

## N O R S K R I F T

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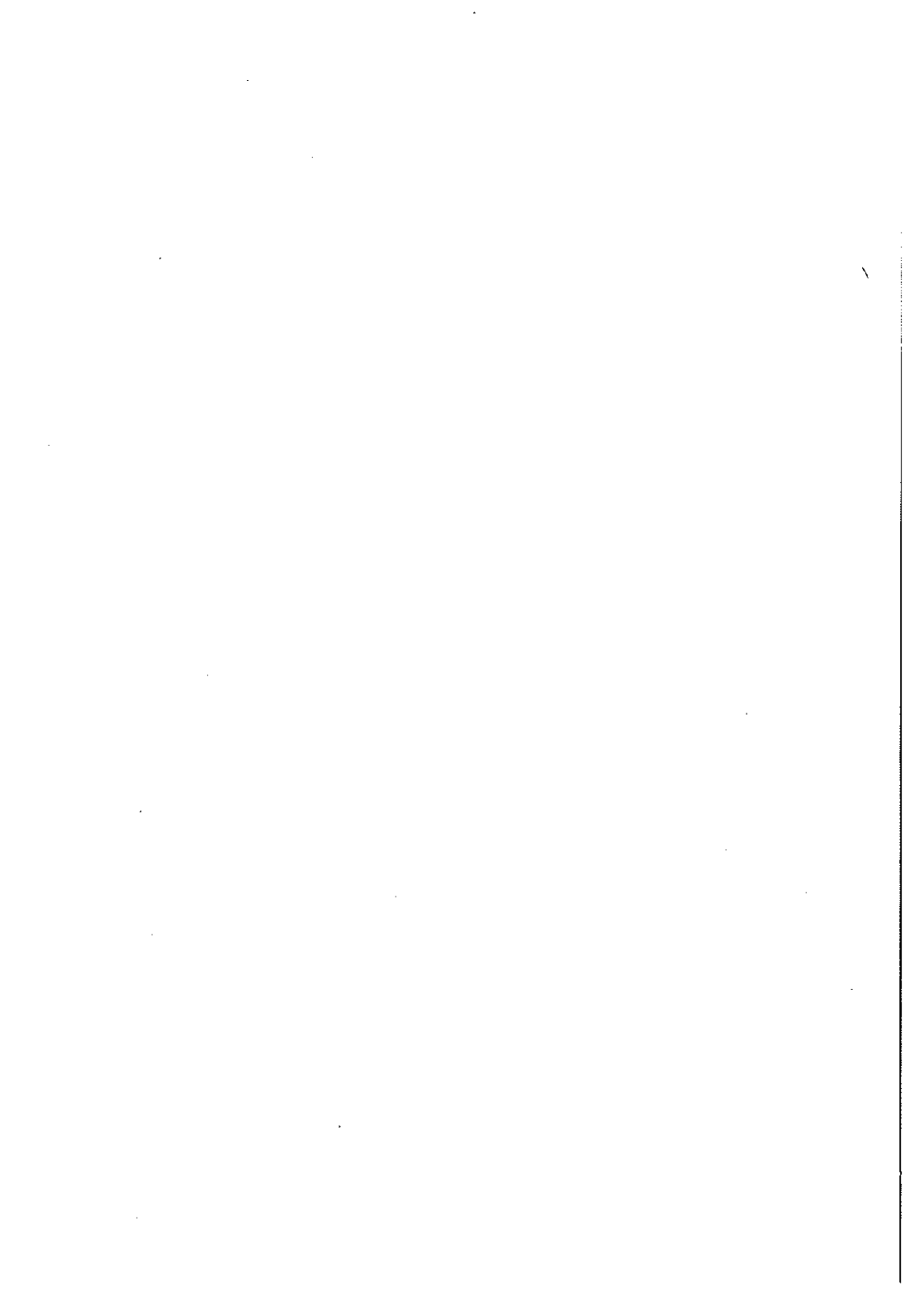
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## NOMINALSYNTAGME AV TYPEN HAN ASEBJØRN I MELLOMNORSK

Av Eskil Hanssen

For norsk språkhistorisk forskning er det et særlig gunstig utgangspunkt at det fins overlevert ei så stor og rik samling kilder fra mellomalderen. For den seinere del av mellomalderen er det særlig brevmaterialet (diplomene) som er av interesse. I mange tilfelle har studium av dette materialet ført til at språkhistoriske grenser har måttet flyttes bakover i tida, ei språklig nydanning har vist seg å være eldre enn man fra først har meint. Kildene har stadig gitt ny kunnskap og større forståing av utviklinga av norsk mål. Ennå er ikke materialet uttømt, og nye metoder for tekstbehandling og informasjonssøking kan gjøre det lettere å hente ny kunnskap ut fra kildene.

Det byr på mange problemer å utforske språk i eldre tider, særlig hvis en er interessert i talespråklige forhold. Vi er henvist til å bruke skriftlige kilder, og skriftspråk er vel aldri heilt dekkende for talespråket. Dette henger bl. a. sammen med at det ofte fins egne regler for skriftspråket, regler som er forskjellig fra dem en finner i talespråket. Dessuten bygger skriftspråket i mange tilfelle på eldre tiders talespråk, og det fins eksempler på at det kan ta svært lang tid før nyutviklinger i språket kommer systematisk til syne i skrift. Dette var i høg grad tilfelle for mellomalderens norske språksamfunn, slik Trygve Knudsen har vært inne på i fleire sammenhenger (Knudsen 1928, 1936).

Om vi ser bort fra de større litterære verkene, er de fleste overleverte kildeskriftene fra mellomalderen nærmest for offisielle dokumenter å regne. De er da også preget av det i valg av tema, komposisjon, stil og ortografi. Noen slike dokumenter må nærmest kalles blanketter, som skriverne skulle fylle ut med navn, dato osv. Lagmennene - og de andre som skreiv slike dokumenter - hadde nok sine faste formularer som de brukte om og om igjen. Likevel kan det hende at det vanlige mønstret blir brutt: "Efterat en skriftnorm har fest-

net sig, er det mest som forstyrrelser i tradisjonen, som ukonvensjonelle innslag at det talte ord bryter inn i det skrevne" (Knudsen 1936, s. 185). Det skjer helst når skriveren skal gjengi muntlig språk direkte, eller når han av andre grunner frir seg fra skriftspråkskonvensjonenes trykk.

I vitneprov om forbrytelser f. eks. blir det stundom sitert replikker, og da kan en finne et språk som i syntaks, idiom og ordvalg skiller seg fra det en ellers finner i kildene, på grunn av at skriveren har søkt å gjengi naturlig talemål. Men det hender også ellers, uten synlig årsak, at en skriver viker av fra den gjengse norm. Slik er det med et brev fra Rogaland fra 1422, som gir interessante opplysninger om norsk pronominalsyntaks og dens historie.

\* \* \*

Før vi går nærmere inn på brevet fra 1422 skal vi se nærmere på det syntaktiske fenomen som det er tale om.

I moderne norsk folkemål er det vanlig å bruke en samordningskonstruksjon av personlig pronomen og egennavn når en omtaler en person: ho Anne, han Kåre. Jfr. Aasen (1864) § 308. Slik konstruksjon synes å være vanlig eller kjent over heile landet, og i noen landsdeler er det et så fast mønster at en ikke bruker egennavn aleine.<sup>1</sup> Ellers finner vi en del mindre variasjoner i syntaksen. I enkelte dialekter kan slik konstruksjon brukes både ved for- og etternavn (eventuelt for- og etternavn sammen); slik er det f. eks. i nordnorsk. Eks.: e han Nilsen inne? Kor de va ho Bendiksen arbeidd' hen? Jfr. Iversen (1918) § 40. Ifølge litteraturen om Oslo-målet skal konstruksjonen bare kunne brukes ved fornavn i Oslo, jfr. Larsen (1907) s. 112, Jensen (1916) s. 66.<sup>2</sup> Pronomenet blir kasusbøyd hvis dialekten har kasusbøying av personlige pronomen i tredje person: ho Solveig (nom.)/ henna Solveig (akk./dat.). Til tross for at dette språkmønstret er så vanlig over heile landet, blir det svært sjelden brukt i skrift. I skjønnlitteraturen forekommer det

hos forfattere som bruker et talemålsnært språk. (F. eks. av Torborg Nedreaas, særlig i Av måneskinn gror det ingenting.) Det ser ut som om de som har vært bestemmende for normeringa av norsk syntaks har vært enig med Ivar Aasen i hans vurdering av konstruksjonen: "Denne Skik passer saaledes bedst for Familielivet og Dagligtalen, hvorimod dens Gjennemførelse i et Bogmaal vilde blive til Uleilighet" (Aasen 1864 § 308 Anm.).

Konstruksjonen må være utviklet tidlig i norsk. Aasen sier (sst.) at "I Gammel Norsk findes den kun paa et og andet Sted" og siterer to eksempler fra Óláfs saga helga ("Den legendariske Olafssaga"): Oc i þui kœmr hann asbiorn i stovona. Snarazk þegar at hanum þore (OSH s. 45). Det gammelnorske materialet er ikke systematisk gjennomgått med henblikk på denne konstruksjonen, og derfor er det til nå ikke trukket fram flere eksempler.<sup>3</sup> Heller ikke i mellomnorske kilder er den vanlig, og det er eiendommelig at det fins såvidt mange og sikre belegg i det nevnte brevet.

Samordningskonstruksjonen har mye til felles med genitivsuttrykk med eiendomspronomen + slektskapsord, som det også fins eksempler på i brevet. Språkhistorikere har sagt lite sikkert om tidspunktet for framvoksteren av denne genitivskonstruksjonen. Gustav Endrebø behandler fenomenet under bolken om mellomnorsk (1951 s. 259), og siterer et eksempel som er fra 1509. Vemund Skard gjengir det samme eksemplet og sier at "omkring 1500 fins det eksempler på om-skrivning av genitiv ved hjelp av det kjønnsbøyde pronomen" (1967 s. 155). Når en bruker en så forsiktig uttrykksmåte kan en trygt flytte grensen en generasjon bakover i tida, både for samordnet nominalsyntagme av typen han Asbjørn og for genitivskonstruksjon med eiendomspronomen, typen modher hennar Ingebergo.

Nå til det mellomnorske brevet. Originalen er skrevet på pergament og fins i Riksarkivet. Det er dagsett 26. juli 1422, men det fins ingen opplysninger om hvor det er skrevet, hvem som har forfattet det eller ført det i pennen. Brevet er trykt i DN bd. 4, nr. 818, og hos Hødnebo (1966) som nr. 30. I brevet vitner to lagrettemenn om salg av deler av garden Håland i Vikedal i Ryfylke (jfr. NG bd. 10, s. 277). Det er tale om en svært vanlig type brev, med nokså faste formularer, slik vi også finner i dette brevet. Brevet er ennå i god forfatning, pergamentet er lyst og skrifta er tydelig og klar. Det har vært to segl i reim, begge henger ennå ved, men er en god del slitt. Handskrifta er god: regelmessig og sikker, og det er tydelig at brevet er skrevet av en øvet skriver. Det er brukt få og bare enkle forkortinger.

I det korte brevet fins det 22 personnevnninger, og det nevnes fleire personer utenom de to lagrettemennene. Vi finner den vanlige typen med bare fornavn, noen ganger med "etternavn", dvs. sammensetning med fars navn + son/dotter. Det fins 10 eksempler på samordningskonstruksjon og genitivkonstruksjon med eiendomspronomen. En kan for øvrig se at det blir meir vanlig utover i brevet, i begynnelsen nevnes personene med bare navn. Eksemplene er:

1. han asbiorn (2 ganger)
2. han sovar (3 ganger)
3. kon ingebergko (1 gang)
4. til hans roals siugurdhars son
5. hennar ingebergo (3 ganger) (f. eks. modher hennar ingebergo).

I eks. 5 ser vi at genitiv er uttrykt gjennom pronomenet. Egennavnet har ingen entydig kasusmarkering, forma ingebergo er brukt både i nom. og dat. I den samordnete nominalfrasen i eks. 4 er det en genitiv styrt av preposisjon, og både pronomen og egennavn er kasustøyd.

Ved sida av disse eksemplene er det 12 tilfelle hvor egennavn står aleine, uten pronomén. De trenger ikke noen nærmere kommentar eller forklaring, de representerer jo det vanlige språkmønstret. Men det kan være verdt å se dem i forhold til de av den første typen. Det er nemlig en viss tekstgrammatisk skilnad.

I ni av de tolv tilfellene med bare egennavn er det første gang en person blir omtalt i brevet. Ved andre gangs omtale er det oftest brukt samordningskonstruksjon. I fire tilfelle, hvorav to kommer blant de nevnte ni, er det slik at personnavnene har betydning svarende til 1. person flertall, dvs. det er navnene på de personene som er avsendere (i pragmatisk forstand) for brevet, forfatterne om en vil. Dette ser vi bl. a. av at disse navnene står parallelt med 1. person flertalls pronomén: mid. Dette gjelder for det første i hilsingsformularen: ollum monnum ... sender eivinde siugurdharsson barder sweinsson q. g. ok sína kunnit gerande ad mid varom ... I avslutninga av brevet står to personnavn som fri apposisjon til 1. person flertalls pronomén: ... setom mid okor incigle asbiorn gunnarsson ok ion ... Disse semantiske forholda kan ha noe å si for at det ikke er brukt pronomén i konstruksjon med egennavnene, ettersom det ikke faller så naturlig når det gjelder 1. person (entall eller flertall)<sup>4</sup>.

Ser vi nå på de tilfellene i teksten med samordningskonstruksjon og de tekstgrammatiske forhold omkring dem, finner vi at de er brukt når vedkommende innholdsstørrelse har forekommet tidligere i teksten. Det fins ett unntak. Det vil si at det er en forbindelse fra den samordnete nominalfrasen bakover i teksten til den ensbetydende nominalfrasen, på samme måte som når et personlig pronomén aleine brukes anaforisk. Med andre ord har det personlige pronomenet beholdt noe av sin anaforiske karakter når det står samordnet med et egennavn. Dette er som en kunne vente, ettersom det å

fungere anaforisk er den opprinnelige funksjonen for personlige pronomen, mens bruken av personlige pronomen i samordningskonstruksjon er ei nyere utvikling i språket.

I dette brevet har vi altså funnet en tendens til et mønster til funksjonell eller tekstgrammatisk skilnad mellom de to typene: bare egennavn første gang ei personnevning forekommer, samordnet konstruksjon av personlig pronomen + egennavn når personen er nevnt tidligere i teksten. Men vi har sett at det fins unntak for begge typene, og vi må ta i betraktning at materialet er for lite til at vi kan slutte at det har vært en språkbruksregel for de to typene av nominalfraser.

\* \* \*

Det er vanskelig å si noe sikkert om grunnlaget for, eller gangen i utviklinga av samordningskonstruksjonen. Det er nærliggende å tenke seg at den er utviklet fra appositiv konstruksjon (med egennavnet som apposisjon til pronomenet), jfr. eksemplet item selde han ok asbiorn fyrnemder. Etterhvert har den så mistet sin appositive karakter. Men nå må vi også ta i betraktning at den er ei videreføring av et konstruksjonsmønster som alt fantes i språket og som vi kjenner fra eldre tid: samordningskonstruksjon for 2. person entall og flertall, 1. person flertall og 3. person flertall. Dette mønstret er blitt overført til 3. pers. entall (ho- og hankjønn), mens det er gått ut av bruk i 3. person flertall. (Den eldre typen beir Helgi er som kjent ikke i bruk i moderne norsk.)

\* \* \*

Når samordningssyntagmer for 3. person entall kommer så sjelden til syne i de skriftlige kildene fra mellomalderen, må det ha sammenheng med at skriftspråkmønstret var konservativt på dette punktet. Et språkdrag som dette fikk ikke slippe gjennom, det blei ikke akseptert som del av det språkmønster en kunne bruke når ord skulle settes på pergament eller papir. Slik var det med andre stil- og språkdrag som hørte det muntlige språket til. Vi må likevel gå ut fra at dette mønstret for nominalsyntagmer var fullt utviklet og et vanlig drag i



talemålet på det tidspunkt da det først nedfeller seg i skrift, altså tidlig på 1400-tallet. Beleggene er så sikre, og de kan ikke forklares som annet enn avspellingar av den tids talemål.

\* \* \*

### Noter

<sup>1</sup> I noen dialekter kan visse egennavn som alternativ ha etterhengt bestemt artikkel: n Barkald/Barkald'n.

<sup>2</sup> I språkprøver fra Oslo-boere f. ca. 1910 har jeg funnet eksempler som henner fru Martinsen, n Rolf Hofmo, så reglene kan ikke være riktig så kategoriske som Larsen og Jensen har hevda.

<sup>3</sup> Einar Lundebj har gjort meg oppmerksom på fleire belegg som han har funnet i eldre kilder, bl. a. i Morkinskinna.

<sup>4</sup> Det er pragmatiske årsaker som gjør at en ikke kan bruke sitt eget navn utenom i noen spesielle kontekster, og det er derfor vanskelig å klarlegge mønstret for konstruksjon av ego-refererende nominalfraser. Ved omtale av seg sjøl bruker en som regel bare pronomen, mens egennavnet helst brukes i kontekster hvor det ikke inngår i syntaktisk konstruksjon. Eks. på det er underskrifter, svar på spørsmål om navnet. Likeså når navnet står predikativt til heite/hete, da er det ikke grammatisk riktig å bruke samordningskonstruksjon, derimot kan en bruke den i predikativ etter være. En kan f. eks. presentere seg i telefon ved å si: det her e han Leif Johansen, det.

### Litteratur

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\* \* \*

Oslo, i aug. 1976.

THE USE OF THE RETROFLEX FLAP AMONG  
CHILDREN AGED 12-16 IN OSLO

By G. A. TANNER

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The Use of the Retroflex Flap among Children Aged  
12-16 in Oslo.

O. INTRODUCTION.

O.1. Background.

Norway is an ideal country for dialect studies, as there are many different dialects and varieties spoken, despite there being only a small population. The geography of the country has made interaction between small speech communities difficult, and because of this isolation, the dialects have evolved separately and differently. Today, despite efforts by Aasen and Knudsen at the end of last century to make a standard language for Norway, Landsmål and Riksmål respectively, the linguistic situation in Norway is still very complex. The changes in the languages enforced by the Government over the first half of this century to try to unite the two official languages (now called Nynorsk and Bokmål), have aroused much feeling and political dispute among Norwegians, and political viewpoints affect the ways in which they speak. One of the mandates of the committee set up in 1934 to deal with the problem was "to bring the two languages closer together with respect to spellings, word forms and inflections, on the basis of Norwegian folk language." (cf. Haugen (1966))

O.2 Standard Eastern Norwegian Pronunciation.

Oslo, being the capital city, the seat of Government and the centre for Norwegian broadcasting, was the centre from which the new forms spread. The variety now spoken to a certain extent in Oslo and the surrounding "Østlandet" particularly by the educated and "higher income

classes, is what is generally termed "Standard Eastern Norwegian", and is as near to a standard of South East Norway (Østlandet) as is possible, and has been described by Vanvik (1972) and to a lesser degree Popperwell (1963).

It is the variety that is taught in schools in Oslo, but it is not spoken so widely out of school or other formal situations. Back in 1911, S. Jacobsen wrote strongly on the enforced use of Riksmål in schools in Oslo (then called Kristiania) while children spoke a different variety at home. He objected that the fact that "i Kristianiaskolen maa de lægge av tvelydene og sige "sten" for "stein", lægge av de tre kjøn med de endelser som hører til --- sige "gaten" for "gata", og de maa bøie dansk og sige "kastet" ikke "kasta" osv. (Jacobsen (1911).

The same problem exists nowadays, and the variety of Bokmål known as Standard Eastern Norwegian is only spoken by some of the people living in Oslo and then only some of the time. Maybe at home Oslo children whose parents are from different regions in Norway speak differently to when they are at school or with other children. Yet even those who have always lived in Oslo, and whose parents too have always lived there, do not always speak it. Particularly relevant to this study is that "it is definitely more common in the West End than in the East End of Oslo". (Vanvik (1972).

### 0.3 The East and West Ends of Oslo.

The division between the East and West Ends of Oslo mentioned by Vanvik, is very well-known and obvious. Although of course no exact line exists, the River Aker ("Akerselva") roughly divides the two. (cf Map of Oslo in Appendix, 5.1). To the East more factories are situated

and most of the workers live in this area. Their average income is much lower than that of people who live to the West, who tend on the whole to be better educated too. The difference can be noticed clearly in the type of houses which reflect the socio-economic status of the inhabitants, and also there is a marked difference in their speech behaviour.

Although the government intervention in the language problem was not with a view towards creating a prestige variety, the standard Eastern Norwegian pronunciation which has grown up, certainly does indicate prestige, and there is a social stigma associated with such features as the retroflex flap and different stress placement. "It (i.e. the retroflex flap) is traditionally considered to be a characteristic of "vulgar" dialectal speech" (Vanvik (1972), and was at the beginning of the century when A. Larsen wrote: "I en sådan ting som tyk l og det som hører sammen dermed, vil jeg sette grænsen således, at de, hos hvem tyk l har en stadig (regelmæssig) forekomst, for så vidt taler vulgært, dette kan derimot neppe siges, når den forekommer hyppig, men uregelmæssig, ti dette hænder ofte med herrer av det gode selskab, især unge" (Larsen (1907).

#### 0.4 The "thick l"

The retroflex flap [ɽ] is often referred to as "tyk l" (cf Larsen (1907)), by Norwegians. It should be noted that it is the retroflex quality which classes it thus, and not so markedly the flap nature of the articulation. A post-alveolar flap would not be considered a "thick l" by native speakers, yet a retroflex lateral may well be.

The precise articulation of [ɽ] has been described by A. Vanvik as follows: "The tip and blade of the tongue are

curled backwards. As the tongue is brought rapidly forward and down behind the lower teeth, the underside of the blades touches the roof of the mouth at about the division between the teeth-ridge and the hard palate." (Vanvik (1972).

#### 0. 41 Phonetic Contexts

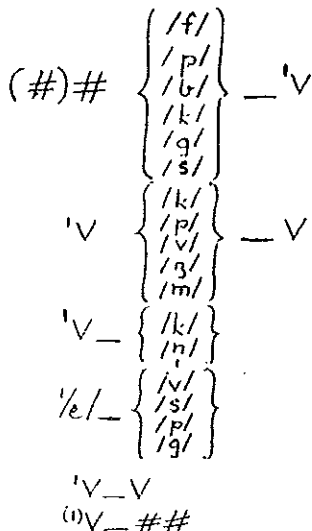
The retroflex flap occurs as an allophone of /l/ (but never of /l: /, and sometimes of /r/ when this is orthographically "rd", but is never found in word or morpheme initial position. In his work Vanvik found its frequency of occurrence in standard Eastern Norwegian to be on the increase, particularly in post-consonantal position, in words such as

"	[ʰfɾy:]	fly (v), aircraft)
	[ʰfɾiŋk]	(clever)
	[ʰbɾant]	(among)
	[ʰkɾokə]	(the time)
	[ʰpɾa:n]	(plan) " (Vanvik 1972))

He also mentions its occurrence in intervocalic and final positions, but doubts if in preconsonantal position it can be considered Standard Eastern pronunciation. In the word /<sup>2</sup>sku:lə / (school) (wh<sup>e</sup>re <sup>2</sup> indicates the Toneme 2), he points out that there are three main pronunciations of /l/ in the Oslo area [l], [ʎ] and [ɾ] ; "the first pronunciation is still found among old people, the second is used by "educated" young people, and the last one is the "vulgar", dialectical pronunciation", and he emphasizes that "the trend of development is definitely from [l] towards [ɾ]". (Vanvik 1972)

Particularly in the East of the city of Oslo, [ɾ] can be

found to be used quite widely. In 1971, in an interview, with a 28 years old man from Eastern Oslo, carried out by members of the Nordisk institutt at Oslo University as part of a socio-linguistic study of the city's dialects, [ɾ] was recorded in the following environments:



where brackets indicate optionality,

' indicates a stressed syllable following,

## = word boundary, # = morpheme boundary.

O. 42 Phonological Status

In most Norwegian dialects [ɾ] might be categorized either as an allophone of [r] or it might have phonemic status of its own. Problems arise, however, from the fact that it sometimes occurs in place of the orthographic "rd", which is normally pronounced [r] (and which I shall hereforth call "RD" position for the sake of convenience). Endresen and Fretheim have both discussed the problem of phonemic status for the retroflex flap in "Working Papers in Linguistics 1974", Fretheim coming to the conclusion that it is better to have a phoneme [ɾ] in the description of Norwegian, as "any other direvation for the retroflex flaps appearing in these words (i.e. \*harde"₂ and "sol"₂) would give the



flap segments a non-recoverable or arbitrary source (Fretheim 1974).<sup>1</sup> He admits that the phoneme /r/ has a strange distribution, as "for some speakers it never contrasts with systematic phonemic /l/. For others it sometimes contrasts with /l/ and sometimes with /r/ but never with both. It is significant that [l] and [r] do not appear to be in complementary distribution in any Norwegian dialect . . . . What we find in all the dialects which have the retroflex flap is that the distributions of [l] and [r] are overlapping" (ibid.). Because of this he postulates a new condition that phonemicists should recognize , namely:

"Given two phonetic representations which are free variants, their phonological representations may be non-identical without being distinct, i.e. in opposition."

This condition replaces the third of four conditions laid down by P. Postal in Postal (1968), which was:

"Given two phonetic representations which are free variants, their phonological representations are necessarily identical."

Fretheim's broader condition, allows for the retroflex flap in Norwegian to be classed as a phoneme.

Endresen, however, does not agree, but prefers to set

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1. "Søl" and "sør" are minimal pairs, but "søl" has two pronunciations [sø:l]<sub>1</sub> and [sø:r]<sub>2</sub>. Here [r] and [r̥] contrast and [l] , [r̥] are in free variation, whereas [l] , [r̥] contrast and [r] , [r̥] are the free variants in the case of "harde" [ , "harde" and "hale"

up a "Retroflex Flap Rule" which works on both the underlying forms /rd/ and /l/ to produce [ɾ] in the Greenland dialect. He postulates "underlying /rd/ not only in those very few words where there is an alternation [ɾ] ~ [rd] or [ɾ] ~ [d] but also where there is an alternation between [ɾ] and [r]." (Endresen 1974)).

In this paper I shall consider [ɾ] as an allophone of [l] and also of [r] in "RD" position. [l] and [ɾ] are free variants of the former phoneme, and [r] and [ɾ] are free variants of the latter. In actual fact the term "free" variants is not very well-chosen, for it is for the very reason that the variants may not be freely used, that this project was undertaken.

## 1. Aim of the Study

### 1.1 Inherent Variation

In Oslo it is by no means obligatory to use [ɾ], and many people hardly ever do. It is the inherent variation of the allophone that is primarily what this study is concerned with. Much work has been done by Labov (and others) on the interplay between sociological and linguistic phenomena. P. Trudgill (in Trudgill (1974) says that this occurs along " a) the dimension of social differentiation, and the social class, age and sex of the individual; and b) the dimension of social context, and the social situation in which the individual is involved in social interaction." For a study dealing with this sociolinguistic variation, a vast amount of data is not necessary. Labov proved that "the basic patterns of class stratification, for example, emerge from samples as small as 25 speakers." (Labov 1970). cf also Labov (1966) and Fischer (1958)).

This study investigates the inherent variability of the one phonological variant [ɾ] among 36 children aged 12 to

16 in Oslo, with reference to social class, age and sex, and taking into account various degrees of formality and the phonetic contexts in which the feature appears.

## 1.2. Social Factors

Dealing with these, three questions arise:

- 1) Do children from the East side of Oslo use [ɾ] more than children from the West?
- 2) Do boys use [ɾ] more than girls?
- 3) Do older children use [ɾ] more than younger ones?

From these questions we may put forward three hypotheses which will be discussed in turn.

- 1) Children from the East of Oslo use [ɾ] more than children from the West.
- 2) Boys use [ɾ] more than girls.
- 3) Older children use [ɾ] more than younger ones.

### 1.2.1 Social class

The first hypothesis arises from the already mentioned East/West division of speech communities in Oslo which is associated with social class. Vånvik points out that "phonetically the difference between West End and East End speech is on the whole slight. It is mainly a question of stress placement and the frequency of occurrence of [ɾ]" (Vånvik 1972). It would be expected that [ɾ] would be more widely used in the East where the percentage of factory workers is greater than in the West, as [ɾ] is considered (by Westerners in particular) a stigmatized form, and Labov has shown that in New York City the frequency of occurrence of stigmatized forms is highest among the lower working classes and decreases towards the higher end of the socio-economic scale (cf Labov (1966)). We shall see if the same principle holds in Oslo.

The children were interviewed in schools, which were situated in areas where the population was quite stable and therefore would provide more valuable and consistent data. Vålerenga and Gamlebyen schools in the East were estimated to have

an intake of approximately 80% children from working class families, whereas there were only about 20% in Majorstua and Uranienborg schools in the Western part (cf Map 5.1). 16 children from the East and 20 from the Western schools were interviewed for this study, 8 from Vålerenga, 8 from Gamlebyen, 8 from Majorstua and 12 from Uranienborg.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.22 Sex

Certain languages have very distinct difference between men's and women's speech, the classic example being Koasati, in which women retain archaic forms while the men's language has developed from this (cf Haas 1964). However it is also true that in our western society women speak in a different way to men, even if it is not always immediately obvious. Linguistic sex varieties arise because of social attitudes, and sociological studies show that in our society women are more sensitive to the social prestige and consequently use fewer stigmatized forms than the men (cf Labov (1966)). The men prefer to use a high proportion of working-class features as toughness and other supposedly manly attributes are associated with them.

From this we should expect Oslo girls to use [ɾ] less frequently than the boys. But M. Oftedal has a comment to make about the Norwegian situation: "Norwegian distinction between the sexes in linguistic behaviour is, in reality, more of a distinction between generations: women are usually about one generation ahead of men in linguistic development." (Oftedal 1973). If this is in fact the case in Oslo, the frequency of occurrence of [ɾ], which appears to be on the increase, will be greater among girls than boys.

In this study, half the children interviewed were boys and half were girls.

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<sup>2</sup>. Footnote: Age ranges at Vålerenga school 7 - 12  
" " " " Gamlebyen " 13 - 16  
" " " " Uranienborg " 13 - 16  
" " " " Majorstua " 7 - 16

### 1.23 Age

Most surveys carried out concerning speech variations with regard to age groups, have dealt with a wider age range than the 12 to 16 year range studied here (cf. Trudgill (1974), Labov (1966), and many others). As only a span of few years is covered, the difference in their speech is not expected to be very marked, but it is hypothesized that a trend will be revealed for older children to use the retroflex flap more frequently than the younger ones. The 12 year olds probably will still be influenced to a large extent in their choice of variants by the language used in schools, whereas the 15 and 16 year olds will have reached a stage where they rebel against such constraints and want to use the language which their peer groups are using, and which allows them to identify with them, and this means, in effect, a higher frequency of usage of [ɾ], among other things.

Of the children interviewed in the four schools, 8 were aged 12, 7 aged 13, 12 aged 14, 7 aged 15 and 2 aged 16 years.

### 1.3 Situational Constraints

Useful data can be obtained from observing a linguistic variant in different contextual situations. In his studies Labov has made full use of this fact (cf. Labov (1966), Labov (1969) etc.). In my study I shall be concerned with variation over a range of stylistic situations, and in different phonological contexts.

#### 1.31 Stylistic Variables

It is now virtually taken for granted in sociolinguistics that inherent variability of a feature depends to a great extent on the formality of the situation the individual or individuals are faced with, and that "in more formal styles, people tend to increase their use of what they consider "correct" pronunciations". (Fasold 1970). Although the best data can only be obtained by means of a tape-recorded interview, this involves the most systematic observation of the speaker, which can be defined as "a formal context in which more than the minimum of attention is paid to speech" (Labov (1970)).

As the retroflex flap is considered in Oslo as a "vulgar", substandard form, then it can be confidently hypothesized that the frequency of the occurrences of [ɽ] will increase as the formality of the situation and speech styles decreases. Similar linguistic phenomena have been proved to follow this pattern in English by Labov and Trudgill (cf. Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974)), and Labov gives some useful guide-lines in the methodology of obtaining speech of varying degrees of formality within the interview situation. So, my questionnaire was designed to cover styles ranging from very formal to the most informal possible, the lay-out of it being influenced by P. Trudgill's for his study of social differentiation of English in Norwich (Trudgill (1974)), which in turn was influenced by the range of five stylistic levels of formality ranging from casual speech to the reading of minimal pairs, in Labov (1966).

### 1.32 Phonological Contexts

Earlier in this paper (0.41) the fact that [ɽ] occurs in Oslo more frequently in certain contexts within the word than in others has been mentioned, and it is for this reason that as wide a range as possible of phonological environments was included in the texts in the questionnaire. So it is a strong hypothesis that the frequency of occurrence of [ɽ] still vary in different phonological environments in this study.

## 2. DATA COLLECTING AND ANALYSING

"The purpose of data collecting is to confirm or refute a hypothesis which has been set up on the basis of earlier observations of the situation." (Macaulay(1970)). True to Macaulay's beliefs the questionnaire and interviews were designed with the aim in mind of confirming or rejecting the hypotheses made in 1.2, 1.31 and 1.32.

## 2.1 The Questionnaire<sup>3</sup>.

The questionnaire contained some general questions to elicit continuous formal speech, and also some texts to read out which included the phonological contexts where retroflex flaps might occur. The expected order of formality in this study was

- A) The "chats"
  - B) Reading of
    - i) Groups of words
    - ii) Word list
    - iii) Short sentences
  - C) "Pseudo-street" reading
  - D) Group conversations
- A) being the most formal context, and D) the least formal able to be recorded.

### 2.11 The "chats"

The introductory chat was mainly to elicit details of the informant's background, particularly to discover if they had always lived in Oslo, which would qualify them as better informants, giving a truer picture of the present situation of the use of [ɾ] in Oslo. The second chat, about their particular interests, I called "relaxing" with the hope that apart from breaking up the reading material, it would make the informants feel more relaxed and produce more informal speech than previously. However, the two blocks of conversation can be regarded together as examples of formal speech, and categorized in the results as style A.

### 2.12 Group Conversations

To try to overcome the formal interview situation, there was included a section where a group of informants were to talk amongst themselves and tell jokes etc., with the intention that they would forget me and the tape-recorder, and would produce some casual speech, for "the best data is from the recording of native speakers talking to each other" (Labov (1970)). However the younger children (e.g. at Vålerenga) had difficulties in doing this and little valuable data was obtained from

<sup>3</sup>Footnote: A copy of the questionnaire is given in the appendix (5.2).

them, but others were more willing to talk, and were therefore of more use. I have named this style, style D or Informal Style.

In some of the later interviews I asked the children to read out the sentences and groups of words "as if they were in the streets", which although was not exactly natural, in most cases had the expected result of a more relaxed atmosphere and a greater number of "thick l"s. This stylistic context I have called "Pseudo-street style" or style C, for it only reflects how the children think they speak with their friends, and not how they actually do, as intuitions are not altogether reliable.

### 2.13. Reading Material

The reading material was divided into three basically,

- a) short sentences, where words containing a possible [ɾ] were well hidden, so the informant would think of each sentence as a unit and not each individual word in isolation.
- b) a word list, most words of which has a possible [ɾ] in them,
- and c) groups of words, where the attention would be most concentrated on the feature to be studied.

This last section was expected to be the most formal of the reading material, the word list less formal, and hopefully the short sentences would be the least formal.<sup>4</sup>

In addition a) and b) were to be read twice by the children, the first time at a normal reading pace, and the second time as quickly as possible. This was in the hope that the fast rendering would yield more occurrences of [ɾ], as the words would already be familiar and the children would be concentrating on reading them fast rather than pronouncing them carefully. In actual fact, there was no significant difference between the two, so in the results they are classed together.

#### 2.131 The Short Sentences

The list of sentences contains a wide range of phonological

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<sup>4</sup>Footnote: This corresponds to Labov's range of increasingly formal styles: reading passage, word lists, minimal pairs (cf Labov (1966)). However I did not use a reading passage as a list of sentences gives greater opportunities for the study of the retroflex flap.



contexts in which to study the usage of [ɾ]. Besides this, several different stylistic features were incorporated in the sentences. Some have more formal morphological forms, whilst others have more radical forms which are more colloquially used and nearer to the "folk speech" of Oslo.

For example, sentences 7 and 16 differ only in the past tense morpheme in the verb "å snuble" (to stumble). Sentence 7 has the older form "snubla" /snubla/, used more in casual speech, while sentence 16 has "snublet" /snublet/, which would occur in more formal written contexts, so the former would be expected to provide a higher frequency of [ɾ] than the latter.

Another example is that of "jorden/jorda" /jo:rɲ//jo:ra/ meaning the Earth or soil. The "-a" ending is more colloquial and is used more often when the sense of the word is "the soil", so [ɾ] was expected more in sentence 1 than in sentence 5, also taking into account the presence of other/r/s in sentence 5 which might influence the pronunciation of "jorda". The "-en" ending used in sentence 14 is the more formal morpheme, so [ɾ] is least likely to occur here.

To obtain the highest possible frequency of usage of [ɾ] in "høl" (hø:l/ (the "substandard" word for "hole"), sentence 12 also has the more casual definite article morpheme on the word for pocket "lomma" /lum:a/. Its formal counterpart "hullet" /hul:e/ is not expected to have a retroflex flap at all, as /l:/ does not have this as an allophone in this dialect.

### 2.132 The Word List

All the words in the list contained an /l/ phoneme (or /r/ in the case of "fjord" /fju:r/), but where /l/ occurred after a morpheme boundary (as in "håpløs", selvfølgelig", "maktesløs", and "koselig") the use of the allophone we are investigating was not expected neither was it in "valse" being a word of foreign origin. These were only included to distract the children from guessing the object of the exercise, whereupon they may alter their speech accordingly.

### 2.133 The Groups of Words

This last point made is even more important by the time the section of groups of words is reached, and when the concentration will be on articulating each word as carefully as possible. So to compensate for this, minimal pairs involving other phonemes than /l/ or /r/ were used, with the hope that attention would then be diverted away from the liquids, e.g. "sjøl" /ʃø:l / : "kjøl" /kø:l /, (the distinction between /ʃ/ and /s/ being notoriously difficult for the Norwegian child to make), "klippe" /klip:ə / : "glippe" /glip:ə / etc. Pairs such as "fløte" /flø:tə / : "fløyte" /fløytə /, "bløt" /blø:t / : "blaut" /blaut /, "blek" /ble:k / : "bleik" /blɛik / were included as it was thought the frequency of occurrence of [ɸ] would be higher before a diphthong than before a monophthong.<sup>5</sup>

Again the formal "-en" and older "-a" definite article morphemes were both included on the words "jord\_" and "sol\_" with similar expectations as in the sentences. High frequencies of [ ] were expected in "sjøl" / / (the more colloquial word for "self", used instead of "selv" /sel:/, and "høl" /hø: /.

The results, however, showed little significant difference between the styles of the reading material, so the short sentences, word list and groups of words have been grouped together under the heading of "Reading style" or Style B. This lack of difference could be due to several circumstances:

- 1) Especially the younger children found difficulty in reading; so all the reading material was equally formal for them.
- 2) Particularly when three or four were interviewed together, by the time the last ones had their turn, the three lists were all familiar to them.
- 3) The lists were presented in the order: sentences, word list, groups of words, the reverse of what

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<sup>5</sup>Footnote: Historically diphthongs are the older forms here, nearer the Old German forms, but the reform of 1938 caused them to be replaced by monophthongs, used primarily in school books, and later by the upper classes. However it is evident from observation that the Eastern speakers in particular still use the diphthongs quite abundantly.

possibly would have been best, as the children were more relaxed towards the end of the interview by the time they had reached the expectedly most formal list (i.e. the groups of words), for it is well-known that if one is not relaxed, one's speech will reflect this by the use of more formal variants.

## 2.2 The Interviews

Unfortunately it was impossible to carry out all the interviews under the same conditions each time, but it is hoped that this does not affect the results too much.

### 2.21 Place of Interview

All the children were interviewed at school, mostly during a lesson in a separate classroom, although at Majorstua school W 13, 14, 15 and 16 were interviewed with the rest of the class and the teacher still present, although they did not interfere at all.<sup>6</sup> The classroom situation would cause more formal speech than an interview outside a classroom so on one occasion I tried to record some speech in the street, but it was impossible to be distinguished from the traffic and other noise. At another time I tried recording in the playground at Uranienborg school where some girls were playing rounders, but background noise and lack of interest from the girls did not make the attempt very profitable. None the less, W 7 was interviewed out there with a friend present, but conditions were rather difficult.

### 2.22 Informants

The best results were when three or four children were altogether in a separate room with just me or also another student present. Within the school set-up, this seemed to be

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6. Footnote: For positions of each informant on the tapes see appendix (5.4). Coding of the informants is as follows: Children from Eastern school are given numbers ranging from 1-16 preceded by the letter "E". These from the West are from 1-20 and are preceded by "W". In both cases all the girls have odd numbers and all the boys have even numbers, and they are scaled according to age, the youngest children receiving the lowest numbers and the oldest ones receiving the highest numbers.

the most relaxed atmosphere available. Most children were interviewed in groups of four, one at a time. This provided the best situation for spontaneous conversation to arise amongst them at the end. However it may mean that those interviewed last would read the lists more naturally than those interviewed first, having heard them several times before their turn.

The informants themselves were usually willing volunteers, as being interviewed involved missing a lesson! Only occasionally were children picked out of the class by the teacher, and then it was usually a child of each sex of above average intelligence and one of each sex below average in the class, so a fairly even level was maintained throughout.

### 2.23 Interviewers

I myself was present at all the interviews, but not all were conducted by me. The first four children interviewed (E 1, 2, 3 and 4) had their elderly English teacher conducting the interview, who very likely had a restraining effect on their speech. They were shy and nervous, and to make matters worse the teacher kept reminding them to speak louder and into the microphone and to read "tydelig og pent"! She herself never used "thick l" and would discourage her pupils from doing so. On other visits to the school I did the interviewing myself, but she still came in from time to time to remind them to speak "nicely and clearly"!

All the other interviews I conducted myself except for a group of four at Gamlebyen school (E 11, 12, 13 and 14), who were interviewed by a young male teacher who himself used [ɹ] in his speech. The atmosphere was more informal and less strained than at Vålerenga school, and the children talked more freely. However, it seems that the best results were when I was interviewing alone, or in the presence of a fellow-student. We avoided giving the appearance of teacher-figures, but emphasized that we were students, and also tried to break down barriers of shyness and inhibition by talking casually with the children beforehand wherever possible, as the fact that we were strangers and foreigners in most cases did not help the situation.

### 2.24 Language Used

As I was English, I think the children often tended to normalize their speech to a certain extent, and to speak carefully and slower so that I could understand. Where this is concerned, the teachers' conducting of the interviews in Norwegian was a great asset, as there was no difficulty in mutual understanding. When I did the interviewing, I sometimes used Norwegian and sometimes English, (and in some cases a mixture of the two!), and so in addition to other problems some children had to switch quickly from one language to another which may have hindered natural speech in style A. However, being a foreigner had its advantages while the children were talking between themselves, as I could fade into the background, and in some instances it was almost as if I was not even there (cf. conversations by W 17, 18, 19 and 20).

### 2.3 Methodology of Analysis

Fasold puts forward two approaches to the study of the social significance in the variation of language in Fasold (1970), namely using implicational tables or recording the frequency of the occurrence of the variants under study, the latter in his view giving more general information and therefore being better. In this study implicational analysis cannot purposefully be applied, as we are dealing with the inherent variation of a feature which occurs to a certain degree in everyone's speech. In Wolfram's terms the [ɾ] shows no "sharp stratification: a quite definite break in the frequency of particular variants between contiguous social classes in the sample." (Wolfram (1969). This type of stratification generally co-occurs with grammatical variables, whereas "phonological variables more often reveal gradient stratification" which he defines as "a progressive difference in the frequency of particular variants between contiguous social classes in the sample." (ibid.). [ɾ] shows gradient stratification not only between "contiguous social classes", but also between age groups and the sexes, also taking into account the stylistic continuum and different phonological contexts. So implicational tables are not used here.

Recording the frequency of a variant necessarily involves counting - counting the number of actual occurrences of the particular feature in the contexts being examined, and then

giving this number as a percentage of the whole. More precisely this means that the total number of places when [r] could possibly occur in a particular context (stylistic, social or phonological) and the total number of actual occurrences must be counted, and the latter must be given as a percentage of the former. The scores for the different contexts can then be compared and studied.

Before this can be done, though, several points have to be cleared up.

### 2.31 Determining the Articulation of the Sounds

There are some words which clearly have the retroflex flap, and there are some words that clearly do not have the retroflex flap. But there are many words where categorization is difficult.

There seems to be a post-alveolar flap, which is not so forceful in acoustic quality as the retroflex flap, and is not articulated so far back in the mouth and does not have the velar quality that the retroflex flap tends to have. In addition it is difficult to say exactly how long the tongue can stay on the palate without losing its flap quality. In general it seems that it can no longer be termed a flap if the tongue stops on the palate at all in mid-articulation. There appears, in fact, to be a continuum including

- 1) the alveo-dental lateral
- 2) the post-alveolar lateral
- 3) the post-alveolar flap
- 4) the retroflex lateral
- 5) the retroflex flap.

It is often very difficult to draw a line distinguishing these, and the decisions as to where the line should be must be arbitrary, but I tried to be consistent throughout.

However, it is the words which clearly have or do not have the retroflex flap that are important. Those marginal cases, or those which are difficult to hear due to rapidity of speech (slurring or assimilation), or to other factors, can be ignored to a certain extent in this survey, and we can concentrate on the sounds we are sure of. In actual fact I have concentrated on identifying clear cases of the alveolar lateral (which I have labelled articulation 0), and clear cases of the

retroflex flap (articulation 2). All the rest I have classed together for the purpose of this study under the label of articulation 1.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.32 Use of Material

A large amount of data was collected on tape, and careful choice of what to use in the actual analysis of the main topics under observation is important, and can have considerable bearing on the results.

#### 2.321 Selection of Words

Words in the reading material which had /l/ in word or morpheme initial position never had the allophone [ɮ] so these were excluded from the analysis. Other words which consistently lacked [ɮ] anywhere in the recordings were also omitted, such as "nord", "nordenfor", "nordafor", "gal" (which was sometimes pronounced as [gæ:ŋ] - a much older articulation reflecting Old Norse endings), "hal", "har", "hard", "valse". Maybe "gale" and "galte" should also have been omitted for this reason too. However "likevel" was left out as at first it seemed that only W 5 used [ɮ] in this word, but on closer listening W 20 and W 14 also used it. Of these three, however, W 14 was the only one who has lived in Oslo all his life, so the omission of this word in the analysis is not vital.

#### 2.322 Selection of children

If all the children who had not lived in Oslo all their lives, or whose parents were not from Oslo, had been disregarded, the amount of data would not have been sufficient to be of any significant use, so most of the children were used in the analysis at one time or another. Their parents' place of birth and their particular job should make little effect on their speech, outside the home at least, for school constraints and peer group pressures would be stronger. H. Bergersen found this in his study of Oslo children's speech in 1950, and said

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7. Footnote: Throughout, it is a question of relying on my own ears to distinguish the sounds, and they may be unreliable at times, but I hope that the decisions I have made in categorizing the sounds, are as accurate as possible.

that "i de tidligere barneår påvirkes barn langt mer av kameratmiljøet enn av foreldre, tanter og onkler og voksne søsken. Derfor har jeg funnet et forbausende samsvar mellom talemålet hos barn uansett foreldrenes sosiale stilling og språklige innstilling." (Bergersen (1953)).

### 3. RESULTS

We will first discuss a point about intelligence and then deal with the three hypotheses posed in the Introduction, although the three factors of social class (here reflected in the geographical positions of the schools), age and sex are often interwoven and so there is some overlapping. This is particularly the case when comparing the speech of girls and boys, as I was interested to see if there was any differences or similarities in the results from the West and those from the Eastern sector.

#### 3.1 Intelligence Factor

It should not be forgotten that the degree of intelligence of a child appears to play an important part in a survey of this kind. Table 1a) (below) compares the distribution of the allophones of /l/ in preconsonantal, post-consonantal, intervocalic and final positions, and those of /ɫ/ in "RD" positions, in the leading styles of two 14 year old boys from Uranienborg school, both living near to the school. W 8 was the top boy in his class while W 10 was of below average intelligence. As expected the more intelligent child used a higher proportion of alveo-dental laterals and fewer "thick l"s than the other boy did. Whereas W 8 had 90% alveo-dental laterals and only 4% "thick l"s, the less intelligent child used 68% and 13% of them respectively, more than three times as many "thick l"s in fact than the "top boy".

Table 1a) Percentage of articulations 0, 1 and 2 by W 8 and W 10 (style B).

	0	1	2
W 8	90	6	4
W 10	68	19	13



Table 1b) Percentage of articulations 0, 1 and 2  
by E 4 and E 2 (style B)

	0	1	2
E 4	96	4	0
E 2	64	28	7

[N.B. Articulation 2 here also includes retroflex laterals.]

The same thing can be seen to be the case in the East, comparing two 12 year old boys from Vålerenga school. E 4 was the best pupil in the class, whereas E 2 was below the average. Table 1b) shows that the proportions are similar to those for the Western boys, although here E 4 never used a "thick 1" in his reading style.

Figures 1a) and 1b) show the same results as Tables 1a) and 1b) but maybe show the position clearer. On the left-hand side of each figure the percentages of occurrence of types 0, 1 and 2 articulations of the more intelligent child are displayed, and on the right-hand side, those of the less intelligent child.

Fig. 1a): Distribution of articulations 0, 1 and 2, by W 8 and W 10 (style B).

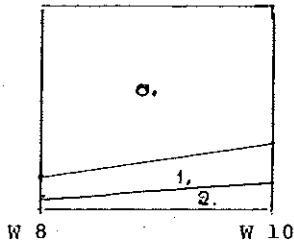
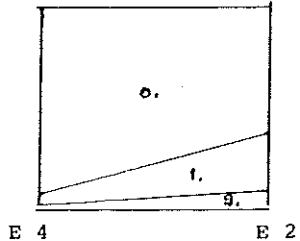


Fig. 1b): Distribution of articulations 0, 1 and 2 by E 4 and E 2 (style B).



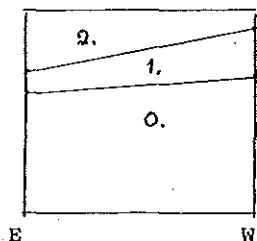
However, as there was a fairly large number of children in the sample, the intelligence factor should have been levelled out. Not all of the children were of above average intelligence, nor were they all below average, so the results should

not be significantly swayed by one or the other. The over-all results reflect the way in which the children of average ability speak.

The same thing applies concerning social background. By using all the children interviewed for these studies, the results will reflect the way the children of an average family background from each side of the town speak. Those from higher classes will cancel out those from lower classes, so that this factor need not be a problem. Our first hypothesis was based on the readily acknowledged fact that, in general, the inhabitants of the West End are those within higher income brackets and with better education than those of the East End.

### 3.2. Articulation of /l/ in East and West Oslo.

Fig. 2: Articulation of /l/ amongst Eastern and Western children.



Taking all the phonological contexts of /l/ together in Styles B and C, we can see that there was a substantially higher proportion of [ɾ] among Eastern children, namely 27%, than among Western children who used it only 7% of the time. The percentages of times Eastern children used [ ] was 61% against 68% by the Western children, which is not such a great contrast but is still significant. This is shown in Fig. 2 where the left-hand side portrays the percentages of 0, 1 and 2 type of articulations of Eastern speakers, and the right-hand side shows those for Westerners. [NB 0 = [l], 2 = [ɾ], 1 = all other articulations]. There were over twice as many marginal cases (type 1 articulations) amongst Western speakers than amongst Easterners (25% compared with only 12%), the majority of which were found amongst the Western boys of whose utterances of /l/, 37% were neither [ɾ] nor [l] but somewhere in between.

3.21 East and West Oslo : phonological environments

Table 2 and Fig. 3 show the percentages of types 0, 1 and 2 articulations in the phonological environments of \_#, C\_, V\_V and \_C among Eastern and Western children in Styles B and C, (where # = word boundary, C = consonant, and V = vowel).

Table 2: Articulation of /l/ among Eastern and Western children by phonological contexts. (Styles B and C).

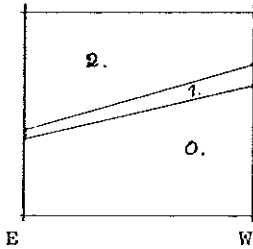
	/_#			/C_			/V_V			/_C		
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
E	42	3	55	54	15	31	71	12	17	86	4	10
W	66	11	23	74	20.5	5.5	95	3	3	99.9	0	0.03

The numbers in Table 2 are the percentages of types 0, 1 and 2 articulations, and it can be seen that in every phonological environment studied here children from the East End have a higher percentage of occurrence of [ɫ] than those from the West, and a much lower percentage of [l]. The Eastern children use [ɫ] twice as frequently in final position, six times as often after a consonant, five times as much intervocalically, and although in preconsonantal position there is only a 10% usage, there were only three occurrences of it altogether in the West.

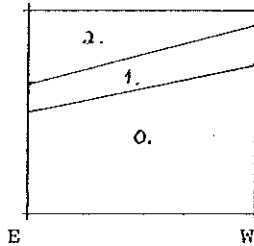
Fig. 3 maybe shows this more easily. In each square the left-hand side shows the percentages of types 0, 1 and 2 articulation for the East and the right shows those for the West.

Fig. 3: Distribution of articulations of /l/ among Easter and Western children (styles B and C):

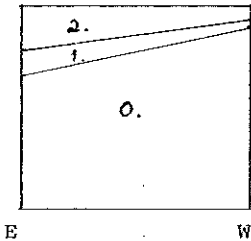
a) Finally



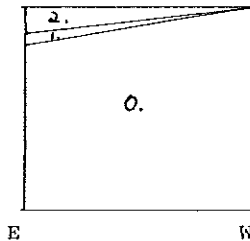
b) After a consonant



c) Intevocalicly



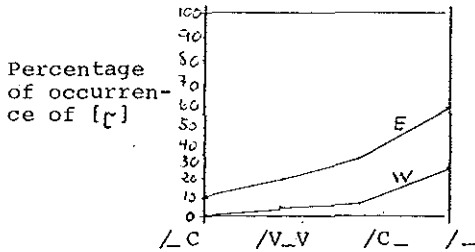
d) Before a consonant



[The percentages for the occurrence and non-occurrence of the retroflex flap in "RD" position have not been included here, as the data was not clear enough and in many cases the exact articulation could not be precisely categorized.]

It is very noticeable, as it is throughout, that the phonological environments of /l/ have a great bearing on the articulation. Consistently the trend is for [ɾ] to occur with increasing frequency over the range of contexts: /\_C, /V\_V, /C\_, /\_#. This is true of the children from both the East and the West of the city (see Fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Use of [ɾ] by Eastern and Western children by phonological environment.



Other examples of the marked higher frequency of the retroflex flap in the East than in the West can be seen throughout when dealing with the sex and age variables.

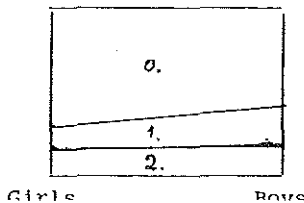
3.3 Articulation of /l/ by Boys and Girls.

The contact between boys' and girls' percentages of retroflex flaps and alveo-dental laterals as allophones of /l/ in styles B and C is shown in Table 5 (below). In fact Fig. 5 shows the same results, but the distribution of the percentage of usage of the different allophones of /l/ in the girls' speech is shown on the left-hand side of the diagram, and that of the boys' on the right-hand side.

Table 3: Articulations of /l/ by boys and girls (styles B and C).

	0	1	2
G	74	11	15
B	56	24.5	19.5

Fig. 5: Distribution of articulations of /l/ by boys and girls (styles B and C).



Clearly the boys use [l] much less than the girls, but their use of [ɾ] is not sensationally greater. However they use pronunciations which lie somewhere between the two more than twice as often as the girls. As was noted earlier, Western children have a greater tendency towards this behaviour than the Eastern ones, so it is worth investigating the two together.

3.31 Boys and girls : East and West

When the results from Table 3 and Fig. 5 are broken down with regard to the East/West division as well, we obtain results as shown in Tables 4a) and 4b) and Figs. 6a) and 6b).

Table 4: Articulations of /l/ by Eastern and Western boys and girls (styles B and C).

a) Girls

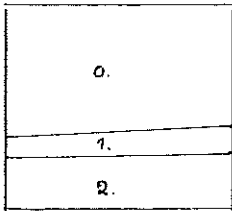
	0	1	2
E	63.5	10.5	26
W	84	12	4

b) Boys

	0	1	2
E	59	12.5	28.5
W	52.5	37	10.5

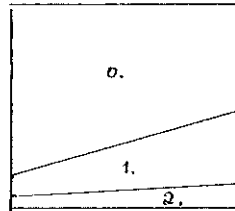
Fig. 6: Distribution of articulations of /l/ by Eastern and Western boys and girls (styles B and C).

a) East



Girls

b) West



Girls

Boys

Several interesting points emerge from these. Once again we see a clear case of a higher frequency of [ɾ] in the East than in the West, both amongst boys and girls, and the boys' percentage is higher in both cases than the girls'.

However their uses of other allophones of /l/ do not show the same trends. The proportions of the different articulations for Eastern boys and girls are roughly the same, the boys using only slightly more [ɹ] and a similarly slight increase in type 1 articulations than the girls. The Western boys, on the other hand, use about three times as many type 1 articulations than the girls and their percentage of [ɹ] is 2½ times that of the girls. This means then, that there is a significantly higher use of [l] among Western girls than among Western boys, but the children from the East End use it approximately the same amount of the time regardless of their sex.

3.32 Boys and Girls : phonological environments.

Using the data from style B only, it was interesting to compare the boys' and girls' distribution of the articulations of /l/ over the range of the same four phonological environments that was used earlier (cf. 3.21).

Table 5: Boys' and girls' articulations of /l/ by phonological environment (style B).

	/_#			/_C_			/_V_V			/_C		
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
G	31	24	45	85	8	7	85	8	8	93	3	3
B	21	30	49	71	14	15	78	13	9	93	2	6

As Table 5 shows, in every phonological environment studied here, the boys used a higher percentage of the retroflex flap than the girls did. The difference between them is not great but it is apparent in each case (see Fig. 7). However Fig. 8 shows that once again, the use of [l] among girls is significantly more common than among boys except /\_C where it is used with an equally high frequency by both sexes.

Fig. 7: Use of [ɹ] over range of phonological environments by boys and girls (style B).

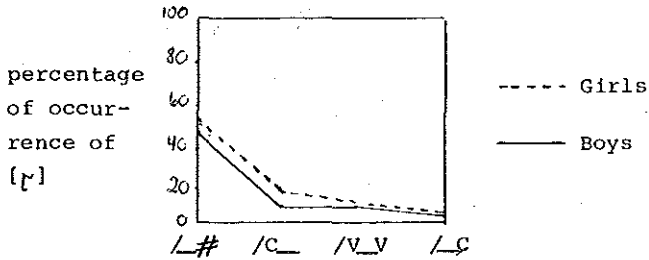
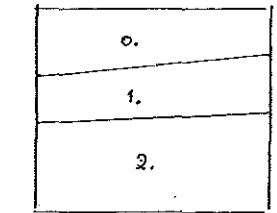


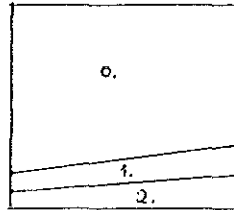
Fig. 8: Distribution of articulation of /l/ by boys and girls in four phonological environments (style B).

a) /L#



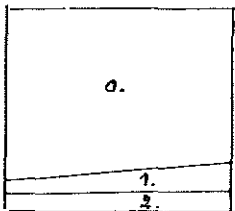
Girls Boys

b) /C-



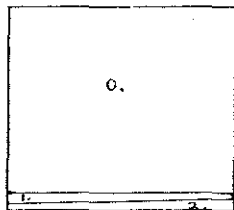
Girls Boys

c) /V.V



Girls Boys

d) /C



Girls Boys

A comparison of Figs. 4 and 7 show that when investigating the frequency of [ɹ] over the range of phonological environments, the trends are the same whether the boys and girls are dealt with separately or together. There is no significant difference in the ordering of the contexts with



regard to the frequency of [ɹ] between the sexes. Both show highest frequency of use of [ɹ] in final position, ranging to least usage of the feature in preconsonantal position.

3.33 Eastern and Western boys and girls : phonological environments.

Since there was a considerable difference in the behaviour of the Western boys and girls regarding the linguistic variants being observed, it is worthwhile looking into their use of [ɹ] in various phonological environments. The same four linguistic contexts were used as before, as found in all the reading material in both styles B and C, and Table 6 provides the break-down of frequency of the three types of articulation by Eastern and Western girls and boys in these contexts.

Table 6: Articulations of /l/ in different phonological contexts by Eastern and Western boys and girls (styles B and C).

		<u>L#</u>			<u>/C_</u>			<u>/V_V</u>			<u>/_C</u>		
		0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
East	G	37	4	59	57	16	27	73	9	18	87	5	8
	B	31	17	52	51	15	34	69	15	16	84	4	12
West	G	78	8	14	78	20	2	81	18	0.6	99	1	0
	B	54	15	31	67	24	9	90	8	2.4	99	1	0.06

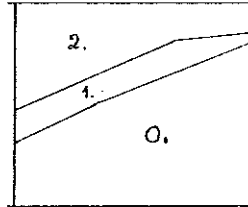
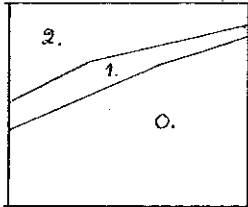
However, for both sexes in both parts of the town, the trend is the same, the percentage of [ɹ] and [l] decreasing and increasing respectively, over the range of contexts L#, /C\_, /V\_V, /\_C, and this is clearly shown in Fig. 9 too.

Fig. 9: Distribution of articulations of /l/ by phonological environment Eastern and Western boys and girls

(styles B and C).

a) Eastern girls

b) Eastern boys

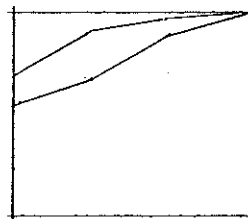
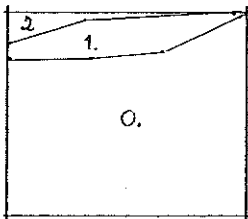


/l# /lC /lV\_V /lC

/l# /lC /lV\_V /lC

c) Western girls

d) Western boys

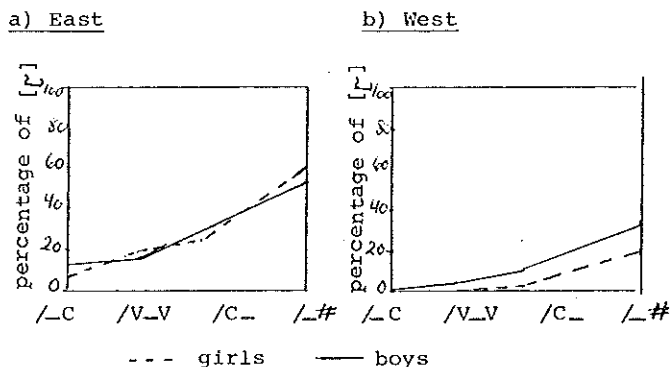


/l# /lC /lV\_V /lC

/l# /lC /lV\_V /lC

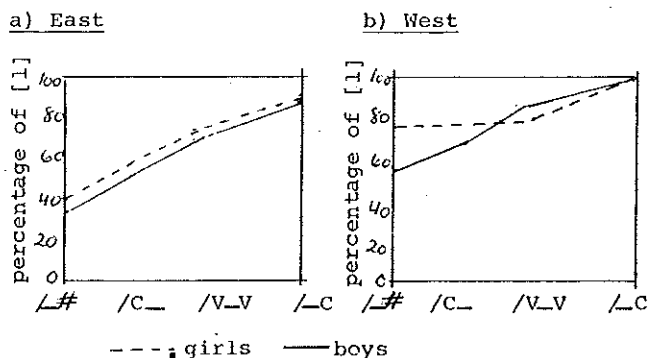
In addition Fig. 10 shows that in the case of the children from West Oslo, in every environment the boys used a higher frequency of [ɹ] than the girls did. This was not the case with the informants from the East however. In intervocalic and final positions the girls had a higher percentage of [ɹ] than the boys, but in the other two environments only, the frequency of their use of type 1 articulation was higher than with the boys (see also Table 6 and Figs. 9a) and b)).

Fig. 10: Frequency of [r] by boys and girls over range of phonological contexts.



The general pattern is then, a wider use of [r] among boys than girls, more consistently in the West, and a wider use of [l] among girls than boys, more consistently in the East (see Fig. 11a) and b)).

Fig. 11: Frequency of [l] by boys and girls over range of phonological contexts.



Throughout Eastern boys and girls seemed to use nearer the same proportions of the different articulations of /l/, than the Western children did. Western boys and girls then, are not such a close speech community as are the Eastern children, for their behaviour is slightly different in different situations.

### 3.4. Age.

The informants were divided into three agegroups for the purpose of this study, Group 1: 12 and 13 yearolds, Group 2: 14 yearolds, and Group 3: 15 and 16 yearolds. Unfortunately each group did not contain equal numbers. E.g.: there was only one Eastern boy in group 2, so this may not indicate accurately the behaviour of group 2. Because of this, a straight contrast between the language used by the oldest and youngest groups may be more significant, especially as group 2 contains a narrower age range than the other two groups.

#### 3.41 Age : phonological environment.

The three different reading lists have been considered together under the heading Style B, Reading style (cf. 2.133). However it may be of interest to present the results of the analysis of age by phonological environment for each of the three lists which make up the reading material.

Tables 7a), b) and c) give the percentages of occurrence for the three types of articulations of /l/ in the four phonological contexts /\_#, /C\_, /V\_V, /\_C by the three agegroups, in sentences, word lists and groups, respectively in Style B.

In Table 7c) the context \_C was omitted because of lack of data. The word "galte" /galt / was never pronounced with a "thick l". The pronunciations of the word "hull" /hæl:/ were also omitted as this always had an alveo-dental lateral (as expected as it is a "long l" i.e. /l:/ in this word, and [ɫ] is not normally found as an allophone of this phoneme), except from the three oldest Eastern boys (E 12, 14 and 16) who produced a slightly retroflex lateral (articulation l). In the word lists too, in final position the data was used from "fæ l" /fæ:l/ ~ /fɛ:l/ only, as "ful" /fu:l/ very rarely had any other pronunciation of /l/ than the alveo-dental lateral.

Table 7: Articulations of /l/ in different phonological contexts by age (style B).<sup>8</sup>

a) Sentences

	/L#			/C_			/V_V			/C		
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
1	10	40	50	78	13	9	87	10	3	94	2	4
2	5	29	67	79	10	11	89	8	3	95	2	3
3	10	38	52	73	10	18	80	2	18	91	0	9

b) Word Lists

	/L#			/C_			/V_V			/C		
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
1	43	23	33	71	20	9	88	10	2	96	2	3
2	21	25	54	74	13	14	75	13	13	96	2	2
3	28	6	67	69	8	24	63	19	19	83	8	9

c) Groups of Words

	/L#			/C_			/V_V		
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
1	40	24	36	80	15	4	93	0	7
2	29	29	43	76	12	12	50	33	17
3	37	23	40	70	13	17	67	22	11

<sup>8</sup> Footnote: Where the percentages do not total 100%, this is due to the fact that each figure has been rounded off to the nearest whole number, so there is in some cases a margin of up to 1% error.

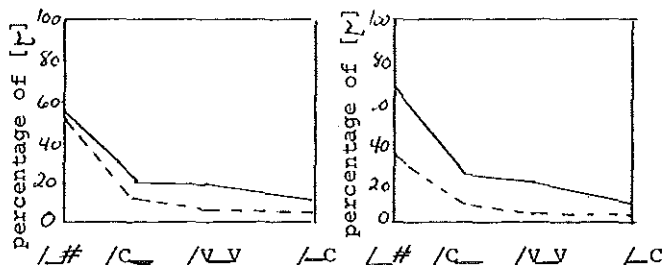
From Table 7 we can see that in every context the youngest children use less [ɹ] and more [l] than the oldest children. However, the behaviour of group 2 shows no consistent tendencies in relation to the other ages, but as has been suggested (cf. 3.4), due to the small age range of this group, the results may not be all that accurate.

Comparing just groups 1 and 3, we see there is a clear contrast between them in the frequency of their usage of [ɹ] and [l]. Figures 12a), b) and c) show quite clearly the difference in their percentages of occurrence of [ɹ] over the range of phonological environments, the frequency of [ɹ] obviously increasing with age.

Fig. 12: Percentage [ɹ] in different phonological contexts, by age.

a) Sentences

b) Word list



c) Groups of Words

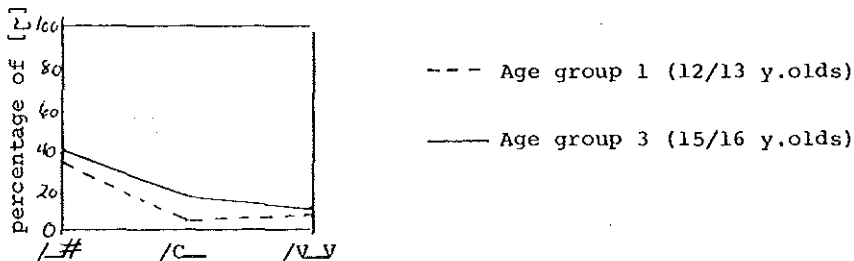
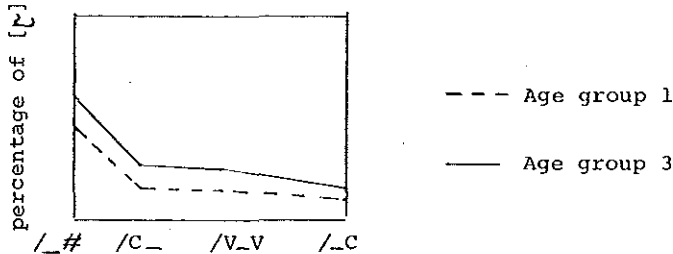


Fig. 12 also shows that once again there is a constant tendency to use [ɹ] more in contexts /L# and decreasing in frequency over the contexts /C- and /V- to the least usage in preconsonantal position. This is marred only in the case

of group 1 children who used [r] 2% of the time in intervocalic position and 3% of the time in the context /\_C, but the margin is so slight as to be negligible.

It has been shown that these two age-groups are consistent in their linguistic behaviour in the three individual sections which make up Style B. Fig. 13 puts these results together and so shows the overall contrast between the oldest and youngest age-groups in Style B.

Fig. 13: Frequency of [r] in different phonological contexts (Style B).



This enables us to see the consistent greater usage of [r] by the older children than by the younger ones. Table 8 and Figs. 14a), b), c) and d) show the distribution of the three types of articulation contrasting age-groups 1 and 3 in the four phonological environments separately, again using the average percentages of the three stylistic contexts to make up Style B.

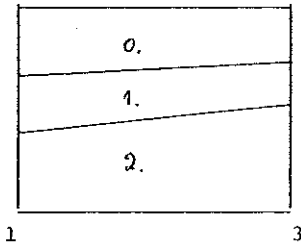
Table 8: Articulations of /l/ in different phonological contexts by age (Style B).

	/_#			/C_			/V_V			/_C		
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
1	31	29	40	76	16	7	89	7	4	95	2	4
3	25	22	53	71	10	20	70	14	16	87	4	9

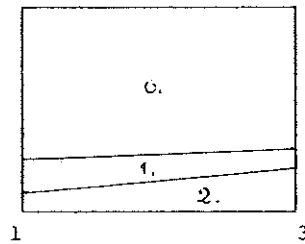
Fig. 14 in particular emphasizes once more the contrast between the distribution of articulations of /l/ in final position and in preconsonantal position. Whereas in the former position for both age-groups the occurrence of [l]

Fig. 14: Distribution of articulations 0, 1 and 2 of /l/ by age.

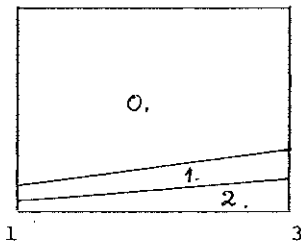
a) /l#



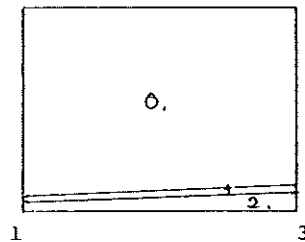
b) /C\_



c) /V-V



d) /C



was not very frequent in comparison with other articulations, in the latter position this pronunciation was far more abundant than any other. However age contrast as regards the use of the articulations of /l/ seems to be marginal, but the trend towards more use of [ɫ] and less [l] as the children get older, however slight, is at least consistent in the linguistic contexts studied here.

### 3.42 Age : Eastern and Western boys and girls.

When the linguistic behaviour concerning /l/ by Eastern and Western girls and boys of different ages is focussed



upon in one particular style (style B), and in one particular context only ( / [ + consonant ]<sup>9</sup> , the results prove quite interesting.

Table 9: Articulations of /l/\_/ [ +cons. / -sib. ] by age and sex

(Style B).

a) East

	Girls				Boys		
	0	1	2		0	1	2
1	64	23	14	1	75	11	10
2	62	6	32	2	17	9	74
3	62	11	27	3	37	6	61

b) West

	Girls				Boys		
	0	1	2		0	1	2
1	96	4	0	1	87	11	2
2	93	6	0	2	82	17	2
3	96	4	0	3	86	9	5

From Table 9a) we can see that in this context there is a marked tendency among the Eastern children particularly, to use the retroflex flap more as they get older. But here it is Group 2 who have the highest percentage of the feature and this is the same for boys and girls. There are several possibilities as to why this should be. One may be that our three informants in the group were not sufficient to give an average result, as this trend has not been noticed when taking into account other phenomena, and we have not

<sup>9</sup>Footnote: The context /[-sibilant] was omitted because the data was not so clear on the recording for this.

studied in detail their behaviour for this reason elsewhere which on the surface seemed rather haphazard.

On the other hand, Table 9b) presents a different picture for the Western side of the city. There is a marked lack of "thick l" in any case, less than 0.5% at all ages among the girls. [NB. 0.5% because of rounding off to the nearest whole number, and below 0.5% the figures are shown as 0%]. In fact only one Western girl (W 13, a 14 yearold) has even one occurrence of [ɫ]. Also, Groups 1 and 3 have exactly the same percentages as each other for all three articulations, at least this is so for the girls. As for the boys, the oldest ones used [ɫ] more often than the younger ones, but for all of them the percentages are low compared with those for the occurrence of alveo-dental laterals.

### 3.5 Stylistic variation : Eastern and Western boys and girls.

A similar analysis as for 3.42 was carried out over three other stylistic contexts as well.

Style A: Formal Style (Introductory and "Relaxing" chats)

Style B: Reading Style (reading material at normal and fast speeds)

Style C: Pseudo-street Style (reading material read "as if in the street")

Style D: Informal Style (Group conversations).

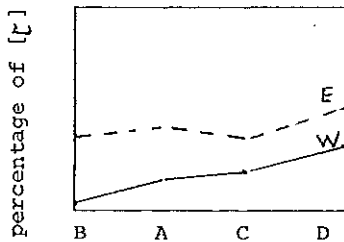
However the results from this were not very useful and showed no consistent tendencies. In many cases there simply was not enough data to enable the results to be of any significance, particularly in Style D, and to a certain extent in Styles A and C [eg. in style C there was no data available for Eastern boys in Group 2].

When the age and sex differentiations were ignored, though, and a straight East/West comparison was made of the frequency of [ɫ] over the four styles, it seemed that perhaps style B should have been treated as a more formal style than A (see Table 10 and Fig. 15).

Table 10: Frequency of [ɹ] /  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} +\text{cons.} \\ -\text{sib} \end{array} \right]$  in different styles by Eastern and Western children.

	A	B	C	D
E	44	36	37	54
W	16	2	19	33

Fig. 15: Frequency of [ɹ] /  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} +\text{cons.} \\ -\text{sib} \end{array} \right]$  in different styles.



Even when sex is taken into account too, the positions of Styles A and B could be reversed, for Style B produced less "thick l"s from each social group than did Style A (see Table 11). It was T. Fischer who, when referring to formality, commented that "in the children's terms I would think of this as the degree of similarity to a formal classroom recitation" (Fischer 1958), and with this definition Style B would certainly qualify to be more formal than Style A. My Style B contained three items to be read aloud - all things which would be associated with a school situation, more so perhaps than the "chats" of Style A which I had tried to make as informal as possible.

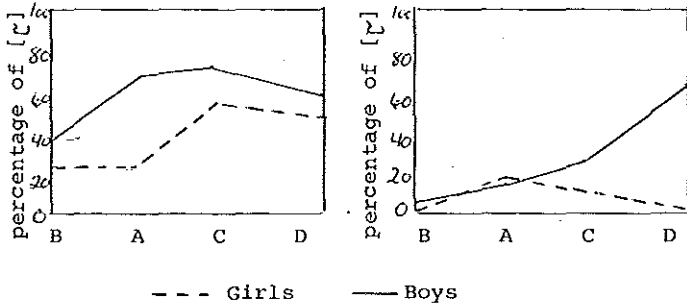
Table 11: Frequency of [ɹ] /  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} +\text{cons.} \\ -\text{sib} \end{array} \right]$  in different styles by Eastern and Western boys and girls.

	A	B	C	D
East				
G	25	24	58	49
B	69	38	75	59
West				
G	17	0	10	0
B	15	3	28	67

Fig. 16: Frequency of [ɹ] in different styles by boys and girls ( / +cons. -sib | — ).

a) East

b) West



The graph in Fig. 15 shows the relative frequency of occurrence of [ɹ] between Eastern and Western children when styles A and B are reversed within the stylistic range, and Figs. 16a) and 16b) similarly, with contrast between the sexes included as well. (Fig. 15 and 16 correspond to Tables 10 and 11 respectively).

Figs. 16a) and b) are vastly different from each other, and particularly interesting is their differing reactions to Styles C and D. It appears that apart from the Western boys, they all tend to use [ɹ] in informal conversation less than they say they do in the street. The Western boys, on the other hand, seem to actually use it more than they say they do. Whether or not this actually reflects the true situation is questionable, for the data for style D was very scanty, and also the interview situation could not elicit a casual enough style by all the informants to be a very sure guide in the situation.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

This study confirmed the fact that [ɾ] is not a free variant of /l/ or of /r/, but its frequency of occurrence is tied directly to social and linguistic phenomena. Unfortunately the variability of [ɾ] as an allophone of /r/ in "RD" position was not studied in detail, the main reason being that uncertainty in the analysis of the sounds from the tape-recording's, could have led to misleading results. However, from what was studied of it, leads us to suppose that it follows similar trends as /l/. Now it is important and of interest to ask whether the results confirm or refute the hypotheses put forward earlier, and what these results indicate.

##### 4.1. Reflection of Social Differentiation.

Social factors were shown to be a major cause for differences in speech between different sub-groups of the Oslo community, as indications led us to hypothesize would be the case in the first place.

##### 4.11 Hypothesis No. 1

"Children from the East side of Oslo use [ɾ] more than children from the West." (Hypothesis No. 1). This is certainly the case and is a reflection of the typical background of each area. As has been thoroughly stressed, the average Easterner is lower in the socio-economic scale than the average Westerner, and since [ɾ] is considered a stigmatized form, it was used less by the people on the West than those in the East. The Western children were more sensitive to the prestige form than Eastern children because of their background and upbringing. For children, it is a known fact that pressures of peer-group solidarity are very important too, and as the East of Oslo has a vastly higher percentage of children from working-class family backgrounds than the West, there is greater pressure on the Easterners to use [ɾ], and more pressure on the Western children to avoid this stigmatized form.

An interesting point is that there were more marginal cases among Western children than among those from the East.

Now the "thick l" is becoming more and more widely used as the years go by (cf. reference to Vanvik (1972) in section 0.41), but it seems that in the West of the city the articulation in general is not yet made so far back in the mouth as [ɮ]. However it does not seem too much to predict from the results that maybe in ten or twenty years' time, a similar investigation on the same age span, would yield a higher frequency of [ɮ] in the West than at the moment, and particularly among the boys who used twice as many type 1 articulations now than the girls did (see Table 4 and Fig. 6).

#### 4.12 Hypothesis No. 2.

"Boys use [ɮ] more than girls" (Hypothesis No. 2). This result shows the usual trend in our Western Society where females are not expected to use the rough forms of speech associated with the male community, and the retroflex flap was an example for displaying this.

However, my results were not the same as O. Nordland's who studied other features comparing their usage by 15 boys and 15 girls in class 3 of both Vålerenga and Uranienborg schools. He concentrated mainly on the use or omittance of definite and indefinite articles and discovered that "guttene på vestkanten unnviker altså signifikativt bruken av ubestemt artikkel i større grad enn vestkantpikene", and that "østkantpikene unnviker altså signifikativt bruken av ubestemt artikkel i større grad enn guttene på østkanten". (Nordland (1954)). It seems strange that the behaviour between Eastern boys and girls is the opposite of that between Western boys and girls. He found the same thing happening with other linguistic variants; eg. Eastern boys used "farge" [fargə] (rather than "farve" [farvə] - both meaning "colour") much less than Eastern girls, but Western boys used "farge" more than Western girls. Of these the more progressive form is with /g/. Eastern boys, then, and Western girls are more conservative in their speech by his finding than were the Eastern girls and Western boys.

My findings on occasions fitted in with this trend, for example in intervocalic and final positions in Style B and C, Eastern girls used [ɮ] more than Eastern boys whereas

Western boys used it more than the Western girls (cf. Figs. 10a) and 10b)). Also in post-consonantal position this was the case too with the youngest age-group only (cf. Tables 9a) and 9b)). Why this should be, I cannot be sure and Nordland did not give any suggestions either. That Western girls are more anxious to avoid stigmatized forms than anyone else is clear - an example to support this statement being that three Western girls (W 13, 15, 17), when reading the groups of words in style C, changed "sjø1" /ʃø:l/, the more stigmatized word for "self", to "selv" /sel:/, the more formal word, whereas the boys who were also present read (sjø1" as it stood when it was their turn. In addition "selv" was heard to be used by a 14 year old girl (W 7) in the playground, in a situation considered the least formal.

On the whole my results, then, correspond more to those of Bergersen in his study of girls' and boys' use of diphthongs and different verb and noun endings etc. in Oslo (cf. Bergersen (1953)), where he found that consistently the girls used a higher percentage of "moderate former" than the boys.

#### 4.13 Hypothesis No. 3

"Older children use [ɹ] more than younger ones" (Hypothesis No. 3). Even over the small age-range considered here this seemed to be the general trend, although it must not be forgotten that the youngest children tended to be much less relaxed in the interview situation than the older ones did. This was particularly noticeable among those from Vålerenga school where the interviews resembled a classroom situation more than at other schools, and the children's speech, I feel, was still very much influenced by school pressure and formality, which perhaps was stronger there than at the other schools.

But even taking this into account, the higher frequency of [ɹ] among older children is quite likely to be a reflection of the desire to be included in the peer-group, and to want to look "big" and "tough" to the others, which is a feeling that increases over the ages studied here. The fact that sometimes the 14 year olds had a higher frequency of [ɹ] than the 15/16 year old age-group could be because this is the

age when they start to need and feel the importance of peer-group solidarity.

The difference between the use of [ɾ] by age-groups 1 and 3 (cf. Fig. 13) is greater in all phonological contexts than that between boys' and girls' use of [ɾ] in the same contexts (cf. Fig. 7) but not so great as between Eastern and Western children (cf. Fig. 4). A boy and girl of approximately the same age, and living near to each other, are more likely to have the same behavioural patterns where [ɾ] is concerned, than two children of the same age and sex but living in separate parts of the town. For example, E 15 and E 16 in Style B used [ɾ] 53% and 95% of the time respectively, whereas W 19 and W 20 used it 0% and 2% of the time respectively. Although the difference between the usage by E 15 and E 16 is large, the difference is far greater between E 15 and W 19, and even more so between the boys E 16 and W 20. It appears, then, that the contrast between the frequency of occurrence of the retroflex flap in the East and the West of Oslo is the most important social factor of the three here. Age comes next in importance, while sex holds the least importance of them all.

#### 4.2. Stylistic Range

The hypothesis that "the frequency of [ɾ] will increase as the formality of the situation and speech styles decreases", could not be confidently confirmed or refuted as there was a problem as to defining the order of formality of the different styles of speech. The styles set up in the questionnaire did not reflect the situation clearly enough, and as was seen in section 3.5 maybe the originally suggested order A, B, C and D was not correctly planned. The formality variable was difficult to control, the situational constraints tending to vary from one interview to another, and this was perhaps another fault. However, if we ignore the results of Style D due to lack of adequate data, the frequency of [ɾ] was shown to increase over the range of styles B, A, C in that order. If it is considered that Style B was a more formal style than Style A, then our hypothesis can be confirmed. This is not unreasonable as the reading material to the children would



probably seem more like a formal classroom recitation than the "chats" would, as was also mentioned in section 3.5.

#### 4.21 Particular Words.

As was hoped, the choice of words in the reading material brought out more "thick l"s in some sentences than others - more in those that were written in a style resembling the "folk speech" of Oslo than in the more formally written styles. One such example is that of "snubla" and "snublet" (cf. section 2.131) where the number of [ɾ]s in sentence 7 in Styles B and C combined, totalled 21 (16 from the East and 5 from the West), against a total of only 10 (8 from the East and 2 from the West) in sentence 16. Twice as many retroflex flaps were used in conjunction with the "-a" endings as with the "-et" morpheme. This applied for both Eastern and Western speakers.

The groups of words contained both monophthongs and diphthongs which gave a similar effect, as anticipated (cf. section 2.133). The number of retroflex flaps for the words concerned are as follows, (the first number in each bracket being the total for the East and the second number for the West):

"blek	/ble:k/	11 (11, 0)
"bleik"	/blɛ:k/	19 (12, 7)
"bløt"	/blø:t/	12 (10, 2)
"blaut"	/blaut/	17 (12, 5)
"fløte"	/flø:tə/	9 (8, 1)
"fløyte"	/fløytə/	12 (10, 2)

In every case a higher frequency of [ɾ] occurred with the diphthongs, and it was so both from the Eastern and Western informants.

#### 4.3 Variations over Range of Phonological Contexts.

The same thing happened concerning the effect other sounds had on the articulation of /l/, apart from the case of "holdeplassen" /hɔ:lɛ:ɔpɫas:ɲ / and "plass" /plas:/ where the former was expected to have fewer [ɾ]s than the latter due to

assimilation from the /l:/ preceding it. Here in fact the results showed the reverse with 11 and 9 occurrences of [ɾ] in Sentence 3 and 10 respectively. However, the word "jorda" certainly was influenced by the following words "er rund" / æɾ:ʉh: / in sentence 5, as there were considerably less occurrences of a retroflex flap here than in Sentence 1 where no such assimilation was possible. To be exact, there were 30 [ɾ]s in sentence 1 and only 4 in sentence 5. As for "jorden" the presence of syllabic /ŋ/ was quite likely to be the cause for there being only 2 occurrences of [ɾ] in Sentence 14 and then only when the pronunciation was [ju:ɾa] as E 15 and E 16 changed "jorden" to "jorda" when reading the sentence in style C.

Similarly in the Groups of Words, "jorden" produced only 2 retroflex flaps, whereas there were 25 for "jorda". Exactly the same thing happened in the case of "sola" and "solen", as "thick l" occurred only 12 times in "sola", compared with a mere 2 in "solen". Apart from the phonetic environment hindering the possibility of the [ɾ] articulation, it must also be taken into account that "-en" is the more formal morpheme here, and the "-a" ending is associated with "folk speech".

All these examples are to show how the phonetic environment, on the whole, had the anticipated effect on the frequency of occurrence of [ɾ] in the reading material.

The results also confirmed the hypothesis that "the frequency of [ɾ] will vary in different phonological environments" (section 1.32). Continually this variant of l4 had its highest percentage of occurrence in final position (/\_#), and decreased in frequency over the range of environments /\_#, /C\_, /V\_V, /\_C. For this we can write a variable rule as follows:

Rule 1: /l/ → <ɾ> / <\_#>  
 <C\_>  
 <V\_V>  
 <\_C>

[N.B. The environments which favour this rule most are at the top of the list].

#### 4.4 Summing up.

This survey has demonstrated that the occurrence of the retroflex flap among children varied in frequency as hypothesized according to social class (manifested by which side of the town they came from), age and sex in that order of importance, but in each case variable Rule 1 applied. Variation along the range of phonological environments proved to be more interesting and purposeful for investigation than the range of formality, but the fact that I was not a fluent speaker of Norwegian hindered any further investigations of this, because interview seemed unavoidable and the language barrier was inevitable. However I hope that what has been done has been of some purpose and interest by confirming the hypotheses presented, and that this will give an incentive for further studies of this nature to be carried out on the inherent variation of features with Oslo Norwegian in the future.

## 5.2. QUESTIONNAIRE

### 1. INTRODUCTORY CHAT

First I'd like to ask you a few questions about your local background.

- a) Where exactly in Oslo do you live?  
Do you have far to come to school?  
Do you walk, or how do you get there?
- b) Have you always lived in the same house?  
If not, where did you use to live?
- c) Do both of your parents come from Oslo too?  
Where else have they lived?  
Where are they from? (If not Oslo).
- d) What work does your father do?  
What work does your mother do?

### 2. SHORT SENTENCES (normal pace) (see Page )

Here are some short sentences (they do not follow on from one another though). Could you please read them out, in the order they are written down, as naturally as possible.

### 3. SHORT SENTENCES (fast pace)

Now would you read them again, but this time as quickly as you can without stumbling.

### 4. WORD LIST (normal pace) (see Page )

Now there is a list of words. Please would you read them out loud, as naturally as you can.

### 5. RELAXING CHAT

O.K., I'll give you time to relax again - let's just talk for a few minutes.

- a) Which subject do you like best? Why?  
Why don't you like the other subjects?

- b) What do you want to do when you leave school?  
Why?
- c) Are you in any sports teams at school eg. ice-hockey,  
football, handball?  
If so tell me a bit about them.
- d) Are you in the school choir, or band?  
What do you play?  
Have you been anywhere exciting with them? When, where?

6. WORD LIST (fast pace)

Now you read this list of words again, this time as quickly as you can without stumbling.

7. GROUPS OF WORDS (normal pace only) (see Page )

Finally I have some sets of words I'd like you to read out. Would you please read them in the groups shown ie. line by line.

[End of Individual Interview]

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ALL TOGETHER (4 of them)

8. FINAL CHAT

(Only guiding questions - trying to get them to discuss something.)

- a) Do you like it at this school? Why/why not?  
Continue chat in any direction.  
Suggestions:
- b) May 17th - What they will be doing for that -  
get them to explain to me all about it.
- c) Do they like living in Oslo? - Where else would they prefer to live if they could choose - and why?

SHORT SENTENCES

1. Han grov i jorda.
2. Folk flest i Oslo liker å gå på ski.
3. Han ventet på bussen på holdeplassen.
4. Kan jeg hjelpe deg?
5. Jorda er rund.
6. Filmen var dårlig.
7. Hun snubla og datt ned i hullet.
8. Ola hadde fire lømmetørklær i jakkelommen sin.
9. Du er flink å lage mat, likevel.
10. Er det plass her?
11. Det er på bordet.
12. Har du høl i lomma?
13. Han skal komme klokka tre.
14. Jorden er fuktig i vår.
15. Jeg liker ikke gamle bøker.
16. Han snublet og datt ned i hullet.

WORD LIST

- |                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| 1. håpløs       | 19. ulven   |
| 2. selvfølgelig | 20. koselig |
| 3. slik         | 21. flyet   |
| 4. likevel      | 22. hjelpe  |
| 5. blåse        | 23. solen   |
| 6. fjord        |             |
| 7. sola         |             |
| 8. folkeskole   |             |
| 9. eplene       |             |
| 10. krangle     |             |
| 11. fæl         |             |
| 12. valse       |             |
| 13. rakling     |             |
| 14. maktesløs   |             |
| 15. glemme      |             |
| 16. ful         |             |
| 17. helgene     |             |
| 18. veggtavlene |             |

GROUPS OF WORDS

1. sjøl : kjøl : kjøle
2. klær : klar : glad
3. klippe : glippe
4. planke : blank
5. plikt : blikk
6. jord : jorden : jorda
7. høl : hull
8. nord : nordafor : nordenfor
9. slu : slo
10. hal : hard : har
11. blek : bleik
12. bløt : blaut
13. fløte : fløyte
14. gale : galte : bli gal

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av

Hans Olaf Wiull

Det er mulig at enkelte vil oppfatte det forsøk vi skal gjøre her, som noe halsbrekkende. Forsøket går ut på å betrakte fenomenet genus fra et annet synspunkt enn vi som nordister ofte gjør. Men for å få frem mitt poeng blir jeg nødt til å belemre leseren med utenomskandinavisk, ja utenomeuropeisk materiale.

Med utgangspunkt i en artikkel av Carl Meinhof med tittelen "Die Entstehung des grammatischen Geschlechts", som er å finne i tidsskriftet Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, Band XXVII 1936/37 (tidsskriftet står på lese-salen for Lingvistisk institutt), skal vi se på genus-systemet i norsk ut fra spørsmålet om grammatiske klasser, og plassere de såkalte genera innenfor et klassesystem.

Jeg skylder her å gjøre oppmerksom på at Meinhof er afrikanist, og at en del av hans eksempelmateriale er hentet fra afrikanske språk. Meinhofs hovedsynspunkt er at forskjellen mellom person og ting snarere enn sexus - han oppfatter det slik at man ikke kan forklare oppkomsten av det ind.eur. nøytrum ved å ta utgangspunkt i naturlig kjønn - danner et grunnleggende utgangspunkt for et genuskille, som i hans eksempler fra afrikanske språk realiseres som en forskjell mellom et maskulinum og et femininum, der femininum ofte realiserer nøytrum eller markerer et kollektivum. Han anfører som en nærmere illustrasjon at substantiver i tysk som har maskulint genus, opptrer som nøytrale når man danner kollektiver: f.eks. motsetningen mellom der Berg og das Gebirge.

Han sier også: "Først og fremst er skillet mellom person og ting i en viss forstand nødvendig for og til stede i alle språk. Således betegner man i ewe, et isolerende språk i Vest-Afrika, personer med ame "menneske" og saker med nu "ting" og kan derav danne begrepene ame-sia-me "ethvert menneske" og nu-sia-nu "enhver ting, alt". Og ved hjelp av det spørrende -ka kan man lage ordene ameka "hvem" og nuka "hva". Også i våre flekterende språk er denslags forskjeller nødvendige, for ved ubestemte eller spørrende utsagn kan jeg slett ikke vite om det er en mann eller en kvinne det er tale om, da begge er mulig i mange tilfelle. Men jeg kan alltid vite om det dreier seg om person eller ting." På denne måten vil ord som enhver, alt, hvem, hva, ingen og intet alltid markere denne motsetningen, men det vil ikke alltid være et genusskille vi står foran.

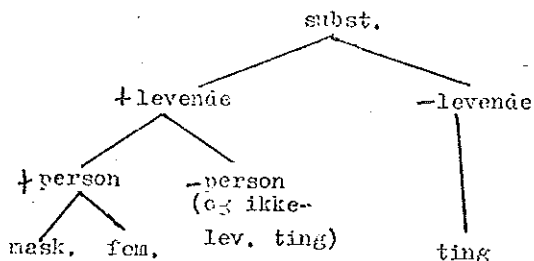
I sin fremstilling kommer Meinhof også litt inn på klassespråk eller retttere sagt språk som inndeler substantivene etter et klassesystem. Han påviser at både for de semittisk-hamittiske språk og de indoeuropeiske har denne inndelingen i person og ting hatt en viss betydning, men samtidig sier han: "Jeg tror ikke at såvel de indoeuropeiske som de semittisk-hamittiske språk har gått veien til det grammatiske genus så direkte som det synes ut fra det foregående, derimot har det eksistert enda et utviklingstrinn foran det, og det rager opp over genussystemet i strenghet i logisk tenkning, og spor av dette system kan påvises håndgripelig ennå i dag. Jeg tenker på klassesystemet".

Vi skal ikke her gå inn på alle hans eksempler på systemer av denne art, men bare trekke frem et enkelt som på en ganske god måte illustrerer vårt poeng. Det dreier seg om "det asiatiske språket (...) buruschaski

som tales ved Karakorum-fjellmassivet, i grenseområdet mellom indoeuropeisk, tyrkisk og tibetansk. Her skiller man ut en personklasse med spesielle former for maskulinum og femininum, en klasse for levende men ikke menneskelige vesener, til denne hører riktignok noen ikkelevende ting, og til slutt en klasse for de øvrige ikkelevende ting".

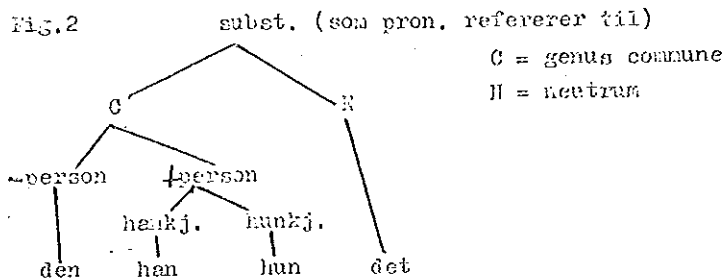
Dette kan vi sette opp i et diagram:

Fig. 1 .



Arne Torp (Pronominalkongruens 1970) har en fremstilling over pronomenerreferansen i bm, som vi vil sammenlikne med figur 1.

Fig.2



Som vi ser av dette systemet, bruker bm. forskjellige pronomener alt etter hva slags "ordtype" det refereres til.

Vi skal her ikke gjøre noe forsøk på å trekke vidtgående slutninger av de to systemer, bare at det ligger snublende nær å tenke seg at systemet i figur 1 kan kaste et lysskjær over en (nær sagt) subgrammatisk inndeling som synes påviselig i bm. (Med "subgrammatisk" forstår vi her forhold som ikke (nødvendigvis) er til stede formelt, men som i en viss forstand er til stede semantisk. Formelt er det ikke noen forskjell mellom substantiver i norsk sett fra et klassesystem-synspunkt, men forskjellen kommer frem (i det minste i bm.) gjennom den pronominale referanse.) Vi kan f.eks. legge merke til at den under figur 2's [-pers] refererer til både levende vesener og livløse gjenstander (f.eks. hesten, bedriften, biyanten). Denne referanse synes på en viss måte å være parallell til det punkt i figur 1 som vi har kalt [-pers].

Denne inndelingen (i figur 2) ser ut til å knytte seg til den vi fant ovenfor, inndelingen i motsetningen mellom person og ting, som vi først og fremst vil representere gjennom motsetningen hvem - hva. Det er interessant å legge til at denne inndelingen også kan spores i nynorsk i forskjellen mellom kven og kva.

Nå er det slik at pronomenreferansen i nynorsk etter hovedregelen er genusbundet, slik at maskuline og feminine ord blir henvist til med henholdsvis han eller ho. Men, i henhold til nynorsk grammatikk kan man når pronomenet står trykksterkt - f.eks.: No var det visst dampbåten han såg etter. Den hadde ho òg set, han kom røykande om Austerodden (Duun) -, la referansen skje gjennom det demonstrative pronomen den. Selv om nynorsk bare under den anførte betingelse tillater ikke-genusreferanse, ser den ut til å være lik den vi får ved kategorien [-pers] som er gjort

gjeldende for *bm.*, se figur 2.

Om vi her kunne karakterisere denne fordelingen ved hjelp av betegnelsen klasse, kunne vi tale om et skille mellom en han/hun(ho)-klasse, en den-klasse, og en det-klasse. Og for nynorsk måtte vi eventuelt si at den-klassen bare gjør søg gjeldende under nevnte betingelse.

Selv om vi her, som ovenfor antydnet, betrakter denne inndelingen som subgrammatisk, oppfatter vi det likevel slik at den har en viss funksjon vis à vis valget av nominal referanse.