

DIALECTS IN NORWAY - BETWEEN TOLERANCE AND STANDARDIZATION

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Abstract:

Norwegian is peculiar not only with a view to the written language, which has two official standards, but also regarding the spoken language, which lacks a standardized form. In fact, Norway is one of the most dialect-speaking countries in Europe. The use of a regional dialect in all fields of one's life is rather perceived as part of one's identity, and a sign of democracy and decentralization. Although theoretically there are four main dialects, in practice the variety of dialects differing in grammar, vocabulary or pronunciation is much wider, and depends on the part of the country or even on a specific town. The present paper is mainly focused on analyzing how the issue of diatopic variation in the Norwegian spoken language has been depicted in recent years (2008-2012) in Norway's largest daily newspaper, Aftenposten. Even if dialects are accepted in everyday life, one of the recurrent debates in the newspaper is however related to using a standard form at least in the news programs from the largest Norwegian television and radio company, NRK, where the language ought to be considered a point of reference. Another topic of interest is related to the dialects used in dubbing in children's television series.

Rezumat:

Limba norvegiană este deosebită nu numai din punct de vedere al limbii scrise, care are două forme oficiale, ci și al limbii vorbite, care nu dispune de o formă standardizată. De fapt, Norvegia este una dintre țările europene cele mai bogate în dialecte. Folosirea unui dialect local în toate domeniile este mai degrabă percepută ca parte a identității unei persoane, fiind un semn de democrație și descentralizare. Deși teoretic există patru dialecte principale, în practică varietatea de dialecte care diferă în ceea ce privește gramatica, vocabularul și pronunția este mult mai mare,

depinzând de o anumită regiune a țării sau chiar de un anumit oraș. Lucrarea de față este axată în principal pe analiza modului în care problematica variației diatopice din limba norvegiană vorbită a fost înfățișată în ultimii ani (2008-2012) în cel mai mare cotidian al Norvegiei, *Aftenposten*. Chiar dacă dialectele sunt acceptate în viața de zi cu zi, una dintre dezbaterile periodice din ziar este însă legată de folosirea unei variante standard cel puțin în programele de știri de la cea mai mare companie norvegiană de radio și televiziune, NRK, unde limba ar trebui să fie considerată un punct de referință. Un alt subiect de interes este legat de dialectele folosite în dublaj în serialele de televiziune pentru copii.

Keywords: Norwegian dialects, linguistic standardization, *Aftenposten*, language in mass-media

Introduction

The linguistic situation in Norway is quite peculiar, because the language has two official and literary written forms: Bokmål (Book Language, which is a Norwegianized variant of Danish and is the most common standard form) and Nynorsk (New Norwegian, which developed from the old Norwegian dialects). Nowadays Bokmål is used by 85% of the population and Nynorsk by 15%¹.

The spoken language, on the other hand, comprises four major dialects (*vestnorsk*/West Norwegian, *østnorsk*/East Norwegian, *trøndersk*/Trøndelag Norwegian and *nordnorsk*/North Norwegian)² and a multitude of mutually understandable minor ones. Interestingly enough, Europe's three richest countries regarding per capita income (Luxemburg, Norway and Switzerland) are dialect-speaking, and most Norwegians speak the dialect they have grown up with.

The wide range of dialects spoken by Norwegians represents a mark of equality and democracy. "As the dialect is a deeply integrated part of their identity it is normally regarded to be too important to be changed."³ People are allowed to speak their own dialect in all fields. Dialect is accepted on

¹ Olaf Husby (ed.), Tore Høyte, et al., *An Introduction to Norwegian Dialects*, foreword by Peter Trudgill, (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2008), 16.

² See Eskil Hanssen, *Dialekter i Norge*, (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2012), 12.

³ Husby, *An Introduction*, 12.

television, on the radio, in literature⁴, in education, in politics. That is why, even if dialects tend to change, they will probably never die out.

Consequently, foreigners who use Norwegian have to be able to understand many variants of the spoken language. This may become very frustrating because most textbooks are written in Bokmål, and foreigners are taught spoken Bokmål during Norwegian courses unlike native Norwegians who are not taught a spoken norm related to one of the two official written standards. If during the courses for foreigners native teachers speak Bokmål⁵, otherwise, even the Education Act encourages the teacher to pay attention to the pupils' home dialect and not to try to make them abandon it⁶. That is why, understanding the different forms of the spoken Norwegian takes time and much more effort than in the case of other foreign languages which have a standardized spoken variant. This standardized spoken variant would be a variety developed in general in close relationship with the written form, and would be "an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage will conform to a greater or lesser extent"⁷. On the other hand, "The [Standard Language Ideology] leads to a general intolerance towards linguistic variation, and non-standard varieties in particular are regarded as 'undesirable' and 'deviant'".⁸

Diatopic variation

Although in the paper "Standardtalemål? Naturligvis! En argumentasjon for eksistensen av et norsk standardtalemål" Brit Mæhlum argues for the existence of a spoken standard in Norway and makes reference to several terms used for the standardized norm: standard East Norwegian (*standard østnorsk*), South-Eastern Norwegian spoken standard (*sørøstnorsk standardtalemål*), educated East Norwegian (*dannet østnorsk*),

⁴ The issue of *Aftenposten*, January 30, 2012, makes reference for instance to Ove Røsbak, a contemporary Norwegian poet, novelist, biographer and children's writer, who has written in the Ringsaker dialect.

⁵ Spoken Bokmål may have prosodic varieties different from the variety spoken in Oslo, which belongs to Central East Norwegian.

⁶ See Husby, *An Introduction*, 16.

⁷ James Milroy & L. Milroy, *Authority in Language. Investigating Standard English* (New York: Routledge, 1985), 23, quoted in Brit Mæhlum, "Standardtalemål? Naturligvis! En argumentasjon for eksistensen av et norsk standardtalemål," *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift* 27, hefte 1 (2009): 9.

⁸ Joan Swann et al. *A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 296, quoted in Mæhlum, "Standardtalemål?", 15.

spoken Bokmål (*talt bokmål*)⁹, the simple fact that not only one term is used would mean that in fact this standard is not real, but rather mental as shown above. Anyway, from the point of view of an outsider the use of a spoken standard is not clearly perceived.

Since all variants of the modern language have their origin in Old Norse (*norrønt*), this helps Norwegians understand one another even when they do not speak alike. Different variants of the spoken language emerged because of the different changes undergone by the language in different parts of the country. The people's isolated settlements and solitary way of living also favored preserving one's way of speaking. Moreover, the language has transformed continuously, and changed from one generation to the other, also within the same family, due to human contact.

On the whole, dialects in Norway imply differences at the phonetic level (such as those implying monophthongization, apocope, retroflex flap/thick l, palatalization, placing the main stress), at the lexical level (regarding for instance the personal pronoun, first person, the nominative case or the negation word "not"), and at the morphological level with a view to the definitive form of feminine nouns in the singular, the use of the dative case etc.

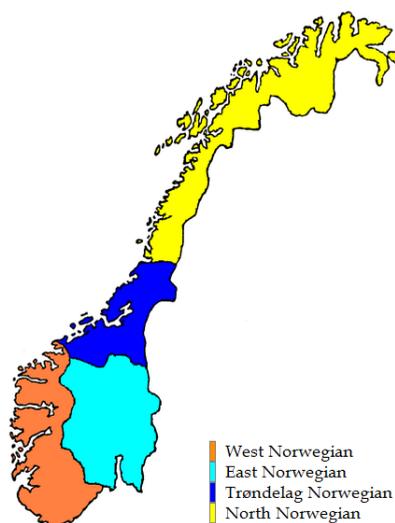


Figure 1. Map of major Norwegian dialects

(Source: Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, s.v. "File:Norwegian dialects.PNG", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Norwegian_dialects.PNG (accessed January 15, 2013))

⁹ See Mæhlum, "Standardtalemål?", 14.

So as to point out some differences between Norwegian dialects and a so-called standardized norm, we used a database including transcriptions and recordings of 54 Norwegian dialects¹⁰. These ones all refer to the same story *The North Wind and the Sun/Nordavinden og sola*. People from different parts of Norway were asked to read the text below, and starting from it we chose to discuss two dialects and some of their peculiarities: the first dialect is from Trondheim (Trøndelag Norwegian, part of Eastern dialects) and the second one from Tromsø (North Norwegian, part of Western dialects).

Original text: *Nordavinden og sola*

Nordavinden og sola kjekla/kjeklet om kven/hvem av dei/dem som var den sterkaste/sterkeste. Da kom det en mann gåande/gående med en varm frakk på seg. Dei vart samde/De blei enige om at han/den som først kunne få mannen til å ta av seg frakken skulle gjelde for sterkare/sterkere enn den andre. Så blåste nordavinden av all si makt, men dess meir/mer han blåste, dess tettare/tettere trakk mannen frakken rundt seg, og til sist gav nordavinden opp. Da skein/skinte sola fram så godt og varmt, og straks tok mannen av seg frakken. Og så måtte nordavinden innrømme at sola var den sterkaste/sterkeste av dei/dem.

English translation of the text *The North Wind and the Sun*:

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveler came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveler take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveler fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shined out warmly, and immediately the traveler took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.¹¹

I. Orthographic reproduction of the Trondheim dialect used: *noravinn å sola kjækla om væm a dæm sm va dn stærkeste. da kåm de n mann gåene me n varm frakk på sæ. dæm vart eni åm at han sãm føsjt kuinn få mann te å ta a sæ*

¹⁰ The database may be accessed at the address <http://www.ling.hf.ntnu.no/nos>.

¹¹ Wikipedia, *The Free Encyclopedia*, s.v. "The North Wind and the Sun", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_North_Wind_and_the_Sun (accessed November 2, 2012).

*frakken va dn stærkestn a dæm. så blåst noravinn av all si makt å jo mer an blåst desto tettar trakk mann frakken runt sæ å te sjlutt så ga noravinn opp. da sjein sola fram så gått å varmt å straks tok mann a sæ frakken. å så mått noravinn innrøm at sola va dn stærkastn a dæm.*¹²

The user of the Trondheim dialect above is a representative dialect user born in 1969. The phonology of the Trøndelag Norwegian which is used is characterized by a phenomenon of lowering which affects short stressed front vowels. Thus “e” is pronounced /æ/: /kjækla/ (were disputing), /væm/ (who), /dæm/ (them). The example /stærkastn/ (strongest) also includes the definite ending /-n/ used for masculine and feminine forms for the adjective in the superlative when the noun is not used with the superlative. Apocope is another phenomenon typical of this dialect, referring in general to the loss of final “-e” in an unstressed position in the infinitive: /innrøm/ (admit) and comparative form of adjectives: /tettar/ (tighter). In rapid speech the article “en” (a) is abbreviated to /n/, the pronoun “han” (he) to /an/, the auxiliary verb “to be” in the past tense has the form /va/ (was) instead of /var/. In Trondheim weak verbs such as “å blåse” (to blow) use the shortened form /blåst/ instead of /blåste/ for past tense. The form /te/ replaces the preposition “til” (to). The Trondheim dialect has four extra palatal consonants besides the two palatal sounds used in Central East Norwegian (Oslo area): see examples such as /kuinn/.

II. Orthographic reproduction of the Tromsø dialect used: *noravinn å sola krangla om kæm a dæm så va dn stærkeste. da kåm en mainn gåans me n varm frakk på se. di ble eni om at deinn sãm føsjt kuinn få mainn te å ta a sæ frakken sku bi rægna sãm den stærkeste a dæm. så blåste noravinnj a aill si makt. mæn jo mer ham blåste jo tettar trakk main frakke ruinnt se. å te sist mått noravinnj gi se. da sjinte sola fræm så gått å varnt at main straks måtte ta a sæ frakken. å så måtte noravinnj innjrømme at sola va deinn stærkeste a dæm.*¹³

¹² See *Institutt for språk- og kommunikasjonsstudier, NTNU, “Dialektprøver fra Trondheim kommune”,* <http://www.ling.hf.ntnu.no/nos/?k=Trondheim> (accessed October 20, 2012).

¹³ See *Institutt for språk- og kommunikasjonsstudier, NTNU, “Dialektprøver fra Tromsø kommune”,* <http://www.ling.hf.ntnu.no/nos/?k=Troms%F8> (accessed October 20, 2012).

The user of the Tromsø dialect above is a historian born in 1941, and also a representative dialect user. Among the peculiarities of this dialect, we may mention palatalization, which is used in examples such as /noravinnj/ (North wind), /innjrømme/ (to admit), /aill/ (all), /mainn/ (man), /ruinnt/ (around), /deinn/ (the one). /Tættar/ (tighter) is both apocopated (final “-e” is dropped) and lowered (“e” is pronounced /æ/), /fræm/ (forward) and /mæn/ (but) are also lowered. /Varnt/ (warmly) is a local peculiarity instead of /varmt/, the reflexive form /sæ/ is used for “seg”. The preposition “til” (to) is pronounced /te/, the question word “hvem” (who) has the pronunciation /kæm/. /føsjt/ (first) is pronounced with /sj/ instead of ordinary /s/.

Case study

After paying attention to some peculiarities of two of the major Norwegian dialects, we will analyze in the following how dialects are perceived in different online issues of the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* (*The Evening Post*), in the period 2008-2012. The research in the present paper is based on a number of 15 articles. We chose *Aftenposten* since it is a leading conservative daily newspaper in Norway appreciated for serious journalism.

In 2009 there existed a debate in the newspaper regarding the responsibility which should be taken by the largest radio and television public broadcasting organization, *NRK* (the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation) with a view to the spoken language used. Thus in the issue of October 30, 2009 the Norwegian philologists Finn-Erik Vinje, former language consultant for *NRK* and Sylfest Lomheim, former director of the Norwegian Language Council expressed their concern with regard to the linguistic use in the news transmissions from *NRK*. They considered that “in our linguistic society we must have a place where people can listen to spoken Nynorsk and spoken Bokmål and presume that what they hear can be normative”¹⁴ [our translation].

Since there was no other place where one could hear the so-called standard language, Lomheim asked for it being used in news broadcasting. Vinje also missed “a point of reference with a view to the Norwegian spoken

¹⁴ Cathrine Hellesøy, “NRK må ta språklig ansvar,” *Aftenposten*, October 30, 2009, <http://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/tv/--NRK-ma-ta-spraklig-ansvar-5588938.html>. “vi i vårt språksamfunn må ha en plass hvor folk kan lytte til talt nynorsk og talt bokmål og regne med at det de hører, kan være retningsgivende”.

language”¹⁵ [our translation]. Despite the fact that there are rules in *NRK*, they seemed to be no longer followed. Use of a standard language in this institution had been a condition as a sign of respect for the listeners who had now to pay more attention to the form of the message transmitted than to its content. *NRK* broadcasts in both Bokmål and Nynorsk (at least 25% of the oral news is to be transmitted in Nynorsk). Besides language rules, there are also language consultants specialized in both Bokmål and Nynorsk working for *NRK*.

Finn-Erik Vinje criticized Hans-Tore Bjerkaas, the Director-General of *NRK* since 2007, in the issue of October 28, 2009. Vinje also noticed a lack of consistency, as with the use of both forms “syv” and “sju” by the same newsreader for number 7 (which contradicts the language guidelines of the Norwegian language council, namely guideline 2.2).¹⁶ Among the linguistic rules which are to be found on the website of the Norwegian Language Council, we may also mention guideline 1.1 referring to the use of official Bokmål or Nynorsk in news programs. However, dialect may be used in news stories, interviews or comments within the news broadcasting (guideline 1.2). At the same time, local dialects ought to be used in regional transmissions according to guideline 1.3.

On October 30, 2009, Ruth Vatvedt Fjeld, the language consultant within *NRK* replied that Norway did not have any official standardized spoken language and according to surveys 70% of the people agreed to the use of dialect in news broadcasting.

What is very interesting is that depending on the part of the country Norwegians come from, people have different perceptions on them. In television for instance the most serious characters speak East Norwegian. On the other hand, “if anything should be called a dialect, Trøndelag Norwegian ought to qualify for this designation in any case”¹⁷ [our translation], and this dialect is considered as having the lowest status in films and children’s programs on television. That is why, it is used in case of odd, slow and naive

¹⁵ Ibid. “et referansepunkt for norsk talespråk”.

¹⁶ See *Språkrådet*, “Språkregler for NRK.”, <http://www.sprakradet.no/nb-no/politikk-fakta/spraakpolitikk/nrk/> (accessed February 2, 2013).

¹⁷ Arne Torp, Berit Helene Dahl and Ingard Lundeby, *Språklinjer* (Oslo: Norsk Undervisningsforlag, 1993), 151. “Dersom noko skal kallast dialekt, bør vel i alle fall trøndersk kvalifisere til denne nemninga”.

characters, speaking a countryside idiom. There also existed some unwritten rules that policemen should also be from Trøndelag and have moustache¹⁸.

The Trøndelag dialect is considered as “weird and gives negative associations”¹⁹ [our translation], believes Ann-Kristin Molde, a dialect researcher at the University of Bergen, according to the issue of September 12, 2012. On the other hand, “the passionate and violent children’s TV character is often from Bergen”²⁰ [our translation]. Molde considers that “it is not good that they [children] learn these prejudices so early. When children’s TV and films have most of the characters speaking East Norwegian, it shows that we do not have full dialect tolerance in the country. This may influence the child’s perception of oneself”²¹ [our translation]. If the dialect from Trøndelag has negative connotations, the dialect from Sunnmøre in west Norway (*sunnmørsk*) is associated with something positive, being regarded as resonant, while dialects in North Norway are considered to use bad language.

In dubbed cartoons, there also exist prejudices associated with dialects, as shown in the issue of March 14, 2011. Bergen dialect is used in children’s television by nasty or rough animals instead of sweet ones or with bragging, authoritarian and violent people. While the Bergen dialect sounds hard, the one from Southern Norway is soft.

Around 5000 episodes for children are dubbed every year, and this implies several hundred actors. 75% of programs shown by the children’s channel *NRK Super* are foreign-produced television series for children. Children play approximately 30-40% of the parts. Since most of the dubbing studios lie in Oslo, East Norwegian is mostly used. Otherwise, dialect is spoken in series dubbed in Volda in a studio belonging to the company NorDubb. On the whole, dubbing has influence on about 500 000 children watching cartoons.

On the other hand, Kristin Melum Eide, professor at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) considers according to the

¹⁸ See Kristoffer Furberg and Sophie Bergersen Moen, “Raringer på barne-tv er trøndere,” *Aftenposten*, September 12, 2012, <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/Raringer-pa-barne-tv-er-trondere-6988688.html>.

¹⁹ Ibid. “rar og gir negative assosiasjoner”.

²⁰ Ibid. “den engasjerte og voldsomme barne-tv-figuren ofte er en bergenser”.

²¹ Ibid. “Det er ikke bra at de lærer disse fordommene så tidlig. Når barne-tv og -filmer har flest karakterer som prater østnorsk, viser det at vi ikke har full dialekttoleranse i landet. Det kan påvirke barnets opplevelse av seg selv”.

issue of September 12, 2012 that “when small children learn many dialects, they will get basic fundamental understanding for languages for the rest of their life”²² [our translation], that is why it would be preferable that by children’s television one should not render the impression that other dialects than East Norwegian are perceived as deviations.

According to the issue of January 27, 2008, the British sociolinguist and academic Peter Trudgill is of the opinion that “the language controversy between Nynorsk and Bokmål has led to a greater linguistic awareness in the Norwegian population than is common elsewhere in Europe, which has given us greater linguistic tolerance and freedom”²³ [our translation]. The use of dialect is related to roots, identity, and tradition. Since people have the liberty all over the country to speak their own dialect in all contexts, this makes it even more difficult for foreigners who want to use Norwegian as a means of communication, and it is most certainly strange for a language spoken by around only 5 million inhabitants in a peripheral state. This means in fact that “learning Norwegian is a lifelong project.”²⁴ [our translation]

The situation is completely different from other countries where one should speak the standardized norm so as to gain respect. The fact that Norwegians are accustomed to linguistic diversity and develop language skills makes them understand also Swedish and Danish more easily. However, foreigners trying to learn Norwegian should not feel it as a burden. Åsta Øvregaard, Assistant Professor at the Department of Language and Communication Studies of Norwegian University of Science and Technology, considers in the article “Når dialekt blir maktspråk”, written on January 27, 2008 that “Normalization is a skill, something that requires a bit of practice”²⁵ [our translation], but something absolutely necessary in the process of integration.

The different dialects used influence as well the babies’ ways of expressing themselves, as shown in the issue of January 6, 2010. Thus babies

²² Ibid. “når små barn lærer mange dialekter vil de få en grunnleggende forståelse for språk resten av livet”.

²³ Åsta Øvregaard, “Når dialekt blir maktspråk,” *Aftenposten*, January 27, 2008, <http://www.aftenposten.no/mening/kronikker/article>. “språkstriden mellom nynorsk og bokmål har ført til en større språklig bevissthet i den norske befolkningen enn det som er vanlig ellers i Europa, noe som igjen har gitt oss større språklig toleranse og frihet”.

²⁴ Ibid. “Å lære norsk er et livslangt prosjekt”.

²⁵ Ibid. “Normalisering er en ferdighet, noe som krever litt trening”.

cry “on the same melody as the mother and father talk”²⁶ [our translation]. It is typical of Norway that “in East Norwegian sentences end upwards, while West Norwegian is characterized by the fact that the sentence melody ends downwards”²⁷ [our translation].

It seems that teenagers also use Norwegian dialects rather than English words in phone text messages (SMS). The issue of December 29, 2010 makes reference to a study led by Berit Skog, Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology and Political Science of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The study revealed that 57% of the teenagers who answered the questions used dialects and moreover 82% of girls used abbreviations. For instance, teenagers in Trondheim use Trøndelag Norwegian: “Klæm. Gla i dæ” (“Hug. I love you”), instead of the standardized “Klem. Glad i deg”, while others use just the abbreviation due to practical reasons: “gid”, that is “glad i deg” (“I love you”). Moreover, “the distance from one’s own speech to the written language (Bokmål) varies, and when the distance is great and thus the dialect differs markedly from the written language, the stated use of dialect is larger”²⁸ [our translation].

Regarding the use of dialect at *NRK*, some program hosts prefer to use their own dialects considering it as the safest way of expressing themselves and state that it is more important to let themselves understood and be best possible mediators than speak standardized Norwegian.

However, as far as Norwegian-speaking foreigners are concerned, it may turn frustrating when the variant spoken by Norwegians is very different from the linguistic variant studied by them. Åsta Øvregaard admits according to the issue of July 16, 2008 that “Norwegians’ lack of willingness to normalize their language, particularly in interaction with foreigners, is unique in Europe”²⁹ [our translation].

²⁶ Knut A. Nygaard, “Babyer skriker på morsmålet,” *Aftenposten*, January 6, 2010, <http://www.aftenposten.no/viten/Babyer-skriker-pa-morsmalet-5314080.html>. “etter samme melodi som mor og far snakker”.

²⁷ Ibid. “i østnorsk ender setningene i hovedsak oppover, mens vestnorsk kjennetegnes ved at setningsmelodien ender ned”.

²⁸ Svein Lie, *Det digitale språket*, (Oslo: Ling forlag, 2011), 62-63. “avstanden fra eget talemål til skriftspråket (bokmål) varierer, og når avstanden er stor og dialekten dermed skiller seg markert fra skriftspråket, er den oppgitte bruken av dialekt større”.

²⁹ *Aftenposten*, “Utlendingguide til norske dialekter,” July 16, 2008, <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/article2542307.ece>. “Nordmenns manglende vilje til å normalisere språket sitt, kanskje særlig i omgang med utlendinger, er enestående i europeisk sammenheng”.

Conclusions

Although Norway is one of the most dialect-speaking European countries, and dialects may imply differences in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, what is extremely important is that “there is an enormous societal tolerance for linguistic diversity [...] linguistic diversity in Norway is officially recognized and officially protected”³⁰. Despite the fact that “there is a variety which has achieved a unique position in the Norwegian speech community”³¹, this variety is not clearly established as a spoken standard to be used by the people. On the contrary, people are free to speak their own dialect in all situations.

While most listeners are of the opinion that it is good to use dialect in official circumstances, specialists consider that if a standardized form were used, this would lead to a better understanding of the message transmitted by Norwegians and better concentration on what is transmitted. The analysis of recent issues of *Aftenposten* reveals that the debates related to the relationship between tolerance and standardization of the linguistic situation are still actual and far from being solved. It is also our opinion as a Norwegian-speaking foreigner that the use of a standardized spoken form would greatly improve the quality of communication with the native speakers.

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³⁰ Peter Trudgill, *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 31.

³¹ Mæhlum, “Standardtalemål?”, 25.

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