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FUNIC: AN ENREGISTERED LANGUAGE VARIETY IN THE CENTRAL PART OF DENMARK

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Abstract
This article investigates the use of Funic regional dialect among adolescents in Funen, Denmark. Drawing on linguistic ethnographic fieldwork, the study explores how Funic speech functions as an enregistered variety. Through an analysis of interviews, group work and self-recordings, the study finds that the two Funic forms – rising tones and absence of stød – have the potential to index social qualities such as humor, localness and daftness/being an oaf, and that these Funic forms can be used strategically to carry out social functions such as managing face, using politeness strategies and overall perform a local, Funic identity. The stylized use of Funic speech suggests a shift towards a marked, performative dialect use, and that adolescents actively engage with regional speech as a resource for social positioning.

Keywords: Funic speech, enregisterment, regional dialect, indexicality, dialect use, social meaning, sociodialectology

1. Introduction[1]

The dialectal landscape in Denmark has been strongly homogenized since the mid-20th century (Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013, Gregersen and Kristiansen 2015). This tendency has also been found elsewhere in Europe, e.g. in Norway (Røyneland 2009), in England (Britain 2009), and in the Netherlands (Heeringa and Hinskens 2015). In Denmark, each new generation appears to have a decreasing use of traditional regional and local variation than the former (Schøning and Pedersen 2009, Jensen and

[1] Thank you to the 34 pupils at Skårup Skole for allowing me to be a part of your lives for a few months. You were all extremely kind and open, and I will always be very grateful for that. I am also very grateful to Mette-Marie Møller Svendsen for helping me out with drawing a map, to my supervisors for feedback on drafts for the article and to the two anonymous reviewers for reading the draft closely and helping me improve it significantly.

Maegaard 2010, 2012). Nevertheless, recent studies indicate that adolescents continue to use regional dialects as marked speech, in contrast to the older generations who use dialects as unmarked speech (Larsen and Stæhr 2020). The same tendency has for example been found in the Netherlands, where dialectal variants have been enregistered, so they can be used as stylized speech to index localness (Doreleijers 2024). These studies show that adolescents use regional variation to either carry out certain social functions or to index certain social characteristics.

During the last decade, sociodialectological studies have examined adolescents' use of regional dialect in the Danish peripheral regions of Southern Jutland (Monka 2013; 2020), Western Jutland (Schøning 2017), Northern Jutland (Mortensen 2020) and Bornholm (Stæhr and Larsen 2020). Several studies of the correlations between language style and identity have also been carried out in the capital city of Denmark, Copenhagen (e.g. Gregersen and Pedersen 1991; Quist 2005), leaving the central region of Denmark largely unstudied when it comes to regional language use and identity construction. Historical sociolinguistics suggests that regional dialects tend to persist and thrive the longest in peripheral areas where linguistic influence from outsiders is limited (Wells 1982:10; Pietikäinen et al. 2016). This makes the presence of an actively used dialect in the peripheries plausible. We do not know how young speakers use regional dialect outside of the most peripheral Danish areas, where local varieties can be presumed to be most resilient. No studies to date have examined dialect use in Funen, which is a highly interesting area, as it lies in the middle of Denmark, connected by bridges to each side with the rest of Denmark. Investigating whether Funic adolescents use enregistered Funic speech will thus provide us with a more nuanced knowledge of local identity constructions across different types of geographical areas.

This study addresses that gap by investigating regional dialect use on the island of Funen (Fyn), specifically in a town near Svendborg. Svendborg is located in Southern Funen, and is a large town known for attracting residents from all around the country – particularly from Copenhagen – due to its affordable housing prices in a cozy old trading town close to the nature and the sea. The towns around Svendborg experience the same tendency. These demographic circumstances suggest a linguistic landscape where dialectal forms are at risk of vanishing unless the locals actively want to preserve them.

Danish sociolinguist Marie Maegaard has observed that in ”some places in Denmark, speakers use more dialect than in others, but little is known about how these speakers use dialect and what they use it for” (2020:6). We do not know much about the nature of the dialect spoken today, e.g. do they use local variants, regional variants, or hyperdialectal variants? If they were to local variants (and no regional or hyperdialectal variants) it would mean the traditional dialect had been very well preserved in this area. If they were to use regional variants, it would suggest that local differences in Funic have become erased to some extent, and that Funic-speakers today speak a regional variant of Standard Danish rather than a local dialect. There is also the possibility that they use hyperdialectal variants. Hyperdialectisms often occur in varieties experiencing dialect loss. This happens because sometimes the result of dialect loss is not dialect death, but instead an emergence of new linguistic forms merged from different dialects (Trudgill 1988:553). A case of hyperdialectism would be when a speaker exaggerates or overgeneralizes a linguistic form and ends up producing something that does not usually or traditionally occur in the given variety (Doreleijers and Swanenberg 2023:39). If the pupils were to use hyperdialectic variants it would either be in the form of new additions to what they perceive as Funic dialect today (but something that did not exist in the traditional dialects), or as Funic features applied in a context where they traditionally would not have appeared. If the pupils were to use hyperdialectism it would suggest an interest in appearing local through the use of linguistic forms, but a poor knowledge of the actual traditional dialect with the result that they ‘make up a new one’. A fourth scenario is that some of the dialect has been passed on, and that traditional forms and hyperdialectisms co-exist, given that the pupils are interested in using Funic.

This article investigates if Funic is an enregistered variety, i.e. recognized and strategically used by speakers. The research question is therefore: Do Funic adolescents use marked codeswitches to index social qualities and carry out social functions that differ from what other Danish regional dialects index? Given that social meanings are constructed locally (Johnstone 2004; Britain 2010), I conducted a linguistic ethnographic fieldwork in a 9th grade class on a South-Funic primary school to understand the field site on its own terms. The analysis draws on fieldnotes and audio recordings made by the pupils (interviews, recordings of

schoolwork the pupils did in groups and the pupils' self-recordings). Through a close reading of this data, I examine the social functions of Funic speech within the peer groups on the school and explore what role it plays in their identity construction. The paper first describes the field site, South-Funen, and the linguistic traits characteristic of this region. It then describes the concept of indexicality, which is central in the analysis. Afterwards I introduce the methodology of the fieldwork and the methodological choices behind participant sampling and selection of audio in the analysis. In this section I will also introduce the pupils from the fieldwork and the social structure at the school they went to. The first part of the analysis examines who uses which dialectic features and when, and the second part goes in depth with an excerpt analysis. Lastly, I discuss the results in the light of current sociodialectological results from other Danish regions.

1. Background

1.1. The field site: South-Funen

Funen is a centrally located Danish island connected by bridges to both Jutland in the west and Zealand to the east, where the capital city Copenhagen is situated. During my fieldwork, it became evident that local orientations were split; approximately a quarter of the pupils wanted to move westward to Aarhus, another quarter eastward to Copenhagen, while remaining pupils preferred to stay on Funen. Today, Funen is home to 500.000 residents (DS). The specific field site for this study is called Skårup, a town situated below the linguistic stød border (see Figure 1), and geographically situated in proximity to the largest town in the area, Svendborg, with a population of approximately 27.000. Svendborg is a popular destination for people moving away from Copenhagen and other large Danish cities, and it is thus a culturally diverse city with arts, talks, micro-bakeries and influencers promoting it on social media. As a result of the relocations, the language spoken is increasingly standardized (a trend noticed by Pedersen and Hansen 1996). Given my interest in adolescents actively choosing to speak Funic although it is not their default vernacular, these geographical and cultural circumstances in the area around Svendborg were ideal for my field site.

Skårup is a small town with approximately 2000 inhabitants. It has a public school, modern sports facilities, mechanics, repair shops and a local supermarket. The population primarily consists of middle-class families,

with a notable concentration of teachers as this area is (and has been) home to teaching seminars, private schools, boarding schools, folk high schools etc. This means that many of the newcomers in Skårup are teachers. They participate in activities such as the local theatre club, courses at the people's college or the gymnastics associations. The folk high school movement – and particularly folk high schools focusing on gymnastics – has played a significant role on South-Funen, also in shaping a South-Funic cultural identity. These institutions have influenced the development of similar colleges across Denmark. Through conversations I had with local citizens during my stay, it became clear that these activities are a part of the South-Funic identity, and something a lot of South-Funic residents are proud of engaging themselves in.

Figure 1. This figure shows a map of Denmark with the stød-border shown as a red line. The field site, Skårup, appears as a red dot. Kilde: www.dialekt.ku.dk.

1.1. Funic

The characteristics of Funic dialect has been described thoroughly in the previous decade (Jacobsen 1933; Andersen 1958; Køster 2000; Pedersen and Hansen 1996, and the extensive work of Inge Lise Pedersen). However,

there has been made little research on the Funic dialect in the present decade, and we therefore do not know much about how much of the dialect is still spoken and how it is used. Traditionally, the Funic dialect had a distinct grammar with three genders (instead of two genders as in Standard Danish) and has been phonetically characterized by the absence of soft d [ð], nasalization in certain word endings, and in some cases, nasal vowels. Diphthongization has also been a distinguishing feature across different varieties of the Funic dialect (Pedersen 2002). A particularly relevant phenomena is the Funic articulations of 'stød', a prosodic feature in Standard Danish realized as laryngealization (Grønnum et al. 2013). This is relevant, as I expect these articulations to be indexically loaded (see Boas 2023b). Stød has a distinctive function, differencing word meanings – for example *hund* [ˈhunˀ] from the stød-less *hun* [ˈhun]. In Funic speech, there have been identified three regional variants of stød[2]. One is a rising tonal accent that replaces the glottalized stød. The rising tone is characterized a rapid rising tonal contour or an intonation lying significantly higher than the rest of the sentence. The rising tone thus typically lies a minor third or three semitones above the rest of the sentence (Pedersen 2002:46). According to the linguist Poul Andersen (1958), rising tone would typically occur on monosyllables with a high vowels (or the vowel 'o') without a final consonant. This was not traditionally a variant occurring south of the stød border, but despite this it is used there today. It could therefore be discussed if the use of rising tone is a case of hyperdialectism which "indicates present-day variation patterns that are opposed to a traditional linguistic form associated with the past, i.e. deviating from a point of reference" (Doreleijers and Swanenberg 2023:40). The other variant is a complete absence of stød, which was traditionally found south of the stød border (see Figure 1). The absence of stød typically have a more flat tonal contour than the rising tone, no closing phase and often a vowel perceived to be longer than in the Standard Danish pronunciations (Andersen 1958; Boas 2023a). On Funen, the stød border stretches from Faaborg to Nyborg. North of the border, a weak stød or a rising tone was typically present in the traditional dialects. South of the border, the stød was completely absent in

[2] I introduce the two variants, rising tones and absence of stød (non-stød), as they are relevant for this study. The third Funic variant of stød is a tonal stød, which is characterized by a rising-falling tonal contour and a weak closing phase (Andersen 1958:34; Boas 2023a).

the traditional South-Funic dialect (Andersen 1958; Pedersen 2002; Boas 2023a). The field site for this study is located below the stød border (the red dot in Figure 1), making these variants particularly relevant. The non-stød and the rising tones were among the most frequently used features used by the pupils I observed, and these features will therefore be central to this analysis of dialectal use and social meaning.

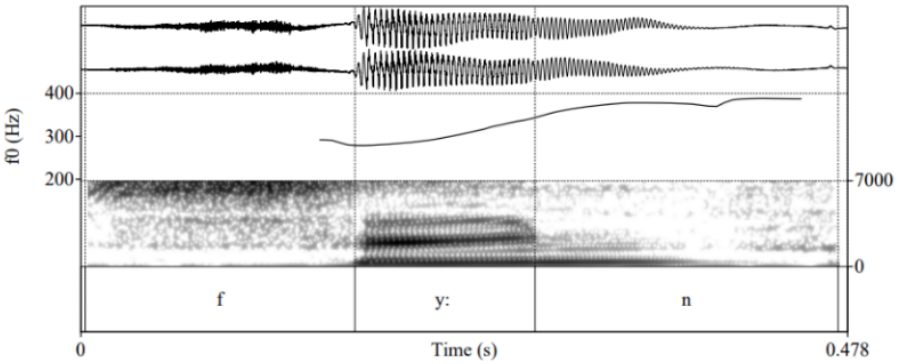

Figure 2. A Funic male pronounces 'Fyn' with a rising tone.

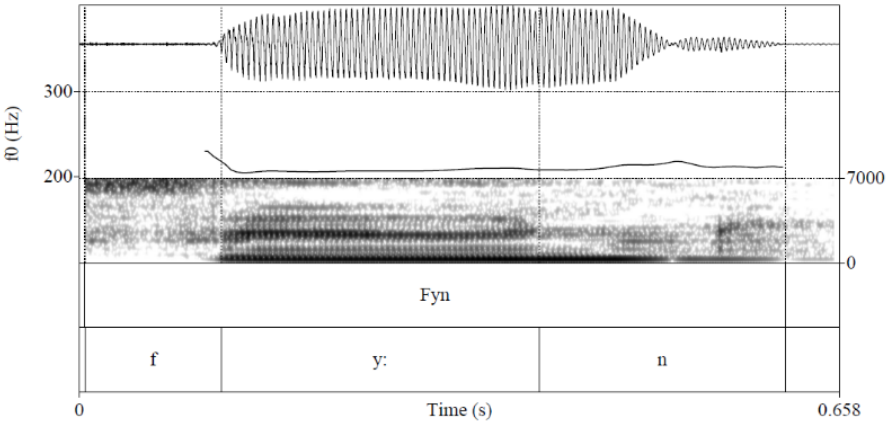

Figure 3. A Funic male pronounces 'Fyn' with an absence of stød (non-stød).

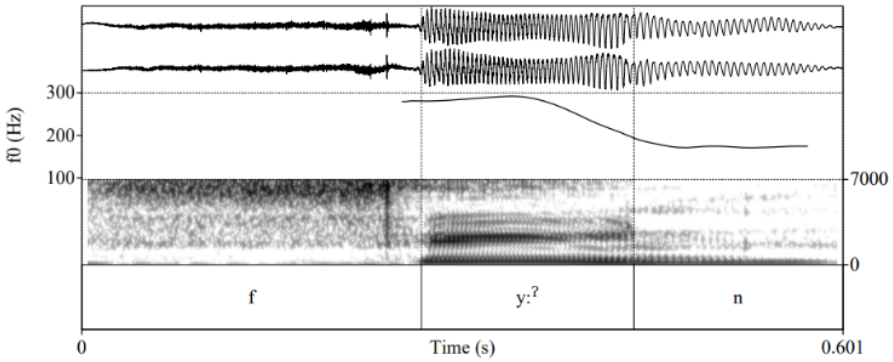

Figure 4. A Funic male pronounces 'Fyn' with a Standard Danish stød.

1.2. Indexicality

The study is situated within the third wave of sociolinguistics which views linguistic practices as socially embedded actions through which speakers position themselves socially. In her paper on the evolution of the field of sociolinguistics and the principles of different sociolinguistic waves, Penelope Eckert – one of the founders of the third wave – writes: "speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice" (Eckert 2012:93–94). Speakers actively construct social meaning by drawing on certain semiotic signs. They can do so, because meaning is created not only through language but through the co-occurrence of linguistic and other semiotic elements, such as clothing style. A relevant semiotic sign in this paper is certain (regional) linguistic features, that can obtain a certain interpretation and thereby social effect. When doing so one uses the linguistic feature to point explicitly toward a certain association, and this process is called indexicality (Silverstein 2003). As Eckert notes, a linguistic feature in a certain salient variety can potentially come to index membership to the speakers of the given variety. Different indexical orders can be associated with a particular feature. An indexical order can be thought of as a layer of meaning. A feature moves from first to second order of indexicality when speakers within a given community start to notice and use the variant as a linguistic marker, and from second to third order of indexicality when specific social characteristics become ideologically linked to the use of the variant (Silverstein 2003; Eckert 2012). This way, a feature can be used to associate ways of "belonging to, or characteristics or stances associated with, that population. Such an index can be used by outsiders call up

stereotypes associated with the population" (Eckert 2012:94). A (regional) linguistic feature of a variety that is salient, can thus index different qualities associated with the stereotypical speakers of this variety. The feature can be interpreted in different ways by different groups for two reasons. Firstly, because indexicality is locally constructed (Johnstone and Kiesling 2008; Eckert 2008). A local interpretation of indexical feature means that a certain population or group of friends can have varying interpretations of the same feature. Secondly, because linguistic features carry the potential for indexical mutability. Eckert states that once an indexical association is conventionalized, the feature (or any other semiotic sign, such as a pair of trousers etc.) becomes available for further indexical moves (Eckert 2012:94).

For a linguistic feature to index social meanings, it must be enregistered or in the process of enregisterment. Agha defines enregisterment as an ongoing social process where "diverse behavioural signs (whether linguistic, non-linguistic, or both) are functionally reanalysed as cultural models of action, as behaviors capable of indexing stereotypic characteristics of particular interactional roles, and of relations among them" (Agha 2007:55). This means that for a linguistic feature to call upon stereotypes it must have undergone enregisterment. In the context of the current study, I question if and how Funic speech is used by adolescents to invoke certain social meanings and functions associated with a process of enregisterment. This will be revealed in the next sections.

3. Methods and data

Funic speakers are often associated with a particular set of cultural stereotypes in Denmark. They are typically viewed as friendly, kind and humoristic (Ladegaard 2002:52). Furthermore, they are viewed as quite rural (Bøegh n.d.) and less cosmopolitan compared to individuals from larger urban centers. A recent study on Funic stereotypes finds that Funic people are often perceived as warm, accommodating, rural and humorous (Boas et al. forth.). While such stereotypes may not reflect reality, they nonetheless shape the interpretive lens through which youth culture in parts of South-Funen is understood. It was within this sociocultural context that I conducted my fieldwork.

The fieldwork was carried out in the primary school in Skårup located in Southern Funen. I introduced myself and the aim of my stay in overall terms to the entire 9th grade (35 pupils). A total of 34 pupils aged 15 or 16 years provided informed consent to participate in the study[3], which they were told included ethnographic observation, note-taking, and audio recordings. The pupils were informed that they could withdraw their consent at any time. I explained that I would be conducting individual interviews with interested participants and occasionally record group work sessions. Additionally, the pupils were offered to use a dictaphone to record themselves outside the classroom. The interviews took place in a cozy room at the school specially assigned to me, which was furnished with sofas and decorated with pictures. I used a Zoom H5 recorder for interviews, and Olympus dictaphones for recording group work and self-recordings.

During the initial days, the pupils were not very engaged. I began to suspect my presentation as a researcher – 10 years older than them and unfamiliar – was creating a social distance. In an attempt to bridge the gap, I visited a nearby H&M shop and asked a young sales assistant to help me select clothing for around 500 DKK that might help me appear more relatable to the pupils. Dressed in a track suit, sneakers, a high ponytail, and golden hoop earrings, I hoped to present myself more on-trend and in-group (cf. Cheshire 1982; Eckert 2000:71). The next day, the group of girls later referred to as 'the popular girls' (see section 3.1) loudly complimented my new look and asked to borrow the dictaphones to record themselves. From that moment, I was accepted by the pupils and included in the school community, and thus able to engage more actively in the fieldwork. Adjusting my outward style can possibly have had observer effects, however I was always observing them rather than participating in their social life. This means the shift in style improved my access to data without distorting the interactional patterns among the pupils.

[3] I first reached out to the head of the school who consented to the project, and put me in touch with a teacher, whose classes in the 9th grade I primarily participated in. He forwarded an e-mail to all the parents of the pupils informing them about the aim of my presence in overall terms. They were given the option to contact me for more information or to let me know their children should not be a part of the study. No parents contacted me.

I conducted the fieldwork at the school for six hours a day, five days a week over a five-week period. Although I had initially planned to stay longer, I began to feel that I had developed sufficient familiarity with the pupils and their language practices. At the same time, I became increasingly aware of the ethical implications of a stay lasting too long – particularly the risk of the pupils forming attachments to me as a friend or an older sibling figure, only for me to eventually leave again. After this intensive period, I returned for 2–3 days three times, spaced a few weeks apart. The first two visits were to finalize a couple of interviews for report building, and the last visit was, after an invitation, to participate in their last day in school.

The research I conducted is situated within the tradition of linguistic ethnography (Eckert 2000; Moore 2025). Unlike traditional anthropological ethnography, linguistic ethnography focuses specifically on language use and its role in shaping social, cultural, and relational practices (Snell et al. 2015; Copland and Creese 2015). My interpretations were guided by the pupils' own behavior and language, and I worked consciously to avoid imposing assumptions related to gender, school engagement, or interests – an approach in line with Bucholtz (1999:210). I asked each pupil privately how they identified themselves in terms of gender and whether there was anything else they felt I needed to know in order to understand them correctly.

3.1. Participants and sampling decisions

In the analysis I have approached the audio recordings and transcription both qualitatively and quantitatively. I have made in-depth analyses of excerpts and my field observations, and I have counted the amount of times different pupils realized Funic dialectal features. Table 1 shows which pupils entered the quantitative summaries. Their rows are colored blue.

During the fieldwork the pupils (N=34) agreed to either be recorded or make self-recordings. Table 1 shows the pseudonymized names of the 34 pupils. The grey rows show which social group the pupils named below primarily belonged to. There were four significant social groups. The pupils also identified these groups themselves when I asked them about established social groups (see more in section 3.2.). A number of pupils did not belong to these four groups, but they reported that a lot of them used to have an established social group as well. However, a couple of months

before my arrival it dissolved due to internal conflicts that escalated during their summer holiday. Following Eckert's work with Jocks and Burnouts (2000), I decided to focus on individuals from the established social groups as it is within these kinds of social groups the notable linguistic constructions take place. This is also why I focused on the focal seven individuals in the quantitative and qualitative analyses; these seven individuals were core members – if not 'leaders' – of the different social groups, and I observed that they indeed were frontrunners when it came to how to dress, speak and behave in their groups.

	Interview	**Group work**	**Self-recording**
The popular boys			
Mikkel	x (00:12:57)	x (00:08:54* + 00:13:16*)	x (00:21:17* + 00:05:43*)
Otto		x (00:08:54* + 00:13:16*)	x (00:21:17*)
Adrian		x (00:10:34*)	x (00:21:17* + 00:09:22*)
Per	x (00:22:10)	x (00:08:54* + 00:10:34* + 00:13:16*)	x (00:21:17* + 00:05:43* + 00:09:22*)
Buster		x (00:10:34*)	x (00:21:17*)
The scooter boys			
Benny Bob	x (00:10:23)	x (00:13:17* + 00:10:55* + 00:08:49*)	x (00:10:42* + 00:10:01* + 00:09:50*)
Tim	x (00:13:56*)	x (00:13:17 *+ 00:10:55*)	x (00:10:42* + 00:10:01* + 00:09:50*)
Torben		x (00:13:17 + 00:10:55* + 00:12:53* + 00:10:58*)	
Peter	x (00:17:55)	x (00:13:17 + 00:12:53* + 00:10:58*)	
Lars	x (00:13:56*)	x (00:13:17 + 00:10:55* + 00:09:12*)	x (00:10:42* + 00:10:01* + 00:09:50*)

Jes		x (00:13:17 + 00:10:55* + 00:09:12*)	x (00:10:42* + 00:10:01* + 00:09:50*)
The popular girls			
Trine		x (00:12:36* + 08:58*)	x (00:08:41*)
Vilma		x (00:12:36* + 00:08:58*)	
Celine	x (00:12:10)	x (00:12:36* + 00:08:58*)	x (00:08:41* + 00:12:03*)
Frida	x (00:10:47)	x (00:12:36* + 08:58*)	x 08:41* + 12:03*
Emma		x (00:12:36* + 00:08:58*)	
My		x (00:12:36* + 00:08:58*)	x (00:12:03*)
The clever girls			
Brenda	x (00:10:49)	x (00:07:24* + 00:11:10*)	x (00:11:00* + 00:07:58*)
Gina		x (00:07:24* + 00:11:10*)	x (00:11:00* + 00:07:58*)
Sif		x (00:07:24* + 00:11:10*)	
Christina	x (00:06:02)	x (00:07:24* + 00:11:10*)	
Mille		x (00:07:24* + 00:11:10*)	
Other pupils			
Liam	x (00:13:18)		x (00:11:00*)
Jens		x (00:10:34*)	x (00:11:00*)
Laura	x (00:11:49)	x (00:08:43*)	
Eva		x (00:09:12*)	
Emilie	x (00:16:10)	x (00:08:43* + 00:09:12*)	
Malene		x (00:08:43* + 00:09:12*)	
Line		x (00:09:31*)	
Mie		x (00:09:31*)	x (00:11:00* + 00:07:58*)
Palle		x (00:09:12*)	
Mona			x (00:11:00* + 00:14:17*)
Yasmin	x (00:07:05)		x (00:11:00* + 00:14:17*)

Petra			
Minutes in total	**165,4**	**167,7**	**131,3**[4]

Table 1. The table shows the pseudonymized names of the 34 pupils I observed. If they agreed to make a recording, there is an 'x' accompanied by a number of minutes indicating the length of the recording. If there is an asterisk (*) after the number of minutes, it means that more than one pupil participated in the recording. These recordings have only been counted once in the total minute count. The grey bars indicate the social groups the pupils belonged to, and the blue bars indicate the pupils selected for the quantitative and qualitative analysis in this paper.

The data collection included field notes, interviews, and audio recordings. Table 1 shows which types of recordings each pupil contributed with and how many minutes each of the recordings were. In total I collected 464,4 minutes (7,74 hours). In total I wrote 52 hand-written pages of fieldnotes equivalent to approximately 7800 words[5]. The audio recordings were transcribed manually, which means I listened to each recording one time at first. Once I decided on the 7 pupils to continue with, I re-listened to their audio recordings at least twice. Meanwhile, I transcribed in Word. I selected 10-minute audio bites of each of the students (in total I transcribed 200 minutes of audio). I chose 10 minutes as the interviews and self-recordings rarely were longer than that, and if they were, it would typically be because they went quiet for minutes. Using 10 minutes for each pupil means that it is approximately the same amount of words uttered by each of them across the recordings. I made a thematic analysis of the transcriptions (Braun and Clarke 2006; 2022), meaning I labelled each paragraph or utterance with a keyword. These keywords could be 'humor', 'future dreams', 'mathematics problems' etc. The thematic analysis is a rigorous approach to systematically detect patterns in qualitative data, and it became evident that the paragraphs and utterances with Funic pronunciations followed a certain pattern where the social functions and meanings exhibited in the analysis became clear. The excerpts selected in the analysis are therefore examples from themes emerging across all the data analyzed. The excerpts will be analyzed inductively in close readings,

[4] This is the number of the self-recordings suitable to be a part of the dataset. Several recordings contained information I did not feel comfortable collecting (e.g. with private information), and I deleted them immediately.
[5] The handwritten notes as well as the audio recordings are archived safely and are suitable for reuse.

where I first focus on the context of the excerpt, and then turn to linguistic content and its indexical meanings.

3.2. Social organization of the pupils

The characteristics of the four established social groups will be introduced more thoroughly in this section. The labels used for the social groups have been introduced to me by the groups themselves and I have slightly rephrased them to keep them anonymized. They are therefore primarily emic (invented by the adolescents themselves), but due to minor adjustments also etic to some extent (Cramer 2018). I believe an advantage of emic labelling in sociolinguistic fieldwork studies is that we come closer to the individuals' own perception of themselves, and as researchers we can therefore build a more correct understanding of the participants.

The popular boys	The popular girls
Strong feeling of community Go to sports and fitness together Hang out at each other's homes daily Care about school and grades Wear tracksuits and down jackets Expensive gadgets Party a lot	Wear crop tops and tracksuits Wear a lot of makeup and jewelry Do not care much about school Party a lot The most popular friend group in the entire school
Scooter boys	**Clever girls**
Everyone has a scooter Everyone smokes Go to the supermarket in the breaks Ride scooters together after school and meet up to rig the scooters Not invested in school Wear hoodies and track suits	Very dedicated to schoolwork Use a lot of spare time on homework Wear long-sleeved shirts and jeans Use no or minimal make-up Elite sport athletes

According to Coupland, a sociolinguistic researcher must attend to a group's norms and values to understand the meaning of linguistic variation within the social group: "It is in relation to group norms that stylistic variation becomes meaningful; it is through individual stylistic choices that group norms are produced and reproduced" (Coupland 2010:198). I will therefore interpret the social meanings within the frames of the individuals' social identities and group norms to better understand which social functions and social meanings the dialectal variation has.

4. Analysis

4.1. Correlations between social groups

Gender emerged as the most significant variable in the analysis. The ’popular boys’ and the 'scooter boys' frequently engaged in codeswitching to Funic, whereas the 'popular girls' and the 'clever girls' rarely did so. In fact, it happened occasionally that the ‘clever girls’ perceived Funic speech as Jutlandic. This suggests that some of the girls neither used nor were completely able to recognize Funic speech. The gendered pattern of dialect use is consistent with previous research, which has shown that female speakers tend to favor Standard Danish forms more than male speakers, and that regional dialects often may index qualities preferred in male friend groups such as masculinity (Pedersen 2002; Schøning 2017).

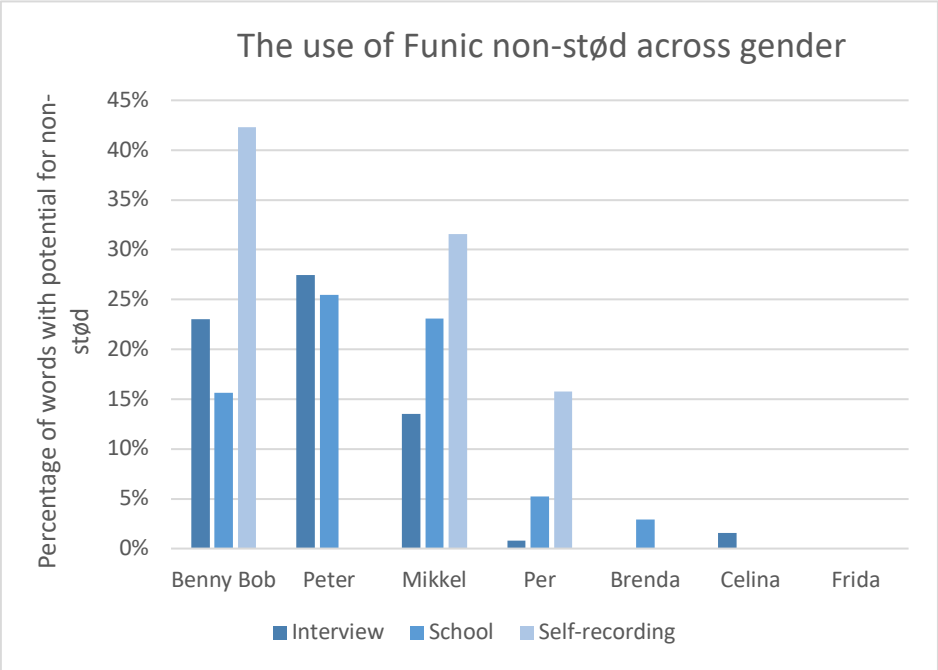

Figure 5. The figure shows how the four males (Benny Bob, Peter, Mikkel, Per) use Funic non-stød more than the three females (Brenda, Celina and Frida). The percentage shown is the percentage of all words with potential of non-stød across respectively the interviews, school-recordings and self-recordings. NB. Peter never made a self-recording.

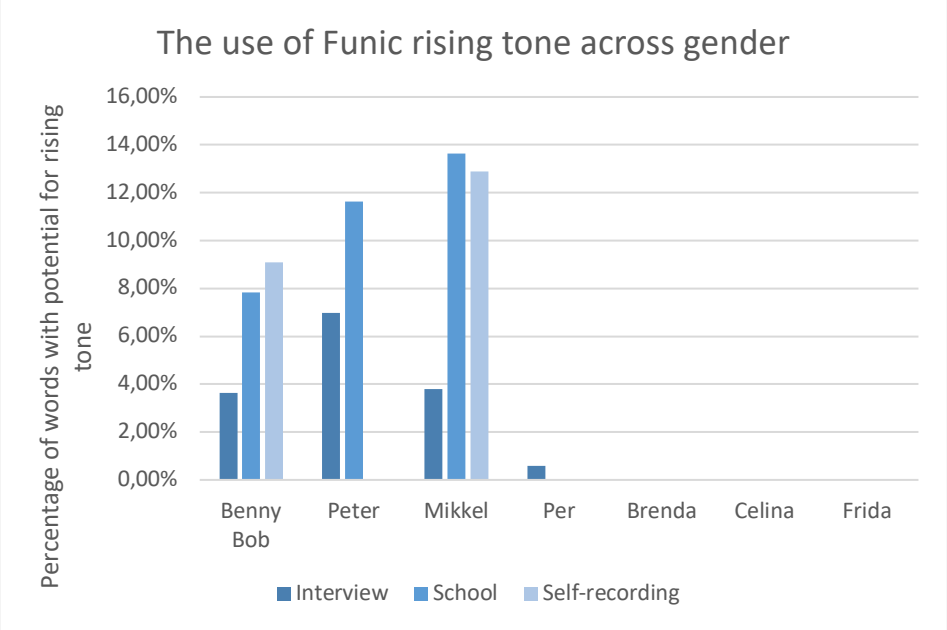

Figure 6. The figure shows how the three males (Benny Bob, Peter, Mikkel) use Funic rising tone more than the three females (Brenda, Celina and Frida) and Per. The percentage shown is the percentage of all words with potential for rising tone across the interviews, school-recordings and self-recordings. According to Poul Andersen, a rising tone is most often realized in monosyllables with high vowels (or o) (Andersen 1958, 36-37). These are the criteria for words I have considered potential rising tones. NB. Peter never made a self-recording.

Figure 5 and 6 illustrates a clear gendered pattern in the use of Funic features among the adolescents. The male pupils (Benny Bob, Peter, Mikkel and Per) generally use more Funic forms than their female peers (Brenda, Celina and Frida). Brenda and Celina occasionally use non-stød, and this happened if they were very nervous or excited about something or tried to make other girls laugh (Boas 2023b). The use of non-stød forms among the male pupils were most prominent in their self-recordings, indicating that there are more occasions and appropriate social contexts to use Funic when they record themselves compared to the recordings made during the school day and during the interviews with me. However, Benny Bob (a 'scooter boy') uses more non-stød in his interview than during the school day compared to Mikkel and Per (both 'popular boys') which could indicate that there are different rules for when to use dialect forms

depending on the social rules and interpretive framework in the different social groups. Figure 6 shows the use of rising tones which occurred less frequently than the non-stød forms. Here, the gendered pattern continues with one exception: Per does not seem to use rising tone as much as his male peers. There can be several explanations for this. A plausible one, drawing on the work of Monka, Quist and Skovse (2020), is that because he is not from Funen and he orients himself away from Funen in the future (he wishes to move to the USA after high school) he might be less inclined to use Funic forms that carry stronger indexical associations (which the rising tone seems to be compared to the non-stød as examples in the following sections will show).

Given that the majority of adolescents who actively use Funic variants are male, and in line with the study's focus on the meanings and functions of the use of Funic, the analysis will concentrate on the male friend groups' use of Funic.

4.2. Social meanings and functions of Funic speech

The analysis will argue that the social meanings and functions are purposely invoked and created by the Funic adolescents. The social meanings are localness, humor and being daft and an oaf. The functions are different facework strategies.

4.2.1. A sense of localness

We know from sociodialectology that language and place are closely related, as dialects, for example, belong to geographically limited areas. Newer research shows that dialectic speech forms play a crucial role in constructing local identity in societies all around the world (e.g. Johnstone 2011; Mortensen 2020). This article argues that Funic speech plays a central role in shaping local identity among adolescents in Skårup. In the following sections I look further into the social meanings the use of Funic can index that correlate with stereotypical Funic characteristics.

Being Funic seemed to be something that most of the adolescents were quite aware of. The boys engaged actively in practices that strengthened their relation to the island. The popular boys cheered on OB (the regional football team), and they often wore football team t-shirts to school. A lot of them had chosen to go to boarding schools on Funen after finishing the primary school in Skårup, because they wanted to stay on the

island. The scooter boys were not interested in sports. Instead, they frequently referred to the cult "local" movie *Polle fra Snave*, a fictional movie about a Funic man, Polle, who is presented as funny and naïve. They quoted lines from the movie in everyday situations and jokingly compared each other to characters, which seemed to serve a cultural reference point for their self-understanding. For instance, after riding around Skårup on their scooters, they would answer my questions about their ride with phrases like "total i orden køretur-tur" (totally OK drive-drive) which is a direct reference to the DJ, Harske Hubbi, from the *Polle fra Snave* movie, who claims he has a "total I orden musiksmag-smag" (totally OK music taste-taste).

Furthermore, the boys appeared conscious of their use of Funic. It was thus not like a default vernacular style for them, but rather a register they could stylize to call upon certain social meanings in certain social situations. During an interview with Per, one of the popular boys, I asked him why he believed that they codeswitched to Funic sometimes.

Excerpt 1:

		Danish transcription	**English translation**
01	INT	hvorfor tror du, at nogle i klassen nogle gange snakker fynsk?	why do you think some in the class speak Funic sometimes?
02	Per	årh (0.5) det er mest drengene der gør det	oh (0.5) it is mostly the boys who do that
03	INT	det har jeg også lagt mærke til. hvis du skal mærke efter i dig selv, hvorfor tror du så at I drenge taler fynsk nogle gange?	i've noticed that too. if you are looking into yourself, why would you say that you boys sometimes speak Funic?
04	Per	der er vel en slags kærlighed til det, altså til at være fra Fyn, og så gør vi samtidig lidt grin med det	I guess there is a kind of love for it, I mean being from Funen, and at the same time we make a bit fun of it
05	INT	mmm, okay, det giver mening	mmm, okay, that makes sense
06	Per	ja man virker bare sådan mere fynsk-agtig når man siger noget på fynsk og det synes vi er ret sjovt	yeah you just seem more Funic-ish when you say something in Funic, and we believe that is quite fun

07	INT	hvordan er man fynsk-agtig, synes du? sådan hvad karakteriserer ligesom en fynsk-agtig person?	how are you Funic-ish, would you say? like what would you say characterizes a Funic-ish person?
08	Per	mm, det ved jeg ik (0.8) måske både lidt sjov men også lidt bondsk og gammel i det	mm, I don't know (0.8) maybe both a bit fun but also a bit rural and old-ish

Per's response highlights the gender pattern in the Funic speech practices and substitutes the findings in section 4.1. In line 02, he links the use of Funic specifically to the boys in the class, implicitly excluding most of the girls from using Funic this way. When asked why they choose to speak Funic, Per addresses two explanations. First, he states that they speak Funic out of love for being from Funen (line 04). While this is not necessarily the same as being proud of being from Funen, they are still embracing what it means to them to be from Funen, including speaking the dialect in socially meaningful contexts. Second, he notes that they also make "fun of it" (line 04). He reveals what it is they make fun of in line 08, where he, after some considerations, expresses that being Funic to him is associated with being fun, rural and old. He adds that speaking Funic makes the boys appear "more Funic-ish" (line 06). Following Eckert's notion on how local speech can index characteristics associated with local stereotypes (Eckert 2012:94) this can be interpreted as an example of the regional dialect serving as a resource for indexing regional identity. Johnstone and colleagues similarly observe in their study of Pittsburghese that "regional forms are now increasingly heard as signals of authentic local identity and can be used to project localness (…) some "markers", in other words, have become stereotypes" (2006:93). Per's phrasing – that they "do that" (line 02) – when he talks about the boys speaking with regional forms, indicates that it is a practice indeed. He adds that it makes them appear more Funic when they speak Funic. This comment reflects that they use enregistered features from the regional dialect to project localness. In the following sections I will elaborate on what Funic forms the adolescents use to call upon these traits.

4.2.2 Humor

Humor, playfulness and making others laugh occasionally seemed to be central social values among many of the pupils, particularly within the male

friend groups. However, what was considered humorous varied across social groups and appeared to be part of a broader stylistic performance. For example, the 'scooter boys' often joked about each other's perceived lack of intelligence, while the 'popular girls' tended to tease each other about their dating lives. Among the boys, codeswitching to Funic played a key role in the humorous interactions. Funic features would often be a part of utterances intended to make others laugh and smile, suggesting that the dialect served as a resource for performing group-specific humor.

This section focuses on two members of the 'popular boys' group: Mikkel and Per. Mikkel is a clever and driven adolescent who in an interview describes himself as:

> "Uhm, clever and kind ... and very 'on'. I mean, I like to be a part of things, if I can put it like that (…). And I don't want to do any ... don't want to step on any … I mean I try to be friends with everyone even though I'm not always interested in them. It is important to me to have a good reputation".

After observing Mikkel's social skills it became clear that he was able to balance being ambitious in school while also being close friends with the fraction of the popular boys' group who did not involve themselves that much in schoolwork. This meant that he was liked by everyone: among his peers who invited him to parties every weekend, and among the teachers who asked him to teach a P.E. lesson about handball, which he plays at a high level in his sparetime. Mikkel's ability to balance academic and physical ambition with social popularity made him a central figure in the class.

Excerpt 2[6]:

		Danish transcription	**English translation**
01	INT	hvorfor hva spiller du på banen	why what do you play in the field
02	Mikkel	jeg spiller (.) bagspiller (x det har jeg aldrig x)	I play (.) left back (x I've never x)
03	INT	*uh nice* (0.3) jeg var altid på højre *fløj*	*uh nice* (0.3) I was always right *winger*

[6] Absence of stød will be transcribed with IPA in bold. Rising tonal accents will be transcribed with IPA in bold with an underlining.

04	Mikkel	nå: he he he det da ogs (.) 😊hvis du var **go** til **det** jo 😊	oh: he he he that's also (.) 😊 if you were **good** at **it** ey 😊
05	INT	😊 eh: jeg ved ikke om det var derfor, jeg tror he he he 😊	😊 ehh: i'm not sure that was the reason, I think he he he 😊
06	Mikkel	[he he he he]	[he he he he]
07	INT	det var nok mere bare sådan (0.1) skraldespanden	it was probably more like (0.1) the dumpster
08	Mikkel	😊 ha ha (.) nå	😊 ha ha (.) oh well

In excerpt 2, Mikkel discussed his position as a handball player, a position that suggests he is quite a talented player. Drawing on my own experience as a handball player, I responded that I used to play the right wing (a position often used for the less talented players, as it does either require a lot of talent or a left-handed person to play it well). Mikkel immediately identified the ambiguity, and that I probably was not a particularly good player. To understand what happened next in the conversation, one must keep in mind that it was important to Mikkel that everyone felt at ease in this company. He made a code-switch to Funic as he said "[go: te de jo]" (if you *were good at it*, *ey*). He used non-stød to pronounce 'good' and rising tone to pronounce 'it'. He smiled as he said it. The code-switch brought me to laugh, and the conversation thus took a humoristic turn initiated by Mikkel. Such a situation suggests that Funic features can have a humoristic social function. Funic people are often portrayed as humoristic and fun (Ladegaard 2002; Bøegh n.d.; Boas et al. forth.). When a linguistic feature is used like this, to evoke stereotypical traits, it suggests that the variety is enregistered to a third order of indexicality (Silverstein 2003; Eckert 2019). In this case, Funic speech is not only a regional dialectal form, but an enregistered semiotic resource used to index humor.

Mikkel's use of Funic can also be interpreted as an example of facework: a politeness strategy to help me save face in a moment where the comparison between our levels of handball skills could have become uncomfortable. As it is important for him to be friends with everyone and uphold a good reputation, humor becomes a strategic tool for him to make the differences between us become more fun and he thereby reinforces the cohesion between us. Per and Buster are also members of the 'popular boys', and they too care about the image they portray to others as well as ensuring themselves the best possible options for their future. Per has

already started two small businesses at the age of 15, and he aims to be either an engineer, an astronaut or an entrepreneur when he grows up. He knows this means he probably must live in USA for a period of time. Buster is not as ambitious career-wise; however, he is very ambitious in his social life. He is very popular among both the boys in the class, and certainly also among the girls (this information was reported by the girls). In line with Mikkel, he described himself in an interview: "I really enjoy that people like me, and … if that's okay to say ... it's honestly also important for me to make sure everyone is happy when they are around me and I think that is something other people like". In excerpt 3, Per and Buster are interacting. They are welcoming their friend home, who has been travelling to a Pacific island for several weeks. The classroom is filled with pupils who are all swarming around the friend who is back from vacation. Per and Buster both attempt to cut through the noise and gain his attention by making him laugh. They do so by commenting on his new tan.

Excerpt 3:

		Danish transcription	**English translation**
01	Per	han er helt BLACK	he is completely BLACK
02	Buster	😊 hallo (.) ka du godt lige do**ne**re **noget** 😊	😊 hello (.) can you **donate some** of it 😊

In excerpt 3, Per attempts to gain his friend's attention by commenting on his tan, using the English word "black" (line 01) instead of the Danish "sort". He stylizes the pronunciation both by saying it loud and with a tense release of the initial /b/. There can be several reasons why he chooses to pronounce his utterance this way, but the context taken into consideration, it is likely that he tried to attract attention and possibly provoke. If an individual uses a certain style that indexes qualities associated with a social group one would not typically associate a given speaker with, they are 'crossing' (Rampton 1995). When crossing, an individual can draw on the characteristics typically associated with this population (Rampton 1995; Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Auer 2006; Coupland 2013). It seems that that is what Per does, as he utters that the light skin of his friend has become

'black'. It can be interpreted as provoking and socially incorrect behavior for someone not black to call another person black. In this situation it is likely an attempt to receive a reaction from his peers, who often find slightly boundary seeking language-use humorous. However, it goes relatively unnoticed, and this is when Buster utters his comment with Funic pronunciations. Buster does not respond directly to Per's utterance but turns to their mutual friend and asks him if he will donate (some of his tan), using a non-stød pronunciation on 'donate'. He uses the Funic pronunciation to underline the humor intended (because one obviously cannot donate tan). Contrary to Per, Buster's utterance makes their friends laugh, including the friend who returned from vacation. In this case, the Funic pronunciation is both intended and interpreted as humoristic.

Both Mikkel and Buster temporarily use Funic features in a highly stylized manner, where single words are pronounced in Funic but not entire utterances. The same pattern of dialect use has been observed on Bornholm: "local dialect is not used as an unmarked everyday register. Instead, the young people speak Standard Danish and only use dialect in very specific contexts and with specific functions, usually highly stylized" (Maegaard 2020:1). Variants structured and used like this are never random (Blommaert and Varis 2011:4), and because the examples show that Funic in certain situations is used to call upon humor and laughs, humor seems to be a very central element in the linguistic practice of adolescents using Funic today.

4.2.3 Being daft/an oaf

The 'scooter boys' position themselves in opposition to many of the expectations placed on them from the school and society, and they established their own standards for what was valuable and meaningful for them to spend time on. This was particularly the case within the school system, where I observed their behavior. To them it was unimportant to be on time every morning or after the breaks, it was unimportant to achieve high grades, or to have prepared homework, and it was unimportant to participate actively in class. They did, on the other hand, have youth jobs at the local mechanic or supermarket, where it was important to excel, do a good job and earn money to improve their scooters. Opposite the group of popular boys, the scooter boys did not mind portraying themselves as naive, even a bit stupid, and as someone who did not aspire to meet the

expectations to them from society (mostly represented by their teachers and parents). In the following conversation two of the scooter boys are recording themselves as they have left the school campus to go to the local supermarket. Here, they discuss the new scooter one of them plans on acquiring soon, and how he does not plan on riding on it within the legal speed limits. This conversation exemplifies an oaf identity that is central to this social group, but also a characteristic trait that several of the informants expressed they associated with rural Funic people. As they discuss the illegal scooter and how they plan on driving it, the use of Funic non-stød gradually increases during their conversation.

Excerpt 4:

		Danish transcription	**English translation**
01	BB	en Yogger AS?	A Yogger AS?
02	Lars	ja fordi det har jeg faktisk lovet mig selv.	yeah because I've actually promised myself that.
03	BB	vil du så købe den lovligt fra start **af**? eller?	will you buy it legally from the beginning? or?
04	Lars	😊 nej! 😊 den jeg har kigget **på** egå, den kører 100 plus	😊 no! 😊 the one I've looked at, right, it goes a 100 plus
05	BB	he he	He he
06	Lars	min mor sagde jaa, men det fint nok Lars	my mom said yeaah but it's all right Lars
07	BB	ja?	yeah?
08	Lars	bare du kører **ordentligt**!	as long as you drive **properly**
09	BB	du kommer du ik til he he	you're not going to do that he he
10	Lars	nej! **overho't** ik! det skal være baghjul hele vejen til **Skårup**	no! not at **all**! it is going to be the rear wheel all the way to **Skårup**
11	BB	flyver med **90** km/t på baghjul forbi *uklart*	flying with **90** km/h on the rear wheel across *unclear*
12	Lars	hvorfor ik 100 kilometer? bare forbi skolen, map map maaap mh mh mh mmmm	why not 100 kilometers? just past the school map map maaap mh mh mh mmmm

13	BB	he he og så lige ta et **barn** me på **vejen** å hårh der var sgu da et **bump** der ik **normalt** var der	he he and then hit a **child** on the **road** oh he there was a **bump** here that wasn't here **normally**
14	Lars	he he he	he he he

During the interviews, I consistently asked the pupils how they would characterize the different social groups in their class. All the pupils talked about the 'scooter boys' as 'bøvede', a Danish adjective which loosely could be translated into 'oaf' or the adjective 'daft', referring to a laidback, uncultivated, unintelligent, rude and silly behavior. Members of the group themselves would, laughingly, also use that adjective to describe themselves, indicating that they were quite aware of the social signals they projected. Their humor is also quite outspoken as it shows in excerpt 4, and it seems as if the dafter they become, the more Funic they speak. Benny Bob makes the first codeswitch to a Funic variant in line 03, when he asks if Lars plans to buy his new scooter legally. Choosing to switch at this exact time in the interaction suggests that Benny Bob is aware that this question is on the border of what is socially acceptable. When using Funic he draws on the indexes to humor and a self-awareness of the oaf scooterboy-stereotype; Lars seems to perceive the intention of his codeswitch as a humorous mitigation of a boundary-seeking question as he replies laughingly with a "No!" (line 04). He then continues to joke about how he is going to drive the scooter illegally, using Funic forms occasionally (line 10-13). In line 13 Benny Bob makes a dark joke about driving the scooter so fast he accidentally runs over a child outside the school. As previous work shows (Boas 2023b), Funic forms can be used by different social groups to mitigate dark humor and statements in a way that makes them socially more acceptable. This is also the case in line 13. Lars' laughter in line 14 suggests he interprets the utterance in this way. This is also an example of the scooter boys acting as 'politeness oafs' (discussed in Kiesling 2007), which are characterized by direct commands and being unpolite. The scooter boys are quite direct in their communication with each other and make statements and jokes that are not polite or politically correct. Kiesling argues that this kind of linguistic behavior sets men up to perform masculinity, as politeness can be interpreted as powerless or as feminine behavior in some social groups (Kiesling 2007:667). The oaf

behavior could therefore be interpreted as a part of a masculinity performance among the scooter boys.

In excerpt 1, the 'popular boy' Per stated that being Funic to him meant that one was old, rural and fun. Although the humor portrayed in excerpt 4 is both related to rurality and fun, it would probably be more correct in this case to categorize it as humor used to project daft or oaf characteristics. To Per this did not seem to correlate with his understanding of what being Funic indexes. He nor the rest of the 'popular boys' used Funic if they portrayed themselves as oafs. It thus indicates that the indexical field of social meanings related to Funic speech can be expanded and that it consists of different social meanings with potential to be realized differently depending on what each social group or individual associate with a stereotypical Funic stereotype. In future research, I will test this perceptually to elicit which social meanings the different social groups associate with Funic speech.

4.2.4 Facework

I have already touched upon the interaction between maintaining face and the usage of Funic in section 4.2.2, but in this section, I elaborate on examples of how Funic can be used to mitigate a negative face and is used in social politeness strategies. Throughout my fieldwork, I often witnessed (or were part of) interactions where informants would experience face-threatening situations, meaning social situations where they were in danger of losing their face and thereby experience a threat to the persona they tried to portray to others (Goffman 1967). There were different topics or circumstances that could threaten different individuals from upholding their identity performances, as they had their own individual social identities constituted on the different rules of social interaction and behavior in the different social groups. Among the 'popular boys', for example, I observed that they avoided topics that could portray them as vulnerable in order to appear as masculine as possible. They would go to the gym a few times during the week together, and they therefore discussed muscles and training quite a lot. If they were talking about girls, it was rarely about how they felt for them but rather the girls' looks and who kissed who. Whenever someone fell sick (and appeared vulnerable) I noticed that they rarely spoke about it. Initially, I was not quite sure this was a social rule in their group, so I decided to ask Mikkel, one of the

'popular boys', about his few days of absence while he was doing schoolwork with other members of his social group.

Excerpt 5:

		Danish transcription	**English translation**
01	INT	var du der ik da de så film Mikkel	were you not there when they watched the movie Mikkel
02	Mikkel	nej (0.4) der var jeg lige nød til å ta hjem	no (0.4) I just had to go home
03	INT	du har været lidt syg på det sidste (.) har du ik	you've been a bit sick recently (.) haven't you
04	Mikkel	jo:hh det har jeg (0.5) haft feber å ondt i **halsen** å sådan lidt	jo:hh I have (0.5) had fever and a sore **throat** and stuff like that
05	INT	nå det da irriterende	oh that's annoying
06	Mikkel	[jah]	yeah
07	INT	er du ved at være (0.1) stærkt tilbage nu	so have you made a (0.1) strong return now
08	Mikkel	jo:aw (.) eh jeg har stadig lidt **ondt** i **halsen** (.) men ellers så (0.1) så det **fint**	ye:ah (.) eh i still have a bit of **a sore throat** (.) but besides from that (0.1) it's **fine**

When I asked Mikkel about his recent illness, his brief responses show a reluctance to engage further in a conversation with me, which suggest discomfort discussing this topic in front of his friends. After an initial attempt to end the conversation (line 02), Mikkel increasingly employed Funic features which served two key functions. First, they shifted the tone of the interaction from serious to humorous, diffusing potential tension between us. Second, they operated as a code-switching strategy through which Mikkel regains control over a face-threatening situation. His face as a not vulnerable member of the 'popular boys' is threatened by me insisting on getting him to tell me about his illness in this situation. According to Goffman's facework theory (1967), individuals go to great lengths to preserve their self-image and avoid humiliation. Among the popular boys it is perceived as emasculating to be sick and cared for, and this is something they want to avoid. It is therefore important for Mikkel to regain control in front of his friends. By trivializing the questions about his illness, Mikkel effectively initiates a corrective process that protects his face in

front of his friends. As he uses a rising tone in the end on 'fine' his friends laugh and pat his back, and he thus successfully turned the conversation around and regained his face as a humoristic, outgoing and entertaining young man.

4.2.5 A positive face strategy

Speaking with regional forms appeared to serve as a strategy for appealing to a common positive face within in the two male social groups. Several factors point towards this assumption. First, Funic speech seemed to be something most of them associated with humor, irony, and meaningful in-group communication. Even when used playfully or mockingly, there is, as Mikkel stated, the love towards the local language is central in this as well (see section 4.1.1). Once there is an agreement about Funic as something enregistered to common positive associations, they can begin to use Funic to appeal to a common positive face. Because of this, Funic forms could be used as a persuasive strategy to convince someone to do something they might initially have rejected.

Excerpt 6:

		Danish transcription	**English translation**
01	Per	hvis du bar snakker stille og roligt ind til den **her**	if you just talk easy and steady into this one **here**
02	Buster	😊 nå den der rekord **ting**(.) det den der rekorder **der**	😊 oh that recording **thing** (.) that recorder **there**

In this excerpt coming from one of Per's self-recordings, it appears that different positions are involved. On the one hand, Per wants Buster to participate in making the self-recording. I observed them during this interaction and saw Per trying unsuccessfully to put the dictaphone in front of Buster two times before he uttered a sentence with a Funic non-stød variant, as can be seen in line 01. Buster thus has a negative face in this case, and Per tries to appeal to him with a positive face strategy by drawing on their common positive stance towards using Funic forms. I will therefore argue that Per's codeswitch can be interpreted as a use of positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson 1978; 1987) to persuade him to join the self-recording. Positive politeness is a degree of politeness used to

make someone do something they do not necessarily want to do. Per uses Funic as a strategic element to convince Buster that joining the recording is also in his interest by appealing to a common positive face. The approach has a positive effect, because this time Buster engages and replies with two code-switches with a rising tone and a non-stød variant. He has already made a self-recording prior to this recording. Therefore, he uses the Funic identity to position himself as an oaf and as slow when he pretends not knowing how to use a dictaphone. When doing this he engages in the practice with a humoristic approach that seems to fit their understanding of what Funic can be used for.

5. Discussion

This article has argued that the Funic regional dialect is an enregistered variety which has the potential to index localness, humor, daftness/being an oaf, and to carry out certain social functions such as facework and positive politeness appealing to shared positive face. These findings contribute with sociodialectological knowledge about a central area that has not been studied for a long time compared to other Danish regions. The analysis suggests that many Funic adolescents are not only aware of their regional dialect, but that it has been enregistered, so they can understand its social potential to index qualities, and they understand how to use it strategically.

While it is still unclear from the analysis whether absence of stød and rising tones features index different qualities or merely different degrees of Funic identity, my observations and the excerpts selected for this analysis suggest that rising tones are more salient as they are used as highly stylized and possibly as 'extra' Funic; they thus serve as a strong regional marker. For instance, in excerpt 5, Mikkel's rising intonation on "fint" counterbalances the seriousness of his illness with humor, and in excerpt 6, Buster's rising tone in the response to Per's attempt to appeal to their common positive face shows that he accepted the strategic approach. These findings imply that rising tones play a more pronounced role than the absence of stød which is still used as marked speech often with less of a reaction from the speaker's peers. Rising tones were not a part of the South-Funic dialect traditionally, and it can therefore be interpreted as a hyperdialectism when the adolescents use it stylized and strategically. Besides the rising tones, they continue to use the traditional South Funic

non-stød. Previous research has shown that hyperdialectisms have been used to sound local and authentic (Trudgill 1988:551), which also seems to be the case in Skårup. The adolescents use rising tone to perform a local, Funic identity. Whether they purposely add a new variant to the dialect, or they believe the rising tone has always been a part of the South-Funic dialect is unclear. However, since they generally use a limited amount of dialectal features it is likely that they do not know what traditionally was characteristic of South-Funic speech, and instead turn to the features with the strongest indexes to Funic characteristics.

Recent studies have shown that different Danish regional varieties have specific social functions and meanings, and with this analysis in mind it seems like different regional dialects index different social meanings. For example, de-dialectalization in Hirtshals and Bornholm has led to dialectal features signaling social accessibility, intimacy, humor, or they serve to mitigate face-threatening acts (Mortensen, 2020; Stæhr and Larsen, 2020). Similarly, in Oksbøl, stylized or regional forms projects an 'awkward' identity (Schøning 2017). The oaf characteristics thus seem to be exclusive to Funic, just as the awkwardness seems to be exclusive to West Jutlandic. These differences suggest that the use of dialect is closely connected to perceptions of regional stereotypes and presupposed associations with local speakers.

Coupland argues that codeswitches to a dialect style can be used to call upon social meanings associated with the variety. He furthermore argues that in a world where we are increasingly exposed to language codes the active choice to use regional dialect is to show a particular cultural and social position (Coupland 2010:204). In the present case, Funic is used as a way of signaling a common positive stance towards the local. The informants also seem to make fun of the local by drawing on stereotypical traits (such as the ones exhibited in *Polle fra Snave*), but there is a warmth to it, still.

In their study of the use of Bornholmian speech, Stæhr and Larsen discuss if this use of regional dialect is an expression of a terminal stage of de-dialectatization (2020), using 'stylistic shrinkage' (Campbell and Muntzell 1989) as a term that captures the marked choices of using dialect as a stylistic choice. Using regional dialect as marked can very well be an expression of a terminal stage of the traditional dialects. The adolescents who use regional dialect were expected not to use any dialect at all due to

the strong language ideology in Denmark (Maegaard 2020), however, the adolescents (and the younger Funic generation) actively use regional dialects in numerous places across the country. This suggests that while there might be a strong language ideology amongst them preferring regional standard language (Hansen and Goldshtein 2021) or Copenhagen standard language (Kristiansen 2009), there is also an active choice to speak locally. It is difficult to tell if this is a case of stylistic shrinkage and a last step in a de-dialectatization process or if this is an expression of a generation with a growing curiosity to explore locally embedded social meanings and local orientation in a time where the whole world is available to them online – and to a large extent also in real life.

6. Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that Funic speech among adolescents in Skårup is not only actively used but also has the potential to convey socially meaningful information. Funic functions as an enregistered variety capable of indexing qualities associated with stereotypical Funic traits and capable of carrying out social functions. It was particularly the Funic features of rising tones and non-stød forms that seemed to be able to establish an index to these qualities. Not surprisingly, the analysis showed a gendered pattern where the male friends groups engaged in stylized use of Funic forms, and the female groups did not. Through an in-depth analysis of transcribed recordings of interviews, school group work and self-recordings it became clear that the Funic features are used strategically by the adolescents to index social qualities such as humor, localness and daftness/being an oaf, and that these Funic forms can be used to strategically to carry social functions such as managing face, using politeness strategies and overall perform a local, Funic identity. It depended on the interpretative framework of the different social groups whether a potential social meaning would be realized or not. For example, Funic would never be used to index daftness among the ‘popular boys’, but it would often be used to this among the ‘scooter boys’. Importantly, the stylized use of Funic features suggests a shift from traditional dialect use to dialect style used as marked, performative speech. Future perceptual studies are needed to further explore the indexical field of Funic speech and to understand exactly how different social groups interpret and associate meaning with regional features. This will broaden our understanding of how regional dialects

seem to evolve as tools for social positioning and identity construction among adolescents in contemporary Denmark.

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