The Bergen dialect splits in two

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An extensive sociolinguistic study in 1978 demonstrated a levelling of the high- and low-status varieties of the Bergen dialect, and the two centres of Fana and Bergen within this municipality showed the same linguistic tendencies. A parallel study of recordings from 2010 reveals that the sociolinguistic variation within each of the centres have continued decreasing, but the dialect in each of the two centres develops in different directions in essential features. This dialect split seems to be an effect of a corresponding long-lasting difference in social welfare between these two parts of the municipality. Various language attitudes have been studied without disclosing any obvious explanatory power.

1. Dialectal levelling in Bergen and Norway

It is assumed that the first sociolinguistic divergence in the Bergen dialect took place in the last decades of the 18th century, at a time when such developments were well attested to in other Nordic towns, e.g., in Oslo (Larsen 1907; Larsen & Stoltz 1911–12; Pettersen 1996; Nesse 2003). Until the 1830s, Bergen was the largest town in Norway and, because of its harbour and fish exporting, had close commercial and social contacts with other countries. Therefore, it had both a strong bourgeoisie and, of course, a corps of public servants who had social motivation for cultural and social markers that were also indexed to linguistic distinctions.

Contemporary descriptions of the language situation in 1800 are characterised by a tripartite model in which high style seems to have played an important role in addition to the style of the bourgeoisie and the style of ordinary people. The high style was a reading language with Copenhagen pronunciation as its norm centre, and this style lost its dominance and impact with the establishment of a strong Norwegian bourgeoisie.

In the last half of the 19th century, Norwegian industry, especially shipping, made considerable progress, and Bergen was in a leading position. At this time, the social status of public servants was reduced and the bourgeoisie culture and

values were on the rise in society, leading to the new upper class gaining cultural self-confidence and regarding its language variety as the best one as a symbol of progress and culture, and the very Danish high style evaporated but left an evident stamp on the upper-class variety. From the 1880s, the spoken upper-class language variety became more and more the basis for the transition of the Danish written language to the Norwegian Bokmål language. In contrast, the demotic speech variety in Norwegian towns demonstrated its linguistic relationship with the rural dialects of the region. However, this was less the case in Bergen than in other Norwegian towns because the common Bergen dialect had apparently already developed some very local characteristics in the late Middle Ages. It was this common dialect that, in 1800 or so, emerged in the two varieties, the Bergen upper-class variety (high speech) and the Bergen demotic variety (low speech).

With regard to the social context, it appears that the typical Bergen low speech in the 19th century functioned among males as the colloquial speech of all social classes, or at least to a larger extent than was typical for the low speech of most other towns, where low speech was a dialect restricted to the lower social classes concentrated in certain areas of the town (Larsen & Stoltz 1912: 19). Adult males of the upper class in Bergen switched to high speech only in very formal situations, whereas females maintained their sociolect from childhood (Pettersen 1996: 12).

This dual linguistic situation continued through most of the 20th century, and an expanding middle class tended to adopt many of the bourgeoisie values, including their linguistic characteristics. However, in the 1970s, a cultural revolt started in Norway in favour of economic decentralisation and demotic culture. A characteristic of this sudden commencement of Late Modernity was that all types of demotic and popular cultural forms were more appreciated from then on and the pattern of stylistic code switching between upper class and demotic language varieties weakened. From a series of studies of urban dialects in Norway in the 1980s, it was reported that the traditional upper class dialect underwent an obvious decline or became obsolete and that young people from all classes tended to use a "modernised" common dialect that emerged as a type of compromise, with its most obvious basis in the lower speech (Gulbrandsen 1975; Fintoft & Mjaavatn 1980; Gabrielsen 1983; Gabrielsen 1991; Aarsæther 1984; Nesse 1994). Consequently, the general pattern of the Norwegian language culture over the last two generations has been, on the one side, a reduction in the use of spoken standard languages (Nynorsk and Bokmål) in, e.g., mass media – which means a very strong destandardization – and, on the other, the development of a new, levelled urban dialect.

In recent studies based on real-time observation, the continuation of this trend has been attested to in Oslo, Stavanger and Bergen Centre (Stjernholm 2013; Dahl 2002; Løken 2001; Aasen 2011; Nornes 2011), where one characteristic is

that former salient low-status forms have now ousted high-status forms. From this general tendency in Norwegian towns, we should expect to find homogeneity or linguistic levelling in the town of Bergen as well. However, this turned out not to be the case, as will be presented below.

2. Characteristics of the Bergen dialect

Many linguistic peculiarities of the Bergen dialect can be accounted for only by tracing them back to an early language stage and to the mixture of nationalities that existed when Bergen was a marketplace for tradesmen from many countries. For a long time period, Bergen was an important hanseatic town. In approximately 1300, its population was between 5,000 and 10,000 (Helle 1982: 492), which was large enough to both constitute a language society on its own and to maintain its linguistic independence despite a continuous flow of people moving from the rural neighbouring districts. The population of Medieval Bergen had a large foreign element. As early as the 14th century, there might have been two to three thousand foreigners, who made up a considerable proportion of the total population. In this melting pot, Germans represented the strongest foreign component (Helle 1982: 472ff.).

The Bergen dialect developed a two-gender system from the Norwegian three-gender system; it introduced the suffix *-et* in the past and past participle to replace the Old Norse *að*i and *-at*, and it monophthongized the diphthongs in the past tense of the first two strong verb classes (*bet* < *beit, brøt* < *braut*) but not generally in the vocabulary. These morphological features are still a characteristic of both high and low speech. When high speech arose in the 18th century, this variety adopted the Danish-like forms *jei* 'I', *dere* 'you' (pl.), *mei/dei/sei* 'me, you (sg.), itself' (obj. forms) (henceforth abbreviated *mdsei*), interrogative words starting with *v-*, *ikke* 'not', *meget* 'much', *någen* 'some', *da* 'then', *nu* 'now', the anaphoric *den* 'it', *hun* 'she', etc. as linguistic distinctions from the traditional demotic forms *eg, dåkkar, meg/deg/seg,* interrogative words starting with *k-*, *ikkje, møkke, nåkken, då, no,* the anaphoric *han, hon,* etc. These features are used as variables in this study. The variable called interrogative words is based on the total frequency of the five query words *vem* 'who', *va* 'what', *vor* 'where', *vorfor* 'why', *vordan* 'how', with the corresponding demotic low-status forms *kem, ka, kor, korfor, kordan*.

The three lexical items *nu*, *meget* and *någen* from Danish were a part of both high speech and written Bokmål in 1900 or so. They corresponded to the local forms *no*, *møkke* and *nåkken*, of which the first and the last forms are also the dominating forms in the rural district; the second one is an old regular Bergen form corresponding to the rural *mykje* because the Bergen dialect did not have

a phonological palatalisation rule. In high speech in all Norwegian towns, these three lexical items (*nu, meget, någen*) were replaced by *nå, mye* and *noe* in the first half of the 20th century. These items are three demotic word forms that have their origin in East Norwegian towns. By the end of the 20th century, the Danish forms *nu, meget* and *någen* were also regarded as obsolete in Bokmål. In the presentation below, the new forms will be regarded as high speech forms – as opposed to *møkke*, *no* and *nåkken* – and we will ignore the old forms *nu, meget* and *någen*, the first of which was represented by only 5 of 2795 instances of the variable, *meget* by 6 of 785 instances, and the last by 2 of 1659 instances in our 1978 data; additionally, these forms were attested to only in the speech of the oldest age group (born in 1907) (Myking 1983a and b: 5, 16, 70).

An old merger in both of the two Bergen varieties is the long /e:/ from both *é* and *ǽ* in Old Norse, cf. *læra* > /le:ʁe/ 'learn'. Over a rather long time, the Bergen dialect has adapted to a widespread pattern in Norwegian dialects in which the phoneme /e/ in the long, stressed position before /r/ or /ʁ/ in the stem is pronounced [æ:]. This is also in accordance with written Bokmål and in most cases also with Nynorsk.

A change that spread throughout Bergen and Western Norway (and Northern Norway) after the Second World War is the [ʃ], which replaced the previous cluster /sj/ [sç]. In Bergen, this process from [sç] to [ʃ] via [ʃç] caused a merger with the phoneme /ç/ in either [ç] or [ʃ]. This merger was first observed in our 1978 data of adolescents born in 1962–64, but the merger had a score of only 2% at that time (Johannessen 1983). Now, more than 90% of young Bergeners use the merger phoneme. In the last decades, this merger has also been introduced into many other dialects in Southern Norway, especially in towns and centres. Today, the merger has developed to a sound between ʃ and ç, i.e., [ɕ].

Because this change, and especially the merger, appeared in low speech, we regard it as a low-speech phenomenon in our dichotomic presentation below. However, the feature diffused so rapidly that it never became an obvious class distinction.

3. The area

Today's Bergen Centre makes up the medieval city of Bergen and the adjacent Årstad area, which was incorporated into Bergen in 1915. Fana was mainly a rural and agricultural area for most of the 20th century. Fana and Bergen got a railway connection in 1875, and in the following decades, quite a few wealthy Bergeners moved to Fana and commuted to their work in town. This trend caused an increase in the population of Fana from 4000 in 1875 to 11 600 in 1920. Fana was included

in the municipality of Bergen in 1972. The trend of urban people settling in Fana has continued up to now, and much of the previous Fana has become urbanised, first Fana Centre and later Outer Fana ("Fana ytre"). Fana Centre, which is under study here, had no traces left of rural dialect in our 1978 recordings because the Bergen city dialect had already extended its geographical reach at that time.

Map. The eight parts of the Bergen municipality

4. The two projects

Two sociolinguistic projects have provided data for our comparisons below. The former, *Talemål hos ungdom i Bergen* (=TUB, Speech among young people in Bergen), was carried out in the period 1978–1983 with data collection during the academic year 1978–79. The latter, *Dialektendringsprosessar* (=DEP, Dialect change processes, http://folk.uib.no/hnohs/DEP/), started in 2009 and comprises several studies throughout Western Norway. Its Bergen data were collected in 2010–11. (Both projects were financed by the Norwegian Research Council.)

TUB made an extensive study of all eight parts of the Bergen municipality by interviewing 104 informants, cf. map above. DEP made recordings with 72 informants in three of the same parts. The two parts of focus in this article are Bergen Centre and Fana Centre. (The third area studied in DEP is Ytre Arna, which is characterised as still a fairly rural area.)

One of the methodological principles of both TUB and DEP was that the informants had to have been born in the same part of the town they represented, have lived there all or most of their lives, and have attended primary school there. In TUB, an additional condition was that their mothers had to have been born and have grown up within the boundaries of today's Bergen. These were stiff terms, and in some of the new urbanised parts of Bergen, it was difficult to find enough informants who met all of these requirements. However, this was not a problem in the two parts being studied here. TUB focused on adolescents of 14–15 years and interviewed adults only in Bergen Centre to establish a reference group for the traditional urban dialect. DEP, on the other hand, recorded informants of three age groups (15–16, 30–60 and >60) in all of its research areas.

These two projects were carried out with roughly one generation separating them. The young generation represented in TUB is now middle-aged, and in their case, we have therefore been able to incorporate the age-grading perspective in our study. However, our main investigation will follow an analysis of age groups based on the informants' birth years. Many of our results presented below were provided by assistants on the two projects (Johannessen, Myking and Ulland in TUB, Doublet and Nornes in DEP), who will be referred to; other results are generated directly from our corpus *Talebanken* for this article.

5. Main differences in 1978

In 1978, Bergen Centre and Fana Centre were the most urbanised parts of the Bergen municipality, as can be demonstrated in the scores of the urban high-speech forms in Table 1.

Table 1 shows how the traditional urban prestigious variants from Bergen Centre spread in accordance with the urbanisation process in the municipality. In most of these variables, the urban low speech shares a form with the original rural dialects. We observe that Bergen Centre and Fana Centre were on the same level and had the highest average frequency in most of the prestigious forms, whereas the two Arna areas were on the opposite end of the scale, i.e., the "rural end".

Bergen Centre and Fana Centre clearly diverged from the rest of the municipality, especially in the variables JEI, DERE, MDSEI, IKKE, interrogative words with *v*-, NOEN and DA. The results for the prestigious variants where both Bergen

Table 1. Percentages of prestigious variants. Adolescents of 14–15 y. in 1978

Prestigious variant	**JEI**	**DERE**	**MEI/ SEI**	**DEI/**	**IKKE**	**v-**	**MYE**	**NOEN**	**DA**	**NÅ**	**sj [s̱ç]**	**DEN**
Gloss	'I'	'you' (pl.)	'me', 'you', 'him-, her-, itself' (pers. pron. obj. form)		'not'	Interr. words with initial v-	'much'	'some'	'then'	'now'		'it' anaph.
Bergen C	7	22	23		18	22	85	59	40	11	62	26
Fana C	12	36	26		28	27	87	46	32	3	47	18
Åsane	3	12	8		5	17	92	42	28	8	51	10
Laksevåg	1	1	3		1	4	81	35	11	5	63	21
Fyllingsdalen	1	10	4		0	2	98	22	19	11	49	13
Ytre Fana	0	15	7		0	4	60	14	10	4	42	11
Ytre Arna	0	0	2		0	0	24	6	7	6	55	26
Indre Arna	0	18	3		0	0	48	18	7	14	62	11

(**Myking** 1983a: 60 and 1983c: 101.)

and Fana Centres had higher scores than the rest of the municipality are emphasised by the shading in Table 1.

As mentioned above, the old high-status form *meget* has become obsolete; by 1978, the new form *mye* was already the dominating form in almost the whole municipality, and Bergen and Fana centres did not actually have the highest scores. The same is true for the phonological retention of /sj/ (instead of [ʃ]). With respect to the modern urban form *noen*, the tendency was the same, but the development had not reached that far yet. The adverb NÅ demonstrated a rather confusing pattern. Altogether, the variables MYE, NÅ, ʃ and the anaphoric DEN did not show the obvious pattern of typical contrast between urban and rural communities.

To investigate whether these differences could be an effect of a difference in the distribution of social classes in the various parts of Bergen, we can present the percentages of the same variants broken down by social class across the parts of the town, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 convincingly demonstrates that the percentages in Table 1 are in some way an effect of the social distribution. With respect to social class, there was practically only one difference in the same variables, i.e., between social class 1 and the two other classes, cf. Table 2 below. This fact demonstrates how sociolectal distinctions pertained to these two parts of Bergen and not to the others. For the variables MYE, NÅ and the anaphoric DEN, these sociolectal differences are not that obvious and they seem not to be relevant for the change sj > ʃ (which in Table 2 is reflected in the retention of [s̱ç]). Moreover, we should notice that

among adolescents in 1978, there was a weak tendency for Fana Centre to score higher in high-speech variants than Bergen Centre, cf. the variables JEG, DERE, MDSEI, IKKE and interrogative words with *v-*.

Table 2. Percentages of prestigious variants broken down by social class across parts of town. (Adolescents of 14–15 y. in 1978)

Prestigious variant	**JEI**	**DERE**	**MEI/ DEI/ SEI**	**IKKE**	**v-**	**MYE**	**NOEN**	**DA**	**NÅ**	**sj [sç]**	**DEN**
Gloss	'I'	'you' (pl.)	'me', 'you', 'him-, her-, itself' (pers. pron. obj. form)	'not'	Interr. words with initial v-	'much'	'some'	'then'	'now'		'it' anaph.
1	8	35	19	20	24	85	45	31	10	54	20
2	1	5	7	2	3	65	26	14	8	56	16
3	1	7	5	1	5	69	24	15	6	55	14

(**Ulland** 1984a: 44; Ulland 1984b: 62; Johannessen 1983: 11f.; Myking 1983b: 54, 56; Ulland 1983: 64; Myking 1988: 28f.)

Interestingly, five informants from social class 1, three of the four from Bergen Centre and two of the four from Fana Centre, caused most of these differences because they had very high scores in the variables JEI, IKKE, DA, and NÅ. If these informants had been excluded from the data, there would have been no significant differences with respect to either parts of the town or social class in these variables. Thus, we see that the prestigious features among adolescents in 1978 were isolated to a very small group of people, to two parts of the town and to one social class (Myking 1983b: 101).

6. Changes over three generations

So far, we have referred to data only from adolescents in 1978. With data from both TUB and DEP, we are now able to demonstrate how the use of the various features changed from generation to generation. In the TUB data from Bergen Centre, there were recordings of elderly people born in 1908–09 who were interviewed in 1978. They were used as a reference group for documenting the traditional Bergen dialect, which historically was the dialect of the centre. These people represent age group I, but because there are no data from a corresponding group in Fana Centre, we ignore this group in this discussion and include only groups II–IV. Elderly people recorded in 2010 are group II, which is defined as people born in the three decades 1920–1949. Group III (1950–1979) includes both the

young informants of 1978 and the middle-aged informants in the 2010 recordings, and group IV is represented by the young informants from the 2010 recordings. (These informants were born in approximately 1995 and represent the youngest age group (1980–.)

The analysis of the parallel changes in Bergen Centre and Fana Centre over the three generations is shown in Tables 3–6 for our variables studied so far.

Table 3. Changes in the same direction in the two areas: Bergen Centre
(**Percentage** of prestigious variants) (Light shading indicates decrease, heavy shading increase)

Age group	MYE	æ:/-R (LÆRE)	NOEN	DA	IKKE	sj [s̱ç]	ç [ç]	DEN anaph.
II: 1920–1949	84	61	90	67	19	95	98	44
III: 1950–1979	85	65	71	42	8	82	74	32
IV: 1980–	100	100	88	57	32	18	6	27

(**Nornes** 2011: 83, 89; Doublet 2012: 93, 94, 96.)

Table 4. Changes in the same direction in the two areas: Fana Centre
(**Percentage** of prestigious variants) (Light shading indicates decrease, heavy shading increase)

Age group	MYE	æ:/-R (LÆRE)	NOEN	DA	IKKE	sj [s̱ç]	ç [ç]	DEN anaph.
II: 1920–1949	100	53	98	97	33	84	99	70
III: 1950–1979	99	90	86	43	28	62	79	53
IV: 1980–	100	100	100	66	43	20	2	50

The high-status variants of the four variables MYE, LÆRE, NOEN and DA were already the dominating forms in age group II, with percentages well above 50. This result means that these forms had "prevailed" in an early period of the 20th century and did so in both of the centres under study. Interestingly, the two variables MYE and NOEN were never characterised by a simple sociolinguistic dichotomy because the previous high-status forms were MEGET and NÅGEN, which, as noted above, disappeared early in the 20th century. The distributional pattern of using [e:] in front of *-r* was traditionally common to both high- and low-status varieties of Bergen and Fana, but the new distributional pattern of using the variant [æ] in the same position was already dominant in the first half of the 20th century.

The three variables, MYE, LÆRE, and NOEN, demonstrate a joint change in both Bergen and Fana centres that has been more or less accomplished today. The origin of the new forms could be the written standard language Bokmål in the cases of MYE and NOEN and both Bokmål and Nynorsk in the case of the LÆRE type. Thus, this result can be considered an instance of standardisation. However,

these changes are also supported by the fact that these features are a characteristic of many other Norwegian dialects, especially urban dialects and Central East Norwegian dialects (both urban and rural). (MYE and NOEN are in fact examples of early linguistic demotication in Bokmål.)

The most surprising variable in Tables 3 and 4 is the negator IKKE, which had a rather low score in both Bergen Centre and Fana Centre in 1978. Thus, the explanation used above does not apply to this variable. The studies of the 1978 data tell us that adolescents in Bergen and Fana Centres were rather homogenous with respect to language use. The majority used the low-status variant /içe/ in their language. One of our informants referred to the fact that in the 1970s, teenagers using the variant [ikə] ran a risk of being bullied by their classmates because of their language use. Today, there seems to be a greater acceptance of the variants, especially in Fana Centre, where the use of IKKE has increased 15% over 32 years. For Fana Centre, this change is part of a more general trend discussed below and demonstrated in Table 6, but in the Bergen case, the IKKE-variable deviates from the general trend of strengthening the traditional demotic forms. A tentative explanation might be that this is a specific instance where a frequent word has been removed from the list of candidates for exposure to the phonological merger of /ç/ and /ʃ/ into /ʃ/, and this has caused a linguistic preference for the prestigious variant IKKE. Such a tendency has also been reported from the West Norwegian towns Ålesund and Molde, where the merger of ç and ʃ was introduced two to three decades later (Rød 2014). However, this trend is not general in Norway, for instance not in Stavanger to the south of Bergen (Aasen 2011).

With respect to the phonological variables, we witness a considerable transition to the ʃ-pronunciation of both the previous /sj/ and the previous /ç/, which leads to a merger in /ʃ/. These two phonological variables follow the same patterns in both centres. To some extent, the anaphoric DEN also followed the same path in the two centres, i.e., a decrease in the use of the prestigious form. The change in these three variables contradicts the standardisation tendency demonstrated in Tables 3 and 4, and we shall therefore not stress this as an explanation. Likewise, the results of these variables contradict prestige as a potential explanatory factor. The decrease in the anaphoric DEN and the corresponding increase in HAN in the same function is a feature of rural Norwegian dialects.

Summing up the results thus far, Tables 3 and 4 demonstrate parallel and identical changes in the two centres, and this applies to four variables for which the "victorious" variants already had high scores in our oldest age group. Furthermore, we observe that for three variables (NOEN, DA, IKKE), age group III in both centres has a higher percentage of the low-status form than both the elderly informants (group II) and the younger ones (group IV), indicating that a new trend emerged after today's middle-aged informants. It is worthwhile to note that it is difficult to find a general and common external source and explanation for all

these changes, and thus, they illustrate a type of sovereignty of Bergen in choosing its own route of linguistic changes. (In contrast, changes elsewhere in Western Norway seem to generally have the regional centre as their source.)

Now, we turn to some variables that clearly demonstrate that the two centres took different routes in dialect changes, cf. Tables 5–6.

Table 5. Diverging tendencies. Bergen Centre
(**Percentages** of prestigious variants) (Light shading indicates decrease)

Age group	JEI[1]	DERE	MDSEI	Interr. w.	NÅ	HUN
II: 1920–1949	37	100	37	39	11	10
III: 1950–1979	0	50	6	17	21	22
IV: 1980–	0		2	17	10	0

(**Nornes** 2011: 81, 82, 85, 87, 88; Talebanken.)

Table 6. Diverging tendencies. Fana Centre
(**Percentages** of prestigious variants) (Heavy shading indicates increase)

Age group	JEI	DERE	MDSEI	Interr. w.	NÅ	HUN
II: 1920–1949	77	100	91	69	15[2]	49
III: 1950–1979	33	33	29	33	2	7
IV: 1980–	50	54	57	51	4	10

(**Doublet** 2012: 87, 89, 91, 92, 95, 96; Talebanken.)

Table 5 demonstrates the tendency in Bergen Centre that several high-status forms generally decreased in use from age group II to age group IV (the young informants). This tendency applies to JEI, DERE, MDSEI, interrogative words with *v*-, NÅ, and HUN in Table 5 and *sj* [s̲ç], ç [ç] and DEN in Table 3 above. The pronoun forms have almost disappeared, and even the interrogative words with *v*- and the anaphoric DEN have decreased considerably. Thus, the low-status forms EG, DÅKKAR, MDSEG, HON, HAN, the question words with *k*-, NO, the merger ʃ, and HON have become more and more a characteristic form of Bergen Centre. These words are grammatical words, and altogether, they represent frequent variants.

These results for Bergen Centre seem to be the normal tendency in Norwegian towns, as mentioned above, i.e., there has been a levelling between the sociolects in towns, and the new common variety is primarily based on the previous low-status variety.

1. The figures for this variable refer to stressed position only. (However, the results from unstressed position do not give a different pattern.)

2. The total for *nå* was 10,0% and for *nu* was 4.7%.

In Fana Centre, there was an opposite tendency: the use of JEI, DERE, MDSEI, HUN, NÅ and interrogative words with *v-* has increased over the last two generations (from age group III to age group IV). This result is a surprise in the Norwegian context because convergence and levelling are the normal tendencies in both municipalities and larger regions. From Table 6, it is obvious that this development of divergence is most typical of the last generation; age group III has lower scores than age groups II and IV.

One interpretation of this trend might be that generation II reacted differently to the situation of being recorded and therefore switched stylistically to more high-status forms. However, this does not seem to be a pattern for the informants of the same age in Bergen Centre, and therefore this explanation is less likely. Another interpretation might be that age group III was the avant-garde of the general destandardisation and demotication process that began in Norway in the early 1970s, which either hampered or reversed previous change tendencies. This latter interpretation gains support from the fact that it applies to both Bergen and Fana Centres, and the "leap" from age group II to III is considerable in both areas. Thus, what is particular for the Fana results is that age group IV again changes direction and no longer follows the trend in Bergen Centre, i.e., the centre of the municipality. We are witnessing a new local Fana tendency where the dialect diverges from the regional centre.

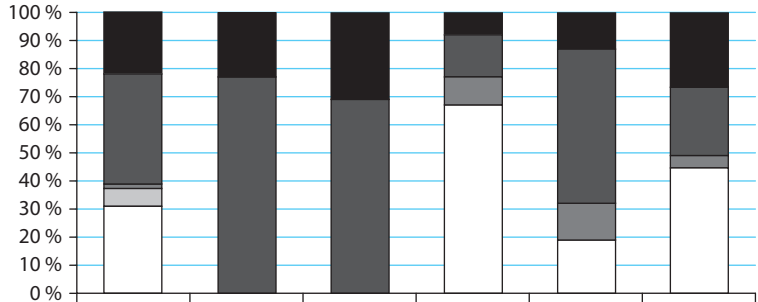
When our two centres accomplish these different tendencies, this will lead to a new geographic dialect boundary. In this case, the new boundary does not represent a lack of human and social contacts. On the contrary, commuting to the municipality centre is normal both for the sixth forms of comprehensive school and for grown-ups travelling to work. It is reasonable to believe that the high-status variants in Fana, in addition to having a social stamp of prestige, also function as markers of loyalty towards Fana Centre. How can this be? This question will be discussed in Sections 10 and 11.

7. Some innovations

In the TUB project, the first personal pronoun sg. showed three variants, the high-variant [jɛi], the low-variant [eg] and the new variant [e], which had not been described in previous dialect grammars and which Ulland (1984) in his TUB study argued is a new form emerging as a compromise form between *jei* and *eg*, especially for those who normally prefer the status form /jei/. This form had and has a particularly high frequency in the unstressed position, cf. Table 7. Interestingly, this variant did not increase substantially in use over the three decades. However, because the high-status variants /jei/ and /je/ have both disappeared in Bergen Centre, there is a chance that /e/ may have taken over their functions.

In the data from a follow-up study by Doublet in 2012, a fourth variant [ɛi] was discovered. This fourth variant seems to be another intermediate variant between the high speech [jɛi] and the low speech [eg], and it is a typical Fana phenomenon, possibly an effect of the users' motivation for resorting to a neutrality strategy towards the two varieties. In this case, it is those who normally prefer *eg* and *e* who now and then switch to the intermediate form, i.e., the opposite of what happened with *e* in Bergen Centre. If this is the case, this new fourth variant could indicate that there is still a social conflict between the variants.

Table 7. First person pronoun in stressed position



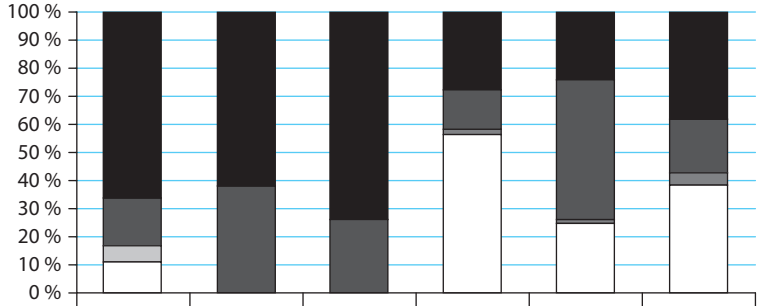
	Bergen Centre II: 1920–1949	Bergen Centre III: 1950–1979	Bergen Centre IV: 1980–2009	Fana Centre II: 1920–1949	Fana Centre III: 1950–1979	Fana Centre IV: 1980–2009
[e]	22	23	31	8	13	25
[eg]	39	77	69	15	55	22
[ɛi]	2	0	0	10	13	4
[je]	6	0	0	0	0	0
[jɛi]	31	0	0	67	19	42

(**Doublet** 2012: 88; Talebanken.)

The object forms of the personal pronouns in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person pronouns rhyme with the subject form of the 1st person pronoun, and consequently, there seems to be a parallel pattern in the fact that these object forms appear in forms both with and without the final *g*. This fact was noted already by Ulland (1984), and below in Table 9, it is demonstrated how there is a similar historical tendency in the first person pronoun. (The 2nd and 3rd show similar figures and are omitted here.)

As in the subject form, the new form /me:/ seems mostly to be a Bergen Centre phenomenon.

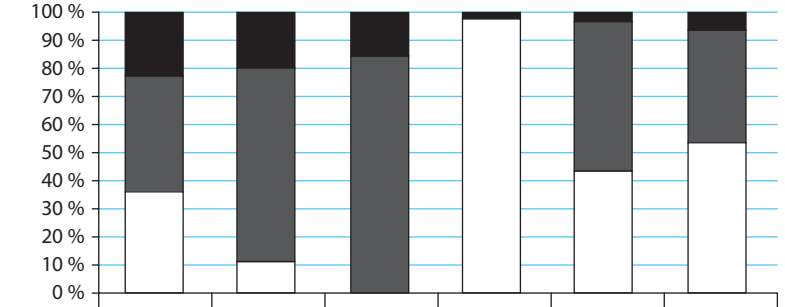
Table 8. First person pronoun in unstressed position



	Bergen Centre II: 1920–1949	Bergen Centre III: 1950–1979	Bergen Centre IV: 1980–2009	Fana Centre II: 1920–1949	Fana Centre III: 1950–1979	Fana Centre IV: 1980–2009
[e]	67	62	74	28	24	38
[eg]	17	38	26	14	50	18
[ɛi]	0	0	0	2	1	5
[je]	6	0	0	0	0	0
[jɛi]	11	0	0	57	25	38

(**Doublet** 2012: 87; Talebanken)

Table 9. 1st person pronoun sg. object form



	Bergen Centre II: 1920–1949	Bergen Centre III: 1950–1979	Bergen Centre IV: 1980–2009	Fana Centre II: 1920–1949	Fana Centre III: 1950–1979	Fana Centre IV: 1980–2009
[me:]	23	20	16	3	4	7
[me:g]	41	69	84	0	53	39
[mɛi]	36	11	0	97	43	54

(**Doublet** 2012: 90; Talebanken.)

8. Changes in real time and/or age grading

Age group III has been recorded twice (in trend samples), and it is therefore interesting to examine whether this group has retained its speech habits from 32 years ago or has, for instance, abandoned its own preferences from 1978 and picked up the speech variation pattern of the middle-aged in 1978, which we should expect if language norms imposed an age-grading pattern on the language users. This question of age grading can in fact not be fully clarified here because we do not have recordings from middle-aged people in 1978; however, our results may give us some indications. In Table 10, we show some typical results from our variables.

Table 10. Age group III recorded as young and as middle-aged informants

	Bergen Centre					Fana Centre				
	IKKE	JEI	MEI	DERE	v-	IKKE	JEI	MEI	DERE	v-
1978	32	15	18	0	64	35	36	29	22	22
2010	0	0	3	27	10	28	25	43	33	33

These results demonstrate that age group III in 2010 has a tendency to follow suit with the next age group, i.e., with the general changes that we have described above. In Bergen Centre, this tendency appears in the variables JEI, MEI and interrogative words with *v*-, and in Fana in the variables MEI, DERE and interrogative words with *v*- (cf. shading in the Table). However, there are contradictory results that prevent us from generalising this pattern into a conclusion. Moreover, the new pattern of group III in 2010 does not correspond convincingly with the pattern demonstrated by age group II (in 1978), and a very oscillating variation pattern (back and forth) throughout one's life time does not seem likely. Therefore, our conclusion is that age group III barely demonstrates an age-grading pattern. Our results also do not indicate a typical generational change but rather a total change in speech patterns in the community.

9. Social distribution

Are males or females the avant-garde for the observed changes? This question is examined in some of our variables in Table 11.

Because these groups are relatively small, it is of course difficult to conclude anything essential from the data. In age groups II and III, and IV in Fana Centre, these results give us a rather normal gender pattern for urban societies, where women tend to use more high-status forms than men. The figures in age group IV

Table 11. Gender and linguistic changes

Age group		Bergen Centre			Fana Centre		
		IKKE	MEI	v-	IKKE	MEI	v-
II	M	0	3	3	28	100	69
II	F	49	79	76	38	94	69
III	M	9	5	22	0	25	5
III	F	0	0	2	49	51	54
IV	M	73	0	33	28	35	46
IV	F	0	0	0	57	77	57

(Talebanken)

in Bergen Centre are, in contrast, problematic. In any event, in our context, these results do not have any explanatory power because the changes in the two centres take different routes (as for MEI and interrogatives with *v*-), whereas the gender pattern is the same in the two centres. Otherwise we can note that both genders in age group IV take part in the increasing use of prestige forms in Fana Centre (compared to group III).

A last examination of a social pattern behind our findings concerns social groups. The informants were categorised into groups in accordance with their type of job and education level. The young informants were classified in accordance with their fathers' occupation. However, because of lack of information about this, we had to exclude three of the younger informants in Fana Centre from the database for Table 12.

Table 12. Social groups and linguistic changes

Age group	Social group	Bergen Centre			Fana Centre		
		IKKE	MEI	v-	IKKE	MEI	v-
II	1	1	5	5	21	100	65
II	3	38	52	47	39	96	70
III	1	0	0	0	49	50	50
III	2	15	10	47	0	50	6
III	3	0	0	1	0	6	20
IV	1	0	0	0	0	8	6
IV	2	41	0	25	66	57	67
IV	3	0	0	0	50	60	53

(Talebanken)

Age group III is the only one that shows a traditional pattern of linguistic distribution, in which social group 1 scores the highest. Whether the results in Table 12 represent the true variation pattern of the two centres or not, we cannot conclude anything from them about the different routes of the changes in Fana and Bergen.

So far, our data about social background have not indicated any external explanation for the divergence of change patterns in the two centres. For a further line of reasoning, we shall therefore take into consideration whether the two centres should be regarded as two different language communities. W. Labov (1972) defines a language community as a group of individuals who have a set of shared norms and a collective understanding of them. A pattern of social variation is an aspect of these norms. However, from Tables 11 and 12, internal patterns of social variation in the centres do not seem to explain the linguistic variation differences that emerged between them, and therefore it is worth examining whether the two centres differ as two local communities. This would mean that the linguistic markers of each of the local communities are more important for the individual than the markers of social class. Neighbourhood is then more important to social groupings, to identity feeling and to the individual's belonging to a social group.

As indicated in Section 3, there is a long historical tradition of a skewed social distribution in the recruitment of incomers to Fana Centre because Fana is the area where educated and prosperous inhabitants settle. This societal characteristic is not intercepted in the traditional model of internal class structure, in which the proportion of each social class in the population is not taken into account. Therefore, in Sections 10 and 11 below, we will investigate whether the two centres, as two different societies, show external language differences that can help us understand the linguistic changes.

10. Language attitudes in the two areas

The last project, DEP, also comprised a new extensive source of data regarding people`s attitudes towards different varieties of Norwegian in which the proportion of each social class in the population was not taken into account. Our model for this investigation is taken from Lanchart in Denmark (http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/), where data are collected on two levels of consciousness. The Danish hypothesis, which has been supported in studies from all over the country, is that there is a link between subconscious attitudes and the changes in language use, and that language change is governed by subconscious values (Kristiansen 2009). The modern variant spoken in the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen, influences all other dialects. We have reasons to think that this is not the situation in Western Norway. We wanted to test this hypothesis and to examine whether this approach to attitudinal studies would give us any pattern. Therefore, we collected data on subconsciously expressed attitudes in a verbal guise test and two data sets on conscious attitudes: one set on aesthetic evaluation and another on evaluation of social status. The latter tests were carried out by using a questionnaire, whereas the design of the verbal guise was to play back snippets from recordings of 15 female

informants and to let respondents evaluate each using eight scales rating personal qualities. While evaluating these informants the respondents were ignorant of the purpose of the test (therefore 'subconscious attitudes').

Data from both adults and pupils between 14 and 16 years old are included. In the total municipality of Bergen, we visited 19 different schools, groups and organisations, and the number of respondents was 274 adults and 283 pupils.

In all tables below, only respondents from Fana Centre and Bergen Centre, and from there only those who were able to complete the entire test, are included. None of these guessed that the "verbal guise" that they took part in was about the evaluation of different dialects or attitudes towards dialects. We had two different sets of dialects, each presented to one-half of the test group, one set with two "Stril" varieties[3] and one with two East Norwegian varieties. The results from these two verbal guise tests must be presented in separate tables.

Table 13. Subconscious "Verbal guise" test for Fana and Bergen Centres with the "Stril" set played. Average scores

(Significans[4] tested by Friedman Test and Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test)
(Light shading: urban voices. Heavy shading: rural voices. No shading: East-Norwegian voices.)

	Adults Bergen Centre (N = 9)	**Pupils Bergen Centre (N = 55)**	**Adults Fana Centre (N = 12)**	**Pupils Fana Centre (N = 39)**
1	Stril older: 3,89	East: 3,85	Bg low: 3,92	East: 3,87
2	East: 3,17	Bg high 3,75	East: 3,67	Bg high: 3,79 **
3	Bg high: 3,11	Bg low: 3,34 ***	Bg high: 3,29 *	Bg low: 3,05 *
4	Bg low: 2,50	Stril younger: 2,11	Stril younger: 2,29	Stril younger: 2,41*
5	Stril younger: 2,33	Stril older: 1,95	Stril older: 1,83	Stril older: 1,87

The results from subconscious test in Table 13 show us that among the pupils, the East Norwegian variety typically spoken in the capital, Oslo, most often predominates, closely followed by the variety typically spoken in Fana. At the bottom, we always find a rural variety spoken outside Bergen, what we call "Stril".

We see the same pattern for both of the young groups. This pattern is not equally strong among the adults, but "Stril" here also dominates the bottom level. All the same, the lack of consistency between the pupils' pattern and the adults' pattern, especially in the adult group from Bergen Centre where the older "Stril"

3. "Stril" is a traditional and negative term for a person from the coastal area around Bergen.

4. The asterisks behind some of the average scores show that there was a significant difference between the actual score and the one in the first cell below – at one of these levels: *** ≤ 0,001, ** ≤ 0,01 and * ≤ 0,05.

surprisingly predominates, may be explained by the relatively small population of adults. In terms of significance, there does not seem to be a consistent pattern, but there was often a significant difference between one of the Bergen varieties and "Stril". According to the Danish results, these results, i.e., these attitudes, should have caused the spreading of East Norwegian forms or high forms of the Bergen dialect among the teenagers both for Bergen Centre and for Fana Centre.

Table 14. Subconscious "Verbal guise" test for Fana and Bergen Centres with the "East Norwegian" set played. Average scores
(**Friedman** Test and Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test)

	Adults Bergen Centre (N = 10)	**Pupils Bergen Centre (N = 43)**	**Adults Fana Centre (N = 11)**	**Pupils Fana Centre (N = 53)**
1	East low: 4,30	Bg high: 3,56	Bg high 3,64	East low: 3,79
2	Bg low: 3,80 *	East low: 3,47 *	Bg low: 3,59	Bg high: 3,56 *
3	Bg high: 2,90	East high: 3,01	East low: 3,50	Bg low: 3,11 *
4	Stril: 2,0 East high: 2,0	Bg low: 2,70 *	East high: 2,23	East high: 2,48
5		Stril: 2,27	Stril: 2,05	Stril: 2,06

The point of the East Norwegian set was to differentiate between a low and a high variety, and in this set, the two varieties of "Stril" were reduced to one. In Table 14, we see that the low variety always scored higher than the high variety. In all groups, except among the group of pupils from Bergen Centre, the two Bergen varieties also ranked higher than the high East Norwegian variety. In none of the groups did there seem to be any significant difference between the East Norwegian low and the highest-rated Bergen variety. The "Stril" variety, on which old and young did not differ, always scored the lowest.

Neither Table 13 nor Table 14 gives us any reason to conclude that subconscious attitudes towards different varieties of the Bergen and East Norwegian dialects vary systematically between Fana Centre and Bergen Centre. Most often the "high" variety was ranked higher than the low variety for the Bergen dialect (Table 14) and the other way around for East Norwegian (Table 13). This was most evident among the pupils.

Kristiansen (2009) concluded that Copenhagen is the only norm centre in Denmark and he argues that the positive subconscious evaluation of the language of the capital is the driving force for changes in spoken language. Our results from subconscious evaluations from the pupils in Bergen, however, leaves open whether East Norwegian (= Oslo region) or the high status area of Bergen should be seen as the potentially influencing norm centre. Both Bergen high speech and East Norwegian are ranged on top and there is no significant difference between them.

Table 15. Conscious aesthetic dimension test for Fana and Bergen Centres. Average scores

(**Friedman** Test and Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test)

	Adults Bergen Centre (N = 26)	**Pupils Bergen Centre (N = 110)**	**Adults Fana Centre (N = 27)**	**Pupils Fana Centre (N = 109)**
1	Bergen: 1,98 *	Bergen: 1,94 ***	Fana: 1,63 *	Fana: 1,94 ***
2	Fana: 2,58 ***	Fana: 3,43	Bergen: 2,33 *	Bergen: 2,67 ***
3	Stril/Arna: 3,87	Stril/Arna: 3,64	East Norw./ Frogner: 3,78	East Norw./ Frogner: 3,86
4	East Norw./ Frogner: 4,06	East Norw./ Frogner: 3,88	Stril/Arna: 4,00	Stril/Arna: 4,06
5	Stril/Sotra: 4,17	Stril/Sotra: 3,93	Stril/Sotra: 4,43	Stril/Sotra: 4,16
6	East Norw./ Drammen: 4,35	East Norw./ Drammen: 4,19	East Norw./ Drammen: 4,83	East Norw./ Drammen: 4,32

The results from the conscious test on aesthetic evaluation in Table 15, on the contrary, evoked the same main pattern as in Denmark, namely that when we asked people directly about which dialect they found the nicest, they always rated their own the highest. This was so for both pupils and adults. However, we here see a clear difference in the evaluation of the dialects in the two centres, and in all cases it was significant. In this test, the East Norwegian varieties, especially the lower variety, Drammen, tended to be ranked the lowest. The dialect spoken in Arna, which represents a rural part of Bergen and therefore is considered younger "Stril", tended to rank in the middle. Both the adults and the pupils in Bergen Centre tended to like the dialect in Arna better than they did the higher variety of East Norwegian, but this was not so in Fana. The main pattern was, moreover, the same for both parts of Bergen and for both adults and pupils. The only distinctions that showed significance were between the higher ranking of either Bergen or Fana and between either of these and the other dialects.

When both young people and adults were asked to rank dialects with respect to what people in general would regard as prestigious in Norway, they unanimously scored the "East high" variety, represented by Frogner, the highest. The difference between this score and the next highest-rated dialect was significant. Similarly, both of the two "Stril" varieties were always ranked the lowest, and the difference between the other dialects and "Stril" was always significant. There did not seem to be a completely stable pattern for the other dialects and varieties but rather more of a competition between the two varieties of Bergen and the lower variety of East Norwegian for the second position.

Table 16. Conscious status dimension test for Fana and Bergen Centres. Average scores (**Friedman** Test and Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test)

	Adults Bergen Centre (N = 26)	**Pupils Bergen Centre (N = 111)**	**Adults Fana Centre (N = 27)**	**Pupils Fana Centre (N = 112)**
1	Norw./ Frogner: 1,52 **	East Norw./ Frogner: 1,80 ***	East Norw./ Frogner: 1,85 *	East Norw./ Frogner: 2,22 ***
2	East Norw./ Drammen: 3,00	Bergen: 3,16	Fana: 2,74	Bergen: 3,02
3	Fana: 3,37	East Norw./ Drammen: 3,23 **	Bergen: 3,20	Fana: 3,08 *
4	Bergen: 3,88 *	Fana: 3,82 ***	East Norw./ Drammen: 3,50 *	East Norw./ Drammen: 3,58 ***
5	Stril/Arna: 4,46	Stril/Arna: 4,40	Stril/Arna: 4,57 *	Stril/Arna: 4,48
6	Stril/Sotra: 4,77	Stril/Sotra: 4,59	Stril/Sotra: 5,13	Stril/Sotra: 4,61

11. Societal development in the two areas

Are there any societal differences between Bergen Centre and Fana Centre?

This is an interesting question that may explain our linguistic results. We have no reliable statistics from the older period, but we do have a report, "Living conditions and health", (Bergen kommune 2011), that can tell us about the relative situations in the two parts of Bergen at the time of our last step of data collection.

Table 17. Population, median gross income, median property, and the social index in Fana Centre and the centre of Bergen

	Population (1.01.2011)	**Median gross income 2011**	**Median property 2011**	**Social index (low value is socially "highest")**
Fana Centre	18 408	348 900 NOK	703 769 NOK	5,52
Bergen Centre	37 249	331 957 NOK	498 980 NOK	7,03
Mean for all areas in the municipality of Bergen		327 200 NOK		6,51

As seen in Table 17 above, Bergen Centre is twice as populated as Fana Centre. The median gross income is a bit higher in Fana compared with that in the centre of Bergen, whereas the median property demonstrates a considerable difference. In all of Bergen, the local zone with the highest median gross income is Fjellsiden South, with 392,100 NOK, whilst the local zone Solheim North has

the lowest income with 258,400 NOK.[5] Both centres of the Bergen municipality are therefore on the higher end of the scale and above the mean score for the whole municipality. The social index scores are based on ten different aspects of social conditions. These are:

1. *Child poverty*, indicating children who live in a family earning below the median income for families in Bergen.
2. *Social assistance to the young*
3. *Child welfare cases*
4. *Children moving*
5. *Low education*
6. *Disability*
7. *Municipal allocated housing*
8. *Crime*
9. *Absence because of illness*
10. *Mortality*

On eight of the ten aspects, the mean scores are higher among the citizens in the centre of Bergen than among the citizens of Fana Centre. The two exceptions are disability and absence because of illness. Bergen Centre has a higher mean score than the mean score for the municipality, whilst Fana Centre has a lower mean score than that of the municipality. This result indicates that there is a societal difference between the two parts of Bergen and that the societal situation of these social conditions is better in Fana Centre than it is in the centre of Bergen. Additional data on, e.g., unemployment would strengthen this impression of two socially different societies.

12. Conclusion

From our sociolinguistic recordings of 2010, we see that in some linguistic features, the two centres under study changed in the same direction, a situation we consider to be normal for two neighbouring areas with intense contact. However, in other features, these centres demonstrate diverging trends: Bergen Centre continued the tendency from the 1970s of strengthening the low-status forms, whereas Fana Centre reversed the tendency from the 1970s and followed the opposite trend of preferring high-status forms (cf. Section 6). Although these two areas of the municipality of Bergen were very similar linguistically in the

5. Both Fjellsiden South and Solheim North are local zones within the area of Bergen Centre.

database from 1978 (cf. the TUB project and Section 5), there is an evident difference between the two areas in our database from 2010.

This is a noteworthy and rare result, which we have tried to understand. So far, it seems as if it is an effect of a long historical period during which Fana Centre attracted people from the economically best-situated strata in Bergen Centre, and it is demonstrable that there is a societal difference between the two areas with respect to the present status of both wealth and living circumstances, cf. Section 11. Thus, this has been a process where social segregation in social classes within each of the two centres has changed to a geographical divergence ending in a dialect split. The deviating linguistic course of Fana seems to correlate with a social distinction and represent a social 'naboopposisjon'. Probably, the social conflict implied in the social content of the sociolinguistic variants has given rise to some linguistic innovations, cf. Section 7. Interestingly, this dialect split since the 1970s corresponds to the stereotypical comprehension among people especially in Bergen Centre.

For a broader understanding of the dialect situation, it is useful to know that the Bergen dialect expands its "territory" in areas close to the city especially where newcomers from Bergen settle in what were previously rural hamlets and form the dominating majority of inhabitants. In these cases the traditional local rural dialect has in some cases disappeared totally. In other hamlets or neighbourhoods where the proportion of newcomers is more moderate, there is also some influence from Bergen on the traditional dialect, in addition to some cases of structural simplifications. It should be noted that in cases where it is possible to differentiate between the two Bergen varieties the expanding feature originates in the low speech in Bergen.

In a study of the municipality of Øygarden, for instance, where 40% of the population are newcomers from Bergen over the last three decades, Villanger (2010) shows a surprisingly low influence rate, but there is a tendency of merging the masculine and feminine genders, of using the infinitival suffix -e instead of -a, and in the present tense of weak verbs the Bergen suffix -aʁ reaches a percentage of 15 among young people, whereas the traditional suffix -a has also 15. The suffix -aʁ is the low speech feature from Bergen Centre. The high speech -eʁ does not show up in the Øygarden data. On the other hand, the dominating force in this variable is a grammatical simplification, as the merger suffix -e reaches 70% and seems to take over as the only present suffix in Øygarden as in other rural areas in south-western Norway. In the municipality of Sund to the southwest of Bergen, Revheim (1997) has found the same to be true in one of the two hamlets (Klokkarvik), and here the present tense suffix -aʁ has gained 50%. Birkeland (2008) has found the same tendencies in Meland to the north of Bergen. As discussed in a systematic comparison of studies in western Norway in

Sandøy (2013), among several alleged possible sources of influence, the Bergen dialect turns out to be the only source forming a consistent pattern across the many linguistic variables. There are no results that represent an obvious indication that the national capital of Oslo has any influence in Western Norway.

The only exception, as discussed above, is Fana Centre where the tendencies and driving forces can be different, as there is an increase in the use of the prestigious variant in several variables and, thereby, the linguistic correspondences with the Oslo high speech are strengthened (cf. JEI, DERE, MDSEI, interrogatives on *v-*, NÅ and HUN), but on the other hand, even Fana shows the same local changes as the rest of the region, such as /ç/ > /ʃ/ and the retention of HAN as an anaphoric determinant.

Subconsciously both East Norwegian (= the Oslo dialect) and the Bergen high speech are ranged on top among youngsters in Bergen and could therefore be possible norm centres (cf. Section 10). This could be relevant for the interpretation of the changes in Fana Centre; however, it fails to explain the changes in Bergen Centre. Regarding the rest of our attitude data from the Western part of Norway, the patterns of subconscious attitudes vary very much, a fact that indicates that the picture is more complex than in Denmark. In general, subconscious attitudes seem not to represent a general explanation to linguistic changes in Western Norway.

However, there are still many open questions that must be analysed, i.e., that we have to obtain relevant and solid data about, e.g., whether the social composition of the two areas developed in different directions over the same period (from the 1970s) and whether certain aspects of social contact changed over these decades. A great challenge in such a historical sociolinguistic analysis is to provide relevant and valid statistical data on social patterns that can be compared for the two areas.

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Talebanken = a sociolinguistic data corpus, cf. Helge Sandøy: *Talebanken* ved LLE, UiB. Ei orientering. (http://folk.uib.no/hnohs/DEP/Om_TB.pdf)
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