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Grammatical variables in the LANCHART project

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Foreword

This report documents the current stage of the grammatical part of the LANCHART project. At this point, data from the Odder (Eastern Jutland)- and Næstved (Southern Zealand)-areas are being analyzed as described below, but the results are not ready for presentation in this report. Instead, preliminary results from these studies will be presented at the meeting.

Table of contents

1 Selection of variables and procedure of analysis	2
2 Pronouns with generic reference.....	4
2.1 Analysis.....	5
2.1.1 Discourse function	5
2.1.2 Clause type.....	7
2.1.3 Reference	9
3 Pronouns used reflexively	11
3.1 Analysis.....	13
3.1.1 Use	13
3.1.2 Domain of reflexivity.....	14
3.1.3 Type of co-referent.....	17
References.....	20

1 Selection of variables and procedure of analysis

The *conditio sine qua non* of the grammatical part of the LANCHART project is to identify grammatical forms which are parts of sociolinguistics variables, i.e. forms which can be considered semantically equivalent and the choice of which is socially indexical. Furthermore, the ratio of the variants of these variables should be likely to change over the decades which separate the first and second recordings of the informants. AND the tokens of the variables should be frequent enough in the corpus to enable statistical analyses. Ideally, the variables should be possible to define exhaustively as closed sets of variants, so that not only occurrences of a given variant are counted but also the non-occurrences of the variant in the relevant circumstances. As regards the latter, the envelope of variation should be defined so that linguistic contexts which do not allow variation are eliminated from the analysis (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 169 ff.). Not at all an easy enterprise to engage in...

As the tokens of grammatical variables are usually rather infrequent, they are hard to identify by mere observation of the language use in the corpus. We are therefore more or less left to find candidate variables by studying existing descriptions of Danish and following hunches of colleagues and participants in the public debate about the recent changes (most often: *decline*) of the Mother Tongue. It is then up to the following analyses to prove whether Danish, or, rather, some varieties of Danish represented in the corpus, has actually changed during the time period with regards to the variable concerned.

In the study of grammatical variables, two topics have been chosen for the first stage of the project: the reflexive system of third person pronouns and “generic” pronouns. The reason for choosing pronouns as the first variables to be included in the study is primarily practical. The words in the corpus have not yet been tagged with PoS-information, and automatic localization of clause- or phrase-structures is therefore not possible as yet. Pronouns have thus been obvious candidates as variables as they can be localized easily and exhaustively by searching for a limited number of character strings. In most of cases, there are only few homographs and they are all very infrequent in the corpus, so they can be manually sorted out with a minimal workload.

All occurrences of character strings which may instantiate the pronouns included in the study are electronically marked in the corpus (by inserting an interval in the “grammar”-tier in the Praat-file aligned with the interval containing the character string in the “orthography”-tier). These occurrences are afterwards manually categorized according to the semantic and syntactic variables de-

scribed below, and the categorizations are stored by adding an electronic label to the token (i.e. to the interval in the grammar-tier). In the cases where the marked character string represents not a pronoun but a homograph, the marking is manually deleted. In the cases where the pronoun occurs in a non-completed construction i.e. a “clause” which is interrupted before an interpretable intentional meaning has been expressed, the token is marked as “non-completed”. Likewise, in the cases where the same pronoun is repeated within the same construction, all the occurrences except for the last one are marked as “non-completed”. About ten percent of the occurrences in the corpus of the relevant pronouns are categorized as “non-completed” for these reasons. These occurrences are not included in the quantitative study.

The actual categorization and coding of the pronouns occurring in the corpus is carried out by the student-assistants Liva Hyttel-Sørensen, Peter Juul Nielsen, Gertrud Linkis and Christine Mikkelsen under supervision of post doc Torben Juel Jensen. For the time being, the pronouns in each conversation are coded by one analyst only, but ambiguous cases and considerations of principle for the categorization are discussed in plenum at group meetings.

2 Pronouns with generic reference

In modern Danish, *man* is the main pronoun used for referring to a generic referent, i.e. a group of people not further defined (in some cases possibly anybody) which may include the speaker. In the recent decades however, the second person singular pronoun *du* has apparently gained ground, arguably under influence of English. It has been adduced that this use of *du* is actually old in Danish, and that *du* has been used in this way for centuries by “preachers, moralists and orators” as an appeal to the listeners, though it has certainly become more frequent in the recent decades (Elbro & Hansen 1993). However, most scholars (and debaters) seem to agree that it really is a recent development in the use of *du* which starts around 1970, and the newly published scholarly dictionary of modern Danish from 1950 onwards, “Den Danske Ordbog”, states that the use of *du* to “refer to a not further defined person in general” is documented only from 1973 onwards (Hjorth & Kristensen 2003). This ongoing change in the use of the second person pronoun in Danish, which seems to be parallel to recent developments in other languages including Canadian French (Laberge & Sankoff 1980), has never been studied empirically until the present project.

The sociolinguistic variable “pronoun with generic reference” includes all Danish pronouns used to refer to an undefined person or group of persons in general. The most frequent variants of this variable are in modern Danish undoubtedly *man* and *you*, but Danish also has the generic pronoun *en* (one), and both the third person singular pronoun *den* (it) and the first person plural *vi* can be used with generic meaning, especially in Jutland and Funen dialects respectively (Pedersen & Nyberg 1984). The pronouns *en*, *den* and *vi* are not included in the study so far. As regards *en* and *den* the reason is that the character strings *en* and *den* in the majority of cases does not represent pronouns but indefinite and definite articles respectively. The inclusion of these pronouns thus awaits the grammatical tagging of the corpus. We expect the pronoun *en* and the generic use of the pronoun *den* to be very infrequent. As regards the pronoun *vi*, the generic use is characteristic of the Funen dialect area whereas it is very rare or very indistinct in most (other) varieties of Danish. The possible inclusion of *vi* in the study thus awaits the analysis of the Vissenbjerg data.

The main hypothesis of the present study is that the *du/man* ratio changes from the first to the second recording of the informants with *du* gaining ground at the expense of *man*. To all appearances, the tendency to use *du* with generic reference is new in Danish, and we therefore expect the ratio of *du* to be highest in the Copenhagen data, as the change is likely to originate in the metropolitan area, and in the speech of the younger informants.

2.1 Analysis

All occurrences of the pronouns *du* and *man* (nominative, non-genitive form) functioning as subjects are categorized and subsequently electronically coded according to *discourse function*. The tokens occurring in generalizations, i.e. the tokens with generic reference, are in addition categorized according to *clause type* and *reference*.

2.1.1 Discourse function

1. Non-generalizing

Occurrences in which the pronoun *only* refers to the speaker or the addressee:

vil *du* have noget mere kaffe eller vil *du* have en pilsner
will you have some more coffee or will you have a lager

“would *you* like some more coffee or would *you* like a lager”

må *man* spørge hvor gammel du er
may one ask how old you are

”may *I* ask you how old you are”

2. Generalizing

Occurrences in which the pronoun refers to a *group of people not further defined* (in some cases possibly anybody), i.e. not *just* the speaker, the addressee or some specific third party.

The generalizing use is subcategorized into two types: “generalization of a situation” and “formulation of truisms and morals”, heavily inspired by Laberge & Sankoff 1980. All occurrences with general reference which do not partake in formulation of truisms and morals (see below) are categorized as “generalization of a situation”.

In Canadian French, formulation of truisms and morals favour the use of *on* instead of *tu/vous*, according to Laberge & Sankoff because they are “at a greater remove from the running discourse, more metalinguistic in functioning as considered, ‘official’ pronouncements” therefore favouring the retention of *on* as the older and more “formal” variant (Laberge & Sankoff 1980). As *man* is without doubt the conservative and maybe also the more formal variant of the *du/man*-variable in Danish, the derived hypothesis for Danish is that truisms and morals favour the use of *man* instead of *du*.

2A. Generalization of a situation

The pronoun occurs in a clause in which a generic person is inserted into a potentially repeatable activity or context, thereby generalizing over experiences or elevating a judgement or an opinion to apply not only to a specific case but to a range of similar cases - to anybody *in like circumstances*.

These clauses often function as expressions of the speaker's experience of reoccurring events in the past:

jeg har aldrig # gået så meget i byen i Odder ø:h da man gik
I have never # went so much in town in Odder uh when you/one went
på handelsskole så gik man til handelsskolefester # og så: øh
on commercial-school then went you/one to commercial-school-parties # and then uh
jamen vi tog egentlig tit til Århus
well we went actually often to Århus

"I never # went out very much in Odder uh when you went to commercial school then you went to parties at the commercial school # and then uh well we often went to Århus really"

or as expressions of experiences or conditions which according to the speaker apply to everybody, or to a group of people not further defined:

og så er der også et problem at det trænger til en ny omgang # men det
and then is there also a problem that it needs to a new round # but it
er laboratoriebejdse # og det kan du simpelthen ikke få mere
is laboratory-stain # and that can you/one simply not get anymore

"and then there's this problem that it [the kitchen table] needs a new coat of stain # but it's laboratory stain [industrial quality] and you simply can't get that anymore"

jeg er selv idrætslærer også ikke og selvom det er en folkeskole
I am myself sports-master too right and even-though it is a primary-school
ikke men på et tidspunkt så bliver man altså dødhamrende
right but on a point-of-time then become you/one really dead(impossible to translate)
træt af at undervise i idræt # fordi det gider man jo ikke blive
tired of to teach in sports because that bother you/one as-you-know not stay
ved med vel
on with do-you

"I'm a sports master myself right and even though it's a primary school right but at some time you get fed up teaching sports because you really don't want to keep on doing that, do you"

Another function is to express normative statements, regarding either events or situations in the external world:

man burde sætte nogle tiltag i værk for at # brande
you/one ought-to launch some initiatives in doing in-order to # brand
dialekterne lidt bedre
the-dialects a-little better

"you ought to launch some initiatives in order to brand the dialects a little better"

or regarding the execution of a speech act or the use of a linguistic expression:

og man kan sige min cand ling merc den er jo
and you/one can say my MA-in-commercial-linguistics it is as-you-know

heller ikke øh jeg har ikke brugt det franske til andet end øh og
either not uh I have not used the French to other than uh to

tage til Frankrig på ferie
take to France on holiday

”and you could say that my MA degree in commercial linguistics well it isn’t uh I haven’t used my French for anything other than going to France for the holidays”

2B. Formulation of truisms and morals

The pronoun occurs in a clause in which the speaker expresses a reflection with allegedly universal validity based on “conventional wisdom”, including sayings and proverbs. These reflections function to *evaluate or demonstrate the point of something else*, i.e. something mentioned or hinted at in the preceding discourse:

sidste år tog jeg på højskole fra januar til marts måned ikke #
last year went I on folk-high-school from January to March month right #

for at foretage mig bare et eller andet fornuftigt ikke # du synker
in-order to do me just something or other sensible right # you/one slump

jo sammen hvis du går hjemme
as-you-know down if you/one go at-home

“last year I went to folk high school from January to March just in order to do something sensible right # you slump down if you spend your time at home”

altså jeg kan huske den gamle teori # man skal ikke gå i
like I can remember the old theory # you/one shall not go in

seng med en fyr uden man er vildt forelsket i ham # det
bed with a guy without you/one is wildly in-love in him # that

havde jeg også i gamle dage
had I too in old days

”I remember the old theory that you shouldn’t go to bed with a guy if you aren’t deeply in love with him # I felt so too in the old days”

2.1.2 Clause type

To examine whether the syntactic factors, which according to Laberge & Sankoff (1980) influence the choice of pronouns in Canadian French too, have significance in Danish grammar, pronouns in two grammatical environments are marked: Pronouns in *conditional constructions* and pronouns in *projected clauses*.

According to Laberge & Sankoff “implicative constructions” and “propositions headed by a presentative construction” are in themselves indicators of generality. As regards “implicatives” (conditional constructions), because of their “hypothetical nature” they “work to diminish the possibility of ambiguity with the second person referent when *tu* (or *vous*) is used” thus favouring the

use of *tu/vous* instead of *on*. An obvious hypothesis is that this is also the case in Danish: A conditional construction is a favourable environment for *du* because the risk of the addressee misinterpreting the pronoun as referring to her is minimized.

The “presentatives”, on the other hand, favour the use of *on* in Canadian French, according to Laberge & Sankoff because of their “metalinguistic nature”:

“the metalinguistic framing that these utterances accomplish often signals a distance the speaker is adopting with respect to his or her views, thus dissociating the speaker from the referent of the subject of the sentence. The possibility of ambiguity between indefinite *on* and first person plural *on* is therefore diminished, leading us to expect the *on* variant to be numerous in this class” (Laberge & Sankoff 1980)

In Danish there is a possibility of ambiguity between a generic reading of *man* and first person *singular* reference which to some extent may be parallelized with the French generic/first person ambiguity of *on*. Thus, the hypothesis is that a proposition (clause) headed by a “presentative construction” is a favourable environment for *man* because the risk of the addressee misinterpreting the pronoun as referring to the speaker is lesser.

Laberge & Sankoff define a presentative construction as a message form which works “to put interlocutors on notice that what is coming next is a generally admitted truth, or a personal opinion that speakers hope are shared, if not universally, at least by their interlocutors” (Laberge & Sankoff 1980). In the present study, though, the concept *projection* from systemic functional grammar has been chosen instead of “presentation”, primarily because it, in our opinion, is a more precisely defined concept and thus easier to apply in the analysis. The category of “projected clauses” includes all kinds of “propositions headed by a presentative construction” but it is broader as it includes all clauses which are logico-semantically secondary to another clause or a noun which instantiates the content of the secondary clause as a locution or an idea.

Conditional construction

The pronoun occurs in a *conditional construction* i.e. a clause complex in which a clause (the protasis) specifies hypothetical, general or uncertain circumstances on which the actualization of another clause (the apodosis) is asserted to depend. The protasis is most often syntactically subordinated to the apodosis, though not necessarily so, and the protasis may be placed before, after or within the apodosis:

hvis	<i>man</i>	ikke	e:r	så:dan	lidt	rå	i	det	så	kan	<i>du</i>	ikke	bo
if	you/one	not	is	sort-of	a-little	tough	in	it	then	can	<i>you</i>	not	live
derude #	så	er	<i>du</i>	drønet	ud	i	løbet	af	to	dage			
out-there	then	is	you/one	chucked	out	in	the-duration	of	two	days			

“if you’re not rather tough then *you* can’t live out there then *you*’ll be chuckled out in two days”

vi arbejder en del begge to så når man så er hjemme så #
we work a deal both two so when you/one then is at-home then #

vil man også gerne være sammen med dem
will you/one also with-pleasure be together with them

”we both work a good deal so when you’re at home you want to be together with them”

Projected clause

The pronoun occurs in a clause (most often a complement clause) secondary to a *projecting* clause. In the logico-semantic relation *projection*, the secondary clause is projected through the primary clause (or a noun) which instantiates it as a locution or an idea, i.e. it is not a direct representation of experience (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 377):

jeg tror at man skal passe meget på med det
I think that you/one shall care a-lot on with it

“I think you should be very careful about it”

og det er skægt og man synes selv man taler sådan #
and it is funny and you/one think yourself you/one talk like #

sådan forholdsvis neutralt
like relatively neutrally

”and it’s funny and you think that you talk like relatively neutrally”

jamen dengang så var det egentlig E_F_G og så med udvidet med øh
yes-but at-that-time then was it actually EFG and then with advanced with uh

vægt på revision# og så skulle man så: jeg tror det var et år eller
emphasis on auditing # and then should you/one then I think it was a year or

sådan noget du sådan skulle være i lære
such something you like should be in apprenticeship

”well at that time it was actually EFG [basic vocational courses] with advanced with uh emphasis on auditing # and then you were to be I think it was for a year or something like that where you were to be an office trainee”

2.1.3 Reference

The pronouns are categorized in four categories according to their type of (generic) reference. The hypothesis is that *du* is dis-preferred when the addressee is *not* included in the reference of the generic pronoun (type 2 and 4 below), because it retains some of the “second person meaning”.

1. Everybody or a group of people not further defined which includes *both* speaker and addressee:

du kender godt det # at hvis man er glad for den man
you know well this # that if you/one is happy with the-one you/one

har # så er man altid ked af at de skal skifte
have then is you/one allways sorry of that they shall change

”you know what it’s like if you’re happy with the one [your children’s teacher] you have # you’ll always be sorry that they [your children] have to change”

2. A group of people including the speaker, but *not* the addressee:

vi har jo en stor hal derude med de forskellige
we have as-you-know a a big sports-centre out-there with the different

sportsaktiviteter og der er selvfølgelig mange andre aktiviteter *man* kan gå til
sports-activities and there are of-course many other activities you/one can go to

“well we have a big sports centre out there with all kinds of activities and there are of course many other activities *you* can enrol in”

så gik vi indover markerne og øh så maste *man* det
then walked we in over the-fields and uh then pushed you/one it

tog en time at gå derop så # så kommer *man* derop
took an hour to walk up-there then then come you/one up-there

ikke og så får *man* af vide at skolen er lukket
right and then get you/one to know that the-school is closed

“[if there was a snowstorm] then we walked across the fields and uh *you* had to push through it took an hour to walk up there # then *you* get up there right and then *you*’re told that the school is closed [because of the snow]”

3. A group of people including the addressee, but *not* the speaker:

men du sagde du gik i skole i Saksild # til at starte med og #
but you said you went in school in Saksild # to to begin with and #

var det så efter syvende klasse *man* skulle ind til Odder eller hvad
was it then after seventh grade you/one should in to Odder or what

“but you said that you went to school in Saksild # in the beginning and # was it then after the seventh grade that *you* had to go to Odder”

4. A group of people including *neither* the speaker nor the addressee, including pronouns in normative statements which do not commit the speaker or the addressee:

det kunne godt ligne sådan en øh # væggen revet ned og så har *man*
it could well look-like such a uh # the-wall torn down and then have you/one

lagt sådan e:nten en metalbjælke op eller et eller andet
laid such a either a metal-beam up or one or other

[the fields worker and the informant are talking about the room in the informant’s house in which the conversation takes place] “it looks like such a uh # the wall has been torn down and then *somebody* has put up sort of a beam of metal or something”

men er der ikke nogen steder *man* er begyndt at lave parkometer
but is there not some places you/one is begun to do parking-meters

og sådan noget
and such something

”but aren’t there some places where *they*’ve begun putting up parking meters and things like that”

3 Pronouns used reflexively

With regard to third person singular pronouns in genitive form, modern standard Danish distinguishes between pronouns referring to (or co-referring with) the grammatical subject of their clause, i.e. pronouns used *reflexively*, and pronouns *not* referring to the subject. When the pronoun is co-referential with the subject, one of the possessive pronoun forms *sin*, *sit* or *sine* is chosen depending on the head of the noun phrase it modifies but regardless of the type of co-referent:

han	/hun	/den		/det	spiser	<i>sin</i>	mad
he	she	it (common gender)		it (neuter)	eats	his/her/its	food (common gender)
han	/hun	/den		/det	drikker	<i>sit</i>	vand
han	she	it (common gender)		it (neuter)	drinks	his/her/its	water (neuter)
han	/hun	/den		/det	spiser	<i>sine</i>	gulerødder
he	she	it (common gender)		it (neuter)	eats	his/her/its	carrots (plural)

When the pronoun is *not* co-referential with the subject, a genitive form of the appropriate personal pronoun is chosen depending on the type of co-referent (male/female/non human common gender/non human neuter):

politimanden	stopper	<i>hans</i>	bil		
the-policeman	stops	his	car [i.e. somebody else's car]		
pigen	køber	<i>hans</i>	biler		
the-girl	buys	his	cars		
pigen	køber	<i>dens</i>	mad		
the-girl	buys	its	food [e.g. the dog's food]		

The distinction between a reflexive and a non-reflexive form does not exist in the case of first and second person pronouns, and in modern standard Danish it does not exist in the case of third person *plural* pronouns either, though there seems to be some indecisiveness here (Hansen 1967: II 245):

pigerne	reder	deres	hår	><	pigerne	reder	sit	hår
the-girls	comb	their	hair		the-girls	comb	their	hair

This variation is arguably more conspicuous in earlier Copenhagen dialects (spoken by people born before 1840) (Brink & Lund 1975: II 657). In *written* medieval Danish *sin/sit/sine* is the preferred choice also when used co-referentially with plural subjects.

The indecisiveness seems to be more widespread when it comes to the generic pronoun *man* (which has no genitive form, instead the genitive form of the pronoun *en* is used: *ens*)

man	kender	bedst	<i>sine</i>	egne	motiver	><	man	kender	bedst	<i>ens</i>	egne	motiver
you	know	best	your	own	motives		you	know	best	your	own	motives

“you know your own motives better”

Reflexive forms are chosen not only when the pronoun is used co-referentially with the *grammatical* subject of its clause. They may also be used when the pronoun co-refers with a noun phrase which can be regarded as what in the Danish grammatical tradition is described as a logical subject of a “hidden clause”. The constructions traditionally described as “hidden clauses” will be described in detail below; most of them contain a non-finite verb, e.g. accusative-with-infinitive-constructions:

[hun så en mand gå tur med sin hund]
she saw a man walk walk with his dog

“she saw a man walking *his* dog”

But some of the constructions in which a reflexive form is chosen (or may be chosen, as there seems to be a great deal of indecisiveness when it comes to pronouns co-referring with “logical subjects”) do *not* contain a verb, e.g. nominal phrases in which the pronoun occurs in a prepositional phrase modifying the head:

han mødte en gammel kone med blomster i sin kurv
he met an old woman with flowers in her basket

Thus, it may be that the conditions under which a reflexive form is used may be more adequately described as contexts in which a pronoun co-refers with an antecedent in the same clause or phrase to which it is not paratactically linked.

None of the traditional dialects have norms with regard to reflexively used pronouns which are exactly like the norm of standard Danish, though they all have the possessive pronoun *sin/sit/sine*. The norm described above may very well primarily be maintained via the educational system where the norm regarding the use of reflexive versus non-reflexive pronouns is explicitly taught, and deviation from the norm is diligently corrected by many Danish teachers, at least as far as written language is concerned.

In order to study the sociolinguistic variable “pronoun used reflexively” all the Danish third person pronouns in genitive form and third person possessive pronouns are included. First and second person pronouns are not included as no variation is possible in these cases (there is only one genitive/possessive form). As both reflexive and non-reflexive forms are marked, it will be also be possible to determine whether there is any significant variation in the corpus between reflexive and non-reflexive forms in the cases where the pronouns are *not* used reflexively.

The use of reflexive versus non-reflexive forms of third person pronouns in spoken Danish has to our knowledge never been studied quantitatively until the present study. Even though the general impression seems to be that the non-reflexive forms are gaining ground at the expense of

the reflexive forms when used co-referentially with singular subjects, and vice versa when used co-referentially with plural subjects, it may very well be the case that there has always been a widespread variation in reflexive constructions, also among speakers of standard Danish/Copenhagen sociolects. It is therefore hard to say what to expect with regard to differences between the reflexive/non-reflexive form-ratios of the first and the second recording of the informants. If the general dialect levelling of 20th century Danish has also influenced the variable “pronoun used reflexively”, an obvious hypothesis would actually be a rise in the use of reflexive forms used co-referentially with singular subjects in the Odder- and (especially) Vinderup-data as the traditional dialects of these areas to all appearances have a less widespread use of reflexive forms here than standard Danish/Copenhagen sociolects. If the educational system is indeed the most important force in defining the norms regarding the use of reflexive forms, it could also be expected that informants from the higher social class will have the largest ratio of reflexive/non-reflexive forms.

3.1 Analysis

All occurrences of the pronouns *hans* (his), *hendes* (her), *dens* (its, co-referent of common gender), *dets* (its, co-referent of neuter gender), *ens* (ones), *enhvers* (everyone’s), *deres* (their), *Deres* (your, polite form), *sin* (reflexive form singular, common gender), *sit* (reflexive form singular, neuter) and *sine* (reflexive form, plural) are categorized according to whether they are *used* reflexively or not. The reflexively used pronouns are furthermore categorized according to the domain of reflexivity and the type of co-referent.

3.1.1 Use

Reflexive use

The pronoun is co-referent with a grammatical or “logical” subject *in the clause where it occurs*:

når man begyndte at rende i byen for *sin* mor
when you/one began to run in the-town for your/ones mother

så er man jo rigtig stolt ikke
then are you/one as-you-know really proud right

“when you began running errands for *your* mother you’re really proud right”

hvis min mor hun kommer hjem til *hendes* familie i Herning så slår
if my mother she comes home to her family in Herning then change

hun også over i det der bondevestjysk der
she too over in this there peasant-western-jutlandic there

“when my mother visits *her* family in Herning she starts talking this hick Western Jutland dialect”

men øh oftest så hjælper jeg dem me:d altså # der er der er
 but uh most-often then help I them with you-know there is there is

den er delt op i mange ting ø:h den omsorg altså der er
 it is split up in many things uh this care you-know there is

jo en selvfølgelig en omsorg tage vare på dem se om de
 as-you-know a of-course a care take care on them look if they

har det godt øh får de mad ø:h hjælper dem med at betale
 have it good uh get they food uh help them with to pay

deres regninger få styr på deres papirer
 their bills get hold on their papers

[the informant is talking about his job as a social worker] "but uh most often I help them [juvenile delinquents from ethnic minorities] you know # there is there is it is split up in many things uh this care you know there is of course a care taking care of them checking if they're all right uh do they get food uh helping them paying *their* bills getting their papers organized"

Non reflexive use

The pronoun is co-referent with a noun phrase which does *not* function as a grammatical or logical subject of the clause in which the pronoun occurs, or it is used exoforically:

hendes søster bor i Åbyhøj
 her sister lives in Åbyhøj

jeg var i sommerhus sammen med min søster og *hendes* mand
 I was in summer-house together with my sister and her husband

"I was in a holiday cottage with my sister and *her* husband"

i dag er det sådan noget med at man står oppe i
 in day is it such something with that you/one stand up in

Brugsen og ser om der står en der gider: at passe
 Brugsen and see if there stands somebody who bothers to mind

sine unger ikke # men dengang var det bare noget med at du
 your/ones kids right but at-that-time was it just something with that you/one

gik ind og ringede på hos naboen og sagde hallo # nu skal vi
 went in and rang on at the-neighbour and said hello now shall we

altså i byen gider du lige at se efter ungerne
 in the-town bother you just to look after the-kids

"today it's like you're standing in Brugsen [a supermarket] looking to see if there's somebody who would bother to baby-sit *your* kids right but at that time it was like you went to your neighbour and rang the bell and said hello we're going out now would you bother looking after the kids"

3.1.2 Domain of reflexivity

To examine whether the syntactic setting of the two co-referents in the reflexive relationship influences the choice of pronoun (i.e. reflexive vs. non-reflexive form), the reflexively used pronouns are categorized according to the *syntactic function* of the pronoun and its co-referent. The pronouns are furthermore categorized as to whether they are placed *before* or *after* their co-referent. In prac-

tice, the last distinction is only relevant for pronouns with a grammatical subject as co-referent, as it does not seem possible for a reflexively used pronoun which does not co-refer with the grammatical subject to be placed *before* its co-referent, at least not in spoken Danish. The hypothesis is that the tendency to choose the reflexive form is strongest when the pronoun is co-referential with the actual grammatical subject of its clause, and that this tendency, probably due to cognitive constraints, is strongest when the pronoun is placed *after* its co-referent (i.e. the subject).

1. The pronoun is co-referential with the grammatical subject of its clause

1A. The pronoun is placed *after* the subject:

og så kom hun simpelthen over til *sin* moster der boede i Odder
and then came she simply over to her maternal-aunt who lived in Odder

“and then she simply went to *her* aunt who lived in Odder”

1B. The pronoun is placed *before* the subject:

inspireret af *hans* job så har han selv bygget sig en lille
inspired by his job then has he himself built himself a small

miniatureølvo
miniature-beer-wagon

“inspired by *his* job he has built himself a small miniature beer van”

2. The pronoun is co-referential with an explicit logical subject within a “hidden clause”

These occurrences are subcategorized into six types of which not all have been found in the corpus so far. The quotations in square brackets are *not* excerpts from the corpus but constructed examples.

2A. Co-reference within a non-finite clause (*accusative-with-infinitive*):

[hun så en mand gå tur med *sin* hund]
she saw a man walk walk with his dog

“she saw a man walking *his* dog”

2B. Co-reference between modifier of *direct object* and the *indirect object*:

[jeg rakte ham *sin* paraply]
I handed him *his* umbrella

2C. Co-reference between *direct object* and modifier inside a predicate construction:

[vi fandt ham siddende i *sin* bil]
we found him sitting in his car

2D. Co-reference between *direct object and prepositional phrase*:

men øh oftest så hjælper jeg dem me:d altså # der er der er
but uh most-often then help I them with you-know there is there is

den er delt op i mange ting ø:h den omsorg altså der er
it is split up in many things uh this care you-know there is

jo en selvfølgelig en omsorg tage vare på dem se om de
as-you-know a of-course a care take care on them look if they

har det godt øh får de mad ø:h hjælper dem med at betale
have it good uh get they food uh help them with to pay

deres regninger få styr på deres papirer
their bills get hold on their papers

”but most often I help them [juvenile delinquents from ethnic minorities] # you know there is there is it is split up in many things uh this care you know there is of course a care taking care of them checking if they’re all right uh do they get food uh helping them paying *their* bills getting their papers organized”

2E. Co-reference between *modifier and head in a nominal phrase*:

vi er i # altså et storrúm det er hh øh ja det består af # af
we are in that-is a big-room it is hh uh yes it consists of # of

børnehaveklasse første anden # tredje fjerde og femtesjette klasse # hh og vi er
preschool-class first second third fourth and fifth-sixth grade # hh and we are

så delt op i søjler ikke altså tre søjler med # hver *deres* #
then split up in columns right that-is three columns with each their #

første anden tredje og så videre
first second third and så further

[the informant describes the organization at the school where she works] ”we’re in # a common room it’s uh well it consists of preschool class, first, second, third, fourth and fifth sixth grade # and then we’re split up in columns right that is three columns each with *their* own first, second, third [grade] and so on”

2 F. Co-reference between pronoun and a kind of logical subject *different from the ones*

mentioned above (only one token has been found so far):

vi var med vi sådan en kibbutzfamilie dernede og der var vi
we were with we such a kibbutz-family down-there and there were we

sådan med dem ude i samfundet ha ude at besøge *deres* forældre
sort-of with them out in the-community ha out to visit their parents

og venner og bekendte og sådan noget uden for kibbutzen
and friends and acquaintances and such something outside the-kibbutz

”we went with a family from the kibbutz down there and there we sort of went into the community ha out visiting *their* parents and friends and acquaintances and things like that outside the kibbutz”

3. The pronoun is not co-referential with any *explicit* part of the clause

Characteristic of these occurrences is that they refer to an indefinite “logical subject” implicated by a non-finite clause or a prepositional phrase in which they occur:

det kunne være sjovt at få *sin* egen lejlighed ha tror jeg
it could be funny to get your/ones own apartment ha think I

“it could be great fun to get *your* own apartment ha I think”

jeg kunne ikke lide det dersens med at arbejde sammen med *sin*
I could not like this with to work together with your/ones

far og sådan noget ikke jeg har prøvet det før ikke det har jeg
father and such something right I have tried it before right it have I

ikke lyst til en gang til
not desire to one time more

”I didn’t like this thing working with *your* father and things like that right I have tried it before right I don’t want to do it once again”

de gamles hjem som vi havde i *sin* tid nu er det så lavet
the old-people’s home which we had in its time now is it then made

om til noget kostskole handelsskole noget
into something boarding-school commercial-school something

”the old people’s home we had some time ago has been made into a boarding-school commercial school or something”

4. The pronoun is co-referential with both the grammatical subject and a logical subject

det kommer man sig over at høre *sin* egen stemme når man
it come you/one yourself over to hear your/ones own voice when you/one

bare gør det tit nok
just do it often enough

“you get over hearing *your* own voice [on tape] when you just do it often enough”

3.1.3 Type of co-referent

The pronouns are categorized into six categories according to the type of their co-referent. This is primarily done because the co-referent determines which *non-reflexive* pronoun can be used. Thus, the tendency to choose the reflexive form may not be (and is in fact not) the same in all cases.

This is undoubtedly the case as regards the distinction between singular and plural co-referents, as modern standard Danish in the case of plural referents has a non-reflexive pronoun (*deres*) whether or not it is used reflexively. Moreover, it has been established that in large part of the Jutland dialect area, including the traditional dialects of the Odder- and Vinderup-regions, the non-reflexive forms (*hans* and *hendes*) dominate strongly over the reflexive forms (*sin/sit/sine*) when used reflexively to a pronoun or nominal phrase referring to a *person*, or something which can be referred to with *han* (he) or *hende* (she). This is, however, not the case when the referent is non-human, generic or indefinite (Jul Nielsen 1986).

1. Person (singular), including roles and positions which are filled by humans

Anne Marie er blevet så vanskelig siden siden hun har mistet *sin* mor
Anne Marie is become so difficult since since she has lost her mother

”Anne Marie has become so difficult since she lost *her* mother”

vi kigger til hende en gang om ugen fordi det er nok altså hun har
we look to her one time a week because that is enough that-is she has
det bedst i hendes hverdag
it best in her everyday

”we visit her once a week because that’s enough, you know, she’s more comfortable with *her* everyday life”

2. Animal or thing (singular)

man ha kan jo ikke rigtigt udrydde hunden for at den
you/one ha can as-you-know not really wipe-out the-dog in-order-to that it
kan ha slippe for *sin* allergi # hh så den må bare leve på piller
can ha get rid of its allergy so it must just live on pills
og medicin resten af de[] dens liv
and medicin the-rest of its life

”you ha cannot really exterminate the dog so that it can get rid of its allergy # so it just has to live on pills and medicine for the rest of *its* life”

3. Plural number (including occurrences with the polite form *De* as co-referent)

der er flere af mine unge der har fået at vide af imamer
there are several of my young who have gotten to know of imams
og sådan noget at # jamen øh de får slettet hele *deres* sorte liste hvis
and such something that well uh they get erased whole their black list if
de begår jihad
they commit jihad

“several of my kids have been told by imams and people like that that well they’ll get *their* whole black list wiped clean if they commit jihad”

jeg havde så fem andre der var tropsassistenter der var et par år
I had then five others who were troop-assistants who were a couple years
yngre end mig eller sådan nogenlunde jævnaldrende ikke # og du ved jeg er
younger than me or like about same-age right and you know I am
jo øh de var sådan vældig gode til hver *sin* del af det
as-you-know uh they were like mighty good at each their part of the
rent praktiske og jeg var god til det organisatoriske
purely practical and I was good at the organizational

”then I had five others who were scout-leader assistants who were a couple of years younger than I or about the same age right # and you know I’m uh they were like awfully good at each *their* part of the purely practical stuff and I was good at the organizational stuff”

så blev der ringet ja nu kan De godt komme og hente *Deres*
then was there called yes now can you well come and fetch yours
fra skadestuen nu kan De godt komme og hente *Deres* barn
from casualty-departement now can you well come and fetch your child

“then there was a call yes you may kindly come fetch *yours* from the casualty department now you may kindly come fetch *your* child now”

4. Generic

jeg synes det er dejligt at man ligesom er *sin* egen herre man har
I think it is great that you/one like is your own master you/one has

ikke en der står med pisker eller stopuret
not one who stands with the-whip or the-stop-watch

“I think it’s great that you’re like *your* own master there’s nobody standing with a whip or a timer [forcing you or telling you what to do]”

A: ja men det er ligefrem altså man laver det fra
yes but it is straightforward you-see you/one make it from

grunden <af altså *sin* egen>[>]
the-bottom of that-is your own

B: <ja fuld [/] fuldstændig [<] efter *ens* eget hoved
yes completely after your own head

A: “yes but it’s straightforward you build it [a surf board] from scratch that is your own”

B: “yes completely based on your own design”

5. Indefinite (the co-referent is an indefinite or interrogative pronoun with no singular/plural distinction)

men øh men kan du huske om der var nogen der blev drillet
but uh but can you remember if there was anybody who were teased

med *deres* sprog altså i skolen
with their language that-is in the-school

“but uh but do you remember if anybody was teased about the way they spoke [*their* dialect] that is in school”

6. No explicit co-referent

det kunne være sjovt at få *sin* egen lejlighed ha tror jeg
it could be funny to get your/ones own apartment ha think I

“it could be great fun to get your own apartment ha I think”

de gamle hjem som vi havde i *sin* tid nu er det så lavet
the old-people’s home which we had in its time now is it then made

om til noget kostskole handelsskole noget
into something boarding-school commercial-school something

“the old people’s home we had some time ago has been made into a boarding-school commercial school or something”

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