
PUSHING THE LIMITS OF V2 – NEW SYNTACTIC OPTIONS IN A DANISH URBAN DIALECT

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Abstract

Studies of urban dialects in the Germanic languages show a development where the otherwise strict V2 syntax rules are supplemented with V3 syntax in specific syntactic and social contexts. Based on recordings of naturally occurring interaction in multilingual areas of Aarhus, Denmark, this paper adds to existing research with an interactional collection analysis of actions supporting V3. It describes six structural subtypes of V3 characterised by different adverbial and object material in first position and shows how the subtypes are connected to three interactional resources used in organising storytelling, claiming epistemic authority and reframing referents or discourse. V3 is often used when contrasting one type of information with another. It does not result in a different semantic meaning, rather it existing possible meanings that could also be emphasised by extra wording or multiple sentences. In the discussion, I argue that the extra syntactic options allow speakers to say more with fewer words by pushing the limits of the rather strict V2 syntax of Standard Danish¹.

Keywords: dialect, Interactional Linguistics, multiethnolect, syntax, V2, V3

1. Introduction

Non-V2 word order has been described in numerous studies of urban dialects in the Germanic languages over the past decades (see Freywald et al. 2015 for an overview). In this article, I investigate how speakers use V3 word order for strategic interactional purposes. The analysis builds on 184 examples of V3-sentences in contexts where V2 was also structurally possible. Traditionally, the focus of studies of urban dialects has been on alternation in different social contexts (e.g. Quist 2008, Maegaard 2005, Christensen 2010, Madsen et al. 2016, Quist & Skovse 2020). This article describes alternation between V2 and V3

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within the same social context: naturally occurring interaction among peers during leisure time activities. V3 word order is widely described in the literature on urban dialects (see below) and is also often used in stereotypical representations of “the problematic immigrant”, as exemplified below in a self-portrait by the late poet Yahya Hassan:

Den ene dag jeg er en sund og velintegreret digter (...)
den næste jeg er sigtet for biltyveri
‘One day I am a healthy and well-integrated poet (...)

the next I am charged with car theft²

(Hassan 2013: 135, my translation)

Linguistic descriptions, however, provide a more nuanced picture. The use of V3 is not an example of grammatically flawed learner language, and it is not directly linked to immigrant languages. Quantitatively, it is not even as frequent as stereotypical portrayals of “multilingual youth” often suggest (Ganuza 2008). This article applies analytical methods from Interactional linguistics (IL, Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018) to describe different forms of V3 and the interactional functions they may serve. Firstly, an analysis of the grammatical, syntactic characteristics of V3 reveals six structural subtypes of V3, differing mainly in the material of the first constituent. Secondly, these six subtypes are used as a starting point for an IL collection analysis that reveals three different interactional functions: 1) supporting storytelling by highlighting a specific timing of events, 2) supporting claims of epistemic authority, and 3) supporting introductions or reframing of referents in stories.

An important underlying assumption in this article is that the occurrence of V3 is not an arbitrary mistake made by individual speakers. It is rather part of a language system, or as Kotsinas (1988) calls it: a dialect. In this article, the term ‘urban dialect’ is used to refer to a linguistic variety that has emerged in a multilingual urban area. Previous studies have used terms such as “multiethnolect” (e.g. Quist 2000, Røyneland & Svendsen 2008) or ‘youth style’ (Madsen et al. 2016), but with increased evidence of linguistic coherence (see sec. 5.4), I argue, in line with Wiese & Rehbein (2016), that the term

² In glossing with grammatical roles of the first three constituents:

<i>[den ene dag]_A</i>	<i>[jeg]_S</i>	<i>[er]_V</i>	<i>en sund og vel=integreret digter</i>
the one day	I	am	a healthy and well.integrated poet
<i>[den næste]_A</i>	<i>[jeg]_S</i>	<i>[er]_V</i>	<i>sigtet for bil=tyveri</i>
the next	I	am	charged with car.theft

‘dialect’ is more accurate. The terminology is further discussed in section 5.4.

1.1 Background

This article rests on four decades of research in urban linguistic varieties in North European urban environments, and in this section, I describe a selection of them. For a thorough review of the research field, I refer to three comprehensive anthologies by Quist & Svendsen (2010), Nortier & Svendsen (2015) and Kerswill & Wiese (2022).

1.1.1 Urban dialects: from a deficit to a variation perspective

The Swedish linguist Kotsinas (1988) was the first to show linguistic consistency in what had previously been considered learner language. Describing spoken language among immigrants and descendants of immigrants in Rinkeby, a suburb of Stockholm, Kotsinas documented a number of new linguistic forms used in systematic ways, forms categorised by Kotsinas as either ‘expansions’ or ‘simplifications’ of standard Swedish. V3 word order was described as a ‘lack of inversion’ and considered as a simplification. However, later studies throughout a number of Northern European cities quickly disputed this by way of more thorough grammatical descriptions. A selection of grammatical studies of V3 is presented below.

1.1.2 Previous structural descriptions of V3

Selting & Kern (2006) provide an interactional linguistic analysis of the pre-positioning (*Voranstellung*) of adverbs in German Türkendeutsch, a structure very similar to what I call V3. They show that pre-posed adverbs serve different functions depending on the degree of prosodic integration, and they classify all examples as either prosodically separated, cliticized or integrated. Integrated examples are excluded in their analysis because they are rare in the data. This is not the case with regard to the analysis in this article where prosodic integration is commonly found and treated as a defining criterion for V3, see section 3.5.

In a quantitative study of V3 in an urban dialect in Sweden, Ganuza (2010) describes the distribution of V2 and V3 (termed ‘XVS’ and ‘XSV’ by Ganuza) where both are possible. The data is from both peer interaction and interviews, which allows Ganuza to compare frequency across social situations. For Norwegian data, Opsahl & Nistov (2010) analyse the distribution of V3 across demographically defined speaker types and different social situations. Structurally, they find that V3

often occurs together with specific adverbs, e.g. “actually” (2009: 25). Opsahl (2009) shows a single example of object-V3 but regards it as an exception. In the present study, adverbs like “actually” also occur but are not the most common, see table 1 in section 3, and object-V3 is treated as a separate category of V3 (section 3.3).

Wiese (2009) studies the German urban dialect *Kiezdeutsch* from a grammatical perspective and points to a ‘framesetter-function’ of clause initial adverbial constituents in V3. Freywald et al. (2015) combine analyses of V3 in Swedish, Norwegian, German, and Dutch studies and suggest that the initial adverbials function as “interpretational frames” or “anchors of the following statement” (Freywald et al. 2015: 89). Freywald et al. state that subjects in the V3s are always a previously introduced topic (*ibid.*). In data from Aarhus, however, examples of new topics do occur as subjects. Freywald et al. point to the interesting fact that V3 is apparently not established in Dutch urban varieties, suggesting the possibility that V3 only develops when grammatical restrictions are loosened, or, in my terminology, when the limits of the standard language’s V2 are being pushed.

Walkden (2017) provides a re-analysis of examples from Freywald et al. (2015) from a generative perspective and concludes that “what unifies these [fronted] elements is that they are invariably adjuncts rather than arguments” (Walkden 2017: 55). Walkden also compares the development of V3 in the urban dialects to the V3/V2 alternation in Old English West Saxon, an interesting perspective that is described further in sec. 5.2.

1.2 Perspective and delimitations of the study

This article pursues a grammatical explanation in line with Wiese (2009) and Freywald et al. (2015) and aims, in Wiese’s words, to “investigate the interplay of grammatical and pragmatic features [that] allow speakers to realise information-structural preferences more directly” (Wiese 2009: 787). V3 is seen through the lens of language internal motivation, and V3 is compared not to learner language or supposed source languages (i.e. other languages used in the areas where the data was collected) but to existing structures in Standard Danish, more specifically, in spoken, informal Danish as it is used in interaction (e.g. Steensig 2001, Brøcker et al. 2012, Puggaard 2019). The analyses are primarily qualitative, though some observations on frequency and distribution are mentioned. The article aims at providing a detailed grammatical and interactional description of V3 which can serve as basis for further investigation of frequency and distribution. Future

sociolinguistic research questions such as who uses V3 in which social contexts may benefit from this nuanced understanding of the subtypes and of the interactional functions that make V3 relevant.

2. Methods and data

In this section, I describe the methodology behind the article's analyses, Interactional Linguistics, including my motivation for using this method to describe word order in the urban dialect in Aarhus. The empirical basis of the analyses is described in detail in sec. 2.3, and the coding procedure leading to the 184 examples of V3 is accounted for in sec. 2.4. Finally, the analytical limitations of the data set and the method are discussed in sec. 2.5.

2.1 Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics

Paraphrasing Steensig (2015: 409-426), Conversation Analysis (CA) is a research methodology which builds on the premises that we as humans create meaning by means of and in the course of interaction, that we acknowledge our understanding to each other and that we interpret each other's signs of understanding and carry on accordingly. All this can be seen by means of detailed transcriptions of recordings of natural interaction, and from detailed analysis, researchers can reveal the patterns and norms that constitute our interactional grammar.

The method underlying Interactional Linguistics (IL) combines concepts from CA such as turn-taking, timing and action design with tools from classic grammatical analyses such as prosodic, morphological and syntactic analyses (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018). IL aims to describe different ways in which a linguistic form can be used for different functions or, vice versa, how a function can be carried out using different forms. In this article, IL is used to find different functions that the form V3 can perform.

Interactional Dialectology (Bockgård & Nilsson 2011) applies IL in studying classical dialectological phenomena. Öqvist (2011) and Huhtamäki (2015), for example, study prosodic forms in traditional dialects in Stockholm and Helsingfors Swedish, respectively. For the same reason I study the form V3 in urban dialects, they study prosodic forms as the primary way in which these dialects stand out from the national standard language. Zachariassen (in press) is another example of Interactional Dialectology used to explore another characteristic feature of the urban dialect in Aarhus, a prosodic pattern called "Strong Finals".

2.2 ‘Interactional function’

The term ‘interactional function’ is widely used but rarely discussed or defined in the same way by various authors. I use the term interactional function in keeping with a definition from Sørensen (2020):

”Interactional functions such as **action**, **stance**, and **turn-taking** can then be considered the purposes that language or grammar is structured to perform” (Sørensen 2020: 19, my emphasis).

Sørensen studies the five words *yes*, *no*, *well*, *okay* and *mm*, under the shared term ”response tokens”, a term chosen because all five words are “**tokens** [...] designed to perform a specific subset of **responsive actions**.” (2020: 18, my emphasis). Sørensen’s five words are tokens, all forms that perform an action, the action of response, but as stated above, a form’s function may also be to take a stance or to perform turn-taking. The form in my study is V3, or rather six structural subtypes of V3 (sec. 3). In my interactional analyses (sec. 4), I find three functions of V3s, two of them in which V3 supports the performing of an **action**, and one in which V3 supports **stance taking**. It is important to note that sec. 4’s collection analyses are informed by, but not defined by, the six form subcategories, and that the three interactional functions only loosely map with the form subtypes. I claim no common name for the three functions, but all three are functions that are particularly useful in storytelling (as further described in sec. 4). A common function that is very broad – and perhaps too generic to capture any interactional relevance – could be that V3 is a storytelling device. Following Sørensen’s (2020: 18) formulation, V3 is a syntactic form designed to support a specific subset of storytelling actions and stance.

Summing up, I do not claim that V3 has one function that it carries out on its own. The collection analyses in sec. 4 point to three functions, each of which supports the speaker in performing specific actions or taking a specific stance.

2.3 The corpus

A central dogma for Interactional Linguistics is that analyses must build on naturally occurring talk-in-interaction since some interactional resources are only relevant when there are multiple speakers taking turns (interaction) and when the content, roles or purpose of the interaction are not prearranged (naturally occurring). The analyses in this article build on a corpus of 17 hours of recordings of natural interaction collected through multi-sited field work in six different

residential areas in Aarhus West and South. The recordings were roughly transcribed and coded for the following linguistic forms: V3, Strong Final prosody (Zachariassen in press), non-standard grammatical gender, non-standard prepositions, non-standard pronunciation of vowels and consonants, interjectional use of the pronoun *dig* ('you') (Zachariassen & Nielsen 2021) and passages having metalinguistic content, e.g. discussions of language terminology. In all cases, "non-standard" is defined as variation from the regional standard in Aarhus. The corpus is available for other researchers³. It consists of audio self-recordings collected by speakers and of audio and video recordings set up by the researcher after observation of frequently occurring activities, for example board games, video games, cooking and study groups. Recordings were collected at elementary schools, high schools, youth clubs and community facilities, all located in residence areas that are characterised by a high degree of linguistic diversity in that many of the inhabitants are immigrants or decedents of immigrants. The selection criterion for participants, however, was that they were born and raised in Aarhus. In informal interviews, all participants reported Danish as their primary everyday language. Some mentioned other languages, for example English for high school (IB Diploma Programme), Arabic for Quran school, Kurdish, Somali, Polish or Vietnamese with grandparents. V3 and other linguistic forms of the urban dialect were also used by participants with no connection to other languages or to immigration.

The corpus contains recordings collected at three different points in time: in 2002-3 by Mette Vedsgaard Christensen (see Christensen 2010), in 2012 by the author, and again in 2017-18 by the author. Participants gave informed consent that the recordings could be used for research. All information that might lead to identification of participants is pseudonymised in transcripts, and data is treated and stored in accordance with the EU data regulation (GDPR). EU GDPR. Additionally, participants were promised that the research would only focus on linguistic forms, e.g. word order, prosody and lexemes, and that their data would not be used for analysis of individual distribution, of themes of conversations or of research questions of sociological character.

³ To access the corpus, please contact the DanTIN research group samtalegrammatik@cc.au.dk or professor Jakob Steensig linjs@cc.au.dk, Aarhus University.

2.4 Analytical process

The analytical process had five steps: 1) impressionistic coding of the dataset, which revealed 184 examples of V3 produced by approx. 60 different speakers from all field sites and all points in time, 2) structural analysis of the 184 examples, which resulted in six syntactic subgroups (sec. 3), 3) fine-grained CA-transcription of surrounding interaction for the 184 examples, 4) validation that the examples indeed differed from standard Danish word order, see detailed description below, and 5) CA collection analysis of the 184 examples, which resulted in three types of interactional functions that V3 can support (sec. 4). Subsequently, additional media data examples were collected (sec. 5).

The validation process consisted of two practices from CA, applied in a non-linear fashion. One is 'next-turn proof procedure' (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) based on the assumption that speakers' subsequent actions are analytical signs of whether a form or an action is accepted and of the meaning that is attributed to it (Arminen 2005: 4, 84-85). Using next-turn proof procedure for validation that none of the V3 examples were just an arbitrary mistake made by the individual speaker meant going through each of the 184 examples to make sure there were no hesitations, restarts, repairs or the like in the following turn (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) and determining whether the other participants in the interaction treated utterances with V3 as acceptable and meaningful. The second CA-practice used for validation was the use of data sessions arranged with other researchers of Danish talk-in-interaction to ensure that V3 was in fact impressionistically different from Standard Danish and from the regional standard in Aarhus and to make sure that the urban dialect was always compared to spoken language with no influence from a written language bias (Linell 2005).

2.5 Limits to the methodology

A CA collection analysis does not aim to give an exhaustive list of all possible functions of a form V3 based on the interactional analysis, and I also do not claim to have found one overall function covering the three functions. The way in which the data is collected and structured in the corpus means that this data cannot say anything about social or individual distribution or frequency. It only shows that something exists and what it consists of, not how often or where it is used in social or individual terms. Observations during the fieldwork showed a strong correlation between speakers' area of residence and whether or not they

used urban dialect features, but these observations have not been quantitatively substantiated.

3. Structural description

The 184 examples of V3 are all found in declarative main clauses. Table 1 show six structural subtypes of V3 defined and named in the leftmost column by the different types of constituent in first position. Some types are frequent, other are less so, see the rightmost column, but all types are found across speakers, across field sites and across time of recordings. The subtypes are either adverbially-initiated (time adverb-V3, *så*-V3, conditional-V3, discourse adverb-V3 and locative-V3) or object-initiated (object-V3). Adverbially-initiated V3 is well-described in previous studies whereas object-V3, though briefly mentioned by Opsahl (2008), has not been described previously. Methodologically, the structural analysis builds on topological grammatical models by Diderichsen (1946) and Hansen & Heltoft (2011) combined with studies of grammar of Danish talk-in-interaction, primarily from the research group DanTIN (samtalegrammatik.dk).

The following subsections describe firstly the existing V2 system of Standard Danish and the way in which V2 typically unfolds in talk-in-interaction and secondly V3 and its different subtypes. Prosodic arguments are provided to explain why V3 in its genuine form differs from similar constructions in standard talk-in-interaction. Finally, a small-sample distribution analysis of one recording is presented to illustrate that such a purely structural analysis does not shed light on the important question of the functions of V3.

Table 1: Subcategories of V3 and total no. of examples in the corpus

Cat.	ID	Example from subcategory with glossing and translation	Total
Time adv.	4)	[i år] _A [jeg] _S [ringede] _V til banken in year I called to bank.the 'this year I called the bank'	28
	5)	[imens vi sad og så filmen] _A [hende der hun] _S [hopper] _V rundt while we sat and saw movie.the her there she jumps around 'while we were watching the movie she was jumping around'	
Adv. 'then'	6)	[så] _A [de] _S [stopper] _V os op then they stop us up 'then they stop us'	69
	7)	å [så] _A [jeg] _S [drak] _V te lige bagefter and then I drank tea just after 'and then I drank tea right afterwards'	
Cond. phrase	8)	[når min far han bliver vred ikkå] _A when my dad he gets angry DISC [hans næse den] _S [begynder] _V å klø his nose it begins to itch 'when my dad gets angry his nose begins to itch'	51
	9)	[når man er rig derhenne] _A [man] _S [har] _V en der vogter sit hus when you is rich over.there one has one there guards one's house 'if you are rich over there one has someone guarding your house'	
Disc. adv.	10)	[faktisk] _A [du] _S [kan] _V også bruge den til geografi actually you can also use it to geography 'actually you can also use it for geography class'	15
	11)	[ellers] _A [jeg] _S [udgiver] _V hans adresse else I publish his address 'otherwise I will publish his address'	
Loc. adv.	12)	[herovre] _A [det] _S [blev] _V glat here.over it became straight 'over here it became straight' ['it' refers to the speaker's hair]	12
	13)	[i Berlin] _A [de] _S [laver] _V suppe in Berlin they make soup 'in Berlin they make soup'	
Obj.	14)	[de der penge] _O [vi] _S [skal bruge] _V [dem] _{O-copy} på noget fælles the there money we shall use them on something common 'we should use that money for something we share'	9
	15)	[telefonen] _O [du] _S [skal gemme] _V [den] _{O-copy} telephone.the you shall hide it 'you must hide the phone'	
TOTAL NO.			184

3.1 V2 in Standard Danish talk-in-interaction

The syntax of Danish as well as of other Germanic languages (except English) is notable for adhering to a verb-second (V2) word order in main clauses. The V2 rule is often described topologically in a schematic manner (e.g. Diderichsen 1946, Hansen & Heltoft 2011) where all grammatical roles have canonical positions in the clause but where almost all constituents also can occupy the first position (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1574). The most frequent constituent in the first position is the subject, as in example (1) below. The second most frequent constituent is an adverbial phrase, as in example (2) (Puggaard 2019). When adverbs are in first position, the subject is “moved” to its canonical position, resulting in what is sometimes called “inversion”. (1-3) below are constructed examples of semantically similar sentences in Standard Danish, (1) with the subject fronted, (2) with inversion and (3) with the adverb in extraposition outside the clause and represented by an adverbial copy, *der*, in the first position. The third structure is particularly frequent in talk-in-interaction (Brøcker et al. 2012). This article describes a fourth option: adverbials in first position without movement of the subject, as illustrated in (4) with a sentence from recordings from Aarhus West.

- 1) [*jeg*]_S [*ringede*]_V *til banken* [*i år*]_A (V2, constructed)
 I called to bank.the in year
 ‘I called the bank this year’

- 2) [*i år*]_A [*ringede*]_V [*jeg*]_S *til banken* (V2, constructed)
 in year called I to bank.the
 ‘this year I called the bank’

- 3) [*i år*]_A | [*der*]_{A-copy} [*ringede*]_V [*jeg*]_S *til banken* (V2, constructed)
 in year there called I to bank.the
 ‘this year I called the bank’

- 4) [*i år*]_A [*jeg*]_S [*ringede*]_V *til banken* (V3)
 in year I called to bank.the
 ‘this year I called the bank’

Structures like (4) are ungrammatical in Standard Danish and are often associated with learner language because “non-inversion” is common in certain stages of L2-acquisition (Steensig 1994). However, the speakers in the corpus are not L2-speakers. They use perfectly standard-formed V2 sentences most of the time, and they do not use V3

invariably as L2-speakers would. As noted above, some of the first studies of urban varieties referred to structures like (4) as “lack of inversion” (Kotsinas 1988, Quist 2000), but more recent studies (e.g. Wiese & Rehbein 2016, Walkden 2017) use the term V3, illustrating that the verb resides in the third position without implying that something is “lacking”. In Danish talk-in-interaction, the first position most frequently contains light material such as pronouns, provisional subjects or light adverbs (Puggaard 2019: 294), and if “heavier” material is fronted, then it is most frequently done by placing it outside the clause (Brøcker et al. 2012) as in (3) above. Other studies call this extra position (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1827), left dislocation (Johannesen 2014) or resumptive pattern (Haegeman & Greco 2018: 3).

3.2 V3 with adverbials in first position

Most of the examples in the corpus have adverbial material in the first position. In this subsection, I describe the most common adverb, *så*, and comment on some restrictions on possible adverbial material in V3.

3.2.1 *så* (‘then’)

Så (‘then’) is the most frequent word in first position among the examples of V3, 69 out of 184 (see table 1) and often found in longer sequences with multiple *så*-V3s. Freywald et al. also show examples of sequences with multiple similar ‘then’-V3s and suggest that they “subdivide a larger stretch of discourse into smaller units (which can still be larger than sentences) and arrange them in an easily processible linear order” (2015: 89). The function in my data seems to be somewhat similar, see sec. 4.1. In Danish, the word *så* [sʌ] is homonymous for adverbial ‘then’ and conjunctive ‘so’, and depending on the meaning, *så* results in different verb placement: adverbial ‘then’ requires inversion, conjunctive ‘so’ does not. Semantically, however, both have to do with sequentiality, and in sec. 4.1.1, I discuss whether a less strict distinction of ‘so’/‘then’ can explain the heavy use of *så*-V3 in the urban dialect.

3.2.2 “Heavy” adverbs

In Standard Danish talk-in-interaction, subject material “heavier” than pronouns is usually placed in extraposition with a following light copy (Brøcker et al. 2012). In the Aarhus data, V3 sentences with “heavy” adverbials or objects are often found without a following light copy. Compare (9) to the constructed example (9b) of a V2 with the light copy *så*.

9) [*når man er rig derhenne*]
 when one is rich over.there
 [*man*]_S [*har*]_V *en der vogter sit hus* (V3)
 one has one there guards one's house
 'if you are rich over there you have someone guarding your house'

9b) *når man er rig derhenne*
 when one is rich over.there
 [*så*]_A [*har*]_V [*man*]_S *en der vogter sit hus* (V2, constructed)
 then has one one there guards one's house
 'if you are rich over there then you have someone guarding your house'

Ganuza (2010) finds that subordinate clauses, which are heavy adverbs by Brøcker et al.'s (2012) definition, in first position seem to trigger the use of V3:

“clause-initial subordinate clauses that were followed by a topic placeholder *så/då* [‘then’] were produced less often with SV order [=V3] than clause-initial subordinate clauses that were not immediately followed by a topic placeholder” (Ganuza 2010: 39)

3.2.3 Not all adverbs

Walkden describes the fronted adverbs with terms from generative grammar, as “What unifies these elements is that they are invariably adjuncts rather than arguments in the attested examples (Freywald et al. 2015: 84)” (Walkden 2017: 55). In functional grammar terms, this can be described as a matter of valency: if the adverbial material is too closely connected to the verb, then it is unlikely to be fronted. This is also unlikely for Standard Danish V2 and for the urban dialect V3, see constructed examples 4b and 4c below.

4) [*i år*]_A [*jeg*]_S [*ringede*]_V *til banken* (original V3)
 in year I called to bank.the
 ‘this year I called the bank’

4a) **[til banken]*_A [*ringede*]_V [*jeg*]_S *i år* (V2, constructed)
 to bank.the called I in year

4b) **[til banken]*_A [*jeg*]_S [*ringede*]_V *i år* (V3, constructed)

to bank.the I called in year

The above examples illustrate that in a sentence with the semantic content of (4), only the adjunct ‘this year’ may be fronted. The argument ‘to the bank’ is too closely connected to the verb ‘call’ to be fronted.

3.3 V3 with objects in first position

V3s with objects in first position follow a slightly different pattern than the adverbial ones. All object-V3s contain a pronominal copy in the object’s canonical position. In (14) the copy *dem* (‘them’) refers to the fronted material *de der penge* (‘that money’).

- 14) [*de der penge*]_o [*vi*]_s [*skal bruge*]_v [*dem*]_{o-copy}
 those there money we shall use them
på noget fælles (V3)
 on something common
 ‘that money should be used for something we share’

Two common objections for object-V3s are that they are no different from Standard Danish, and because of the pronominal copy they are not V3. The first objection can be countered by listening to the syntactic and prosodic integration (see sec. 3.5). The second objection requires a discussion of which type of grammatical analysis one prefers. Below, two different possible analyses of (14) are shown in a topological sentence scheme inspired by Diderichsen’s (1946). In analysis I, the object is in first position, and its pronominal copy is placed in an extra field in the scheme, a field which does not exist in Diderichsen’s (1946: 187) scheme for Standard Danish. In analysis II, the object is in extra position, and the pronominal copy is considered to be moved from its original first position to the canonical position for non-fronted objects (Diderichsen 1946: 187). The first position is now available for the subject and the second for the verb, making it a V2-sentence. The two analyses differ in whether the object is in first or extra position and whether we accept “movement” as an explanation for syntactical forms in talk-in-interaction.

Analysis I: Object-V3

Extra position	1 st position	2 nd position	3 rd position	Pron. copy
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	<i>de der</i> <i>penge</i> those there money	<i>vi</i> we	<i>skal bruke</i> shall use	<i>dem</i> them
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Analysis II: V2 with object in extra position and “moved” pronominal copy

Extra position		1 st position	2 nd position	Obj. position
<i>de der</i> <i>penge</i> those there money		<i>vi</i> we	<i>skal bruke</i> shall use	<i>dem</i> them

Comparing with Standard Danish talk-in-interaction it is likely that a heavy element like the noun phrase *de der penge* (‘that money’) would take the extra position (Brøcker et al. 2012), and this argument favours analysis II. But on the other hand, the construction with heavy material + pronominal is so established and frequent in Standard Danish that it might be used as a fixed and rather inflexible format. Consulting with researchers of Danish talk-in-interaction, no one recalls seeing constructions like heavy material ADV + pronominal SUBJ such as [*de der penge*]_{OBJ} + [*vi*]_{pron. SUBJ}. This speaks against analysis II. In the Aarhus urban dialect, however, the construction “X + pronominal Y” is an established format as shown for 175 adverbial-V3s in this article, for example (13) [*i Berlin*]_{ADV} + [*de*]_{pron. SUBJ}, just to mention one. All in all, I find analysis I most convincing.

Adverbial-V3 is common in urban dialects, but only one study, Opsahl (2009), shows an example of object-V3 (16). The example is from Oslo and follows the same light copy structure as the Aarhus examples.

- (16) [*mens*]_{conj} (.) [*graffiti*]_O [*du*]_S [*har lagt*]_V
 while graffiti you have put
et stykke arbeid i [*det*]_{O-copy}
 a piece work in it
 ‘but you have put quite a bit of work into graffiti’
 (Opsahl 2009: 131, my annotation and translation)

Walkden notes in a re-analysis of other studies of V3 data that “object fronting to initial position in V3 clauses is judged as unacceptable by native speakers of Kiezdeutsch (Heike Wiese (p.c.))” (Walkden 2017: 55). It would be interesting to see if object-V3 with pronominal copy-structures would be acceptable for Kiezdeutsch speakers.

3.4 Second and third positions: subjects and verbs

The second and third positions in V3 are much less varied than the first position, second position always contains the sentence subject and third (by definition) the verb. The subject is most frequently pronominal or provisional as is also the case in Standard Danish talk-in-interaction in general (Puggaard 2019). Subjects of “heavier” material are infrequent and are most frequently constructed with a light pronominal copy, also in Standard Danish talk-in-interaction in general (Brøcker et al. 2012), exemplified in (5) with the formal subject ‘her there’ and a light pronominal copy ‘she’:

- (5) [*imens vi sad å så filmen*]_A [*hende der hun*]_S [*hopper*]_V *rundt*
while we sat and saw movie.the her there she jumps around
‘while we were watching the movie she was jumping around’

According to Freywald et al. (2015: 89), subjects in Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch and German V3s are always a previously introduced topic. This is not the case for the Aarhus data, where the “heavier” material subjects are often new referents. In line with Ganuza (2008: 107) and Opsahl (2009: 131), a search for patterns in types of verbs or relations between adverbials and verbs showed no limitation on verb types, neither semantically, nor temporal or modal. However, the verb’s valency plays a role in determining which adverbials can be fronted, see sec. 3.2.3.

3.5 Prosodic and syntactic integration

There is an important difference between the way V3 sounds in interaction and the way it looks in writing. A common objection to examples of V3 in writing is that informal Standard Danish also has this option, typically exemplified by sentences with adverbs in extra position and pausing, intonation shift, and/or discourse markers between extra position and the sentence. The difference between such examples and V3 can be described as the degree of prosodic and syntactic integration. Barth-Weingarten (2016, as paraphrased by Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: ch. E) describes how intonation-unit

boundaries in conversations are fuzzy, maintaining that as analysts we tend to fall back on syntactic criteria to determine boundaries.

As a tool to avoid the written language bias, Barth-Weingarten proposes recognising degrees of prosodic ‘breaking’, so-called *cesuras*, which depend on specific clusters of boundary cues, illustrated with | and || in transcriptions. Many or drastic changes in prosodic and phonetic cues such as pitch, volume, tempo, voice quality or aspiration indicate a strong unit boundary (Barth-Weingarten 2016: 175), illustrated with ||, and weaker ones with fewer cues with |. This article’s collection of V3 examples includes only sentences with no or very weak cesuras between the three initial components, i.e. between the initial adverbial or object and the following elements, the subject and the verb. Below, a V3 from the collection (10) is shown compared to a similar, constructed example commonly occurring in informal Standard Danish (10b).

(10) [faktisk]_A[du]_S [kan]_V ogs bruge den til geografi-hh | (V3)
 actually you can also use it to geography EXH
 du ved hovedstader\|| hehe
 DISC capitals LAUGH
 ‘actually you can also use it for geography class, you know capitals’

(10b) [faktisk ikkå\]_A (.) || du ved-hh [du]_S [ka]_V ogs bruge den
 actually DISC DISC. EXH you can also use it
 til geografi (V2, constr.)
 to geography
 ‘well actually, you know, you can also use it for geography class’

The constructed example (10b) includes multiple features of disintegration: change in intonation, insertion of discourse markers, mid-sentence exhale *-hh* and pause (.). The same elements of disintegration are used in the original example (10), but they are used after the V3. In Conversation Analysis, the place before ‘you’ in (10b) would be considered a restart. Figure 1 supplements the transcription of (10) with acoustic measures of pitch and volume over time. It is prosodically strongly integrated with no pauses, pitch-reset or other boundary cues. Adverbial *faktisk* integrates with the subject *du* and the verb *kan* in two ways: 1) the pitch of the two stressed syllables [fags] and [gAZ] are equally high, and 2) there are no pauses of silence, inhale or exhale, nor any change in voice quality.

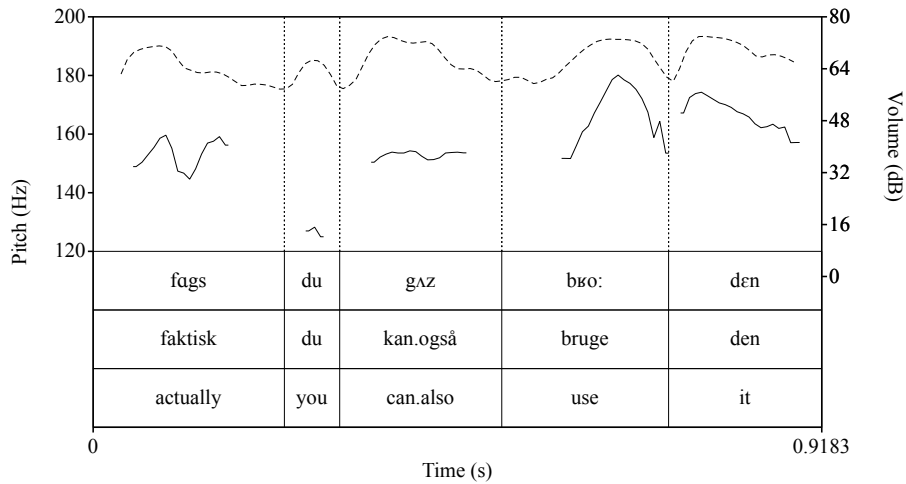


Figure 1: Pitch (solid) and volume (dashed) over time in example 10. Measurements made in Praat (Boersma & Weenink n.d)

Selting & Kern’s (2006) study of pre-positioned adverbs in Türkendutsch finds that prosodic integration was rare, and they excluded such examples in their analysis. This may indicate that structures with fronted adverbs in Türkendutsch and in the Aarhus urban dialect should not be interpreted as the same grammatical phenomenon.

3.6 Distribution and frequency measures for one recording

It is important to note that V3 is always used alongside V2 in the recordings. Ganuza (2010) shows that quantitatively V3 is much less frequent than we would expect considering its iconic status in the urban varieties. Although my work is not a study of quantitative distribution like Ganuza’s, I will nevertheless illustrate the frequency of V2 and V3 in one recording from the corpus. This recording, in the corpus called ‘Ethiopians’, is a 21 minute audio recording of four boys age 14-15 telling an adult club worker and an adult researcher about the time they visited family in Ethiopia and experienced huge cultural differences between their own everyday life and that of their relatives. The recording is particularly interesting because both adults qualify as non-peers, and based on previous studies we would not expect much V3 outside peer interaction (e.g. Quist 2022: 195). Contrary to our expectations, however, ‘Ethiopians’ is by far the recording with the highest number of V3s in the Aarhus corpus.

Measuring the frequency of V3 is only meaningful if compared with sentences where V3 is structurally possible. As shown in 3.1., V3 is possible in declarative clauses in which something other than the subject occupies the first position. Table 2 shows the number of the different types of word order in declarative sentences.

Table 1: Different types of word order for declarative sentences in the recording ‘Ethiopians’

	Total no.	% of declaratives
Declarative sentences, total no.	161	
Inversion not applicable:		
- Only Subject-Verb (no other candidate for first position)	76	47%
- Subject Verb Adverbial (SVA)	41	25%
V2: Adverbial Verb Subject (AVS)	21	14%
V3: Adverbial Subject Verb (ASV)	23	13%

‘Ethiopians’ contains 161 declarative sentences, and about half of them (47%) contain no adverbial candidates for the first position. As sentences with objects in first position are relatively infrequent, both in this recording and in Standard Danish talk-in-interaction (Puggaard 2019), object material is not accounted for in the table. 25% of the declarative sentences contain adverbial material in its canonical position, and thus inversion is not relevant for these sentences either. This leaves 44 (27%) sentences in which the speaker can, at least based on structural linguistic criteria, choose between V2 or V3. The result is an almost equal distribution between V2 and V3, 14% and 13% respectively.

3.7 Summary and implications for the interactional analysis

Overall, most V3-sentences in the Aarhus corpus follow the same structural patterns as has been found in previous studies with adverbial first position material and light subjects, two characteristics that are also typical for Standard Danish talk-in-interaction. Aside from adverbial V3s, the Aarhus data contains 9 examples of object V3s. These differ slightly from the other examples of V3 in that they have an extra pronominal copy of the fronted object in the object’s canonical position. The small sample distributional analysis of ‘Ethiopians’ illustrates one of the shortcomings of a purely structural analysis: the fact that speakers choose V2 for some sentences where V3 is structurally possible and V2 for others, points to the need for explanations other than those provided

by a strictly structural analysis. These alternative explanations are pursued in the interactional analyses in section 4.

4. INTERACTIONAL FUNCTIONS

This section describes three types of functions of V3 found in a CA collection analysis (Hoey & Kendrick 2017). Examples from the corpus are shown for each type. As mentioned in 1.3, studies of German urban dialect pointed to two linguistic functions of V3: a 'framesetter-function' with time, place or condition adverbials in first position (Wiese 2009: 787), correlating with the categories time adverb-V3, location-V3 and conditional phrase V3 in this study (table 1), and a 'discourse linking' with 'then', 'afterwards' and other serializing adverbials (Freywald et al. (2015: 89), correlating with 'then'-V3 and discourse adverb V3 in this study. These studies are not CA-based, but like my study, they are based on natural talk-in-interaction data.

The collection analysis resulting in the three functional categories below was carried out by means of individual analyses of 184 examples of V3, including their interactional contexts, typically a few minutes before and after the V3 sentence. The analyses are based on a varying number of examples for each category, ranging from 9 to 69 examples (table 1). The robustness of the analyses based on smaller collections, such as object-V3, is obviously less than the robustness of the analyses from categories with a larger number of examples. It is important to note that the division into six forms apparently connected to three functions is an oversimplification. As Walker (2014) reminds us, forms rarely have a 1:1 relation to function, and this is also true for this study. Column 1 and 2 in table 3 should be seen in this light.

Table 2: Three interactional functions and V3-forms with which they are frequently performed

Frequent V3-forms	Suggested name	Function description + examples with translations
Time adverbs, including adverbial ‘then’	Timing device	Word order designed to support actions in storytelling by highlighting a specific time stamp or the order of events in a sequence of events. Examples: (4) <i>i år jeg ringede til banken</i> ‘this year I called the bank’ (7) <i>å så jeg drak te lige bagefter</i> ‘and then I drank tea right after’
Conditional -phrases and discourse adverbs	Epistemic device	Word order designed to support stance taking for a speaker claiming epistemic authority to give information of general scope instead of just situation specific scope. Examples: (9) <i>når man er rig derhenne man har en der vogter sit hus</i> ‘if you are rich over there you have someone guarding your house’ (10) <i>faktisk du kan også bruge den til geografi</i> ‘actually you can also use it for geography class’
Locative adverbs and objects	Introducing device	Word order designed to support actions in storytelling by highlighting that a place or a referent is introduced into the story or that its role is reframed. Examples: (13) <i>i Berlin de laver suppe</i> ‘in Berlin they make soup’ (15) <i>telefonen du skal gemme den</i> ‘you must hide the phone’

The three functions are described in detail in the following subsections. A fourth function that could be interesting for future studies is V3s that are part of instructing or demanding something of others. Here V3 seems to have a stance taking function, supporting a claim of deontic authority. Examples of this function are found across form subcategories.

4.1 V3 when exact timing and sequentiality is important

For this functional category, examples are often found in time adverb-V3, including the subcategory of *så*-V3. The distinction of temporal *så* and causal *så* is not always clear in talk-in-interaction, and a final

subsection discusses whether such a distinction makes sense in the urban dialect. Time adverb-V3 categories comprise almost half of the corpus' examples (table 1). A common function of the time adverb-V3s is to support highlighting of a specific time stamp or a specific order of events in storytelling.

The first example (22) is a short story with two sequential events, eating chili and drinking tea, and a following consequence, getting a sore throat. In the example, storyteller Ali uses V3 for the two events (line 1, 4).

(22, same as 7) CHILI (Drikkerte 11:37)

- 01 → Ali: *engang jeg spiste sån en chiliret*↘
 once I ate a chili dish
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 Halimah: *ja*→
 yes
- 04 → Ali: *å så jeg drak te lige efter*↘
 and then I had tea right afterwards
- 05 Halimah: *a*→
 yes
- 06 Ali: *jeg blev ☺stærkere☺ i munden på mig*
 it started burning in my mouth

Before the excerpt, Halimah has ridiculed Ali for not liking tea and compared him to a child. Now Ali gives an account explaining his distaste for tea in a storytelling format. The two events in the story are both produced as V3s. The first, eating a chili dish (line 1), is produced as a time adverb-V3 and the second, drinking tea (line 4), as a *så*-V3. Both events also share a similar rhythmical structure in that they are both short intonational units with three stressed syllables and a global falling intonation. Ali does not provide the ensuing consequence, getting a sore throat, immediately. In fact, the falling intonation is so low in line 6 that this could signal a possible end point of his story. Only after Halimah's continuer *a* (line 5) does Ali continue, now with a description of the state he was in at the time. He begins his description without any cohesion marker, e.g. 'so' or 'therefore', as if causality is inferred by the semantic context alone. A similar rhythmical structure and the same V3 structure of the two events underline that they are of the same kind, they are both events. The time adverbs 'once' and 'then' function as markers of the exact sequentiality of the events. Sequentiality is important here: drinking tea *before* eating chili would

probably not give you a bad experience with tea. In this example, V3 is used to support the function of illustrating exact sequentiality.

4.1.1 Adverbial *så* and conjunctive *så* as one general cohesive marker

Så [sΛ] is homophonous for adverbial ‘then’ and conjunctive ‘so’, resulting in a different placement of the verb in Standard Danish: adverbial *så* implies a temporal relation and requires inversion whereas conjunctive *så* implies causality and cannot occupy the first position and thus does not require inversion (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 974). This analysis may, however, be biased by written language. Below I argue that these two types of *så* can be seen as one general cohesive marker exemplified by (24) where four very similar occurrences of *så* cannot be distinguished as either temporal or causal.

(24, same as 6) SUNNI HAT (Ethiopians 9:37)

- 01 Khalid: ☺*hun gāHH.H* || *hun gav mig den der sunnihue*↘☺ (0.3)
 she gave- she gave me that Sunni hat
- 02 → ☺*så: jeg havde den på*↗☺
så I was wearing it
- 03 → *så de stopper os op*→ (.)
så they stop us
- 04 → *så h:an sir til mig* ↘ | *hva der*→
så he says to me what’s up
- 05 *ø-tā d- ta den af*↘
 eh-take i- take it off
- 06 *h .HHH*
- 07 → *så jeg kigger til ham å han har et gevær*↗
så I look at him and he has a gun
- 08 ☺*hva ska jeg sigehh tilh* >*ham jeg*< *kigger*
 what should I say to him

In the excerpt, Khalid is telling a story about when his mother tried to hide his long hair from border controls in Ethiopia. The first three *så*-sentences (line 2-4) are relatively short prosodic units with rhythmically similar structures and can be seen as a list construction within which each list item is produced in a structurally similar format (Selting 2007). The list builds up to the story’s climax: a quotation with the border controller’s remarks (line 4-5). The fourth *så*-sentence, ‘*så* I look at him’ (line 7), resembles the rhythmical structure of the first three, but is part of a longer prosodic unit containing two sentences where the

second sentence, ‘he has a gun’, is produced with Strong Final prosody (Zachariassen, in press) on *gevæ:r* and can function as a projection of the following meta-quotation, “what should I say” (line 8). In this case the *så*-V3 functions as a line up for the story’s second climax, the noticing of a weapon. Table 4 shows the four *så*-sentences’ structural similarities: they all consist of a stressed *så* + an unstressed subject which is also the semantic agent + a stressed verb that is part of a predicate.

Table 3: Lexical, syntactic, and prosodic similarities of the four så-sentences

Line no.	‘so/t hen’	Agent	Predicate		Translation
		Subject	Verb		
3	så:	jeg	havde	den på	‘so/then I had it on’
4	så	de	stopper	os op	‘so/then they stop us’
5	så	han	sir	til mig	‘so/then he says to me’
8	så	jeg	kigger	til ham	‘so/then I look at him’

4.2 V3 to support epistemic authority

The collection analysis of conditional phrase-V3 or discourse adverb-V3 revealed many examples in which V3, together with other linguistic resources, supported stance taking. For conditional phrase-V3s, the form shift from V2 to V3 often correlates with a form shift from typically shorter declarative sentences to the longer and heavier sentence format of a subordinate clause plus a main clause. The functionalities of shifting to V3 syntax and of shifting to conditional phrase sentences are probably similar, but so far no studies exist on the interactional functions of conditionals in general in Danish talk-in-interaction, so the analysis here is not a comparison of urban dialect and Standard Danish, merely an analysis of cases in which V3 is used instead of V2. In (8), Tarek uses conditional-V3 when he is struggling to win an argument. The excerpt comes from a recording in a dance studio where dance instructor Tarek is trying to ridicule dancer Jimmy’s pants.

(8) PANTS (Dans01)

- 01 Tarek: *de her bukser ikkå* || ((looking at Jimmy’s pants))
these pants right
- 02 (1.0) ((everybody looking at Tarek))
- 03 ((Tarek looks up)) *de blev opfundet*:t→ | (0.4)
they were invented

- 04 *i femtenhundredetallet* √
 in the sixteenth century
- 05 Jimmy: *jaer* √ || *å nu tar* (vi) *det op igen* √
 yeah and now it's catching on again
- 06 (0.5)
- 07 *standard* √
 standard practise
- 08 Dancer2: *h h*
- 09 Dancer3: *hihihi*
- 10 Jimmy: *DET ER DET* →
 it is
- 11 (1.0) ((Tarek looks down and scratches his nose))
- 12 Jimmy: *det er standard* √
 it is standard practise
- 13 → Tarek: ((looks up)) *du ved når min far han blir sur ikkå hn* → |
 you know when my dad he gets angry right he-
- 14 → *hans næse begynner å klø*
 his nose begins to itch
- 15 *å min den begynner sån stille å rolig ogs*
 ((scratches nose))
 and mine is slowly beginning now too

Before the excerpt, Tarek has given multiple negative evaluations of the design of the pants, saying that they are ugly and that they look like pants from Kurdistan. When Tarek claims that the pants are old-fashioned (line 1-4), Jimmy rejects this as a critique with the argument that they have become fashionable again today (line 5). Considering that Tarek is 26 years old and the dancers are around 17, Jimmy is probably correct in assuming that they don't share the same perception of fashion, but Tarek doesn't give up. He looks down for a one second pause while scratching his nose (line 11), and then he uses this as an inspiration for his next argument: a scratching nose means one is angry (line 13-14). To illustrate how angry their differing perceptions make him, Tarek tells a story about his father. He introduces the story with the discourse marker *du ved* ('you know') (line 10) functioning as a marker of knowledge, an epistemic marker in the sense of Heritage (2012), though only for Tarek himself. The only relation between Jimmy and Tarek is that of dance instructor and student, so Jimmy would not know anything about Tarek's father. The discourse adverb *ikkå* (≈ 'right') in the same utterance could also function as a claim of epistemic stance (Mikkelsen & Zachariassen 2021). In total, we see four

different linguistic resources that all make line 13-14 stand out as different from the rest of Tarek's so far fruitless arguments: a change from declarative to conditional syntax, the use of epistemic stance markers *du ved* and *ikkå*, the bodily enactment of scratching and V3. In this utterance, Tarek also shifts to a topic over which he alone has epistemic authority and therefore could hope to not have his argument rejected again. The examples in the collection do not suggest that V3 can function as an epistemic marker in itself, but they show that conditional-V3's often accompany other types of epistemic marking.

4.3 V3 for introducing or reframing referents or locations

Though the examples with location adverb-V3 and object-V3 are sparse (27 in total), they are found across speakers, fields and social context, and they are all recognised as acceptable by the recipients (see sec. 2.4 on next-turn proof procedure). The examples all show V3 supporting highlighting of a place or a specific referent in storytelling. (15) is from the recording "Ethiopians" and takes place a few minutes after (24), 'Sunni hat'. In (15), Rahman is describing how independent soldiers are claiming land and border control rights in certain areas of Somalia and ends up explaining to the club worker and the researcher what happens if you meet them. Rahman's friend Khalid contributes to the story with an object-V3 sentence (line 5-6).

(15) THE PHONE (Ethiopians 10:42)

- 01 Rahman: ((if you are wearing a ring))
 02 *å du ligner en fra udlandet* √
 and you look like a foreigner
 03 Mahmoud: *å du ligner en [rig→*
 and you look like a rich person
 04 Rahman: [*så cutter de dine [hænder af→*
 then they cut your hands off
 05 → Khalid: [*telefonen=*
 the phone
 06 → [*=du ska gemme den her wallah* √
 ((points to breast pocket))
 you should hide it here DISC
 07 Rahman: [*bare for å få den ring* √
 just to get that ring

Three speakers, Rahman, Mahmoud and Khalid, take part in this collaborated storytelling, and they all self-select for turns in order to contribute with their respective individual knowledge and

recommendations. Mahmoud specifies that Rahman’s utterance about looking foreign (line 2) means to “look rich” (line 8), and Khalid shows where to hide your phone so the soldiers don't steal it (line 5-6). He does so by introducing the object ‘the phone’ in a V3 sentence. Their collaborative story is characterised by numerous overlaps among the speakers, and Khalid’s utterance also occurs at a place with overlap. V3 can be used here to support Khalid in contributing to the story in spite of the fierce competition for the floor. The object-V3 components are prosodically integrated. = in the transcription indicates that there is no silence at all between the words. Because object-V3 is the most commonly questioned case of V3, I will give one more example here (14). In this example, object-V3 is used to reframe the topic of the conversation by referring to it with a different noun. The excerpt is from a self-recording by Bilge who is visiting her friend Salma and Salma’s boyfriend Erdem. Before the excerpt, Salma has been telling Bilge about her savings, and Erdem has claimed that Salma’s savings all come from loose change from his pockets. In line 11, Erdem uses an object-V3 when referring to the savings as “that money”.

(14) MONEY (Circus 1:17)

- 01 Bilge: *har du talt hvor meget du har fået:: samlet ind*→
 did you count how much you collected
- 02 (0.3)
- 03 Salma: *jeg har omkring to tusind tre tusind*→
 I have about two three thousand
- 04 Bilge: h. he he [()]↘
- 05 Erdem: [*wallah hvis det ikke er mine yani*]
 I swear if it isn't my money INTERJECT.
- 06 (0.4)
- 07 *det er mine man:d*↘
 it is mine DISC
- 08 (0.7)
- 09 *GÜLLEM*→ ((Turkish: my rose))
- 10 (0.9) ((sound of coins))
- 11 → *>de der penge vi skal< bruge dem på noget fælles*↘
 we should use that money for something we share
- 12 (0.7)
- 13 *jeg har det*→ (.)
 I got it
- 14 *totusind kroner vi skal til cirkus allesammen*↘

two thousand crowns we should all go to the circus
together

In the first lines, Bilge and Salma talk about the topic savings in terms of counting (“how much”) and numbers (“two three thousand”). In line 5, Erdem objects to Salma’s claim that it is her money. He formulates the objection with the intensifying *wallah* (lit. ‘I swear’, Arabic) and the interjection *yani*, functioning as a marker that something ought to be common knowledge (Zachariassen & Nielsen 2021). He then repeats the objection with extra stress (line 7), and after a relatively long pause where no one takes a turn, Erdem summons his girlfriend with an endearing name *güllem*, (‘my rose’ Turkish), which, according to Bilge who made the recording, means that he is begging her to agree with him. His begging is unsuccessful as it is again followed by a long pause (line 10). During the pause we hear the sound of coins which may be Erdem acting out his previous claim that Salma’s savings all come from loose change from his pockets. Now Erdem changes tactics: instead of focusing on whose money it is, he makes a suggestion, focusing on a positive aspect: the opportunity to put the money to common use (line 11). By placing the object first in his suggestion, he puts focus on how the money should be referred to, with a neutral term instead of the previous problematic focus on ownership with “I have” in line 3 and “mine” in line 5 and 7. Taken together, object-V3 here occurs when the speaker is searching for common ground in an otherwise problematic situation, and it occurs alongside other linguistic resources supporting the same: a new neutral term “that money” and the addressing of his recipient with an endearing name. As in example 15, “The phone”, an object is introduced for the first time, but in this case “that money” is a renaming of a previously named object whereas “The phone” was an entirely new object.

5. DISCUSSION

The existing systems in Standard Danish already include variation within the V2 system, and V3 syntax in urban dialects seems most similar to the most common V2 type in Danish talk-in-interaction, namely that of heavy material + pronominal, as described by Brøcker et al. (2012). This article’s title “Pushing the limits of V2” suggests that V3, in the way it is used in the urban dialect, from a language internal perspective, is a natural extension of the existing V2 system. In this section, I discuss whether V3 is likely to make its way into Standard Danish by presenting more details of V2 in Danish talk-in-interaction

(sec. 5.1) as well as two studies concerning more flexible V2 in Old English and in West Flemish (sec. 5.2). Additionally, I introduce examples of V3 used in Danish by speakers with no connections to the urban dialect (sec. 5.3). Finally, I discuss the notion of ‘style’ vs. ‘dialect’ and argue for my choice of the term ‘urban dialect’ for the variety in Aarhus (sec. 5.4).

5.1 The highly flexible first position made even more flexible

V2 languages have strict word order in the sense that the second position is always reserved for the verb, but on the other hand, they have flexible word order, in the sense that the first position can be used for almost all types of constituents (Hansen & Heltoft 2011:1574). One way of making word order even more flexible is to use provisional subjects, that is grammatical subjects composed of semantically empty pronouns or adverbs, such as *der*, *det* or *så* (‘there’, ‘it’, ‘so’). Puggaard (2019) shows that provisional subjects are among the most frequent elements in first position and describes them as particularly useful in talk-in-interaction:

“[provisional subjects are] useful when occupying the first position, because their flexible nature means that they can be used even when speakers do not have a full format ready for the carrier clause, as long as they have some idea of the interactional purpose of the clause” (Puggaard 2019: 291).

V3 can be seen as an additional way of making the first position system even more flexible. In (5) below, the subject *hende der hun* (lit. ‘her there she’) refers to a person who is present in the room but who has not previously been mentioned in the conversation. Structurally, the subject contains first a deictic element ‘there’ and then a pronominal ‘she’. This construction is similar to Standard Danish’s very frequent format extraposition + pronominal (Brøcker et al. 2012). The V2 format only allows for such a provisional subject in extraposition and not inside the clause, see ungrammatical constructed example (5b).

explanations. One is that West Saxon discourse connective adverbs *þa* and *þonne* (both temporal ‘then’) always trigger V2, regardless of whether the subject represents given information. Urban dialects are quite the opposite: ‘then’ and other temporal adverbs are prototypical of V3 (Walkden 2017: 72). The other is that West Saxon shows examples of V3 with fronted objects, which previous studies of urban dialects do not (ibid.). This is interesting since, contrary to other urban dialects, the Aarhus urban dialect does have V3 with fronted objects. However, the example given below (18) reveals that the West Saxon object-V3 is different from the Aarhus object-V3. In West Saxon, the second position contains the indirect object, whereas in the Aarhus urban dialect it contains the subject, and, in addition, the West Saxon sentence does not contain a pronominal copy of the object.

- (18) [*Fela spella*]_{IO} [*him*]_{DO} [*sægdon*]_V [*þa Beormas*]_S
many stories him told the Permians
‘The Permians told him many stories’
(Walkden 2017: 71, my annotation)

Haegemann & Greco (2018) show West Flemish examples that, in writing, look similar to the Aarhus V3. Compare (19) with the conditional phrase-V3 in (9).

- (19) [*Als ‘t geijzeld is*]_A, [*ze*]_S [*risschiert*]_V *heur niet buiten*
when it frosty is she risks her not outside
‘When it is frosty, she does not venture outside’
(Haegeman & Greco 2018: 2, my annotation)

- (9) [*når man er rig derhenne*]_A [*man*]_S [*har*]_V *en der vogter sit hus*
when one is rich over.there one has one that guards ones house
‘if you are rich over there you have someone guarding your house’

Haegemann & Greco’s examples are not phonetically annotated, but the comma in their translation of (19) suggests that there might be a pause or and intonational reset, in which case this example is different from urban dialect V3. Haegemann & Greco maintain that West Flemish is a genuine V2 language and that the initial adjunct must be analysed as extra-sentential or ‘main clause-external’. They also reject that V3 in West Flemish is the same phenomenon as in the urban dialects and point to a difference in first position material: in the German urban dialect Kiezdeutsch, short adverbs such as *da* ‘then’ and *danach* ‘afterwards’,

typically lead to V3, whereas in the West Flemish, initial short adverbs are rare in V3 (Haegeman & Greco 2018: 12). In the Aarhus urban dialect, as in Kiezdeutsch, the short adverb *så* ‘then’ is very frequent in V3 first position and differs from West Flemish in that regard.

Summing up, V3 in West Saxon and West Flemish are structurally similar, though not identical to, V3 in urban dialects. The interesting part is the co-existence of V2 and V3. Whether V3 supports the same interactional functions in Saxon, Flemish and the urban dialect in Aarhus is unknown, but the Saxon and Flemish cases show that V2 systems *can* develop V3 structures to be used alongside V2.

5.3 Is V3 making its way into Standard Danish?

The use of V3 is stereotypically connected to speakers of urban dialect, but V3 is sometimes also used informally by speakers who use no other dialect features. Below are a few media examples, all produced with full prosodic and syntactic integration.

- (20) [*på mange måder*]_A [*jeg*]_S [*er*]_V *lissom Gilli*
for jeg knokler ogs hårdt
‘in many ways I am like Gilli because I too work hard’
(Dopeman, TikTok)
- (21) [*lige siden hende der Asta er kommet*]_A [*folk de*]_S [*er*]_V *begyndt*
at opføre sig vildt mærkeligt
‘ever since that girl Asta arrived people have started
acting really strange’
(reality show-participant, DR)
- (22) [*hvis jeg var håndboldspiller*]_A [*jeg*]_S [*ville*]_V *blive verdens*
bedste målmand
‘if I were a handball player I would be the world’s
best goal keeper’
(Jacob Taarnhøj, comedian)
- (23) [*hvis jeg sir det til hende*]_A [*hun*]_S [*bliver*]_V *rasende*
‘if I tell her she will become furious’
(Jonatan Spang, comedian)

These examples all follow the same structures as V3 in the Aarhus corpus, even though none of the speakers are connected to the urban

dialect's typical social characteristic of having grown up in multilingual housing areas, and none of them use other typical features of the urban dialect like prosodic, morphological and vocabulary variation. Overall, I find it unlikely that V3 is making its way *from* the urban dialect into Standard Danish. If V3 constructions such as (20-24) become more frequent in Standard Danish, it is not because of the urban varieties but rather for the same reason as V3 developed in the new urban varieties, namely internal linguistic motivation relating to the already existing flexibility of V2 syntax in talk-in-interaction.

5.4 A note on terminology

Many of the examples of V3 involve highly engaging topics and negotiations of turn allocation. This is even more prevalent than is represented in this article's examples, since, for the sake of clarity, I chose examples with less overlap. It could be that being highly engaged with prevalent overlapping is simply the way the age-group 11-29 talks. Or it could be that negotiation of turn allocation is what triggers V3. In Swedish data, Ganuza find that "most instances of XSV [V3] occurred when the participants spoke about something that was personally engaging, that is when they told someone about something that had happened to them or about somebody they knew" (Ganuza 2010: 43, my insertion). She compares this to Tannen's (1984) description of "high involvement style". Ganuza adds that V3 often occurs in passages with many features typical of informal youth language, for example slang words, epistemic markers like 'you know', fast speech rates, overlapping talk, expressive phonology, and marked intonational patterns. These are all frequent in the Aarhus corpus as well.

Madsen et al. (2016) describe V3 in Copenhagen as a 'stylistic device' rather than a dialect feature, and from ethnographic studies they find that it is primarily used among peers. In the recordings from Aarhus, however, V3 is also present in situations where style performance is not a core activity. V3 is also used when solving a math problem, describing geopolitical conditions and when making amends with friends. Nor is it reserved for peer interaction, but often used with adults and with the researcher. This is not quantitatively substantiated, but it is interesting in the broader discussion of whether urban dialects should be considered dialects or 'youth styles'.

Wiese & Rehbein (2016) argue that terminology must take into account the degree of coherence of linguistic forms: if two or more dialect features always or almost always cooccur within speakers, that is a sign that the speakers' language is an independent linguistic system

and should be termed a dialect (Wiese & Rehbein 2016: 59). In this light, V3 can be seen as a part of a 'dialect' in Aarhus as all speakers of V3 in the corpus use other non-standard features as well, for example Strong Final prosody (Zachariassen in press) and the interjectional markers *lak*, *eow*, *yani* and *dig* (Zachariassen & Nielsen 2021).

Rampton (2011) raises the question of enregisterment, paraphrasing Agha (2004): “Agha insists that reflexive metapragmatic/metalinguistic practices play a vital role in the life of a register or style. Through processes of ‘enregisterment’, particular sets of linguistic (and other semiotic) forms are linked to social typifications” (Rampton 2011: 290). Reflexive metapragmatic practices do occur during the Aarhus recordings but the speakers never give a specific name for the variety. Contrarily, one speaker actively formulates the non-existence of a name when the researcher explicitly asked for it. The interaction below took place after a club worker had explained the purpose of the collection of recordings to Rahman and Khalid who then asked if they are supposed to speak ‘integrated’ for the recordings. The name ‘integrated’ also occurs in Madsen et al.’s (2016) studies from Copenhagen where speakers use it in contrast to the name ‘street language’ for their own linguistic variant. In Aarhus, Rahman and Khalid do not have a name for their linguistic variant, they simply refer to it as “like that”.

(25) Aarhus West youth club 2017

Ditte: But what about the opposite, what is that called?

Rahman and Khalid giggle.

Ditte: I mean, the opposite of speaking integrated?

Rahman: It is... like you know. Like that⁴.

In Aarhus, the urban dialect does not seem to be enregistered in Rampton and Agha’s sense. Rahman and Khalid describe their way of speaking not as a socially defined ‘style’, but simply as the unmarked way of communicating. It is important to note that social and interactional functions are, of course, not mutually exclusive. For example, a speaker may use V3 in a particular context to obtain a specific social function, but still, the linguistic form is not applied randomly. There are linguistic constraints for when V3 is possible, also for speakers who use V3 in performative functions.

⁴ See Jensen’s (2019) description of an “approximation function” in the expression “sån der” in youth language.

6. CONCLUSION

In the Aarhus urban dialect as well as in many other urban dialects, V3 syntax is used along with the respective languages' standard V2 syntax, and when both V2 and V3 are syntactically possible, speakers' choices cannot be explained solely by social context. 'Choice', as it is used here, does not mean a deliberate, conscious, stylistic choice. Instead, it refers to the ongoing process speakers face when interacting with each other. Danish talk-in-interaction already has three syntactic options for communicating approximately the same semantic content, and V3 in this article is described as a fourth syntactic option. The article's interactional analyses show three interactional functions that can be supported by V3:

- 1) Highlighting a specific time stamp or the order of events in storytelling
- 2) Claiming epistemic authority to give information of general scope
- 3) Introducing or reframing a place or a referent in a story

The interactional functions are not carried out by V3 on its own. V3 always occurs together with multiple other linguistic resources supporting the same action. V3 is merely an additional way of supporting this action or stance. The corpus' V3 sentences all stem from speakers who also use other local features, and by Wiese & Rehbein's (2016) definition, this coherence indicates that the variety can be seen as a dialect. Previous studies of V2/V3 alternation (Walkden 2017, Haegemann & Greco 2018) show that the two systems can operate simultaneously, and comparisons with the grammar of Standard Danish interaction (Puggaard 2019, Brøcker et al. 2012) show that V3 in the Aarhus urban dialect is more similar to the most frequent forms in Standard Danish spoken language, and this supports the analysis that V3 is part of a genuine V2 system rather than 'lack of inversion'. In addition to dialect speakers, speakers of Standard Danish sometimes also use V3 in informal spoken language. To the question of whether V3 is making its way in to the standard language, the article concludes that language internal motivations are more likely to explain and predict the development of V3 in the standard language than influence from the urban dialects. V3 is simply more likely to develop in the context of the existing constraints and possibilities of V2 in Danish talk-in-interaction.

7. Appendix

Transcription key based on samtalegrammatik.dk and Jefferson 2004.

→	arrows between line number and speaker indicate lines of main focus
↘→↗	arrows at the end of utterances indicate movement in intonation
word, <u>word</u>	stressed syllable, length of underlining show degree of stress
wo:rd, wo::rd	lengthened syllable, number of colons show degree of lengthening
(0.7), (.)	pause in seconds, micro-pause shorter than 0.3 seconds
one [word	
[another	squared brackets indicate overlap between lines
WORD	spoken loudly
°word°	spoken softly
>word<	spoken quickly
<word>	spoken slowly
word-	abrupt ending
=	latching, two utterances with no silence between them
	strong cesura, many syntactic and phonetic boundary cues
	weak cesura, few and weak syntactic and phonetic boundary cues
(word)	doubtful hearings
((word))	comments from transcriber, i.e. about physical actions

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