

Agnete Nesse*

From everyday speech to literary style: The decline of the distant address *De* in Norwegian during the twentieth century

<https://doi.org/10.1515/jhsl-2017-0027>

Abstract: Change in norms for the use of address forms and change in the actual usage of these forms are an important part of the history of any language. By investigating how certain grammatical features are chosen for specific pragmatic meaning, we deepen our understanding of the relationship between language and society. These changes can be described from several angles by focussing on intralinguistic factors (which linguistic features are used) or on social factors. In this article, we will take both perspectives into consideration by looking at the forms of pronominal address that have been used in Norway, as well as how and why they have changed. The data is drawn primarily from radio and weekly magazines, the popular media of the twentieth century.

Keywords: address, pronouns, distance, norms, radio, advertising, equality

1 Introduction

In order to be able to discuss change, it is necessary to give a brief overview of the use of address forms before the change took place. We will begin with the historical background of pronominal address in Norway, based on the descriptive and normative view found in grammar and etiquette books, as well as popular literary texts in books and on the radio. The pronouns in question are the V-forms *De* (subj.), *Dem* (obj.), *Deres* (poss.) and the T-forms *du* (subj.), *deg* (obj.), *di* (poss. fem. sg.), *din* (poss. mask. sg), *ditt* (poss. neut. sg), *dine* (poss. pl.). In addition to those in use during the twentieth century, the pronouns used as distant address forms prior to the twentieth century will be presented.

The next section analyses the use of distant address pronouns by radio programmes during the first fifty years of national broadcasting in Norway, from the early 1930s and until the end of the 1970s. By 1978, according to the radio data, only the T-form was used. However, the V-form continued to be used in writing after 1978 and, to some extent, still is. This means that the V-form has

*Corresponding author: Agnete Nesse, Department of Linguistic, Literary and Aesthetic Studies, Universitetet i Bergen, Bergen, Norway, E-mail: Agnete.Nesse@uib.no

suffered a loss of domain, reduced to a linguistic feature of which most Norwegians have only receptive competence. According to sociolinguistic theory, a linguistic domain is defined as an area of society where a certain code is used, such as education, research, business, sport or advertising (Mæhlum 2018: 633–634). If a language or a variety of a language is no longer used in one such domain, the language or variety suffers a loss of domain. An example from our time is that Norwegian (all varieties of it) suffers loss of domain when English, rather than Norwegian, is often used for business, advertising and research.

To learn more about the strategies used during the process of change, this investigation considered a corpus of written material to supplement the knowledge drawn from the radio material. A weekly magazine was chosen, because, common to magazines of this type, it compiles several different genres. The magazine in question was aimed at working- and middle class families, and was the most popular weekly magazine at the time. A majority of the texts in the magazine was aimed at the mothers of the families, but the magazine also included texts such as stories from other countries, literary texts and advertisements that seem to have been aimed at men, youngsters and children. One might find higher use of distant address in magazines that were aimed at the upper class of the population. However, in investigating a change in pragmatic norms that may have reduced social differences in the language as a result, looking at a magazine meant for the middle and lower classes seems to be a good place to start.

The concluding section offers some suggestions as to why the use of address forms changed in Norway during the decades after World War II.

2 Historical background

During the history of Norwegian linguistics, a range of linguistic resources has been used to mark both degrees of formality and degrees of distance between interlocutors. We can trace such forms back to the Middle Ages. However, the varying linguistic features that were used to differentiate address to different speaking partners during the centuries have had a “short life-span” (Knudsen 1949: 8). According to Knudsen, the reason for this is that, over time, the words used to mark distant address tend to lose their original connotations and need to be replaced with other words. In line with this, Mazzon (2010: 355) states that there seems to be a pattern in several speech communities where new forms indicate higher, rather than lower, degrees of formality. In sum, if the connotation of a specific linguistic feature changes from formal to informal, then a new

formal feature is introduced. In the centuries preceding the twentieth, this seems to be an accurate description of the Norwegian situation.

One text that is often referred to for information on pronominal (V-T) address forms during the Middle Ages is the *Konungs skuggsjá*, the ‘King’s Mirror’, from the mid-thirteenth century. The King’s Mirror is a dialogue in which a son (the prince) asks questions on topics such as governing and ethics, and the father (the king) answers. The conversation also touches upon how to use the correct forms of address. The king advises his son to use the plural form of the personal pronoun when he addresses the king. Although not stated explicitly, it becomes clear that the ideal is a non-reciprocal pattern: The king and father addresses his son with T. The advice on V-use found in the King’s Mirror matches the actual use in Norway at the time. In charters from the late medieval and early modern period, the plural V-form *þér* is indeed used to address the king and, later, other men of high rank. Since literacy in Norway and other European speech communities during this period was heavily influenced by Latin, the use of the plural form to mark distance most likely had its origins in Latin (Knudsen 1949: 7).

The explanation as to why plural pronouns were used to address one person in order to mark distance may reside, according to Knudsen (1949: 8), in discursive fiction: the person you speak to represents more than just one person. The king took part in this fiction by referring to himself as ‘we’, signalling that he represented all people in the state. As time went by, the plural form was used not only by the king, but by other men of high rank. Eventually, all strangers were addressed in this way and, clearly, the fiction of representation was no longer valid.

In a much quoted study from 1960, Brown and Gilman also discuss the origins of the use of the plural to one person. They present different explanations, but emphasize that “the usage need not have been mediated by a prosaic association with actual plurality, for plurality is a very old and ubiquitous metaphor for power” (Brown and Gilman 1960: 255).

After the Middle Ages,¹ the changing norms led to the use of new pronouns for address. By 1500, *I* (2. person plural subj.), *eder* (obj.) and *jer* (poss.) were becoming the usual mode of address in Norway (Mørck 2018: 327), and later the third person singular, *hun* ‘she’ and *han* ‘he’, was sometimes used as distant address. In the plays by the Norwegian-born author Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754),

¹ During the sixteenth and until the nineteenth centuries, there was one common, written language in Denmark and Norway. From the middle of the nineteenth century, this written language was adjusted to the spoken variety of the upper class in the new capital, Oslo. This variety is now called Bokmål. For a thorough presentation of the Norwegian linguistic history, cf. Nesse (2018).

Table 1: Pronominal address forms from the thirteenth through the twentieth century used to address one person in Norwegian.

	V subj.	V obj.	V poss.	T subj.	T obj.	T poss.
The Middle Ages	<i>þér</i>	<i>yðr</i>	<i>yðar/ yðvar</i>	<i>þú</i>	<i>þik</i> (nom. sg.), <i>þér</i> (dat. sg.)	<i>þín</i>
1500–1940	<i>I</i>	<i>jer</i>	<i>jer/jeres</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>dig</i>	<i>din</i> (m. sg.), <i>dit</i> (n. sg.)
1700–1900	<i>hun</i> (f.) <i>han</i> (m.)	<i>henne</i> (f.) <i>ham</i> (m.)	<i>hennes</i> (f.) <i>hans</i> (m.)	<i>du</i>	<i>dig</i>	<i>din</i> (m. sg.), <i>dit</i> (n. sg.)
1800–1970	<i>De</i> ^a	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Deres</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>dig/deg</i>	<i>di</i> (f. sg.), <i>din</i> (m. sg.), <i>dit/ditt</i> (n. sg.)

^aThese were the most common forms, and those found in my data. In addition, second person plural forms (*Dokker, Dykk*) have been used in dialects and in the less-used written standard called Nynorsk. However, even if the forms were different, the norms of usage were the same in the two Norwegian standards.

this pattern is quite common. Knudsen (1949: 8) interprets the use of third person singular to mark distant address as a fiction in which the speaker, out of modesty, did not presume to address the other person directly, choosing instead to speak *about* the person rather than *to* the person. Over time, in order to show social distance, the third person was used to address not only higher-ranking people, but also servants.

During the nineteenth century, influenced by the German use of the third person plural, *Sie*, to mark distance, the third person plural, *De*, took over as the V-form in Denmark and Norway. The forms *I* and *Jer* were then given lower social status and combined with the vernacular in literary texts; whereas the new forms *De* and *Dem* were a part of standard speech. In Sweden, a different pattern was used: although the pronouns *Ni* and *er* existed as formal, distant pronouns of address, the use of titles and third person singular instead of pronouns was the politest way of addressing strangers and people of higher social status or of greater age (for an overview of the Swedish norms, see, for example, Paulston 1976; Ahlgren 1978, also Fremer 2015a, Fremer 2015b).

As Table 1 shows, different systems coincided: second person pl. *I*, third person sg. *hun/han* and third person pl. *De* could be used during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. There are two clear tendencies as to how these different forms were distributed. First, there is the occurrence of a mix of forms: *Jer*

can be used as an objective form and *Jeres* as a possessive form both to subject *I* and to subject *De*. Secondly, there is a sociolinguistic division where people of higher social classes are innovators in the use of new address forms. Popular drama exemplifies this division: characters of the lower classes, who speak the local vernacular, use the older forms *I*, *eder* and *jer*; and characters of the higher classes, who speak the spoken standard, use the newer forms *De*, *Dem* and *Deres* (see, for example, Berg 1945). Brown and Gilman (1960: 225–261) are concerned with what they call “the power semantic” and the “solidarity semantic” of the different pronouns. In addition, they show how the notion of solidarity can differ between the different social classes. Within the upper class, using *V* could be an act of solidarity between equals, and within the lower class, using *T* could accordingly be an act of solidarity between equals. Any kind of “nonreciprocal power semantic” can lead to a split in the use of the different pronouns. This can be exemplified by Norwegian literary texts from early in the twentieth century. The characters from the higher classes are portrayed using a modern, nonreciprocal *V* and *T*, as in Example (1) from a story by de Lange [see Lange] (1910: 100), when an old man and a young man meet. Here, the difference in age is the social factor deciding how *V* and *T* should be used.

- (1) Old man: *Du* gjetter det saa aldrig allikevel; tænk, jeg har været på Fløien, **du**.
 ‘You (T)’ll never guess; imagine, I have been to Mount Fløien’²
- Young man: *Har De* været på Fløien? **De** en mand paa 85 aar.
 ‘Have you (V) been to Mount Fløien? You (V) a man 85 years of age’
- Old man: *Ja, og hvad tror du* jeg gjorde deroppe?
 ‘Yes, and what do you (T) think I did when I was there?’
- Young man: *Aa, det kan jeg si Dem* præsis, **De** tok **Dem** en god hjertes-tyrkning ovenpaa turen.
 ‘Oh, I can tell you (V) very accurately. You (V) had yourself (V) a good heart strengthener to the hike’.
 (de Lange [see Lange] 1910: 100).

As Figure 1 shows, the object forms *Jer*, *Dem* and *deg*³ in the literature of the Norwegian National Library are used in parallel to one another. The search also shows that *deg* increases in use after the middle of the twentieth century.

² All translations are my own, AN.

³ A search by the subject forms *I*, *De* and *du* is not possible in this base, since *I* is also a preposition.

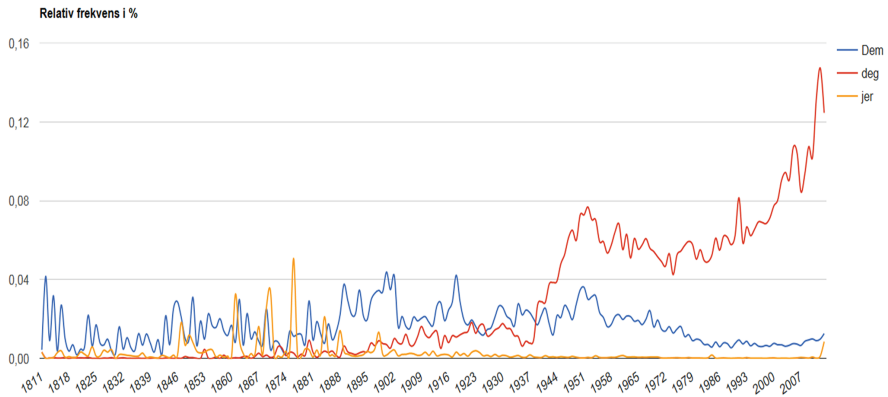


Figure 1: Relative frequency of the objective forms *Jer* (old V), *Dem* (newer V) and *deg* (T) in the literature of the National Library.

If we now turn to the distribution of V and T in Norway in the 1930s before the change from V to T began, the linguistic situation can be described quite simply. In the public sphere, *De* was obligatory as a form of address to all unknown youths and adults. In the private sphere, the formal V was used in urban environments also to familiar adults who were neither family nor close friends. In rural areas, there were geographic differences. In some places, only T was used; in other places, the V/T-distinction was used in the same way as in the cities (Aasen 1996 [1848]: 159).

In addition to the choice between the informal *du* (T) and the distant or formal *De* (V), both personal and occupational titles were a part of the repertoire of address, together with the use of family name in addition to or instead of the first name. Children used T to their parents and to relatives. Adult friends of the family were addressed by the children with T + aunt/uncle + first name (*du, tante Kari* ‘you (T) aunt Kari’). Other adults, like teachers, were addressed with V + title + last name (*De, frøken Hauge* ‘You (V), miss Hauge’). The use of titles and family names is not discussed further in this article.

3 Prescriptive norms: Grammar and etiquette

The data from radio programmes and magazines give insight into how V and T were used in spoken and written language. Such data from language use are crucial in order to understand language change. However, the listeners of the

radio programmes and the readers of the magazines were not influenced by listening and reading alone. They also learnt about correct language at school, and many of them read books in order to learn more about good behaviour – also good linguistic behaviour. In order to be able to compare language use with prescriptive norms, a few grammar books and etiquette books are analysed here.

In grammar books used in schools during most of the twentieth century, the distant forms are included as an obligatory part of the Norwegian pronominal system. Even after the system had started to change, the authors of the grammar books did not seem to find it necessary to mention the ongoing change. The same holds for language-learning books for adults. The quotes in Example (2) from grammar books on how the use of V/T is defined, answer the question of when to use *De*.

- (2) 1923 (Heggstad) (the edition from 1960 has identical phrasing):
vyrdsam tiltale til ein einskild
 'polite address to one person'
 1926 (Jensen):
jeg sier du hvis jeg kjenner ham riktig godt, De hvis han er fremmed eller han er vår lærer eller lignende
 'I say you (T) if I know him really well; You (V) if he is a stranger or if he is our teacher or similar'
 1967 (Berulfsen):
De [er] i dag den eneste pronominale høflighetsform
 'V [is] today the only pronominal polite form'
 1970 (Kragemo):
I høflig tiltale til én person som vi er dis med, bruker vi De, Dem, Deres
 'in polite address to one person we normally address with V, we use You (V), You (V), Yours (V)'

All the examined books, except for Jensen (1926), use the concept 'polite'; this has been and still is the most common way to describe the V-use in Norwegian. However, Jensen, in a book meant for younger students, uses the concepts 'stranger' (marks distance) or 'teacher' (marks formality), which seem to be a more precise description. Kragemo (1970) offers a circular description. What the author actually says is that one should use the V-form to those normally addressed with V. Kragemo addresses her readers with the V-form, in line with her own advice.

If we are to believe these grammar books, there was apparently no change in the use of distant address during the period from 1923 to 1970. The only change mentioned in the books studied for this study, is that the older forms *I*, *eder* and

jer had gone out of use by the middle of the century. The grammars appear quite traditional, if not old fashioned, compared to actual usage, at least in radio. Interestingly, the etiquette books from the same period seem to be more in line with the radio data than the grammar books. The etiquette books cover all aspects of life from dress code to language. In one of the books (Brøgger 1960: 33), where the preface emphasizes the apparent lack of social rules and a need for the guidance that the book offers, there is an extensive chapter on address. According to Brøgger, the linguistic shift is the result of new fashions in child raising, and non-reciprocal V/T-address is no longer tolerated by the young ones.

- (3) *Før i tiden måtte de temmelig tidlig lære å si De til voksne som de ikke kjente. De voksne på sin side fortsatte å si du til barna. Dette har ikke latt seg forene med en barneoppdragelse som går ut på å styrke barnas selvaktelse. “Sier du du til meg, så sier jeg du til deg!” erklærer den unge og selvstendige person.*

‘Earlier they had to learn quite young to say You (V) to adults they did not know. The adults continued to say you (T) to the children. This has not been possible to combine with a practice of child raising with the aim of strengthening children’s self-esteem. “If you say you (T) to me, then I say you (T) to you!” the young and independent person declares’. From the etiquette book *Skikk og bruk* (Brøgger 1960).

It is not common to use the emergence of new ideals of child raising to explain the radicalisation of many young people during the late 1960s and early 1970s, but it might be taken into consideration, since it certainly offers an interesting social-psychological view. Independent young people with high self-esteem may want to choose their own way of living, and – relevant for us – may be less inclined to use the distant address with people they meet.

By 1985, using the T-form had become the default choice in speech. In a book on etiquette from that year (Solberg 1985: 25), the author states in the preface that even if the social classes have come to resemble one another more than earlier, the gap between the generations still exists. The aim of the book is to limit unpleasant “clashes” between the generations. Solberg, who herself uses T to address the reader, suggests using the V-form if the person one is talking with becomes too familiar. The concept of politeness is not mentioned.

- (4) *Ved å si De signaliserer du et ønske om avstand eller respekt. Vil du unngå at en person blir for familiær, kan du bruke det mer formelle De. Jeg har overhørt samtaler som har begynt med du, men etter hvert som man kom inn*

på vanskelige temaer, gikk en av partene over til å si De.

‘By saying You (V), you signal a wish for distance and respect. If you want to avoid a person becoming too familiar, you can use the more formal You (V). I have overheard conversations that have started with you (T), but as one touched upon difficult themes, one of the interlocutors changed to You (V)’.

From the etiquette book *Skikk og bruk i selskapslivet* (Solberg 1985).

These two etiquette books show that the change anticipated in 1960 was well on its way by 1985. There is also a connotative shift in the books from a predominately positive to a more negative use of the V-form. Clearly, there is a great difference in whether one uses a linguistic feature to make people feel comfortable (the ultimate idea of politeness) or if the same linguistic feature is used to make people feel uncomfortable (phrased as ‘difficult themes’) in the quotation in Example (4). In both cases, the V marks distance; so our question, which will be addressed in Section 7, is why the positive act of marking distance became negative.

Rather than pursuing the question of positive and negative politeness (cf. Nevala 2010: 423–425), I will ask if the use of V in spoken Norwegian disappeared because its connotations changed from positive to negative, or if the connotations changed because the use of V became less frequent. From the data that we will turn to shortly, there is no evidence that supports the first theory. The V-form is used to mark polite distance, both in the radio data and in the data from the magazines. And though there is plenty of anecdotal evidence and examples from literary texts that the V-form was used more to insult than to comfort, we do not have data to support this. We should, of course, be careful not to abandon folk linguistic beliefs as such, but as Kretzenbacher and Schüpbach (2015) show, these beliefs do not always match the results of quantitative analysis. They approached their data with the assumption that the German-speaking areas had changed from V to T in the social media, simply because that was a widespread assumption. But their extensive data from German, Austrian and Swiss internet fora showed that the V is still the dominating pronominal address form.

4 Presentation of the radio data

Whereas studies of address forms in speech from the nineteenth century and earlier must be based on written material, for example written drama, the twentieth century offers radio programmes that make it possible to investigate

address forms that were actually used. Films also offer this possibility, but there is reason to believe that radio conversations are closer to natural usage than films and plays, even though radio language usually has been monitored by the radio stations (for language policy in the National Norwegian Broadcasting, [NRK], see Vinje 1998; Sandøy 1998). In films, language has to a larger degree been used as an artistic effect. In radio, and especially in the many interviews with different people, an atmosphere of authenticity is sought, if not always achieved. The interview often takes place in the home of the interviewee, where the sound of cup meeting saucer is heard, and the wife or husband of the interviewee can be heard in the background. Another argument in favour of using radio programmes, are that they display language use in the present, while films can intend to display language use in the past or in the future – or in a parallel world (cf. Section 6, where the books and films about Harry Potter are mentioned as an example of this).

The radio data are compiled of approximately 200 hours produced between 1936 and 1996 and is divided into three sets. One data set includes programmes made in or about one specific region. A second data set consists of radio drama for children, and the third is a set of programmes made for elderly people. These data sets were originally constructed to measure the use of standard vs. dialect in Norwegian radio during this 60-year period (Nesse 2014, 2015), but the programmes are also coded for pronominal address forms. All three data sets point in the same direction with no more than 30 years between the very first instances of the T-form and the very last instances of the V-form. We are, in other words, talking about a very rapid change. This is comparable to the neighbouring Swedish *du*-reform (Fremer 2015a, 2015b). This period witnessed significant variation of the use of different forms, a common phenomenon in the process of linguistic change. After a decade or so, it seemed quite clear that a

Table 2: Overview over address forms *De* and *du* from 1936 and until 1980 in the radio data.

Period	V-address		T-address		Total	
	%	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons
1936–1940	85.2	23	14.8	4	100	27
1941–1950	55.6	5	44.4	4	100	9
1951–1960	88.9	16	11.1	2	100	18
1961–1970	58.1	25	41.9	18	100	43
1971–1980	14.6	6	85.4	35	100	41
Sum	54.4	75	45.6	63	100	138

new, focussed system was taken into common use: a system that favoured the use of T to all persons who were interviewed on the radio. Table 2 is an overview of the characteristic usage of V and T, decade by decade. The social distribution of the persons addressed in different ways is discussed underneath.

1930s: The V-form is obligatory in all interviews with adults, including young adults, but not children. In addition, commercials and reporters' addresses to listeners require the use of the V-form.

1940s: The first programmes directed towards teenagers are launched: the so-called *Ungdommes radioavis* (Radio Newspaper for the youth). They are pioneers in using the T-form to their young interviewees. Apart from these programmes, the V-form continues to be used in the same way as the decade before. In a program from 1947 about the great fishing in the area Lofoten, a fisher emphasizes that during the fishing seasons, all men (fishermen, doctors, merchants) use *du* to one another. This must mean the the use of T was something extraordinary.

1950s: This decade is dominated by V, but there are signs of change, resulting first in division by status. Professors and managers are still addressed with V and, to a greater degree, manual workers with T. There are few women on the radio during this period, neither as interviewers⁴ nor as interviewees, so we do not have reliable data that might suggest a gender difference in address forms.

1960s: The pattern of who is addressed with V and who with T becomes less clear, and we seem to be entering the 'chaos-period' (Neteland 2014: 288–289). The data show a lot of variation, and there seems to be no recognizable pattern in this variation. As late as 1968, the NRK emphasises to reporters that they are to use the V-form even if they interview their best friend (Nesse 2008: 116–117). The fact that editors felt the need to mandate V-form usage is a clear indication that not all reporters were following these instructions. As the data show – this was indeed the case.

1970s: The V-form is only rarely used on NRK radio. The few instances that the V is used is in interviews with old, male professors. The last programme in the radio material to use the V-form is from 1977.

We will now look closer at a few programmes, including one from the period in which V-use was still an obligatory part of the official spoken domain, and one from the transition period. The first example is a radio show for children from 1947 (analysed in Nesse 2016). The show was designed both to entertain and to educate, and although it was labelled "for children", the programmes were also popular among adults. In the episode that this extract is taken from, the use of V

4 The first female reporter in the data appears in 1970.

and T is made to characterise the two young, male protagonists. One of them is polite, timid and careful (A.) and the other is wild and reckless (K.). They are both approximately ten years of age. Usually, the episodes are situated at home, but in this episode the boys visit the Chief of Police to collect permission to play music on the streets for money. This trip out of the family sphere opens up a possibility for using the pronominal and nominal address forms to create a funny situation and at the same time teach the listeners correct conduct. The extract in Example (5) begins with A. expressing amazement at how well the Chief of Police plays the guitar. The Chief of Police (P.) assures A. that he also will improve with time.

- (5) P: ... *når du blir litt eldre så blir du nok bedre enn mei*
 ‘...when you(T) get a little older, then you (T) will be better than me’
 A: *De smigrer, herr politimester*
 ‘You (V) flatter me, mr. Chief of Police’
 (*Kallemann & Amandus 1947, from Nesse 2016: 150*)

The chief of police addresses the boys with the T-form, but the boys are supposed to respond by using both the V-form and the full title. This is the same nonreciprocal address pattern steered by age that we saw in Example (1). By letting the polite boy use all the right forms, V, ‘Mr.’ and ‘chief of police’, the author of the play is characterising him as correct and obedient.

In Example (6), we see that failing to apply the V correctly in conversation is used to characterize the other boy, K.

- (6) K: *Du e politimeistar om forladelse De menar eg De vikkje vere med oss rundt å spelle vel ja, uten uniform*
 ‘You (T) chief of police, I am sorry, You (V) I mean, You (V) won’t join us when we play? Well, yes, not in uniform’
 (*Kallemann & Amandus 1947, from Nesse 2016: 150*).

K. forgets to use the right forms, and the listeners, who knew the boys after listening to them weekly for many years, would know that K. was just forgetful, not naughty or badly behaved. The listeners, both children, parents and grandparents, would be confirmed in their view of K. when he corrected himself from T-use to V-use. K. does not, however, apply the *herr* ‘Mr.’ that A. uses, so there is still a difference in the address practice of the two boys.

The next example, (7), is from another type of programme from 1967, a period when the norms for address were changing. Even though the reporters, as previously mentioned, were instructed to use the V-form, they had to take into consideration both the wishes of the interviewees and the expectations of the

listeners. The line between respect and insult had become blurred. One creative way to solve this dilemma was to negotiate forms of address on the air and, in this case at least, at the same time help the interviewee stage herself as ‘ordinary’.

- (7) Reporter Karl Kolstad (KK) interviews Magnhild Borten (MB), the wife of Prime Minister Per Borten from *Senterpartiet* (the Centre Party).

KK: *Ka ska ein sei forresten, er det fru Borten eller fru Statsminister eller?*
 ‘What should one say, by the way, is it Mrs. Borten or Mrs. Prime Minister or?’

MB: *Ja vesst æ ska få lov å vælg, så vil æ helst at **du** si Magnhild.*
 ‘Yes, if I may choose, then I prefer that you (T) say Magnhild’.

KK: *Magnhild. Kordan arte dagen seg for ei statsministerkone?*
 ‘Magnhild. How is a typical day for the wife of a Prime Minister?’

MB: *Nei det den e ittjno forskjellig i frå ei anna husmor nei men det henne jo det at æg spreng tu vaskebøtta og opp i langkjolen, det henne jo men det e jo veld det e jo slik det ska vårrå.*

‘It is no different from any another housewife. But it happens that I jump from the washing bucket and into the long dress, it happens, but then that is the way it is supposed to be’.

(The Norwegian National Library, the digital archive from the National Broadcasting [NRK]. 1967).

KK. does not ask whether he is to use the T-form or the V-form, he phrases his question according to the use of titles. In her answer, MB. both uses the T-form to the reporter, and says that she prefers that he uses her first name. This was not common at the time, and it can be interpreted as a bold statement, implying a personal relationship between KK. and MB. However, it is more likely that she wants to imply a personal relationship to the audience, who were potential voters for her husband.

MB. speaks a traditional rural dialect, and the audience in the studio laughs happily through the interview. Dialect-use on air was not common at the time,⁵ but in this case, it seems to go well with the audience. After MB.’s demand for the T-address, KK. repeats her first name, followed by a short pause that can make the listeners believe that he is not altogether happy about the answer he received. However, this pause may be deliberate, in order to show awe for this extraordinary elite person and her insistence on ordinariness. KK. phrases his next question in third person and thus

⁵ The change from standard and into dialect use on the radio has been discussed in Nesse (2015) and (2018). The question of the existence of a Norwegian spoken standard is debated at length in *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift*, edited by Brit Mæhlum and Ernst Håkon Jahr in (2009).

avoids saying *for deg* ‘for you’ (T). The next answer from MB. makes it even clearer that she is on a mission of self-representation or stylization, using *ordinary* as virtue. She first tells the remarkable story of the First Lady with the washing bucket, then she turns and says that this is the way it is supposed to be – that is, leading politicians and their families should be ordinary – probably to better understand and represent their voters.

Ordinariness was one of the most important virtues of post-World War II Norway (Lomheim 1979: 45; Gullestad 1985; Jørgensen 2008), and both the change from spoken standard to dialects and the change in address forms must be seen also in light of this ideal. A related concept to *ordinary* in Norwegian politics has been *trustworthy*. In a study of local politics from 1998, Thomassen showed that the local politicians established their trustworthiness through a simple, equality seeking language (Thomassen 1998: 126). There are limits on how to express this, however. To pay someone a compliment on their ordinariness is only possible if there is reason to believe, like in this case with the wife of the prime minister, that the person in question can be suspected of being better than others (Thomassen 1998: 12).

In another radio programme from 1968, the negotiation of forms of address is less successful, from a listener’s perspective. The programme is about wild life, hunting and associated activities, and the men interviewed are all elderly. Here, a reporter sticks to the T-form even though one of the interviewees tries to make him use the V-form. The interviewee addresses the reporter with V, but the reporter chooses to ignore the attempt to bring the conversation to a level the interviewee finds more suited for the radio.

These examples are illustrative of how innovators in radio worked, either by thematising address by asking the interviewee what they preferred, or by ignoring the interviewee’s conservative use of address forms, thus offending not only the interviewee, but also potential conservative listeners. There were also conservative voices among the Norwegian linguists. Professor Kjell Venås (1927–2018), who wrote the first text book on sociolinguistics in Norway in 1982, said in his discussion on the T/V distinction that “demonstrativ er du-bruken frå journalistar i massemedia” [demonstrative is the T-use from journalists in the mass media] (Venås 1982: 110). When the author of this article (born 1965) read this statement as a student in 1986, she underlined it and put a question mark in the margin. By 1986, general T-use had won in radio, and young people could not understand what could be demonstrative about it.

Demonstrative T to some, obvious T to others: how conscious were the reporters about their role as innovators? One reporter who, during the last half of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, interviewed the same male professor several times, switched from V to T around 1970. In an interview some years ago,

the reporter was asked how the change had come about (Nesse 2008: 116–117). Was it through a small ceremony? Initiated by the professor? But the reporter's reply was that it just happened, with no express decision. Of course, there is no possibility of examining the truth of this. It may be his way to show that, in his view, the V-form is something we should be glad to be rid of. This journalist was very attentive when it came to other linguistic questions, and he proved to have strong views on most issues. Another reporter says he was so insecure as to which pronoun was correct to use that, when interviewing a leading politician, he changed from V to T in the middle of the interview (Gran 2000: 90). If 'gut feeling' or intuition was what you had to go by when there was so much variation in the speech community, the innovators who wanted the V-form gone had ample opportunities to influence the course of change.

To sum up, the change in the use of V and T in the Norwegian Broadcasting can be called a relatively rapid change. Use of V to all adults was obligatory in the 1930s, and after about 40 years, T had become obligatory. The change partly went along social lines, so that young people and working class men were addressed with T before T-address was used to adult managers and elderly professors. However, there are also many instances of T-use, especially during the 1960s, that cannot be explained according to the social status of the interviewee. Until more refined analysis of these interviews can be performed, the best explanation seems to be that the journalists were steered by intuition. Intuition is, however, formed by attitudes and implicit norms, so even if these cannot be extracted from the programmes, they have played an important part in the change.

5 *Hjemmet* 1977: A weekly magazine for the family

Since the radio data do not contain use of the V-form after 1977, the story could have stopped there. According to popular belief and the author's experience, there is no reason to believe that *De* to mark distant address was used much in any oral setting after the 1970s. But the oral domain is only one part of language. During the first half of the twentieth century, the use in the oral and the written domains was comparable to one another. After this, the change happened more quickly in the oral than in the written domain. If one wants to cover the twentieth century and investigate the domains where the V-form was still used, radio data need to be supplemented by written data.

Radio was popular among all segments of the population, and the radio data consist of different types of programmes in different genres. To find texts that could be comparable to this, the choice fell on magazines that consist of different genres and that were read by large parts of the population in different social strata.

Obviously, there are important differences between the two types of data. In radio interviews, there are two groups of recipients to take into consideration: the interviewees and the listeners. Radio journalists want to keep their listeners happy, and this may mean that they address their interviewees differently than they would have when they speak to this person with the microphone turned off. In the very few instances where the journalists address the listeners directly by the use of a pronoun, the same pronoun that is used to the interviewees is also used to address the listeners.

A magazine offers more possibilities for negotiations, both with the interviewee and with the editor. One can assume that the distance from the actual interview to the end-product is larger than in radio. Another difference in the preparation of the texts is that there are editing possibilities that you do not have in radio. For example, if an interview is conducted using the T-form, it may be changed to the V-form if the editor believes this will go better with the readers. Even if editing were also possible in radio, changing *De* to *du* or vice versa is hardly possible.

Choosing to work with written data after 1977 was necessary, since this was the last year the V-form was used in radio material. Concentrating on this year provides an impression of how the V-form, banished from the public, oral domain of radio, continued to be used in the popular, written domain. The weekly magazine, *Hjemmet* (established in Denmark, 1904; a Norwegian version was launched in 1911), was at the peak of its popularity and sold 378,000 copies each month in 1980 (Gripsrud 1999: 25). Assuming that each copy was read by several persons, as much as one fourth of the population (which was 4 million at the time) may have read the magazine, with the majority being women. *Hjemmet* was originally a family magazine, and although it was published primarily for female readers (mothers), there were articles and columns that were also meant for men, young people and children (Gripsrud 1999: 18).

Other text types could have been used as well. Both newspapers and literary texts often includes interviews or dialogue, and thus offer interesting possibilities for research. So may political texts, of which there was a great many during the 1970s. However, this magazine seems to be a good place to start when the researcher has an interest in the language used in texts meant for the ordinary majority of the population.

In order to gather magazine data large enough to analyse using quantitative methods, ten issues from the summer of 1977 were chosen. Overall, the data consist of 1098 texts from 1120 pages. The texts are of various lengths, from quizzes or small adds that only cover a fifth of a page, to articles or stories that cover several pages. Since the aim of the study has been to understand the sociolinguistic motifs behind the change from V to T, a division into text types and genres seemed to be a useful tool. If certain text types or domains proved to contain more T than others, these could be regarded as innovating compared to the more conservative text types.

The fact that 15.5% of the texts in the 1977 summer editions of *Hjemmet* use the V-form, necessarily leads to the question of what kinds of texts these were, and what function the V has in these texts. To learn more about the distribution of V and T in the late phase of V-use, as well as the meaning behind the choices made, the material was divided into different genres, as shown in Table 3.

In the text type called “Fiction and interviews”, especially in the novels and short stories, the use of the V-form is not exclusive, since the characters use V to some other characters and T to others. This means that some of the texts that use the V-form also use the T-form. The 49.6% of texts that are marked as T, use the T-form only. A finer analysis of the texts with no address other than what has been delineated here, would have shown that, in some cases, the lack of address is deliberate in order to avoid choosing between V and T. There is also a division between texts written in Norwegian and texts translated from other languages. Translated texts and comic strips will be discussed in Section 6.

The text type called “Regular columns” consists of a quiz called *Vet De det?* [Do You (V) know that?], a horoscope that also uses V only, and two pages for teenagers where only T is used. The only subgroup within this text type that shows variation, is the one consisting of letters to the editors and to experts. In this subgroup we find a high percentage of address avoidance, which may

Table 3: Address in the family magazine *Hjemmet*, 10 issues from 1977.

	V-address		T-address		No address		Total	
	%	Texts	%	Texts	%	Texts	%	Texts
Fiction & interviews	18.3	41	49.6	111	32.1	72	100	224
Hobby	0	0	59.3	32	40.7	22	100	54
Regular columns	17.9	53	34.8	103	47.3	140	100	296
Comic strips	25	10	60	24	15	6	100	40
Advertisements	13.7	66	52.2	252	34.1	165	100	483
Sum	15.5	170	47.5	522	36.9	405	100	1098

Table 4: Address in letters from readers and the answers of different experts from the data from the family magazine *Hjemmet*, 10 issues from 1977.

	V-address		T-address		No address		Total	
	%	Texts	%	Texts	%	Texts	%	Texts
Letters from readers	2.2	3	20.9	28	76.9	103	100	134
Experts' answers	22.7	30	49.2	65	28	37	100	132 ^a
Sum	12.4	33	35	93	52.6	140	100	266

^aTwo of the letters from the readers were more good advice than actually questions, and were not answered.

indicate that the readers are uncertain of whether to address the representatives of the magazine with V or T. The answers from the lawyer, doctor, gardening expert, beautician and other experts are more evenly distributed between V and address avoidance, whereas T is the preferred address form in these answers:

When looking more closely at the data presented in Table 4, they indicate a weak tendency toward male letter writers receiving more V-answers from the editors than female letter writers. The surprisingly high number of letters from men clearly shows that men did, in fact, relate to the magazine. Lawyers and doctors are the most frequent recipients of letters from men, and from the questions (often related to problematic inheritance issues to the lawyer, and “private” matters to the doctor), one can assume that these are middle aged or elderly men. Thus age, not gender, may be one explanation for the high V-use in the answers to male letter writers. Letters to the editors and experts are not signed with names, but are sometimes signed with *mann pensjonist*, ‘male senior’, or *ung husmor*, ‘young housewife’.

Interestingly, it seems that the hobby domain is innovative when it comes to address forms. Neither cooking recipes, knitting patterns, gardening advice nor home decoration have any trace of V-use in these issues. Overall, 59.3% used the T-form, and 40.7% used no address form. The knitting, embroidering and sewing patterns frequently use the imperative, thus there is no explicit address formulae; although this does not explain the total lack of V.

Finally, and importantly, there are the advertisements made by advertising agencies. Unlike the NRK, which provides the radio data, magazines have not had the benefit of financial support from the state, making advertisements an important part of the business. From issue to issue, there is a significant variance in how many of the pages are tied up in advertisements. In the present material, the least is 12.76% in June, and the highest is 35.85% in the “back to school” period at the end of August. In her work with pronominal address in

Swedish advertising films from 1915–1979, Maria Fremer shows that the use of V and T in advertisements does not necessarily follow general tendencies in the speech community. Rather, factors such as the product in question, word play, rhyme, etc. must be taken into consideration in analysing the data (Fremer 2015a, 2015b). The advertising agencies most likely have made the decision as to what kind of address was suitable for the product in question, with or without discussing it with the company that paid for the advertisement.

Several angles were tried in order to encode what the advertisements with T and those with V respectively had in common. It seems that the more closely the product can be associated to the body of the mother of the house (the intended reader), the more likely the T-address will be used. On the other hand, advertisements for products when the mother of the house is a less definite target are more likely to contain a V-form, as shown in Table 5.

The product groups labelled as closest to the body are beauty products, clothes and cleaning products. Figure 2 illustrates how the use of T goes together with a photo showing a naked child caressing the soft bath robe of her or his mother. The photo on the fabric softener bottle is also intimate, showing a woman caressing her cheek with a (soft, we presume) sheet. More general family products like food, health products and furniture, have between 12.2% and 15.8% V-use, in line with the overall V-use in the magazine. These products can be interpreted as less marked in their closeness to the intended reader.

Even higher V-use is found in ads for reading (book-clubs, magazines, language courses), and the same holds for ads trying to sell handicraft kits of different kinds like, for example, ‘build your own book shelves’.

Table 5: Address in advertisements from the data from the family magazine *Hjemmet*, 10 issues from 1977.

	V-address		T-address		No address		Total	
	%	Texts	%	Texts	%	Texts	%	Texts
Clothes	0	0	80.8	21	19.2	5	100	26
Beauty products	0	0	63.6	42	36.4	24	100	66
Cleaning	3.4	1	69.0	20	27.6	8	100	29
Food and drink	12.2	14	34.8	40	53.0	61	100	115
Furniture and home decoration	12.5	5	75.0	30	12.5	5	100	40
Health products	15.8	9	45.6	26	38.6	22	100	57
Reading material	21.2	14	42.4	28	35.4	24	100	66
Handicraft kits	21.4	3	50.0	7	28.6	4	100	14
Luxury goods	28.6	29	54.3	38	17.1	12	100	70
Sum	13.7	66	52.2	252	34.2	165	100	483

The highest score, 28.6% V, is found in a group of ads that have been labelled 'Luxury goods', namely, ads for watches, jewellery, cars, car stereos and exercise equipment. These products might be thought to appeal to the male readers, either as buyers of presents to the wives/mothers (jewellery), or as buyers of products for the family (cars, car stereos and exercise equipment).

The use of V or T in the advertisements clearly show who the most important reader of the magazine was: the house wife. The advertisements that are directed towards her person, use T; this is where the distance between magazine and reader is the smallest. Advertisements that are directed towards the whole family, can be seen as neutral, whereas those meant for the husbands mark a larger distance by a larger percentage of V. A magazine meant primarily for male readers might show other patterns; this has yet to be investigated.



Ny, forbedret Comfort skyller alt tøy mykere.

COMFORT er nå blitt en enda bedre tøymykner, som gir mer luftig mykhet til all din vask. Gjør det til en vane alltid å helle ny COMFORT i siste skyllevann – hva du enn vasker, hvordan du enn vasker.

Figure 2: Advertisement for fabric softener. The text reads: [New, improved Comfort rinses all [your] clothes softer. Comfort has now become an even better softener, that adds more airy softness to your (T) laundry. Make it a habit to always pour new Comfort in the last rinsing water – whatever you (T) wash, how you (T) wash.].

6 Translations

Translations of texts from one language and into another are made to overcome the obvious distance that comes from not understanding. In addition to this, translations often need to – in an implicit manner – illustrate an unfamiliar culture or an unfamiliar time to the reader. It is not surprising that the data from *Hjemmet* show that translated, literary texts show other percentages when it comes to the use of V and T than Norwegian texts. In translated texts, especially in crime stories, the V-form is used more frequently than in texts that are written in Norwegian. This seems to be a general tendency, not just a characteristic of the editions of *Hjemmet* from 1977. Vatne (2003) has studied the use of the V-form in Norwegian and translated crime fiction novels of the 1990s. She shows that even after the V-form had been declared dead and void in speech, it was used quite extensively in crime fiction translated from English. This may seem a paradox, since English does not have the pronominal V/T distinction; however, since Norwegian does not have an equivalent to English *sir* or *madam*, the pronominal V/T is used to translate the same level of formality as *sir* and *madam* indicates. Pedersen (2007: 32), in a study of strategies used in subtitling, calls this phenomenon ‘intralinguistic, cultural adaptation’. The translated literary texts in *Hjemmet* from 1977 are all from English, except for one so-called photo-novel, which was translated from German. In the translation from German, the V-form follows the original language. However, the distribution of V and T in contemporary German had become old-fashioned in Norway, and the style of the photo-novel may have seemed more formal for Norwegian readers than what was intended by the German author. All in all, the V-form is present in as much as 48% of the novels and 19.5% of the short stories in the 1977 editions of *Hjemmet*.

Cultural adaption can also be exemplified by the comic strips printed in *Hjemmet*. The magazine regularly printed four comic strips, all of them translated. Three of them were translated from (American) English and one from (Belgian) French. The translated version of the French comic (*Astérix*) uses T only, while all the three comic strips translated from English use both V and T. The American comics were *Bringing up Father* (in Norwegian *Fiinbeck og Fia*), *The katzenjammer kids* (Norw. *Knoll og Tott*) and *Blondie*. These were all created at the beginning of the twentieth century, and they had been part of *Hjemmet* for quite a number of years: *Knoll og Tott* from 1911, *Fiinbeck og Fia* from 1921 and *Blondie* from the 1930s. The comics took place in another country, but more importantly, they took place in another time, so that the use of V in these comics may be a way to represent the olden days with old-fashioned relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, employer and employee.

Another genre that represents different aspects of distance, is fantasy. In order to mark this distance, the vocabulary is enhanced, and titles, address forms and name practice may be used in order to stress the difference between the fantasy world and our world. The Norwegian, price winning translator of J. K. Rowling's books about Harry Potter, Torstein Bugge Høverstad, is most likely responsible for many Norwegian children's first encounter with V-use. The V/T use in Harry Potter is nonreciprocal when students use V (*De, Dem*) to their professors and receive T (*du, deg*) from the professors. The professors use T among themselves, so do the children.

It seems that the only channel for V-use in Norwegian today is translations, either books, films or TV-series. The translators themselves distribute V and T among their characters as a stylistic tool, the rest of the population has a receptive competence in this practice. How long can a linguistic feature, in this case the pragmatic feature of alternating between the T-form and the V-form, exist when the main part of the population has only a receptive competence in the usage? A question to address in further research will be how and at what age children are socialized into this receptive competence. An investigation into this might shed light on not only the function of V in Norwegian today, but also, more generally, how receptive competence is imparted from one generation to the next.

7 Norway 1945–1980: The egalitarian dream come through?

An analysis of ten issues of *Hjemmet* from the summer of 2014 confirms that the system of address in Norwegian has changed in the direction that the numbers from 1977 pointed towards. In 2014, there are no advertisements in *Hjemmet* that use V, and only in very few instances is V used as a stylistic tool in translated literary texts. We know when and how this pragmatic change took place, so our next task is to explain the change in line with the research on changes in Norwegian mentality, culture and politics during the decades after World War II. My claim is that the most important factor is the strong equality norm of the society, a norm that was slowly beginning to be challenged during the 1980s.

This equality norm, best described in the many contributions by social anthropologist, Marianne Gullestad (1985), tied equality to likeness. The post-WWII culture in Norway was not a 'different but equal' culture; on the contrary, it was more an 'alike and thus equal' culture. Others have interpreted this likeness as a demand to be ordinary – that one should not stand out as

something special, but rather conceal difference. This is mentioned in Section 4, where the wife of the prime minister insisted on being ordinary. Even the royal family adjusted to this culture, and the most popular story about former king Olav V (1903–1991) was that, during the oil crisis in 1973 when some Sundays driving private cars was banned, he took the train for his Sunday skiing – and insisted on paying for the ticket. It was an ordinary, decent thing to do and gave him a boost in popularity.

It might be enough to cite this being ordinary mentality to explain why a V-form did not fit any more (cf. Svennevig 2012: 124). In a society like Norway in the 1970s, where the differences between the highest and the lowest wages were smaller than any time earlier (and, as it happens, after), overt signs of differences in status were not welcome. The majority of the population had gained increased wealth after World War II with the help of this ‘alike and equal’ ideology and the Labour party, which was the political tool to implement it.

However, two other factors should also be mentioned, as they may help to complete the overall understanding of the relationship between society and language in post-WWII Norway. One of these factors is the tendency of the left and centre fractions of the Norwegian political landscape to be nationally and rurally oriented, seemingly more so than in other European countries. Thus, the battle for or against membership in the EEC in 1972 was divided along lines where the political left and the rural areas voted *no* to membership and the political right and the urban areas (in addition to the political establishment) voted *yes* (Dahl and Bjørnsen 1973). In the early 1970s, the young radicals, often students, would look to the countryside in search of simplicity and authenticity in life and in linguistic matters (Jørgensen 2008; Lomheim 1979: 45). In most rural cultures, T dominated the communication and was adopted by the young radicals, together with a strong inclination to speak dialect in all domains. Interestingly, this fascination for the sometimes-harsh reality of the Norwegian countryside was also reflected in the popular culture for readers in all parts of the country. Gripsrud (1999: 25) shows that the family magazines during the 1970s had a surprisingly large number of articles focussing on ‘everyday heroes’ from the Norwegian country side, and he sees this in connection with the population’s general interest in these matters at the time.

The other factor is the cultural influence from the USA. Early in the twentieth century, Europeans, not only Norwegians, viewed the United States as a more horizontally organized society than what could be found in European countries. Many saw the US as something worth copying (Kroes 1996). The first cultural influences came from below (Durrer 2007; Klimke 2007: 128), through young people who admired American pop music and films and American ways to (ad)dress. This notion of American culture as more egalitarian

than European culture still exists in Europe, even if the country itself is perceived as not egalitarian. Isosävi and Lappalainen (2015) demonstrate in their study on the use of first names in Starbucks cafes in Finland and France that the use of both first names and the T-form is viewed as American and “strange and intimate: not part of our culture” (Isosävi and Lappalainen 2015: 106).

It may be controversial to claim that the young radical Norwegians in the early 1970s loved America; however, even if they hated the American warfare in Vietnam, they felt much of the same closeness to American society as their parents did. Experts on the Norwegian 1968 movement claim that three important factors influenced social changes and inspired many young people to become politically active: increased access to education, increased welfare and the war in Vietnam (Førland and Rogg 2008: 252). The increased access to education had economic and geographical causes. Institution of student loans dissolved the ties between income and education. New colleges were established in the countryside and in small towns to ensure intellectual labour in all parts of the country. And, finally, increased welfare became possible due to industrialization and through reallocation of wealth by the tax system.

Several of these factors coincide with the cultural and political development in other countries. An all-European perspective is offered both in Kroes (1996) and in Klimke (2007). Still, each country has its own mix of factors that makes linguistic norms more or less different from other countries. For example, the dialects are used less and the V-form slightly more in Denmark than in Norway today.

8 Concluding remarks

In this article, we have seen that the Norwegian V/T-distinction suffered a loss of domain during the period after World War II. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the V-form was obligatory when speaking or writing to a stranger. V was also used in communication with people you were familiar with, if they in any way could be labelled as “distant” (age, class, role etc.). From the 1950s onwards, it seems that the distance needed in order to use the V-form increased, decade by decade.

The change in the spoken domain preceded the change in the written domain. In the radio data that this article builds on, the V-form was barely used during the 1970s and not at all during the 1980s and 1990s. We can conclude that the popular belief that the V-form was abandoned during the 1970s holds for the NRK radio. However, this is not the case for written domains.

The written data, drawn from ten 1977 issues of the family magazine, *Hjemmet*, show that about 15% of the 1098 texts included use of the V-form. A comparison with the same ten issues of the same magazine from 2014 shows that only a couple of texts, namely translated literary texts, included use of the V. The use of V is not abandoned by writing in Norway today, but it is used mostly as a tool to style a drama or other literary texts as historical or culturally distant.

The change in the use of address forms coincides with the development of the welfare state within the frames of social democracy. This change also coincides with a strong cultural influence from the US. These two factors – the political movement towards smaller social differences between people on the one hand, and the American cultural influence on the other – must be analysed as the most important reasons for this sociolinguistic development. However, to analyse this as language change, we also need to look at relevant social data to understand both who the innovators were, and which patterns of usage existed during the period of change. Grammar books were more conservative than books on etiquette, and radio was a more innovative domain than family magazines. Translated literary texts seem to be the last resort for the V-form, illustrating how important the concept of (social, cultural, diachronic) distance is for this area of communicative practice.

References

Primary sources

Bergen City Archive: *Arkivet etter Sverre Erichsen A–2653*.

Hjemmet no. 30 – 40 1977 and no. 31–41, 2014.

The Norwegian National Library, the digital archive from the National Broadcasting (NRK).

Secondary sources

Aasen, Ivar. 1996 [1848]. *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik* [The grammar of the Norwegian folk language], edited by Terje Aarset. Volda: Høgskulen i Volda.

Ahlgren, P. 1978. *Tilltalsordet ni. Dess semantik och användning i historiskt perspektiv* [The address word ni. It's semantics and use in a historical perspective]. Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksell.

Berg, Adolph. 1945. *Fra smitt og smau* [From lanes and alleys]. Bergen: Eide.

Berulfsen, Bjarne. 1967. *Norsk grammatikk. Ordklassene* [Norwegian grammar. The word classes]. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Brøgger, Waldemar (ed.). 1960. *Skikk og bruk* [Etiquette]. Oslo: J. W. Cappelens forlag.

- Brown, Roger & Albert Gilman. 1960. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In Thomas A. Sebeok (ed), *Style in Language*, 253–276. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Dahl, Hans Normann & Bjørn Bjørnsen. 1973. *Det var en gang en folkeavstemning* [Once upon a time there was a referendum]. Oslo: Gyldendal.
- Durrer, Lorenz. 2007. Born to be wild: Rockmusik und Protestkultur in den 1960er Jahren. In Martin Klimke & Joachim Scharloth (eds), *1968 Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, 161–174. Stuttgart & Weimar: Metzler.
- Førland, Tor Egil & Trine Rogg Korsvik. 2008. *Ekte sekstiåttene*. [Authentic sixtyeighters]. Oslo: Gyldendal.
- Fremer, Maria. 2015a. Men kör såhär, så slipper du göra bort dig. Hur svenskans du-reform återspeglas i reklamfilmer [But drive like this, then you won't make a fool of yourself. How the Swedish du-reform is mirrored in advertising films]. *Språk och stil* 25. 88–126.
- Fremer, Maria. 2015b. At the Cinema: The Swedish 'du-reform' in Advertising Films. In Catrin Norrby & Camilla Wide (eds), *Address practice as social action*, 54–74. New York & Hampshire: Palgrave pivot.
- Gran, Gunnar. 2000. *Men radioen var ikke død. NRK i oppbruddstiden på 60- og 70-tallet – Sett fra innsiden* [But the radio was not dead. NRK during the change of the 1960s and 1970s, seen from the inside]. Oslo: Norsk rikskringkasting A/S.
- Gripsrud, Jostein. 1999. *Ukepressens kulturelle og samfunnsmessige betydning. En utredning for Foreningen Norsk Ukepresse* [The cultural and public significance of the weekly press. A report from the association of the Norwegian weekly press]. Oslo: Foreningen Norsk Ukepresse.
- Gullestad, Marianne. 1985. *Livsstil og likhet. Om nærmiljø i byer* [Life style and equality. About the living environments in the cities]. Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger & Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget.
- Heggstad, Leiv. 1960 [1923]. *Norsk grammatikk* [Norwegian grammar], 11 edn. Oslo: Norli.
- Isosävi, Johanna & Hanna Lappalainen. 2015. First Names in Starbucks: A clash of cultures? In Catrin Norrby & Camilla Wide (eds), *Address practice as social action*, 97–118. New York & Hampshire: Palgrave pivot.
- Jensen, Lars O. 1926. *Norsk grammatikk* [Norwegian grammar]. Bergen: Beyer.
- Jørgensen, Thomas Ekman. 2008. Scandinavia. In Martin Klimke & Joachim Scharloth (eds), *1968 in Europe. A history of protest and activism, 1956–1977*, 239–252. New York & Hampshire: Palgrave macmillan.
- Klimke, Martin. 2007. Sit-in, Teach-in, Go-in: Zur transnationalen Zirkulation kultureller Praktiken in den 1960er Jahren. In Martin Klimke & Joachim Scharloth (eds), *1968 Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung*, 119–136. Stuttgart & Weimar: Metzler.
- Knudsen, Trygve. 1949. *Pronomener* [Pronouns]. Oslo: Universitetets studentkontor.
- Kragemo, Gerd. 1970. *Norsk på ny* [Norwegian in a new way]. Oslo: Tanum.
- Kretzenbacher, Heinz L. & Doris Schüpbach. 2015. Communities of addressing practice? Address in internet forums based in German-speaking countries. In Catrin Norrby & Camilla Wide (eds), *Address practice as social action*, 33–53. New York & Hampshire: Palgrave pivot.
- Kroes, Rob. 1996. *If you've seen one, you've seen the mall. Europeans and American mass culture*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois press.
- Lomheim, Sylfest. 1979. *Spørsmål til spørjetimen i Stortinget. Ein språkleg analyse av form og funksjon* [Questions to the question session at Parliament. A linguistic analyses of form

- and function] (Agder distriktshøgskole, seksjon for fagoversettere, Skrifter 1). Kristiansand: University of Agder.
- Mæhlum, Brit (ed.). 2018. *Praksis* [Practice] (Norsk Språkhistorie II). Oslo: Novus.
- Mæhlum, Brit & Ernst Håkon Jahr (eds.). 2009. Har vi et 'standardtalemål' i Norge? [Do we have a 'spoken standard' in Norway?] [Special issue]. In *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 27.
- Mazzon, Gabriella. 2010. Address terms. In Andreas H. Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds), *Historical Pragmatics* (Handbooks of Pragmatics 8), 351–378. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Mørck, Endre. 2018. Seinmellomalderen [The late middle ages]. In Agnete Nesse (ed), *Tidslinjer* [Timelines] (Norsk Språkhistorie IV), 293–356. Oslo: Novus.
- Nesse, Agnete. 2008. *Bydialekt, Riksmål og Identitet – Sett fra Bodø* [City vernacular, standard language and identity – seen from Bodø]. Oslo: Novus.
- Nesse, Agnete. 2014. Lyden av Norge. Språklig destandardisering og nasjonsbygging i NRK radio [The sound of Norway. Linguistic destandardization and nation building in the NRK radio]. *Arr – idehistorisk tidsskrift* 1. 83–95.
- Nesse, Agnete. 2015. Bruk av dialekt og standardtalemål i offentligheten i Norge etter 1800 [The use of dialect and standard in the public sphere of Norway after 1800]. In Helge Sandøy (ed), *Talemål etter 1800. Norsk i jamføring med andre nordiske språk* [Spoken language after 1800. Norwegian compared to other nordic languages], 89–111. Oslo: Novus.
- Nesse, Agnete. 2016. Kallemann & Amandus: The use of dialect in children's programmes on early Norwegian radio. In Jacob Thøgersen, Nikolas Coupland & Janus Mortensen (eds), *Style, media and language ideologies*, 135–160. Oslo: Novus.
- Nesse, Agnete (ed.). 2018. *Tidslinjer* [Timelines] (Norsk Språkhistorie IV). Oslo: Novus.
- Neteland, Randi. 2014. *Koinéforming av industristedtalemål. En sosiolingvistisk studie av språkutviklingen i Sauda og Årdal de siste hundre årene* [Koiné formation of dialects in industrial towns. A sociolinguistic study of the linguistic development in Sauda and Årdal the last one hundred years]. Bergen: University of Bergen dissertation.
- Nevala, Minna. 2010. Politeness. In Andreas H. Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds), *Historical pragmatics* (Handbooks of Pragmatics 8), 419–450. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Nicolay de, Lange. 1910. *Fra den snurrige by. Bergensbilleder* [From the funny town. Pictures from Bergen]. Bergen: Giertsens forlag.
- Paulston, C. Bratt. 1976. Pronouns of address in Swedish: Social class semantics and changing system. *Language in Society* 5. 359–386.
- Pedersen, Jan. 2007. Cultural interchangageability: The effects of substituting cultural referenes in subtitling. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 15(1). 30–48.
- Sandøy, Helge. 1998. Talenorm i NRK [Speech standard in the NRK]. In Ruth Vatvedt Fjeld & Boye Wangenstein (eds), *Normer og regler. Festskrift til Dag Gundersen 15. januar 1998* [Norms and regulations. Festschrift to Dag Gundersen 15 January 1998], 158–170. Oslo: Nordisk forening for leksikografi.
- Solberg, Sissi Porsholt. 1985. *Skikk og bruk i selskapslivet* [Etiquette in social settings]. Oslo: Cappelen.
- Svennevig, Jan. 2012. *Språklig samhandling. Innføring i kommunikasjonsteori og diskursanalyse* [Linguistic interaction. Introduction to communications theory and discourse analysis]. Oslo: Cappelen akademisk.
- Thomassen, Gøril. 1998. "Eg har sett det med egne aua." *Språk, kjønn og troverdighet i lokalpolitikk* ["I have seen it with my own eyes". Language, gender and trustworthiness in local politics]. Trondheim: University of Trondheim MA thesis.

- Vatne, Magny. 2003. *Men De var ikke død. En analyse av tiltaleformer i to oversatte kriminalromaner* [But De was not dead. An analysis of address forms in two translated crime fiction novels]. Oslo: University of Oslo MA thesis.
- Venås, Kjell. 1982. *Mål og miljø. Innføring i sosiolingvistikk eller språksosiologi* [Language and environment. Introduction to sociolinguistics]. Oslo: Novus.
- Vinje, Finn Erik. 1998. Talemålsnormering i NRK [Standardization of speech in the NRK]. In Ruth Vatvedt Fjeld & Boye Wangensteen (eds), *Normer og regler. Festskrift til Dag Gundersen 15. januar 1998* [Norms and regulations. Festschrift to Dag Gundersen 15 January 1998], 143–157. Oslo: Nordisk forening for leksikografi.