan meaning of this term), speech acts and macro speech acts, grammatical structures

and stylistic variation. Obviously, it is a problem that the sociolinguistic interview rarely unfolds more than two or three speech genres other than question-answer structures, but we have a number of supplementary material at hand from various sources that could be used to remedy this problem.

II. 4 The DR project

The project leader has had talks with the Danish state Radio, DR, on the possibility of exploiting the rich archives of this institution for the LANCHART project. We have specified that we wanted pairs or triples of interviews with the same person but at least 15 years apart. The build-up of the archives do not allow a direct search for persons interviewed. The best way to advance would be to place one or more of our students at the archives to work under the supervision of the chief of radio and TV archives. Any finds will be registered by the student with respect to the person interviewed, his or her background data as they can be verified using all available sources, and the content of the tape, analyzed as far as possible through the style analysis sheet of the Copenhagen project (Albris 1991). Searches will start by focusing on persons being not more than 50 years of age in the early recordings in order for it to be probable to find a counterpart some 15 years later.

Studio recordings are of course more suitable for acoustic phonetic analysis than field recordings. Yet, we have to be able to use both types of analysis since the background noise makes it very difficult to perform acoustic analysis of field tapes. The recordings of the DR will give us the ideal opportunity for a comparison of spectograms furnished by the PRAAT program, connected with the PLOTNIK program, with impressionistic phonetic analysis like the ones we have to use with the field tapes. If we perform both types of analysis on the same pair of recordings we shall get a set of reference values valid for the individual analysed, connecting formant values with impressionistic analysis of variants. In this way, we can check the impressionistic analysis - or the other way round.

The cooperation with the DR will be extremely useful also in another sense, namely with respect to the identification of specific influential speech models. We shall sample a number of representative news radio and TV broadcasts throughout the period in order to transcribe them and to submit them to phonetic and syntactic study as models for the standard language at 1924 (when the archives start) and at various intervals until 2000. This will parallel the van de Velde et al. study of radio Dutch in Holland and Belgium (van de Velde et al. 1997).

We have allocated a work force of two students assistants for the DR project. One of the research assistants will act as coordinator and the project director and the two heads of archives Birgitte Rathsach and Per Holst will be responsible for all decisions. We shall negotiate the costs with DR.

In conclusion: By repeating and supplementing earlier studies of vernacular Danish and attitudes to varieties of Danish we will create a huge data base which will allow us to study which linguistic elements change, how they change and which elements go with which. In the next part, we attempt to answer what constrains the changes.

PART III: Broadening the project.

III.1 Denmark 2000 as a sociological phenomenon

We have argued above that Denmark is unique in being typical and at the same time so small that it is feasible to survey the whole nation. In the working group on sociology and media we shall detail the characteristics of Denmark from a sociological point of view:

the distribution of wealth and knowledge (class structure),
the role of the range of media available for use by the various subcultures and the
consequences for the modes of language production and reception, and last but not
least

three central themes of the historical development, viz. urbanization, socialization and internationalization (globalization) will be treated from a sociological point of view. Modern, or indeed post-modern, *class structure* is essential for understanding the contemporary role of the speaker variable of class as it has changed from being a relatively stable marker of belonging in a national subculture to marking access to power in an internationalized community where earlier blue collar work is carried out by individuals from other nations (globalization of production).

The *range of media available* tends to obliterate previously clear boundaries between spoken and written modes of language: in sms-messages an abbreviated sign system is used, so that orthography becomes a sort of shorthand tending towards pseudo-phonetic spellings just like the commercial label of 4u ('for you') or 4wrd ('forward' in a four wheeler). New types of *immigration* and *urban developments* have turned Denmark into a more typically internationalized country, introducing problems of the ghetto and segregation in schools to the public agenda. The role of religion in defining identities has led to a surge of interest in various 'cultures' which are seen as stable essentialist entities contrary to modern anthropological thinking. *Globalization of media and cultural industries* may have a very real impact on identity formation in terms of common frames of reference. In a recent study, Yndigegn concludes that there are no geographically determined differences between young Danes in relation to post modern values and attitudes (Yndigegn 2003). Globalization also

tends to even out boundaries in a more Sapir-Whorfian sense since the semantics of one language, viz. English, becomes more and more integrated into hitherto more or less national, hence different, ways of speaking, e.g. as witnessed in idiomatic expressions. We shall study this phenomenon in detail when we have the data for it, i.e. when the data base of all the interviews has been created.

A Herderian view of the national language as an essential identity marker creates a new linguistic landscape when a society becomes internationalized. We claim that this makes Denmark more typical rather than less so, but that it is still not universal. All these developments are socio-historical in nature - and they determine the use of spoken and written modes of language in the speech and writing community (or communities) of Denmark.

III.2 Locating the period 1900 to 2000 in the history of the Danish society and the Danish language

We have in Section I.2 of the introduction referred to a number of historical processes which we see as vital for the understanding of why language changes in Denmark 1900 to 2000. In cooperation with historians Bente Rosenbeck, Niels Finn Christiansen and others, we shall specify how these changes may have determined the use of speech and writing in Denmark and have shaped the patterns of diffusion of linguistic changes.

Urbanization: It is not a characteristic of Denmark alone that this process dominated the 1900's, but there are a number of distinctive features in the Danish development that could be of great importance for the course of language change. Especially the establishment or revitalization of market towns (*købstæder*) around railway stations may be of relevance since the railway acted as a levelling mechanism furthering mobility in all senses (cf. further Pedersen 2003).

The establishment of the Danish nation state: The first form of nationalism in Denmark was civil or citizen nationalism. It was instrumental in 'defending' Danes against German influence. A distinct popular form of education, the folk high school or højskole, plays a vital role in the evolution of literacy among peasants in Denmark (cf. the central figure of N.F.S. Grundtvig). It also propagated a specific orthography and a distinct form of nationalism, farmers' or folk nationalism. Finally in the beginning of the 1900's the workers' parties took over the ideology of the nation state, creating a workers' nationalism. Central for any Herderian nationalism is the unity of language, people and culture. The role of the Danish language in this process has been studied much too little (cf. above II.1 on theoretical issues).

Changes in socialization practice: The family structures in the agricultural society around 1900 differ radically from the institutionalization of upbringing, which characterizes the situation around 2000. An obvious consequence is that the language development becomes

more generation specific. Children simply spend more time with children of the same age both physically and in mediated communication via sms and mobile phones. The development of gender-related language differences during the century is also an issue of great importance. Though social differences between the sexes, e.g. in terms of working hours tend to even out, it is a recurring result of several, though not all, sociolinguistic studies of Danish that gender is an important variable.

Differences regarding the linguistic socialization in the period would be a possible explanatory factor for the development of generation specific language forms which could result in massive age grading.

The internationalization of the Danish society: During the 19th century Denmark lost some of the former provinces characterized by being distinct linguistically, first Norway and later Holstein and Schleswig. This ostensibly made the Danish nation state a paragon of Herderian unity. Thus, Denmark has generally from that time on (i.e. from 1864) been considered to be an unusually homogeneous society. Thus it has come as a great shock that modern immigration, which started around 1960, (re)creates linguistic pluralism, first and foremost in the cities.

The consequences, for Danish both as first and second language, of the presence of non-Danish languages and language forms will be in focus not only empirically but also with respect to theoretical consequences.

Cooperating with the new DSL project on language history

The Danish Language and Literature Society (DSL) saw a need for a modern history of Danish written while 'the tradition' was still alive, and at a time when new currents both within historical linguistics, general linguistics and sociolinguistics are under way (cf. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003). Ebba Hjorth, the director of the DSL project, has indicated her willingness to cooperate with the LANCHART center.

PART IV

The role of the LANCHART center on the Danish scene

IV.1 How the LANCHART center may educate the next generation of researchers

All the applicants have experience with training younger researchers. In particular we have thorough experience with spotting talents at the basic university levels and coordinating their work for MA theses while hiring a number of them as junior assistants and supervising their Ph.D. applications and subsequent work as Ph.D. students. This strategy has always been used

by Inge Lise Pedersen and Tore Kristiansen at the Department of Danish Dialectology, and J. Normann Jørgensen has used it with great success in building up his promising team of young researchers within the research field of Danish as a second language.

As will be seen from the budget enclosed, we plan to hire a rather large number of students as assistants (studentermedhjælpere). This is by far the easiest way to integrate the LANCHART project with the linguistic scene at Copenhagen University, and hopefully Denmark as a whole, and it is our experience from earlier projects such as the Copenhagen Project in Urban Sociolinguistics, the Køge project, the various Næstved projects, and the DASVA project, that early affiliation with research projects is an extremely effective way of training students to become researchers, and indeed to raise the profile of research within the MA education as well. A fair number of assistants may be expected to write their MA theses at the LANCHART thus giving us a unique chance of having student research (for free), often of a very high quality, to contribute to the LANCHART effort. A fair number of the MA's may consequently apply for Ph.D. scholarships and this will in itself increase competition. Not that we have a lack of applicants as it is. For the humanities and the social sciences, the ratio of Ph.D. grant offers to MA degrees is by far the lowest of all the sciences in Denmark (cf. Forskningsstyrelsen 2003: 47). The number of applicants in the linguistic sciences, as well as in the other human sciences, has, nonetheless, steadily increased in recent years, adding to this discrepancy.

The main applicant for the LANCHART project has since 2001 developed the regional Graduate School East (www.gradeast.dk) within the linguistic sciences as its director. This school is by far the largest in Denmark of the three linguistic graduate schools both measured in the number of Ph.D. students and the number of applicants. The school has been quite successful in securing scholarships for the talented applicants: There are two international Ph.D. students, one at Oxford and one at Tübingen, and as a result of the first round of applications evaluated by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities (in 2003), the Gradeast was awarded 3 scholarships out of 6 possible, thus having the highest success rate of any school in the round. The school is financed by a grant from the Danish Research Academy (FUR) and is currently being evaluated by a Scandinavian panel of three experts (Jan Anward, Linköping, Cathrine Fabricius Hansen, Oslo, and Mirja Saari, Helsinki).

The LANCHART project will enter into a joint effort with the Gradeast so that the experts visiting the LANCHART center will give master classes and supervision at the Gradeast and so that the students at the school will have the opportunity to work at the center if their projects make this relevant. The Ph.D. students at the LANCHART center will all be enrolled as members of the Gradeast and will thus contribute to the development of the school. The LANCHART project will attempt to use its international contacts to further all kinds of

research exchange, ranging from visiting lecturers to securing contacts for students' stays abroad (more or less mandatory for Danish linguistic Ph.D. students, and eminently suited for forging new links).

IV.2 Fostering a new generation of research leaders

Although all four members of the project leader team have been active in the training of new linguists ever since they started working as tenured teachers (cf. the CV's), we have no single person or generation in sight who are able to relieve us as a project leader team immediately. We are, however, currently in a position with a fair number of extremely talented, freshly graduated and not yet graduated, Ph.D.'s who taken as a whole comprise a generation that will be qualified for research leadership within the project period. So, the task at hand is how to train them for leadership while at the same time giving them the best opportunities for qualifying individually and collectively as researchers in their own right.

Based on our previous experience we propose to do as follows:

The project will announce four positions as post-docs open and will also attempt to attract young researchers in tracked post-doc positions as *adjunkt* at the two cooperating departments so that the group of potential leaders will be enlarged. This is due to the fact, that apart from the LANCHART project itself, the two cooperating departments have an obvious interest in having young candidates trained for future leadership as well. The positions as post doc will be filled after evaluations according to the Danish statutes for positions as *forskningsadjunkt* by committees with external researchers forming the majority. A project team member will in all cases act as chairman of the traditional three member committee.

Post-docs will in all cases have the opportunity to get the mandatory training that tracked *adjunkts* (assistant professors) get in order to qualify as teachers, the so called *adjunktpædagogikum*, so that they can freely apply for positions as tenured associate professors (*lektors*) during the project period. By individually supervising the young researchers, we will see to it that the LANCHART will not end as a dead end street - careerwise or otherwise.

All of the post-docs or *forskningsadjunkt*s will be called upon to serve as deputies in a specific project group, cf. the Section on Center Structure below, Annex 3. After two or three years of post-doc work the candidates will be (externally) evaluated for status as *forskningslektor* and, pending on successful evaluation, two of them will be appointed full members of the project leader team with specific responsibilities. At the end of a four year period at the center, all *forskningslektors* may apply for evaluation as project leader. This evaluation will again be external. We aim to appoint one of the two, or both younger project leader team members as deputy project leader(s) by the end of 2008 so that he or she, or both, will be in charge of the application for a prolonging for a new five term period of the center and will serve as leader(s) for the second LANCHART period if granted.

The strategy aims at solving the problem of the generation gap within the human sciences. It is to be noted that in the humanities the project leadership career period universally lies quite a bit later than in the natural sciences. This entails that if the Danish National Research Foundation insisted upon solely accepting younger research leaders there would be a certain shortage of potential: The younger researchers within the linguistic sciences in Denmark who take an interest in the project questions have not yet qualified themselves in this respect. This should not be seen as an obstacle, on the contrary. In general, the choice of a research leader for a center must be a matter of specific qualifications relating both to the subject matter and to the administrative demands of directing a large scale project.

We find that the strategy adopted here would solve the problem of fostering a new generation of leaders at this particular juncture within the linguistic sciences in Denmark.

LITERATURE referred to and other works of relevance to the LANCHART project - with special reference to the applicants' contributions

Jon Albris:

Style Analysis, Gregersen and Pedersen (eds.): *The Copenhagen Study in Urban Sociolinguistics*, part 1, s. 45-106, C.A.Reitzel, 1991

Jon Albris, et al.

Projekt Bysociolingvistik: *Interim Report on The Copenhagen Study in Urban Sociolinguistics*. Institute of Nordic Philology, University of Copenhagen April 1988.

Poul Andersen (udg.):

Rasmus Rask: De fynske bønders sprog. J.H.Schultz Kbh. 1938

Margrethe Heidemann Andersen:

Engelsk i dansk: Sprogholdninger i Danmark. Helt vildt sjovt eller wannabeagtigt og ejendomsmæglerkækt? Dansk Sprognævns skrifter 33, Kbh. 2004

Guy Bailey:

Real and apparent time. Chambers et al (eds.): *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change Blackwell*, 312-332, Blackwell 2001

Hans Basbøll:

The Phonology of Danish, Oxford University Press, (fthc.)

Valdemar Bennike and Marius Kristensen:

Kort over de danske folkemål med forklaringer. Gyldendal, København 1912 Renée Blake and Meredith Josey:

The /ay/ diphtong in a Martha's Vineyard community: What can we say 40 years after Labov? *Language in Society* 32, 4: 451-484, 2003

Hélène Blondeau:

Real-time changes in the paradigm of personal pronouns in Montreal French, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5/4, 453-474, 2001

Ocke-Schwen Bohn:

Tosprogethed. Humaniora, 2, p.18-22, 2004

Kurt Braunmüller:

(Hrsg.): Niederdeutsch und die skandinavischen Sprachen II. C. Winter, Heidelberg 1995

Kurt Braunmüller und Willy Diercks:

(Hrsg.): *Niederdeutsch und die skandinavischen Sprachen I.* C.Winter, Heidelberg 1993

Lars Brink and Jørn Lund:

Dansk rigsmål I-II, Gyldendal, Kbh. 1975

Lars Brink m.fl.:

Den Store Danske Udtaleordbog. Munksgaard, Kbh. 1991

Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza:

Genes, Peoples and Languages. University of California Press 2001

J.K. Chambers:

Sociolinguistic Theory. Blackwell 1995

Dynamics of Dialect Convergence, Journal of Sociolinguistics 6/1,117-130, 2002

J.K. Chambers and Peter Trudgill:

Dialectology, Cambridge University Press 1980

Nikolas Coupland:

Age in social and linguistic theory, in: Coupland et al. (eds.): *Sociolinguistics and Social Theory*. p.185-211, Longman, Harlow 2001

R.M.W.Dixon:

The Rise and Fall of Languages. Cambridge University Press 1997

Penelope Eckert:

Age as a sociolinguistic Variable, Coulmas (ed.): *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 151-167, Blackwell 1997.

Inger Ejskjær:

Danish Dialect Research, Institut for Dansk Dialektforskning/C.A.Reitzel, Kbh. 1993

Forskningsstyrelsen:

Fra Forskerakademiet til FUR 1986-2003. Data om dansk forskeruddannelse 2002, Forskningsstyrelsen 2003

Frans Gregersen:

Sociolingvistikkens forandringer. Indledende knæbøjninger før Projekt Bysociolingvistik eventuelt genoptages, *danske folkemål* 41, 107-38, C.A.Reitzel, Kbh. 1999

Hvor nyt er det nye a i københavnsk? Cramer, Togeby og Widell (red.): *M/K - Mod og kvindehjerte, Festskrift til Mette Kunøe 5. november 2002*, s.185-195, Modtryk 2002

Factors influencing the linguistic development in the Øresund region, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159, 139-152, Mouton de Gruyter 2003

Frans Gregersen and Inge Lise Pedersen:

(eds.) *The Copenhagen study in Urban Sociolinguistics* 1-2, C.A.Reitzel, Kbh 1991 Copenhagen as a Speech Community. Berge och Kotsinas (eds): *Storstadsspråk och storstadskultur i Norden*.57-69, Stockholm 1991

Om hovedsætningsordstilling i bisætninger, *danske folkemål* 39, 55-112, 1997 *A la recherche du* word order not quite *perdu*. A Methodological Progress Report. Herring, Schøsler and van Reenen (eds.): *Textual Parameters in Older Languages*, 393-431, John Benjamins 2000

Frans Gregersen, Erik Møller and Inge Lise Pedersen:

Field work traditions, Acta Linguistica Hafniensia 27/1, 161-188, C.A.Reitzel 1994

Frans Gregersen and Jan Svensson:

Bron og språket. En projektredogörelse, Gustafsson (red.): *På jakt efter öresundsregionen*. 124-141, Öresundsuniversitetet 2002

Nina Grønnum:

Fonetik og fonologi. Almen og dansk. Akademisk forlag Kbh. 1998, 2. udg. 2001 Danish vowels: scratching the recent surface in a phonological experiment, *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 28, 5-63, 1995

Anita Berit Hansen:

Les voyelles nasales du français parisien moderne. Aspects linguistiques, sociolinguistiques et perceptuels des changements en cours, Etudes Romanes 40, Museum Tusculanum 1998.

Lexical diffusion as a factor of phonetic change: The case of Modern French nasal vowels, *Language Variation and Change* 13, 209-252, 2001

Erik Hansen and Lars Heltoft:

Grammatik over det danske sprog, fthc

Jan Heegaard, Ulrik Hvilshøj, and Erik Møller:

Det sociolingvistiske interviews anvendelighed, *danske folkemål*, bind 37, s.3-60, C.A.Reitzel 1995

Anne Holmen and J. Normann Jørgensen (eds.):

Sprogs status i Danmark år 2011. Københavnerstudier i tosprogethed 32, Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitet, Kbh. 2000

Pia Jarvad:

Nye ord - hvorfor og hvordan? Gyldendal 1995

Den engelske påvirknings art og mængde, Davidsen-Nielsen et al (eds.): *Engelsk eller ikke engelsk? That is the question*, 103-118, Gyldendal 1999

K. Anne Jensen:

Clause Linkage in Spoken Danish, Ph.D.Dissertation, Univ. of Copenhagen 2003 Meredith Josey:

Dissertation abstract: A sociolinguistic study of phonetic variation and change on the island of Martha's Vineyard. NYU Ph.D. 2004, Josey home page

J. Normann Jørgensen:

Det flade a vil sejre. En undersøgelse på sociolingvistisk grundlag af visse københavnske sprogforhold. *SAML* 7, 1980, 67-124

(Ed.): *Det danske sprogs status år 2001 - er dansk et truet sprog?*.

Københavnerstudier i tosprogethed 14, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, Kbh. 1991

Children's Acquisition of Code-Switching for Power Wielding. In: P. Auer (ed):

Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity. London:

Routledge, 237-258, 1998

Bilingualism and Minority Languages, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159, 2003, 73-91

(Red): En køn strid. Sprog, magt og køn hos tosprogede børn og unge. Roskilde Universitetsforlag 2001

(Red): *De unges sprog*. København: Akademisk Forlag 2002; Herein: Studier i flersprogethed hos unge, 5-17

(Ed.): Code-switching in the Køge Project, *International Journal of Bilingualism*, vol.7:4 2004

(Ed): Bilingualism and Social Relations. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 24:1-2, 2003; Herein: Linguistic Construction and Negotiation of Social Relations Among Bilingual Turkish Speaking Adolescents; Languaging Among 5th Graders. Code-switching in Conversation 502 of the Køge Project; Adolescents involved in the construction of equality (with E.Huls, S.K.Lomps og A.Backus)

(Ed.): Code-switching in the Køge Project. Theme Issue of *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, vol.7:4, June 2004

J. Normann Jørgensen, Anne Holmen and Jørgen Gimbel:

Fra köy til Køge. Børns tosprogede udvikling i skolen. Multiethnica 18-19. Uppsala 1996, 16-23

J. Normann Jørgensen and Kjeld Kristensen:

Stød i småord i sjællandsk før og nu. *danske folkemål* 31. bind, 1989, 103-118 Stød i moderne (syd)sjællandsk talesprog. *danske folkemål* 33. bind, 1991, 135-146 *Moderne sjællandsk. En undersøgelse af unge sjællænderes talesprog.* C. A. Reitzel 1994

On boundaries in linguistic continua. *Language Variation and Change* Vol.7, 153-168,1995

J. Normann Jørgensen og Tore Kristiansen:

Sociolinguistics in Denmark. *Sociolinguistica* 12. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1998, 230-250

(Eds.): special issue: The Sociolinguistics of Danish. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159, 2003; Heri: The Sociolinguistics of Danish, 1-7 Subjective Factors in Dialect Convergence and Divergence. In: P. Auer, F. Hinskens & P. Kerswill (Eds.): *Dialect Change. The Convergence and Divergence of Dialects in Contemporary Societies*. CUP, fthc. 2004

Jens Normann Jørgensen and Pia Quist:

Native Speakers' Judgements of Second Language Danish, *Language Awareness* vol. 10/1, 41-56, 2001

Kjeld Kristensen:

Variationen i vestjysk stationsbymål. En kvantitativ sociolingvistisk undersøgelse i Vinderup, Ringkøbing amt, *Dialektstudier*, 4.bind, 1.halvbind, s.29-109, Akademisk, Kbh. 1977

Standard Danish, Copenhagen sociolects and regional varieties in the 1900s, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159, 29-43, de Gruyter 2003

Tore Kristiansen:

Sproglige normidealer på Næstvedegnen. Kvantitative sprogholdningsstudier [Linguistic Norm Ideals in the Næstved Area. Quantitative Studies in Language Attitudes]. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation Copenhagen University, 1991

Language attitudes in a Danish cinema, Coupland and Jaworski (eds.):

Sociolinguistics. A Reader and coursebook, 291-305, Macmillan, London 1997

(Ed.): special issue: Changing Representations of Standardness in late Modernity:

The Case of Denmark: Language Awareness, vol 10:1, 2001

Herein: Two Standards: one for the Media and One for the School, 9-24

The youth and the gatekeepers: reproduction and change in language norm and variation, Georgakopoulou and Androutsopoulos (eds.): *Discourse Construction of Youth Identities*, 279-302, John Benjamins, Amsterdam 2003

Sproglig regionalisering i Danmark? Gunnstein Akselberg, Anne Marit Bødal og Helge Sandøy (red.): *Nordisk dialektologi*. Novus, Oslo 2003, 115-149

Language attitudes and language politics in Denmark *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159, 57-72, 2003

Danish, Deumert and Vandenbussche (eds.): *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present*, 70-91, John Benjamins, Amsterdam 2003

Sprogholdninger over Øresund, *danske talesprog* bind 5, 161-185, C.A.Reitzel 2004 Tore Kristiansen, Tina Bruun Clausen og Merete Havgaard:

Sprogholdninger hos unge i Nakskov, *danske talesprog* bind 3, 17-70, 2002 Tore Kristiansen og Howard Giles:

Compliance-gaining as a Function of Accent: Public Requests in Varieties of Danish, *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, vol.2, no.1, 17-35, 1992

Suzanne Laberge and Gillian Sankoff:

Anything *you* can do. in: G.Sankoff: *The Social, Life of Language*, 271-293, 1980 William Labov:

The Social Stratification of English in New York City, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington 1966

Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology, *Language in Society* 1, 97-120, 1972 Field Methods of the Project on Linguistic Change and Variation, Baugh and Scherzer (eds.): *Language in Use*, 28-53, Prentice Hall, New Jersey 1984

Principles of Linguistic Change vol. 1: Internal factors, Blackwell 1994 Principles of Linguistic change vol 2: Social factors, Blackwell 2001

Margaret A. Maclagan and Elizabeth Gordon:

Out of the AIR and into the EAR: Another view of the New Zealand diphtong merger, *Language Variation and Change*, 8, 125-147, Cambridge University Press 1996.

Inger M. Mees:

The Speech of Cardiff Schoolchildren: a real time study. Doctoral Dissertation, Leiden 1983

Inger M.Mees and Beverly Collins:

Cardiff: a real time study of glottalisation, Foulkes and Docherty: *Urban Voices*. *Accent Studies in the British Isles*, 185-202, Edward Arnold 1999

Lesley Milroy:

Introduction: Mobility, contact and language change - Working with contemporary speech communities, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6/1, 3-15, 2002

Salikoko Mufwene:

The Ecology of Language Evolution. Cambridge University Press 2001

Erik Møller:

Narratives in the sociolinguistic interview, in: Gregersen and Pedersen (eds.): *The Copenhagen Study in Urban Sociolinguistics* part 2:241-335, C.A.Reitzel Kbh. 1991 *Mundtlig fortælling*. C.A.Reitzel, Kbh. 1993

Daniel Nettle:

Linguistic Diversity. Oxford University Press 1999

Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg:

Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England. Longman Linguistics Library, Edinburgh 2003

Bent Jul Nielsen:

Talesprogsvariationen i Århus - en sociolingvistisk redegørelse og en sammenligning med sproget i Odder, *danske folkemål* 40, 51-78, C.A.Reitzel, Kbh. 1998

Bent Jul Nielsen og Magda Nyberg:

Talesprogsvariationen i Odder kommune. I. Lokalsprog og rigsmål i sociolingvistisk belysning, *danske folkemål* 34, 45-202, C.A. Reitzel, Kbh. 1992
Talesprogsvariationen i Odder kommune. II. Yngre og ældre rigsmålsformer i sociolingvistisk belysning, *danske folkemål* 35, 249-348, C.A.Reitzel, Kbh. 1993

Heikki Paunonen:

Language Change in apparent time and in real time. Possessive constructions in Helsinki colloquial Finnish, *Samspel och variation*. *Språkliga studier tillägnade Bengt Nordberg på 60-årsdagen*, s. 375-386, Institutionen för nordiska språk,

Uppsala Universitet 1996

Fred C.C. Peng:

The Reality of Sound Change: A Sociolinguistic interpretation, *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences 1979*, vol. II, s. 229-237, Institute of Phonetics, University of Copenhagen 1979

Inge Lise Pedersen:

Linguistic variation and composite life modes. in: Bengt Nordberg (ed.): *The Sociolinguistics of Urbanization: The Case of the Nordic Countries*. p. 87-115, Berlin/New York, de Gruyter 1994

Dialektforskningen i Danmark med særligt henblik på forholdet til strukturalisme og sociolingvistik, in: Carol Henriksen et al. (Eds.): *Studies in the development of linguistics in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.* Oslo: Novus 1996:237-71.

"De måtte ud af sengen klokken var fem". Adverbielle ledsætninger med tomt konjunktionalfelt i danske dialekter, i: *Dialekter och folkminnen*. Uppsala 2000:223-230.

Hvad er forklaringen på forklaringerne? in Lars-Erik Edlund (red.) *Studier i Svensk Språkhistoria*. Umeå: Institutionen för litteraturvetenskap och nordiska språk vid Umeå Universitet 2000:1-24.

Lille fag hvad nu? Et oplæg til en diskussion af nordisk dialektforsknings vilkår og muligheder. *Folkmålsstudier* 39, 2000:257-76.

Fra folkemål til multietnolekt. danske talesprog 1, 2000:5-30.

Nordic Dialectology since 1969: Dilemmas and Opportunities. *The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics* 10, 2000:1-14.

The impact of internal or contact-induced change on weak preterites in -et in Danish dialects with an outlook to Norway and Sweden, in Jan Berns & Jaap van Marle (Eds.) *Present-day Dialectology. Problems and Findings*:269-282. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 2002.

Urban and rural dialects of Slesvig: political boundaries in the millenial retreat of Danish in Slesvig. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 145, 2002:131-52.

Sociolingvistiske strukturer i Danmark i perioden 1550-1800. in Kristensen (red.): *Studier i Nordisk 2000-2001*. Kbh: Selskab for Nordisk filologi 2002:85-98.

Traditional dialects of Danish and the de-dialectalization 1900-2000. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 159, 2003:9-28.

Processes of Standardization in Scandinavia, in: P. Auer, F. Hinskens & P. Kerswill (Eds.): *Dialect Change. The Convergence and Divergence of Dialects in Contemporary Societies*. CUP, fthc. 2004

Sprogbrug i 1800-tallet i nutidig belysning: forudsætninger og faldgruber. danske

talesprog bind 5, 141-160, C.A.Reitzel 2004

Jenny Pope:

Results and implications of a real time study: Forty years of language variation on Martha's Vineyard. Abstract for NWAVE 32, University of Pennsylvania, October 9-12, 2003, http://www.ling.upenn.edu/NWAVE/abspdf

Bent Preisler:

Danskerne og det engelske sprog. Roskilde Universitetsforlag 1999

Dennis Preston:

(Ed.): *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*. vol.1, John Benjamins, Amsterdam 1999

Hanne Ruus:

Danske kerneord I-II. Centrale dele af den danske leksikalske norm. Museum Tusculanums forlag, København 1995

Gillian Sankoff:

Reading group on language change across the lifespan, 1/8/02; on the net 2002:http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~gillian/Longit.Bib.htm

Natalie Schilling-Estes:

Language Change in Apparent and Real Time: The Community and the Individual. Abstract for NWAVE 32, University of Pennsylvania, October 9-12, 2003, http://www.ling.upenn.edu/NWAVE/abs-pdf/schilling-estes.pdf

Takesi Sibata:

20 years of the Itoigawa dialect, *Sociolinguistics in Japanese Contexts*, 217-228, Mouton de Gruyter Berlin New York 1999

Peter Skautrup:

Det danske Sprogs Historie I-V, DSL og Gyldendal 1944-70

Anders Steinsholt:

Målbryting i Hedrum. Universitetsforlaget Oslo 1964 Målbryting i Hedrum 30 år etter. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 1972

Eva Sundgren:

Återbesök i Eskilstuna. En undersökning av morfologisk variation och förändring i nutida talspråk. Skrifter utgivna av Institutionen för Nordiska Språk vid Uppsala Universitet 56, Uppsala 2002

Språklig variation och förändring. Exemplet Eskilstuna. Studentlitteratur, Lund 2004 Sarah G. Thomason:

Language Contact. An Introduction. Edinburgh University Press2001

Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman:

Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics. University of California

Press, Berkeley 1988

Ole Nedergaard Thomsen:

Grammar in Danish Conversational Discourse. A framework for Aanalysis and some Preliminary Quantitative Results, in: Gregersen and Pedersen (eds.): *The*

Copenhagen Study in Urban Sociolinguistics part 2, 337-446, C.A.Reitzel Kbh. 1991 Ole Togeby:

Praxt I-II. Aarhus Universitetsforlag 1993

Fungerer denne sætning? Funktionel dansk sproglære. Gads forlag 2003

Peter Trudgill:

Norwich revisited: recent linguistic changes in an English urban dialect, *English World-Wide* 9, 33-49, John Benjamins 1988

Hans van de Velde, Roeland van Hout and Marinel Gerritsen:

The devoicing of fricatives in Standard Dutch: A real-time study based on radio recordings, *Language Variation and Change*, 8, 149-175, 1996

Watching Dutch change: A real time study of variation and change in standard Dutch pronunciation, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 1/3, 361-391, 1997