

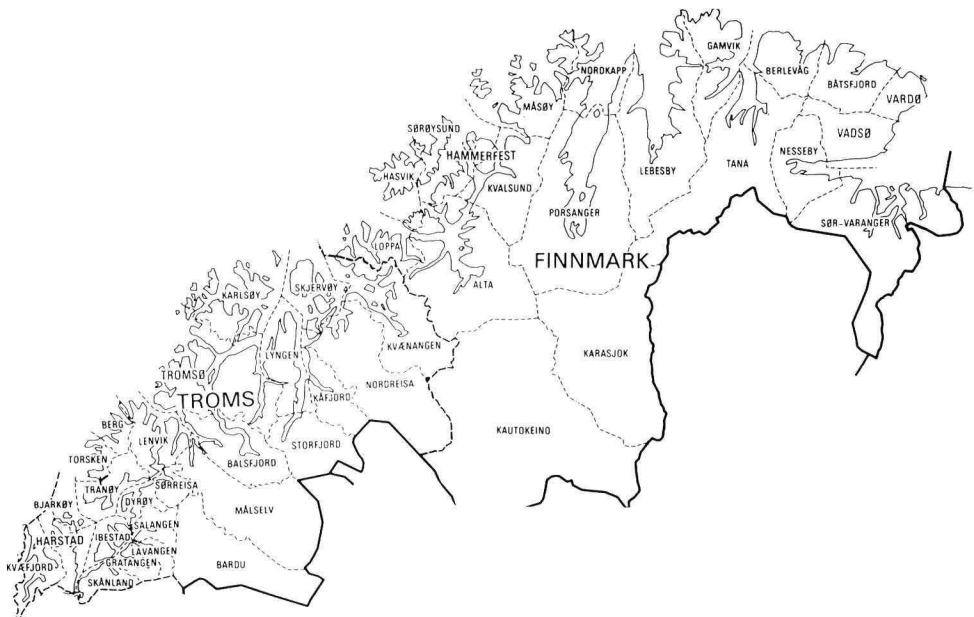
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Dialect and standard in a language contact area in northern Norway

Abstract

The region focused on in this paper has for several centuries been multi-ethnic and multilingual, incorporating indigenous Sami-speaking people, an immigrated Finnish contingent and an increasing Norwegian-speaking population. The aim of the present paper is to investigate the relationship of the Norwegian standards and the vernacular of the Norwegian-speaking locals in the language contact areas in the north of Norway.

Figure 1: *Map of the northern part of Northern Norway*



The further north one moves in Norway, the less known are the linguistic varieties spoken by the local population, and the less they are investigated. The founder of Norwegian dialectology, Ivar Aasen (1813-1896), travelled through large parts of the country investigating dialects which he considered 'pure', 'genuine' and 'original'. He never reached the far north. On the whole, Aasen did not consider the North-Norwegian dialects to be of any great importance. In 1851 he wrote in a letter that there was "intet at udrette i sprogveien", i.e. nothing to do linguistically in the northern parts of the country. Aasen, of course, was a product of his time, his views coinciding in many ways with the romantic attitudes of the nineteenth century. In older memoirs and travel accounts similar opinions are expressed, often in a rather condescending manner. I will quote one rather curious example from 1802:

On the subject of proverbs or adages, in which the language is by no means rich, I must not omit to mention one common among the Norwegian rustics in Finmark. When they would give the sincerest testimony of commiseration and grief at any misfortune or calamity, be the condition of the sufferer ever so distinguished or exalted, they exclaim, *BEISTE STAKKAR*, that is, *POOR BEAST*, an expression which conveys to them the liveliest sense of compassion and sorrow. (Acerbi 1802: 150)

Since Aasen's time Norwegian dialectologists have been active mapping and analysing especially rural dialects, mostly in the southern part of the country. Not until the 1970's have the northernmost Norwegian dialects been put on the agenda, and from that time onwards many of the varieties that have been investigated have been analysed mostly from a sociolinguistic point of view.

The reasons for the lack of interest in the linguistic varieties in the north of Norway are many. One has to do with multilingualism and language contact phenomena in the area. The scientific work of Ivar Aasen and the dialectologists following in his footsteps ultimately aimed at constituting and building the Norwegian nation symbolically, i.e. proving that Norway was an autonomous nation, separated from Denmark linguistically, and thus nationally as well. Aasen himself founded a new language norm on the basis of the common structure of the dialects. He called this norm 'Landsmål'. Long after it had gained official status, it was to be renamed 'Nynorsk', literally 'New Norwegian'. The northern dialects were more or less excluded from Aasen's description of this common denominator. Language contact phenomena were contradictory to a view that defined the nation through the existence of one distinct national language. Thus the mere existence of such phenomena within the borders of the Norwegian nation were a threat to the Romanticists' concept of 'nation' and 'national language'.

Against this background it is a great paradox that the linguistic varieties of the northern language contact areas have been considered both nondialectal and stand-

ard-like. This is true both of folk-linguistic opinions and attitudes, and to a certain extent of linguistic judgements and descriptions as well. This peculiar view has survived for generations, and still people tend to say that in Finnmark and in the northern part of Troms the locals speak 'Bokmål', i.e. "book language", which is the name of the standard norm descending from Danish. Finnmark and Troms are the northernmost counties of Norway. Even in standard textbooks on Norwegian dialectology it has often been said that the influence of Bokmål on the northern varieties is considerable. This is indeed very strange, also because the locals like most Norwegians from all over the country speak their local dialect in all kinds of social contexts, in a more or less modified way, even outside the local sphere and in formal situations. Thus, one of the aims of my paper is to try to analyse and discuss the relationship between the standard Bokmål and the vernacular of the Norwegian-speaking locals in the language contact areas in the extreme north of Norway.

The region focused on in this paper has for several centuries been multi-ethnic and multilingualistic. The original population was Sami (or Lappish). During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the area in question was strongly Norwegianized, the last decades of the period apparently and hopefully putting an end to a long period of Norwegian colonization. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries quite a few Finnish-speaking immigrants moved into the area, thus broadening the basis of multilingualism in the region. In this way the northernmost part of Norway exhibits linguistic examples of language contact between a Germanic language, Norwegian, on the one hand, and two Finno-Ugric languages, Sami and Finnish, on the other. The process of Norwegianization has been strongest and most influential along the coast line. In the inland area of Finnmark, Sami is still a strong language, very much alive. In 1990 Sami was given official status as being equivalent with Norwegian in parts of the region. The use of Finnish, on the other hand, seems to be decreasing. By now, the Norwegian-speaking population is by far the largest one. People with a Norwegian mother tongue tend to be monolingual. Sami- and Finnish-speaking people are always bilingual, mastering Norwegian as well as their mother tongue.

One explanation why people in this area are said to speak standard Bokmål is related to the fact that the Sami- and Finnish-speaking inhabitants were taught standard Norwegian in school and were forced to abandon their mother tongues outside the Sami and Finnish localities and in all formal situations both within and outside the local area. Their target language in the process of Norwegianization and acculturation was standard Bokmål. But of course their competence in Norwegian cannot be compared with the competence of a native speaker of Norwe-

gian. And the native Norwegian speakers in the north spoke – and still speak – a local (or regional) variety of Norwegian.

There is an element of truth, though, in the myth about the northerners speaking Bokmål or at least something close to Bokmål. The regional vocabulary has a higher frequency of words or word-forms which correspond to the standard forms of Bokmål. Examples like *ikke* (not), *mye* (much), *uke* (week), *hjem* (home), compared with *ikkje*, *mykje*, *vekkalvikka*, *heim* which are the forms used in the monolingual vicinity, are random examples, but they verify my claim. Spelling pronunciation of words like *videre* (wider/further), *andre* (other), *bedre* (better), *mindre* (less), *siden* (later) (the *d* being pronounced), gives similar verification. Examples of grammatical accommodation to standard Bokmål are the plural forms *blar* (leaves or magazines), *knær* (knees) and *trær* (trees) instead of the dialect forms *bla*, *kne* and *tre*, and the present tenses *kommer* (comes) and *sover* (sleeps) instead of *kjem* and *søv*. By now I have probably recorded the bulk of current lexical items and word forms borrowed from the Bokmål-standard. What all these words or word-forms have in common is high frequency. They are all forms that are often used. Less frequent words normally appear in a dialectal form. This focusing on the vocabulary is by no means surprising, vocabulary being the level non-linguists are most consciously aware of, but which linguists consider the least central to the operation of the system. My reasoning in this paper is in accordance with what is emphasized in traditional linguistics; I prefer to stress the potential impact of standardization upon phonology, morphology and syntax rather than on vocabulary. Since the lexicon is the most 'open' of linguistic levels, it is the least useful for such purposes as those aimed at in the present paper. Thus the tradition in linguistics of marginalizing it is understandable, if not on the whole justifiable. However, there is no room for discussing the marginal place of the level of vocabulary in linguistics in this connection; suffice it to state that lexical changes and lexical borrowings are not believed to entail readjustment of the linguistic system as a whole.

Even though the Norwegian varieties in the multi-ethnic areas are considered nondialectal and standard-like, they are at the same time taken to be low-prestige. Speaking of prestige, it is worth noting that the Latin etymon *praestigium* meant 'an illusion, a juggler's trick'. In our case the etymology of the word is strikingly ironic.

Thus, the sociolinguistic situation and the linguistic attitudes in the region seem contradictory and paradoxical. People speaking these northern varieties constantly meet some sort of double-communication about their native speech from outsiders, and also from influential institutions, as for instance school. This may clearly lead to a double-bind situation for the individual.

There is of course a problem of defining the standard. A 'standard' definition might be something like the following: A standard language is that variety of a language which has gained literary and cultural supremacy over the other varieties and is accepted also by the speakers of the other varieties as a more proper form of that language than other varieties. But such a definition has to be modified in many ways. In David Crystal's dictionary on linguistics standard(ization) is defined as follows:

A term used in SOCIOLINGUISTICS to refer to a prestige VARIETY OF LANGUAGE used within a SPEECH COMMUNITY. 'Standard languages/dialects/varieties' cut across regional differences, providing a unified means of communication, and thus an institutionalised NORM which can be used in the mass-media, in teaching the language to foreigners, and so on. Linguistic FORMS or DIALECTS which do not conform to this norm are then referred to as *sub-standard* or (with a less pejorative prefix) *non-standard* – though neither term is intended to suggest that other dialect forms 'lack standards' in any linguistic sense. The natural development of a standard language in a speech community (or an attempt by a community to impose one dialect as a standard) is known as 'standardisation'. (Crystal 1985:286)

It is interesting and important in this connection to notice that Crystal speaks about standardization as a natural development. Lars S. Vikør's definition is also worth quoting:

'a speech variety which has been formally codified, which is attached to a writing standard, and which is claimed to have validity as a norm for speakers of other varieties of the language'. (Vikør 1989:42)

What definitions such as these do not take into account is the fact that from a certain perspective a standard language is an artificial product. A standard is for instance forced to be more stable and less varied than other natural languages since it is a standard through the very fact of its being the written norm. Linguistic norms, of course, exist at many levels. Standard norms constitute one type of norm. There are many theoretical problems attached to the notion of standard and standardness that I cannot consider in this connection. In modern linguistics the phenomenon of standardization has not been of central interest. Consequently, linguistic theories and models usually do not take language standardization into account. Within traditional structuralism Coseriu 1952 (cited here from Joseph 1987) proposed a third intermediate level between de Saussure's *langue* and *parole*, which he termed *la norma*, 'the norm', and which is constituted by "the body of traditionally and socially fixed restrictions against the rules of *langue* being extended absolutely." (Joseph 1987:28) This is expanded on by Joseph in this way:

Saussure had compared *langue* to the rules of chess, *parole* to an actual game being played; Coseriu (1962:60) likens the norm to the characteristic moves and ways of playing (...) of an individual or groups of individuals. (...)

The characteristics of an individual may actually differ from those of the group as a whole; in fact given the level of human individuality they are certain to differ in some way or other. Thus Coseriu divides the norm into two sublevels: the 'social' norm, hierarchically closer to *langue*, and the individual *norm*, closer to *parole*. (Joseph 1987:28)

Thus standardization is more or less the same as the social norm in Coseriu's terminology. One should, nevertheless, bear in mind that the concept of standardization is even more complex in the Norwegian case than in many other western societies. First, because there is not one official Norwegian standard, but two, Nynorsk and Bokmål. Nynorsk and Bokmål are mutually totally comprehensible. Secondly, the differences *within* each of the two standards are perhaps as interesting as the differences *between* them. In both standards there are variants or alternatives (i.e. alternative words, forms and grammatical constructions) from which the writer (or speaker) can choose; the different alternatives are usually referred to by the adjectives radical and moderate or conservative. Through this considerable variation within the standards the very notion of stability as a criterion of standardness is threatened. Furthermore, in such a situation there is no strict dichotomy between the standards and the non-standard varieties, but rather a continuum. Peter Trudgill, who for many years has been interested in the Norwegian linguistic situation, describes the possibility of choice within the standards in this way:

In my own view it is in many ways a good situation, since it means that far more Norwegians than would otherwise be the case are able to learn to read, and if they wish, speak and express themselves in a standard language that closely resembles their own native variety (dialectal variation being quite considerable in Norway). Far fewer Norwegian children find themselves in the difficult situation of the Lowland Scots or Black English speaker. (Trudgill 1975:150-151)

Now then, how standard-like or standardized are the North-Norwegian dialects in the multi-ethnic region? My analysis is based on data I collected in a small village situated in the municipality of Lyngen in the county of Troms, and on data collected by Jorid Hjulstad Junttila and Aud Kirsti Pedersen in a somewhat larger village just across the fjord from the place where I did my fieldwork. A characteristic pattern of language use is found in these villages. The oldest informants are bilingual in Norwegian and Sami or Norwegian and Finnish; some are even trilingual. Most middle aged people have a passive competence in one of the Finno-Ugric languages, while most children and youngsters are monolingual Norwegian speakers. I consider these villages representative of other multi-ethnic localities of the Northern part of Norway. Moreover, the conclusions of this paper are also based on informal observations in other parts of the region.

The Norwegian dialects of the region have naturally been influenced by Sami (and perhaps Finnish) substratum elements through a long period of co-existence. Against this background, I consider it reasonable to claim that the Norwegian linguistic varieties in these areas are the youngest and most recently formed of the Norwegian dialects.

In order to have concrete linguistic material to draw upon when trying to draw conclusions about the relationship between the vernacular and the standard, I have chosen to concentrate my analysis on the inflection of nouns. An idealised noun paradigm for the Norwegian variety of the monolingual areas in the county of Troms and the coast of Finnmark is given in Figure 2:

Figure 2: *Noun paradigm for Troms and coastal Finnmark Norwegian:*

| | <i>Singular</i> | | <i>Plural</i> | | <i>Example</i> |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | <i>Indefinite</i> | <i>Definite</i> | <i>Indefinite</i> | <i>Definite</i> | |
| m | en - Ø | -en | -a | -an | båt - 'boat' |
| | en - Ø | -en | -a | -an | bekk - 'brook' |
| | en - Ø | -en | -a | -an | bakke - 'hill' |
| f | ei - Ø | -a | -e | -en | bru - 'bridge' |
| | ei - Ø/-a (veske/veska) | -a | -e | -en | veske - 'bag' |
| | ei - Ø | -a | -e | -en | elv - 'river' |
| n | et - Ø | -e | -Ø | -an | hus - 'house' |
| | et - Ø | -e | -a | -an | øye - 'eye' |

Because Old Norse had a system of noun declension both according to gender and stems, and this still is reflected in many modern dialects the examples of the paradigm are chosen to represent different stems of nouns in addition to the three genders. Since the purpose here is comparison with the written standards, the transcription of the morphs is held close to normal orthography. Moreover, for the sake of comparison the paradigm of the examples above is given in standard Bokmål in Figure 3 and in standard Nynorsk in Figure 4.

Figure 3: *Noun-paradigm, Bokmål*

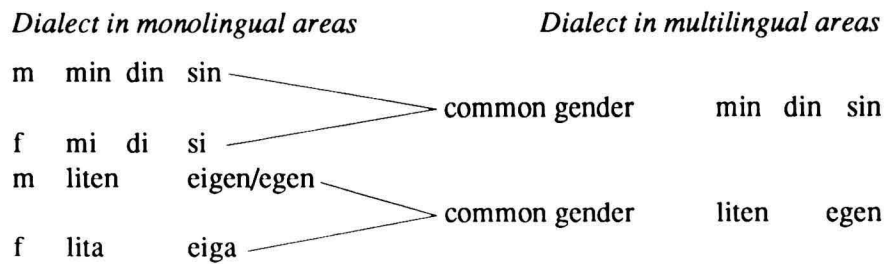
| | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| m | en båt en bekk en bakke | båten bekken bakken | båter bekker bakker | båtene bekkene bakkene |
| f | ei/en bru ei/en veske ei/en elv | brua/[bruen] veska/vesken elva/elven | bruer vesker elver | bruene veskene elvene |
| n | et hus et øye | huset øyet | hus øyer/øyne | husa/husene øya/øyene/øynene |

Figure 4: *Noun-paradigm, Nynorsk*

| | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| m | ein båt ein bekk ein bakke | båten bekken bakken | båtar bekker/[-ar] bakkar | båtane bekkene/[-ane] bakkane |
| f | ei bru ei veske ei elv | brua/[brui] veska elva/[elvi] | bruer vesker elvar/[-er] | bruene veskene elvane/[-ene] |
| n | eit hus eit auge | huset auget/auga | hus auge/augo | husa/[-i] auga/augo |

As to the system in masculine and neuter, the Norwegian dialects of the multi-ethnic and multilingual areas are completely in accordance with the idealized pattern of Figure 2. But in the feminine gender a certain transition to common gender seems to have taken place. Almost – but not quite – everywhere in the language contact areas the feminine indefinite singular article *ei* has been replaced by the masculine article *en*. Thus *en* has become a common gender marker of the indefinite form singular. In the same way the possessive pronouns *min*, *din*, *sin*, which are the masculine forms, replace the specific feminine marker *mi*, *di*, *si*, and the masculine adjectives *liten* and *egen* replace the feminine forms *lita* og *eiga*, as is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Gender reduction in possessive pronouns and adjectives.



Examples: *en liten jente* - a small girl (common gender has replaced f. *ei lita jente*)

min egen jente - my own girl (common gender has replaced f. *mi eiga jente*)

This levelling or simplifying tendency may be explained as a result of the multilingual situation, rather than as influence from one particular variety of standard Bokmål, this variety in fact not being in accordance with the variety taught in the schools.

Except for the indefinite article in the singular of the nouns and the pronouns and adjectives mentioned, the dialects analysed have maintained the difference between masculine and feminine gender, always in the definite form singular, and also in the plural. However, especially young people seem to accept *-a* and *-an* as plural markers of feminine nouns, analogous to the masculine and neuter. This analogy is accomplished in other varieties, e.g. in Finnmark. Thus, it is tempting to predict that a development towards complete analogy in the plural is in progress in large areas, especially because this development has reached a more advanced stage in other regions. An idealised pattern of a gradual transition is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6: *Transition from feminine gender to common gender:*

| | | | |
|--|---------|-------|-----------------|
| <i>Original North Norwegian feminine paradigm:</i> | | | |
| ei bru | brua | brue | bruen 'bridge' |
| ei bøtta/e | bøtta | bøtte | bøtten 'bucket' |
| <i>Stage 1 of transition:</i> | | | |
| en bru | brua | brue | bruen |
| en bøtta/e | bøtta | bøtte | bøtten |
| <i>Stage 2:</i> | | | |
| en bru | brua | brue | bruan |
| en bøtte | bøtta | bøtte | bøttan |
| <i>Stage 3:</i> | | | |
| en bru | brua | brua | bruan |
| en bøtte | bøtta | bøtta | bøttan |
| <i>Stage 4:</i> | | | |
| en bru | *bruen | brua | bruan |
| en bøtte | *bøtten | bøtta | bøttan |

There are exceptions to this idealized pattern, though. One in particular should be mentioned. In the eastern part of Finnmark the ending -er in the indefinite plural may be heard, especially in the feminine gender, but also in the masculine and neuter. This exception to the North Norwegian grammatical system may duly be interpreted as an influence from the Bokmål standard.

At Stage 4 of the idealized pattern of transition the originally feminine forms are completely analogous with the masculine. No variety in the area in question has reached this stage as yet. Several have stopped at stage 1, 2, or 3. My motivation for suggesting such a Stage 4 is the fact that there are other Norwegian varieties that have coalesced the masculine and the feminine gender, *e.g.* the Bergen dialect. Moreover, this stage represents the ultimate stage of a rather systematic developmental pattern. The data of the two dialects analysed agree with stage 1. As mentioned above, the pattern of transition is an idealized one. Actually, one may find feminine paradigms having reached stage 2 or 3 as far as the plurals are concerned, but having omitted stage 1, the system thus having

common gender forms all through the plural, or in the definite form only, but still distinct feminine forms in the singular, including the indefinite article. Even if the process of transition leads to some sort of levelling of morphological forms, it is interesting to note that the final results (stage 2 or 3 or even 4) do not lead to a merging with the Bokmål standard, nor with the Nynorsk standard. The vowel marker of plural is *a* all through the paradigm and not *e* as in Bokmål, and furthermore, the *a* is in fact replacing the *e* which coincides with the plural vowel of the Bokmål paradigm in the feminine.

Pronunciation exhibits a similar pattern of non-adjustment to the standard. The distribution of stress is more in accordance with Sami or Finnish rules than with prescribed rules for pronunciation of standard Bokmål or with the rules of the Norwegian dialect in the monolingual vicinity. The distribution of stress, particularly in loanwords from Greek, Latin and French, is a sociolinguistic marker in many parts of Norway. In popular speech in the multilingual areas of Northern Norway many of these words are stressed on the first syllable, *avisa*, *studere*, while the standard tends to place the stress later in the word, *avisa*, *studere*. Furthermore, the vernacular tends to stress the first element in groups of words or compounds, whereas the standard stresses the second element, *tante Lise* ('aunt Lise') versus *tante Lise*. On the whole, prosodic features from Sami or Finnish seem to have survived particularly well as substratum elements in the Norwegian vernacular in this region.

So far our discussion suggests that the recent development of the Norwegian vernacular in language contact areas does not indicate any deep influence from the standards or strong tendencies towards standardization. The changes and accommodations recorded express internal linguistic development rather than accommodation to the standard. External influence seems to come from new patterns of social behaviour, such as greater mobility, geographically and socially, rather than directly from influence of the standards. According to Sandøy 1982 neither the written standards nor the spoken ones, e.g. the standard pronunciation heard in the mass media, have had any significant impact on the structure of Norwegian dialects. Standardization has contributed to a levelling in vocabulary (cf. Venås 1982), but the influence on the grammatical structure of the dialects has been slight, in spite of clear tendencies of levelling and readjustment in the phonology and morphology. These tendencies lead to regionalization but not to standardization. This is summed up by Vikør 1989:

Recent dialectological and sociolinguistic research, moreover, seems to indicate that the dialects of the youngest generation are gradually converging because of increased interregional contact – and then not primarily in the direction of the standard norms, but far more in the direction of more unified regional dialects

based on the popular speech of population centers in the various regions. (Vikør 1989:56)

So far we have found that the influence from the standards on Norwegian varieties in the language contact areas does not seem to differ much from that which is exhibited on other kinds of vernacular speech in Norway. These findings are apparently not in accordance with the whole truth of the matter. The other side of the coin reveals another picture which I will look into in the last part of this paper.

For one thing, one should expect these dialects to show a different pattern of influence than do other Norwegian dialects, due to the fact that they are Norwegian varieties in close contact with Sami and to a certain degree with Finnish. It is reasonable to hypothesize that a linguistic variety in use in a multilingual society should be influenced in one way or another by its multilingual surroundings, even if the language in question is the majority prestige language in that particular multilingual society.

A characteristic feature of the Norwegian varieties in the language contact areas is a very high degree of variation, both inter-individually and intra-individually. But this seems to decrease from the oldest bilingual informants to the youngest monolingual ones. A parallel to the levelling tendency already described may be accounted for in terms of accommodation, not to the standard, but to the North Norwegian variety in the monolingual neighbourhood, even though some structural features still are distinct for these varieties solely, and other features signifying Sami substratum are kept even among the younger monolingual speakers.

Robert Le Page's concepts *diffused* and *focused* might be useful in understanding this development of accommodation. In a language contact situation, the speakers of the varieties in question, particularly of the minority language, lack social mechanisms whereby a highly focused set of vernacular or institutionalized norms can be consistently maintained against the constant pressure of competing sets of vernacular or institutionalized norms, and so they tend to drift away from a potentially consistent norm. In Le Page's terms, the language of the speakers becomes more diffuse. This probably was the case for my oldest informants, hence the very considerable variation in their speech. During the last decades a process of focusing has been taking place, though. Thus, a variable, heterogeneous and diffuse linguistic norm has been replaced by a more homogeneous, uniform and socially uniting norm.

This process of focusing coincides to a slight degree with the process of regionalization, but not fully. The inflectional patterns of the nouns are distinct from the corresponding forms of the standards, and also distinct from what might be looked upon as a regiolectal forms, i.e. forms developed in a monolingual

North Norwegian district. At the same time the dialects in question have also developed differently prosodically and slightly differently phonologically, compared to the neighbouring dialects, as well as compared to the standard. This is presumably still due to the Sami substratum. A critical factor in this connection is the interrelationship between overt and covert prestige, described by Joseph in cases where overt prestige predominates:

The interaction of power, language, and reflections on language, inextricably bound up with one another in human history, largely defines language standardization. The rise of one community's dialect as synecdochic within a linguistically fragmented region is both a manifestation of the community's power and a base for expanding it. A few users of the standard language accede to positions of authority which permit them to direct the future course of standardization. Individuals learn standard languages in order to increase their personal standing. And 'eloquence' in the use of language almost universally functions as a mantle of power. (Joseph 1987:43)

But Joseph himself stresses that this kind of development is not the only route possible.

If language standardization names a specific, culturally transmitted tradition of processes effectuated upon language, and if we recognize (...) that civilizations can grow in the absence of this tradition, then we no longer have to assume that the constitutive processes of standardization are naturally superior to any alternative, and that all languages would accede to them independently over time. We can maintain that they form one pattern of development among many possible effective ones. (Joseph 1987:54)

In Crystal's definition of standard(ization) quoted above, the process of standardization was characterized as 'natural'. Joseph's discussion as well as the eminent clarification by Milroy and Milroy 1985 show us that this process is not at all a natural process, in the sense of being inevitable. The documentation from Norwegian dialects, in particular dialects developed in language contact areas, confirms the views of these writers. In fact, it is rather the other way around; the process of standardization is a highly cultural process, according to Joseph: in particular characteristic of western and westernized cultures. And, as we have seen, there certainly are – and always have been – exceptions to the strong westernized dichotomy between standard and non-standard varieties, even within the western world. As Nikolas Coupland says in his abstract for this colloquium "the idea of a fluctuating and complex 'standard' is appealing and necessary", and I will add: this idea is inevitable for an understanding of Norwegian usage generally and in language contact areas in particular. Thus I can conclude by quoting Coupland once more:

We need to recognise the existence of different routes to prestige and to the presentation of preferred identities, as processes underlying the diversity that descriptive data show.

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