

FROM CONTACT THROUGH INTERNAL SPREAD, AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF CHANGE IN DIALECTS*

by

Lisa Ann Lane

This article explores some mechanisms which characterize the norms of a small, single industry linguistic community. It is suggested that by following an integrated model of dialects, which synthesizes complementary properties of ethnography, sociolinguistics, comparative historical linguistics and social network theory, it is possible to characterize dialect emergence and transformation in a linguistic community. If we are to understand change in dialects and language in general, we must not only recognize the multidimensionality of communities as complex social formations, but also implement models which investigate and consider linguistic development and subsequent change from a similar multidimensional perspective.

1. Introduction

This article is a brief presentation and outline of the descriptive model behind a larger ongoing project, titled *Emergence and Decline of a Dialect: Thyborønsk (Danish)*. The focus of the larger project is the documentation and description of the development of the West Jutlandic Danish dialect, Thyborønsk (see Map 1). Firstly, a social history of the linguistic community is assembled, exploring the conditions of the emergence of the town of Thyborøn during the first decades of the 20th century. Secondly, the project formulates mechanisms which led to the emergence of norms in Thyborønsk. Thirdly, a fieldwork-based sociolinguistic analysis is conducted of the current dialect of Thyborønsk, in order to better understand and determine present influences and patterns of variation in the dialect. The project hopes to shed light in this way on more general problems of dialect and language formation, development and change.

The idea that language does not exist in a vacuum is certainly not new, yet the extent to which language external forces influence language deserves closer examination. This paper examines some language external factors which contributed to the emergence and decline of the dialect of Thyborøn, Denmark. Thyborøn's history as a fishing village is very recent, dating back to the second half of the



Map 1. Relevant Dialect Regions and Relative Geo-Linguistic Distance from Thyborøn.

19th century. In order to understand the strong ties which bind the residents of this village to this area and to their dialect, we need to consider the struggles which existed between man and nature, and later between man and government, out of which Thyborøn itself emerged. What I wish to stress herein is the consideration of the full spectrum of a speech community's social history (i.e., the emergence, development and present status (i.e. decline/growth/status quo)) through the examination of those factors which shape the society in both the macro-societal arenas (e.g. politics, economics, demographics) and the micro-societal arenas (e.g. social networks, personal and community ideologies, strength of identity, 'life-mode').

In order to understand and evaluate the linguistic situation of a community, we must first understand the sociocultural situation in which the individual members operate. Among other aspects, we may wish to explore the community's histories, namely the political, economic and demographic situations, which lead to the emergence of the community. After all, if we are to comprehend the depth of an individual's feelings that their identity is centrally related to their affiliation with their speech community, hence predict the likelihood of the maintenance or further development of those norms (social and/or linguistic) which index that identity, we must consider history in order to understand why this collection of individuals formed a community and at what costs (i.e. How great was the struggle for survival as a community? To what extent was it 'us against them?'). Knowing what the 'costs' were helps us to get an idea of the strength of community identity, as we would know the extent to which there were struggles resulting in a classification along the lines of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'.

The question of linguistic community and dialect as a result and reflection of a socially created identity is central to the discussions which will be presented herein. When does a (linguistic) community exist? when does a dialect exist? and what defines the dialect of a linguistic community as being unique and divergent? Perhaps the most interesting questions to be examined are the questions of how and why a linguistic community emerges, develops a distinct linguistic norm (i.e. a dialect) which then becomes a central means of local identification and pride for the small group of relatively homogenous people living in a modern, post-industrial society. It is hoped that by taking such an approach to the sociocultural history of the

linguistic community, we will be able to better understand the purely linguistic history of the dialect of Thyborøn.

While the strength of the ties of individuals to their community may fluctuate over time, the central ideologies formed during the community's emergence are likely to be passed along from generation to generation, just as some of the linguistic markers are likely to be passed along from generation to generation. In other words, since both the degree of affinity to a community and the degree of use of sociolinguistic markers may vary over time, if we are to understand and predict why changes (social and/or linguistic) arise, we must understand the larger sociocultural context in which the individuals operate. We must consider the impact which a political shift (e.g. legislative support and/or formal governmental recognition of a community), a new economic policy (e.g. quotas on production) and/or demographic shifts (e.g. migration patterns in and/or out of the community) will have on the community members, for these are real-life situations which impact their lives. We are all affected by our environment and effect it in return. The resulting linguistic changes of various types of sociocultural shifts can best be understood if one is oriented as to the present situation in the community in light of its multidimensional history.

2. Geographic History

The placenames Thyborøn and the southern neighbor, Harbo-Røn (now called Rønland), highlight the towns' connection to their geographic history. *Røn* is an old Scandinavian word for an 'islet, small island; land covered by large rocks' (Nielsen 1966:320). The reason that the two Røns were prefixed by *Thybo-* and *Harbo-* was because of the regional boundary which fell in the area between them. The northern Røn belonged to the Region of Thy and the southern Røn belonged to the area of Hardsyssel.

During the 1800's numerous devastating North Sea storms ravaged the coastline of West Jutland. As a result only four towns remained, the others had been washed into the sea. The great eastward migrations from 1829-1925 were triggered by the natural disasters which the residents faced as well as by the draw of economic opportunities elsewhere along the Limfjord. By the end of the 1800's the Thyborøn Canal was formed as a result of the numerous natural changes in geography and ocean currents. By 1874, only 9 houses

remained in Thyborøn as a result of the storms, but these nine families refused government aide to move off of the land onto safer ground. They refused to move to what they called 'foreign soil.'

It would be almost 100 years until Thyborøn's existence as a fishing and docking harbor would be politically and legally guaranteed. I would like to suggest that by the late 1870's we can talk about Thyborøn as a community because of the bonds that kept the people there despite terrible conditions and natural disasters. I offer that the struggles against the devastating North Sea storms and the resulting land changes which these people had faced, created a sense of community by bonding them together in order to survive. Original community alignments were dissolved by the raging storms which altered the geographic formations and local micro-economies. Far from being merely a destructive force, the storms also produced a new sense of local identity by forcing a shared struggle for life and livelihood. It is difficult to imagine how these people could have helped but feel connected to one another by their shared history of survival. The political and economic fights they would now face could only work to seal their identity as *Thyborøn-boere*.

3. Political History

Thyborøn's political history is nearly as tumultuous as its geographic history. The 1913 law which secured Fredericia as a dock harbor in southeastern Jutland gave hope to the Thyborøn residents that they too might be officially recognized, thereby receiving money for the development of their harbor. However, the (DFU) Danish Fisherman's Union's leaders refused to list Thyborøn in their proposal for the construction and/or improvement of five additional dock harbors in Jutland. This infuriated the local residents and caused a major rift between the DFU and the local Thyborøn-Harboøre Chapter of the union, thereby also strengthening the 'us' versus 'them' nature of the *Thyborøn-boere* identity. The local fishermen took matters into their own hands and developed a project proposal which they independently presented to the Danish government, in turn infuriating the DFU's leaders. This proposal was signed into law by the King in 1914 (Fischer Nielsen 1989:20,37).

In 1933 Thyborøn applied for secession from the municipality of Thy. The reasons given were that Thyborøn more naturally belonged

to the southern county of Ringkøbing, both economically and, more importantly, geographically. The first of three locally held votes took place in 1935, but not enough residents voted to make a ruling on Thyborøn's political split.

In 1942 the Thyborøn Commission, whose task it was to secure the west coast and Limfjord areas from sand erosion and unfavorable sand deposits, renewed its proposals for closing the Thyborøn Canal with a dam. World War II briefly halted this proposal, as there were more pressing concerns. With the close of the war, the Commission resumed its goal of closing the canal. In January 1946, 170 fishing boats set sail from Thyborøn to Copenhagen over the Limfjord in protest of plans to close Thyborøn Harbor and Canal. Only the major eastern Jutlandic and eastern Limfjord towns of Aalborg and Nørresundsby did not have the Danish flag raised nor people there waving to the fishermen. The east-west split of Jutland, in the eyes of the Thyborøn residents, became even stronger. In Copenhagen, many of the fishermen from the Thyborøn-Harboøre Fisherman's Union spoke at the Danish Parliament and explained their position. In August 1946, the 'Thyborøn Law' was voted into effect which secured the future of Thyborøn Harbor and Canal, and led to new governmental investments.

With the success of the 1946 Thyborøn Law, the residents of Thyborøn were also finally successful in getting enough people to vote and thereby secede from the northern region of Thy. The end of the 21 year struggle for independence culminated in 1954 when the final break of Thyborøn from the Vestervig-Agger municipality happened.

As Fischer Nielsen points out in his history of Thyborøn, 'The users of the harbor would be well within their rights to say that they had to fight hard for their harbor. As it is said among the residents of Thyborøn, the harbor exists "not because of the politicians, but in spite of them"'. (1989:10, my translation)

4. Demographic History

The opportunity for work in Thyborøn beckoned people from around Denmark. Suddenly all types of employment opportunities emerged, and migration began. Because of the meticulous detail paid to census data, I was able to obtain all of the census records for Thyborøn.

Figure 1 charts the population of Thyborøn from the 1500's to the present. We note that between 1890 and 1970, the population increased at an average of 53% every 5 years. Detailed analysis of Thyborøn's demographic history has been conducted and presently more detailed analysis of the cohort effects is being performed by the University of Chicago's Department of Statistics. The object of this investigation is to understand the relationship of concurrent events to the emergence of the linguistic community. Questions such as what demographic factors explain and/or predict the likelihood of community emergence, transformation and decline? Were there demographic trends, such as an aging population (or other features of the in-migrants), which combined with economic factors both hastened the rise of this linguistic community as well as hastened its present state of decline? These are important questions which address issues of social change. As we are aware, social change and linguistic change are not so distant cousins.

Figure 2 presents an overview of all 3,798 residents of Thyborøn from 1890 to 1955 as distributed by the residents' place of origin (see Map 1). We immediately notice the number of dialect regions represented by the internal migrants to Thyborøn and the differences of regional representation over time. The importance of this information is that Thyborøn offers us the possibility of exploring a contact situation for which we have empirical evidence of the relative weighting of the input norms. Knowing the exact distribution of the population we are able to empirically consider the relationship of present linguistic norms to the variety of linguistic norms during the development stages of the dialect and trace the emergence of markers.

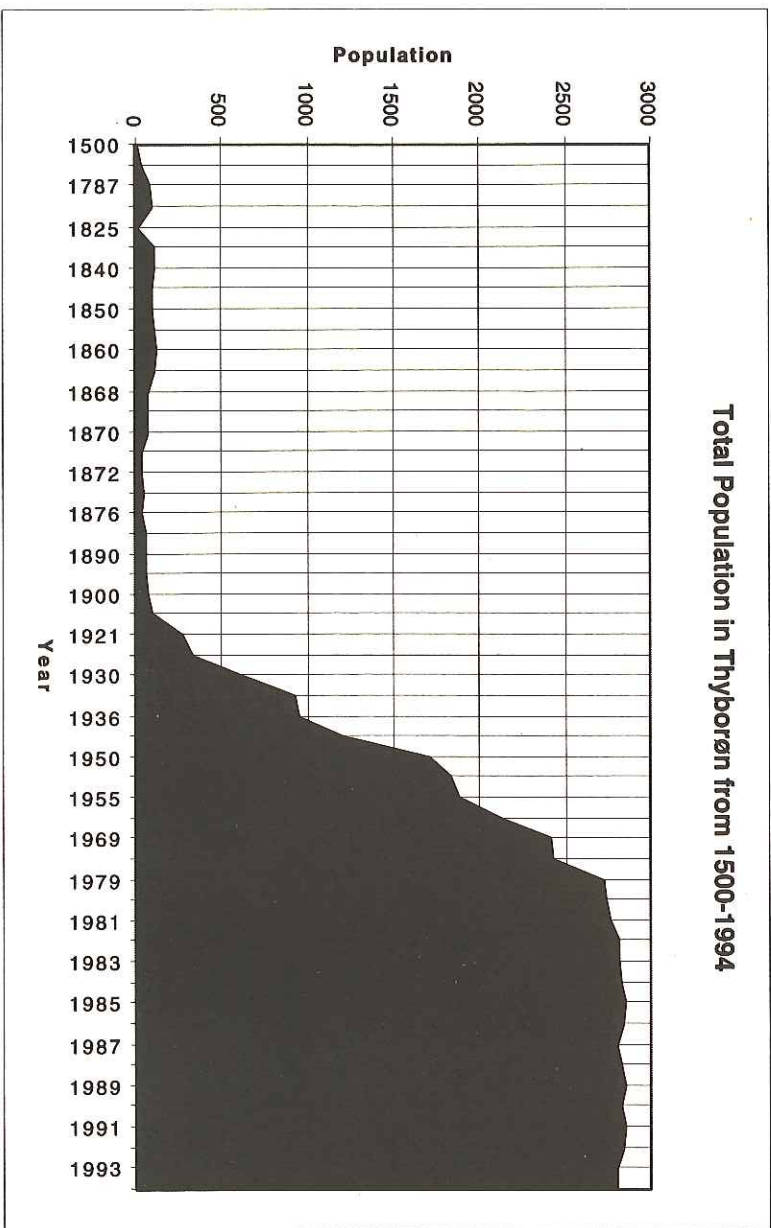


Figure 1. Demographic History of Thyborøn from 1500 to 1995

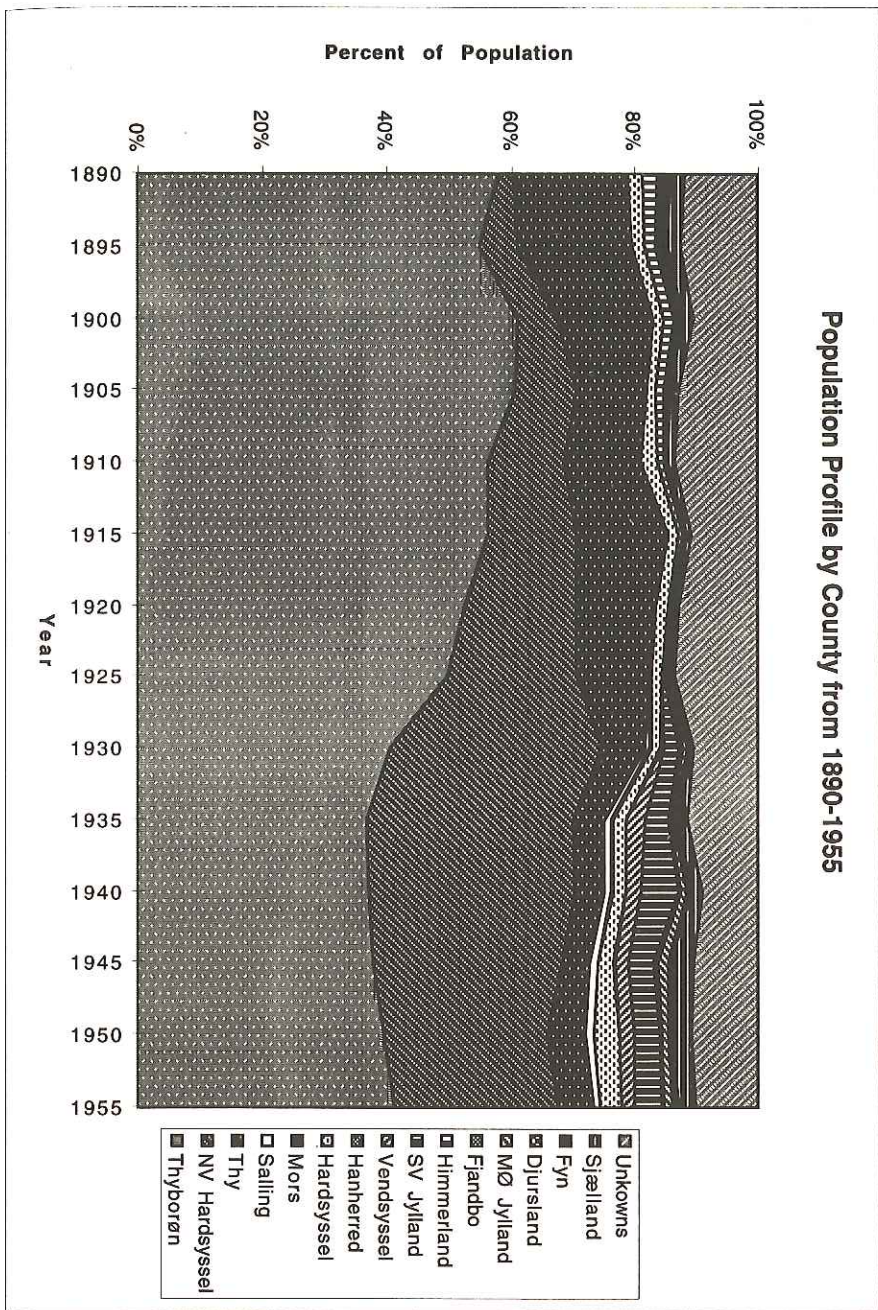


Figure 2. Demographic Profile of Thyborøn's Population by County of Origin from 1890-1955

In examining the demographic data, we note that an important aspect to having demographic records is that we are able to connect various socio-historical events with trends in the local community. For example, we recall the plateauing of the population after around 1970. The 1970's were the beginning of a new economic era which continues to this day. Internationally, attention was turned to issues such as: national zoning, national and international (European Union (E.U.)) economic quotas, the 1970's oil crisis, and so forth. These issues all had negative economic impacts on North Sea fishing and in particular the single industry economies based on fishing. By the 1980's the E.U. began to enforce very strict quotas on the amount and type of fish which could be harvested in a given season. These quotas effectively halted the local economy. Since the mid 1980's Thyborøn has experienced serious economic depression, with widespread bankruptcy among the fishermen who operate independent boats. 1994 was the first year in nearly a decade during which the annual auction results for fish showed a positive return.

The rapid rate at which Thyborøn came into existence, experienced an incredible economic boom which encouraged massive in-migration and community development, and then slid into economic despair since the early 1980's is astounding. The focus of this research is to determine the means by which the local residents define not only the unique local dialect which emerged in Thyborøn, but also the internal social constructs of the community. As the residents share life-experiences at similar life-stages, they develop social and linguistic means for identifying themselves as a group through their shared outlook on the present and future (i.e. through their social networks, life-modes and ideological orientation to life in Thyborøn).

5. Brief Comments on Dialect History

The importance of ethnological data is that if we know the residents' geographical places of origin, we are then able to make reasonable assumptions about the likelihood of which dialects were being spoken in Thyborøn. Coupling this information with the historical linguistic records of Danish dialects we can conduct comparative studies of the input dialects with those forms we find today in Thyborøn. The result being that we can explore which linguistic

forms are a result of dialect mixture, which are direct loans from the input areas, and which are new dialect forms unique to Thyborøn. An example of this type of analysis conducted on a sample of lexical items is found in Table 1 which compares the historical forms of some of the markers we will be considering in the examination of present changes in the Thyborøn dialect.

The Thyborøn forms listed in Table 1 are phonetic transcriptions of the most common variable forms of the dialect markers under present consideration. The newer the form, the lower on the list it appears within each cell. The data for the other dialect regions, and the town of Agger, which sits across the Thyborøn Canal from Thyborøn, represent a more phonemic representation of the forms (when available). These forms were collected from Feilberg (1886 to 1893) and Bennike and Kristensen (1898 to 1912). It is significant that these important sources date back to the period just before (i.e. within a decade or so) of the commencement of massive internal migration from the documented dialect areas into Thyborøn. We can, therefore, not only consider these historical sources when questioning the origin of the synchronic markers in Thyborøn, but we can also turn the tables and ask how some of these historical markers have fared diachronically. Presently, as I am more interested in examining Thyborøn, we will maintain the former perspective.

Briefly looking at Table 1, we notice that some of the listed markers are regionally shared, while others are more localized. For example, number (3), Standard Danish *meget*, 'much', is regionally shared and generally has the form [mɔjʔ]. Number (5), Standard Danish *ikke*, 'not', is one example of Thyborøn having not participated in what is called *klusilspring*, or the vocalization of West Jutlandic *stød* which occurred in certain phonological environments throughout most of the West Jutlandic region. The Thyborøn form is [ɛʔ], while we find /ek/ and/or /et/ cited for the other areas.¹

A noteworthy and highly indexically ordered marker is number (17), Standard Danish *jeg*, first person singular pronoun 'I'. Interestingly this marker in Thyborøn is moving from being what Silverstein 1996 identifies as a first order indexical to also taking on second order indexicality (i.e. additional community internal identification of more or less localization). In this case, the maintenance of the highly localized (non jod-breaking), older [ɛ] variant versus the non-localized (regionally standard (jod-breaking)) [ja] and [jaɪ] variants.

We will discuss this community internal identification and regional standardization/non-localization below.

6. Methodology

In order to explore the question of social transformation and dialect development and change, an integrated set of historical data were collected on Thyborøn's social and economic development, demographics, linguistic contact situations, and on the individual informants' social networks, ideologies and life-modes, as well as linguistic changes sampled over two sociolinguistic interviews collected six years apart.

All sociolinguistic, ethnographic, ethno-linguistic, and social network data were collected by me since my original field work in 1988-89. During the first field work, Labovian styled sociolinguistic interviews were collected from 75 residents. These 75 were equally distributed across age, sex and type of occupation to represent the distribution found in the community at that time. All informants were contacted by phone and asked if they would participate in the study. All interviews were conducted in the informants' home and lasted, on average, 45 minutes. The second major set of interviews were ethnographic in nature. This time 15 revisits were made (randomly chosen from the original 75 based on availability and willingness to participate) and 12 new informants were interviewed. It was necessary to add new informants because some of the original 75 had died.

The ethnographic interviews were conducted in early 1995. All interviews were again conducted in the informants' home and averaged 90 minutes in length. The majority of the interview (roughly 2/3 of it) centered around the construction of the informants' social networks. More detailed discussion of these networks is presented in Lane 1997.

The last part of the ethnographic interviews involved a discussion of ideological and material orientation to the local community. The goal of these questions was to obtain data about the informants' life-mode type (as detailed in Højrup 1983a and b, and Pedersen 1994), participation in the community, as well as other ethnographic details. A more detailed discussion of these findings is presented in Lane in progress.

Markers	Thyborøn	NW Hadsesø	Agger	Thy	Mors	Salling	Vendsyssel	West Jutland
(1) <i>nogen</i> 'some'	n o w n n o ŋ n o . n	n o j	n u w æ r n o j n u r	n o j æ n n o j	n o j æ n		n o æ n	n ð w æ n
(2) <i>noget</i> 'some'	n o j n o .	North: n o j South: n æ t	n o j	n o j	n o j	n o j	n o	n o j
(3) <i>meget</i> 'much'	m æ j m ø j			m ø j	m ø j	m ø j	m ø æ m ø j	
(4) <i>sådan</i> 'such'	s æ n s æ n	s æ j æ n s ø r æ n	s æ æ n s æ æ æ n s æ r æ n	s æ æ æ n s æ æ æ n s æ æ æ n	s ø æ n s ø æ n t	s ø æ æ n	s o n t s æ æ n t s æ æ æ n t	s æ æ n
(5) <i>ikke</i> 'not'	ɛ	ek et	ek et ent	ek et	ek et	ek et	ek et	ek
(6) <i>ellers</i> 'otherwise'	h æ s n h æ l s n ɛ æ s		h æ l æ s h æ j s h æ j s æ n		h æ l æ s h æ l æ s æ n		h æ l æ s h æ l æ n s h æ l æ n	æ j s æ n h æ j s æ n
(7) <i>nød</i> 'necessary'	n ø j n ø æ	n ø	n ø æ n ø	n ø æ	n ø æ	n ø r n ø r æ r	n ø n ø æ r n ø j	n ø
(8) <i>gift</i> 'marriage'	g æ w æ t g æ w t		g æ w æ t g æ w t	g æ w t	g æ w t g æ w t		j æ w t	g æ w t
(9) <i>gang</i> 'occasion'	g æ æ n g æ æ n g æ æ n		g æ æ n	g æ æ n	g æ æ n		g æ æ n	g æ æ n
(10) <i>børn</i> 'children'	b ø æ n b æ æ n b æ æ n	b æ n	b æ r b æ r	b æ r b æ r	b æ r b æ r	b æ r b æ r	b ø n	b æ n b ø n b æ n
(11) <i>år</i> 'year'	ɔ æ ɔ æ ɔ æ	ɔ æ	or				or	or
(12) <i>mor</i> 'mother, month'	m o . m o . j m o w æ			m u w æ r			m u r m o w r	m u w æ r
(13) <i>dag</i> 'day'	d æ w æ d æ w æ		d æ w d æ w	d æ w d æ w	d æ w d æ w		d æ w d æ w	d æ w
(14) <i>tirsdag</i> 'Tuesday'	t i . s æ t i æ s æ æ	t æ j æ s æ æ	t i s æ æ				t i s æ æ	
(15) <i>fredag</i> 'Friday'	f r æ . æ æ f r æ æ æ æ		f r æ j æ æ					f r æ j æ æ
(16) <i>med</i> 'with'	m æ t m æ t			m æ æ m æ æ j	m æ æ m æ æ j m æ æ		m æ æ m æ j	m æ æ m æ æ j
(17) <i>jeg</i> 'I'	ɛ æ j æ j æ	æ a		æ		a	e j æ	
(20) <i>sige</i> 'to say, say'	s æ t s æ t æ / s æ t æ æ s i æ	s æ j	s i æ s æ j	s æ j s æ j s æ j æ r	s æ j s æ j s æ j æ r	s æ j æ r	s i æ s æ j s i æ r	s æ j s i æ
(21) <i>sagde</i> 'said'	s æ . / s æ . æ s s æ t s æ k t	s æ æ	s æ	s æ	s æ	s æ	s o	s æ
(24) <i>læse</i> 'to read, read'	l æ s æ l æ s l æ j s æ l æ s			l æ s	l æ s		l æ s	l æ s

Table 1. Comparison of Thyborøn's forms (from Lane, in progress) with surrounding areas (from Feilberg 1886-1893; Bennike & Kristensen 1898-1912).

For present purposes a subgroup of six women from the total informant population of 87 were chosen. These six were randomly chosen based on three criteria: (1) that they were interviewed during both 1989 and 1995; (2) that they represented one of the three generations of adult speakers in Thyborøn; and (3) that the age differences between the informants within a generational grouping be less than 10 years apart. Let us consider Table 2. We immediately note the differences in age as a characteristic of the three groups. However, age alone is not what separates these women.

6. Socio-Historical Differences and Social Change

If we consider points (1) through (6) together, we notice that date of birth, type of occupation and level of education coincide with having experienced a set of important socio-historical events. As we move from Group 1 to 3 along point (6), each group experiences only what is listed in its cells and those to the right. However, only the members within a group experience the socio-historical events at similar life stages hence with similar orientations to the events. The life-stage at which group members experience socio-historical events is crucial to that group's collective orientation to the events and in turn to the effect which those events may have on their orientation to the community.

In considering Table 2, Group 1, we note that these women were typically born into poverty, arrived in Thyborøn as young adults, had little education and few choices in occupation, and then raised small children during the German occupation of WWII. These women were part of the development of a modern fishing industry in a town which was experiencing massive internal migration. They lived in a community whose population was growing at astronomical rates and whose members represented numerous dialect areas. These women spent the majority of their adult years in Thyborøn in numerous situations of linguistic accommodation which would result in the emergence of a new dialect, Thyborønsk. Their own identity is still closely linked to the pride of being a member of a boom town.

The Group 2 women grew up during times of post-WWII prosperity and development in Thyborøn. They witnessed major physical expansions of the town and the beginning of social changes for women. These social changes translated into a chance to receive

Orientation	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	Karen V.	Anne K.	Karen J.	Inger H.	Vibeke N.	Deite M.
(1) Birth	1909 in Langerhuse (6 kilometers south of Thyborøn)	1913 in Rønland (3 kilometers south of Thyborøn)	1941 in Thyborøn	1948 in Thyborøn	1963 in Thyborøn	1965 in Thyborøn
(2) Arrive Date	1929	20 1933	Born in Thyborøn	Born in Thyborøn	Born in Thyborøn	Born in Thyborøn
(3) Years in Thyborøn	66	62	54	47	32	30
(4) Occupation	Housewife	Housewife	Mini-school bus and independent taxi driver	Maid and kitchen assistant at the Convalescent Home	Office assistant for the Auction Hall (only female at work place)	Previously a florist, presently unemployed on maternity leave from studying to be a social worker.
(5) Education	Some grade school	Some grade school	Junior high school	Junior high school, recently sent to kitchen assistant classes by employer	Vocational school after grade school	Vocational school after grade school
(6) Major Socio-Historical Events experienced in Thyborøn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arrived during Thyborøn's formative years. Raised children under WWII occupation. Born into poverty, had few choices as a child. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arrived during Thyborøn's formative years. Raised children under WWII occupation. Born into poverty, had few choices as a child. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Grew up during post-WWII prosperity and modernization. Had educational opportunities, but traditional social roles for women impacted choices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Grew up during post-WWII prosperity and modernization. Had educational opportunities, but traditional social roles for women impacted choices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Childhood during last prosperity and development stage for Thyborøn. As young adult, has witnessed economic despair and severe depression. More educational and professional opportunities due to social role and value changes for women. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Childhood during last prosperity and development stage for Thyborøn. As young adult, has witnessed economic despair and severe depression. More educational and professional opportunities due to social role and value changes for women.

Orientation	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	Karen V. Thyborønsk	Annie K. Thyborønsk	Karen J. Thyborønsk, but it's becoming more generally West Jutlandic	Inger II. Thyborønsk	Vibeke N. Thyborønsk, but I've made it more general Jutlandic	Doris M. Thyborønsk, but I've made it more general Jutlandic
(7) Self-Defined Language Choice	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Standard Danish, now some Thyborønsk also	Standard Danish, now a little Thyborønsk also
(8) Language Spoken to Children	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Standard Danish, now some Thyborønsk also	Standard Danish, now a little Thyborønsk also
(9) Ideological Orientation to Thyborøn	Traditional roles and values: Thyborøn is central to self-defined identity; would not move.	Traditional roles and values: Thyborøn is central to self-defined identity; would not move.	Traditional values but has an occupation, dreams of having a career. Thyborøn is central to self-defined identity; would not move.	Traditional values but has an occupation, dreams of having a career. Thyborøn is central to self-defined identity; would not move.	Urban values, has an occupation and aspires to have a career. Thyborøn is important to self-defined identity, but would like to move.	Urban values, has an occupation and aspires to have a career. Thyborøn is important to self-defined identity, but would like to move.
(10) Life-Modes: (a) Present (b) Ideal	(a) Mode 1 ("rural") (b) Mode 1 ("rural")	(a) Mode 1 ("rural") (b) Mode 1 ("rural")	(a) Composite of Modes 1 ("rural") and 2 ("wage earner") (b) Mode 2 ("wage earner")	(a) Composite of Modes 1 ("rural") and 2 ("wage earner") (b) Mode 2 ("wage earner")	(a) Composite of Modes 1 ("rural") and 2 ("wage earner") (b) Mode 2 ("wage earner")	(a) Composite of Modes 1 ("rural") and 2 ("wage earner") (b) Mode 2 ("wage earner")

Table 2. Informants' Background and Orientation to Community.

more education than the Group 1 women, as well as to earn their own money through wage earning jobs before and after raising their children. In many ways Group 2's responses to ideological orientation (point 9) are similar to those of Group 1, except for one crucial difference, the Group 2 women still dream of pursuing a career other than their present wage earning occupations. This difference is reflected in point (10) which summarizes their present life mode as a composite of modes 1 and 2. Briefly, life mode analysis, according to the Danish ethnographer Thomas Højrup (1983), offers a means for analyzing the everyday life of members of a group along economic lines and along shared ideological social constructs which bind the group together. Composite life modes usually occur during transitional stages where a person may reside and support the ideology of one life mode but economically participate in another life mode type.

The Group 3 women grew up in a Thyborøn which is a dying town as opposed to a boom town. What it means to be a member of the community has changed as dramatically as the economy. The Group 3 women also grew up during a period of rapid social change in rural Denmark which had lagged behind the urban areas. These changes brought increased opportunities for women in education and industry, the acceptance of double income households, widespread use of birth control, and increased mobility leading to frequent contact with people from other (dialect) areas. These women received vocational training after junior high. This entailed traveling out of Thyborøn and being in classes with students who were generally not from Thyborøn and who do not understand the Thyborøn dialect. Like the Group 1 women, the Group 3 women were (and still are) involved in many situations requiring linguistic accommodation. Unlike the Group 1 women though, these women envision careers for themselves and opportunities for personal and economic improvements which take them beyond the community boundaries, despite already having families (this last point separates them from the Group 2 women).

7. Social Changes and Linguistic Changes

A major force in linguistic change is contact with speakers from other areas. Recalling the discussion of the Group 1 women, we note that as

a result of moving to Thyborøn and living there during the years of massive internal migration, these women were frequently in situations of linguistic accommodation. The direction of this accommodation was towards a common linguistic ground to ensure communication which, in turn, built upon the developing sense of community identity. We know from demographic profiles such as Figure 2, that a variety of dialects were represented by the local population and we know that the end result of the linguistic contact was the emergence of a new dialect, Thyborønisk.

While we find a degree of uniformity in code among the Thyborøn residents, we cannot overlook that among the Group 3 members, we also find early signs of regional standardization. Through school and local sports clubs these women are in frequent contact with people from other dialect areas and have to linguistically accommodate to the other speakers and away from their own dialect. During these accommodation situations, the other speakers do not attempt to accommodate to the Thyborøn women, unlike the type of situation which the Group 1 women partook in during their young adult years.

Table 3 presents a list of 24 linguistic markers of Thyborønisk as they are distributed across the three groups. The leftmost columns offer the lexical item in written Standard Danish with an English translation. The phonetic realizations of each of the markers are compared from the 1989 and 1995 interviews for all six women. The markers which exhibit change have been shaded. The light shading indicates the early presence of potential shifting; medium shading indicates generational markers; and darker shading indicates that the marker is undergoing or has undergone regional standardization.

In recalling Table 2 it is significant that the Group 3 women report to be consciously regionalizing the Thyborønisk dialect as a result of contact situations. Furthermore, they actively choose to speak to their children in Standard Danish and only after age 4 or 5 do they begin to introduce some Thyborønisk forms when speaking to their children. It is interesting to note that both of the Group 3 women state that they are *actively* changing their code, while one of the Group 2 women states that her code is *being* changed as a result of what she hears around her. When speaking with adult community members, the Group 3 women speak their new version of Thyborønisk, and openly criticize and 'correct' Group 2 members for using antiquated Thyborønisk forms (for example, points (8), (14) and

(15) in Table 3). Both Group 1 and 2 women have commented upon Group 3's behavior and view it with dismay and occasionally even disgust. Only the Group 2 women are reprimanded by Group 3 speakers for using older forms, and both groups openly admit and recount anecdotes of such instances. I have transcribed two anecdotes and provided numeric references to the markers as they appear in Table 3 for you to consider.

Transcript of Two Anecdotes

A phonetic transcription of the marker (and its corresponding number from Table 3) follows the Standard Danish orthographic representation which is italicized. These transcript excerpts have been standardized to allow for use of the Danish orthographic system, the reader should not assume that forms not being studied herein (i.e. for which no phonetic transcription is provided) were produced in a Standard Danish form (cf. Lane in progress for full phonetic transcripts).

Group 3: Dorte M., born in 1965 in Thyborøn (was pregnant at the time of the interview and has 1 young son) – Interview recorded Feb. 1995 (no relation to Inge H.)

DM: Min mor [moɹ] (12) er lidt breder end jeg [ɛ] (17) er, altså i nogle [noʊn] (1) ting hun siger [sɑɪʔə] (20). Øh, hvad var det da, hun sagde [sɑ] (21) den anden dag [dɑwʔ] (13), for eksempel? Øh, 'blåde' [blåʔð], sagde [sɑ] (21) hun. Og så sagde [sɑ] (21) jeg [ɛ] (17), 'altså mor [moɹ] (12), der er altså ingen ting, der hedder. Altså, det er 'blade' [blæðə], hun mener. Og, der er sådan nogen [noŋ] (1) ting, hun siger [sɑɪʔə] (20), som ... altså, hun er breder end jeg [ɛ] (17) er.

Lane: Hvorfor tror du, du er ikke lige så bred, som hun er?

DM: Jamen altså, jeg [ɛ] (17) synes [tʰwʔs] (22) simpelthen noget [noʊ] (2) af det hun siger [sɑɪʔə] (20), lyder direkte skør. Altså, um ... Ja, okay, jeg [ɛ] (17) kan selvfølgelig ikke [ɛʔ] (5) komme i tanke om ... men, bare det der, den anden dag [dɑwʔ] (13), hun sagde [sɑ] (21) det der, tag lige den 'blåde' [blåð] der.' Hvad er det hun siger [sɑɪʔə] (20)? Hun siger [sɑɪʔə] (20) egentlig en del sådan ord, som, som jeg [ɛ] (17) ikke [ɛʔ] (5) siger [sɑɪʔə] (20). Altså så har jeg [ɛ] (17) også mit, mit sprog fra skole af. Altså, eller ... altså, jeg [ɛ] (17) snakker jysk, men jeg [ɛ] (17) snakker ikke [ɛʔ] (5) øh... direkte

gammel thyborønsk, det gør jeg [ɛ] (17) ikke [ɛʔ] (5), slet ikke [ɛʔ] (5).

Lane: Tror du l

DM: |Og jeg [ɛ] (17) siger [saiʔə] (20) heller ikke [ɛʔ] (5), jeg [ɛ] (17) siger [saiʔə] (20) heller ikke [ɛʔ] (5) tirsdag [tʰi.ʰsdə] (14), eller onsdag [wu.nsdə], eller torsdag [tʰa.sdə], fredag [frai.ðə] (15), lørdag [löv.ðə]. Altså, sådan snakker jeg [ɛ] (17) virkelig ikke [ɛʔ] (5). Altså, jeg [ɛ] (17) siger [saiʔə] (20): mandag [mænʔdæ], tirsdag [tiʔʰsdæ] (14), onsdag [ðʔnsdæ], torsdag [toʔʰsdə], fredag [freʔdə] (15), lørdag [lövʔdə], søndag [sönʔdə].

Group 2: Inger H., born in 1948 in Thyborøn (has 2 young adult sons) – Interview recorded Feb. 1989 (no relation to Dorte M.)

IH: Men altså, den bruger de jo ikke [ɛʔ] (5) så meget [mɔʔ] (3) i dag [dɑʔ] (13), vel? Hvad er der mere? Før i dag [daw] (13), da sagde [sa] (21) vi også, altså der var to kroner, ikke [ɛʔ] (5), og den, da kaldte vi jo det en daler. Men det siger [saiʔə] (20) jeg [ɛ] (17) også tit i dag [dɑʔʰ] (13), altså jeg [ɛ] (17) ... Og børn [baʔ] (10), de bliver sur, 'du skal ikke [ɛʔ] (5) sige [sai] (20) 'en daler', du skal heller ikke [ɛʔ] (5) sige [sai] (20) [tʰi.ʰsdə].' Så får jeg [ɛ] (17) sommetider erstats, 'du skal heller ikke [ɛʔ] (5) sige [sai] (20) tirsdag [tʰi.ʰsdə] (14), det lyder så dum.' Men altså, der er mange ord ... jeg [ɛ] (17) vil sige [sai] (20) at mine børn, de er ikke [ɛʔ] (5) fornem, i forholdt til, hvad dem, dem helt små i dag [dɑʔʰ] (13). Det er godt nok, altså det er noget helt andet sprog, de fører end vi gør [gɔʔ] (18).

Markers	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	Karen V. '89	Aminne K. '89	Karen J. '89	Inger H. '89	Vibeke N. '89	Dorte M. '89
(1) <i>noget</i> 'some'	nɔw nɔwn	nɔw nɔwn	nɔw nɔwn	nɔw nɔwn	nɔw nɔwn	nɔw nɔwn
(2) <i>noget</i> 'some'	nɔ	nɔ	nɔ	nɔ	nɔ	nɔ
(3) <i>meget</i> 'much'	mɔʔ mɔʔ	mɔʔ mɔʔ	mɔʔ mɔʔ	mɔʔ mɔʔ	mɔʔ mɔʔ	mɔʔ mɔʔ
(4) <i>sådan</i> 'such'	sɔʔn sɔʔn	sɔʔn sɔʔn	sɔʔn sɔʔn	sɔʔn sɔʔn	sɔʔn sɔʔn	sɔʔn sɔʔn
(5) <i>ikke</i> 'not'	ɛʔ	ɛʔ	ɛʔ	ɛʔ	ɛʔ	ɛʔ
(6) <i>ellers</i> 'otherwise'	hɛsɔ	hɛsɔ	hɛsɔ	hɛsɔ	hɛsɔ	hɛsɔ
(7) <i>noget</i> 'necessary'			nøʔ	nøʔ	nøʔ	nøʔ
(8) <i>efft</i> 'needed'	gɔwʔ gɔwʔ	gɔwʔ gɔwʔ	gɔwʔ gɔwʔ	gɔwʔ gɔwʔ	gɔwʔ gɔwʔ	gɔwʔ gɔwʔ
(9) <i>gang</i> 'occasion'	gɔʔ	gɔʔ	gɔʔ	gɔʔ	gɔʔ	gɔʔ
(10) <i>børn</i> 'children'	bøʔn bøʔn	bøʔn bøʔn	bøʔn bøʔn	bøʔn bøʔn	bøʔn bøʔn	bøʔn bøʔn
(11) <i>år</i> 'year'	ɑʔ	ɑʔ	ɑʔ	ɑʔ	ɑʔ	ɑʔ
(12) <i>mor</i> 'mother, mom'	mɔwʔ mɔwʔ	mɔwʔ mɔwʔ	mɔwʔ mɔwʔ	mɔwʔ mɔwʔ	mɔwʔ mɔwʔ	mɔwʔ mɔwʔ
(13) <i>dag</i> 'day'	dɔw dɔw	dɔw dɔw	dɔw dɔw	dɔw dɔw	dɔw dɔw	dɔw dɔw
(14) <i>tirsdag</i> 'Tuesday'	tʰsɔð	tʰsɔð	tʰsɔð	tʰsɔð	tʰsɔð	tʰsɔð

Markers	Group 1			Group 2			Group 3		
	Karen V. '89	Amme K. '89	Karen J. '89	Inger II. '89	Karen J. '89	Vibeke N. '89	Dante M. '89		
(15) <i>fredag</i> 'Friday'	fre:ðs	fre:ðs	fre:ðs	fre:ðs	fre:ðs	fre:ðs	fre:ðs		
(16) <i>med</i> 'with'	mai m ε	mai m ε	mai m ε	mai m ε	mai m ε	mai m ε	mai m ε		
(17) <i>jeg</i> 'I'	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε		
(18) <i>gøre</i> 'do, do'	gɔ gɔ gɔ	gɔ gɔ gɔ	gɔ gɔ gɔ	gɔ gɔ gɔ	gɔ gɔ gɔ	gɔ gɔ gɔ	gɔ gɔ gɔ		
(19) <i>gjorde</i> 'did'	gjo	gjo	gjo	gjo	gjo	gjo	gjo		
(20) <i>stige</i> 'stige' 'to say, say'	sai sai sai	sai sai sai	sai sai sai	sai sai sai	sai sai sai	sai sai sai	sai sai sai		
(21) <i>sagde</i> 'said'	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa		
(22) <i>synes</i> 'believe'	ɔwʔs	ɔwʔs	ɔwʔs	ɔwʔs	ɔwʔs	ɔwʔs	ɔwʔs		
(23) <i>synes</i> 'believed'									
(24) <i>læser</i> 'to read, read'	læs	læs	læs	læs	læs	læs	læs		

Table 3. Informants' Use of 24 Linguistic Markers.

Key: Informants responses are phonetically transcribed. Light shading indicates early presence of potential shifting; medium shading indicates generational markers; darker shading indicates regional standardization of form.

Table 3 encapsulates an important point of this paper. Namely, that we are able to witness definite generational changes in some linguistic markers (for example, the words for 'Tuesday', point (14) and 'Friday', point (15)), and we are able to relate these linguistic changes to important changes in orientation to the dialect and to life in Thyborøn. We also note that while we do find important differences among the residents, a number of the linguistic markers continue to be shared and are changing simultaneously across the three groups, thereby maintaining a unified linguistic identity, albeit a shrinking set of shared forms.

8. Conclusion

The information which I have presented represents an abbreviated set of integrated socio-historical data concerning the emergence and more recent decline of the single industry fishing town of Thyborøn, followed by a brief examination of the present linguistic and ideological changes in orientation to the community. These changes are a major part of the construction of generational identity and ideology which is reflected in the internal social constructs as well as in the changes witnessed in the dialect itself.

We have briefly explored the definition of three generations of Thyborøn women as having experienced specific socio-historical changes at different life-stages. Two interesting outcomes of these experiences are the development of social ideology and the development of the Thyborønsk dialect. I hope I offered a glimpse into how these three groups of women differ in their linguistic and social ideology, and perhaps why and how these differences pattern along generational lines. A goal in conducting this type of socio-linguistic analysis is to shed light on the question of how and why a linguistic community emerges, develops a distinct linguistic norm which reflects a deep sense of local identity, and undergoes regional standardization (in other words, addressing the actuation of linguistic change as raised by Weinreich, Labov and Herzog in their 1968 seminal article).

Department of Linguistics
The University of Chicago
1010 East 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637

Notes

- * This paper is based on research funded by National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant # SBR-9313170. The original fieldwork (1988-89) was funded by a Fulbright-Hayes Grant. Special thanks go to Michael Silverstein for his insightful comments and patient guidance throughout this research endeavor. Additional thanks go to Rosina Lippi-Green, Bill Kretzschmar, Jørgen Grunner, Bob Knippen, and the editors for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. Any errors or shortcomings remain my responsibility alone.
1. While it may not be uncommon that a consonant will delete when it occurs in the same position as West Jutlandic *stød*, such as in Number (5), this highly frequent form in natural speech is nevertheless worthy of note as an example of the fact that Thyborønsk does not participate in *klusilspring* at all.

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