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Address Choice in Dutch 2: Pragmatic principles of address choice in Dutch

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Abstract

This paper reports on research into the use of Dutch forms of address (i.e. the second-person pronouns *u* and *jel/jij*) among two generations in the Netherlands. Its main aim is to determine the factors behind different choices of address pronoun. It takes the model of address choice proposed by Clyne *et al.* in *Language and Human Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), and more specifically their concept of general pragmatic principles, as its theoretical inspiration. The research is based on a questionnaire in which respondents were asked which pronoun they used to address a variety of interlocutors. The questionnaire also asked respondents to reflect on their choice, especially if it was ambivalent (i.e. if they would address the same type of interlocutor sometimes with *u* and sometimes with *jel/jij*). It is the qualitative analysis of these reflections that is the focus of this paper. Although there is some variation between the age groups' evaluation of the importance of some principles, the article establishes (relative) age and familiarity as the leading principles in Dutch address choice. There is also a high level of meta-sociolinguistic awareness of the mechanisms behind address choice. The conclusion suggests a number of modest enhancements to Clyne *et al.*'s model of address choice.

Keywords: Dutch language, address choice, sociolinguistics, pragmatic principles, distance, common ground

Introduction

This article is the second of two papers concerned with the present-day use of Dutch forms of address, esp. the second-person pronouns traditionally labelled formal and informal, *u* and *je* (and its stressed variants *jij*, *jou* and *jouw*). The first article (here referred to as Vismans 2013a)¹ appeared in *Dutch Crossing* 37.2 and is briefly summarised in the section ‘Background considerations’ (subsection ‘Address in Dutch’) of this article.

Although both forms of address are in use, *u* is in decline and as Vismans (2013a) makes clear, there is a large amount of ambivalence in the choice of address pronoun, i.e. the same type of interlocutor (for example someone in a shop) is sometimes given *u* and sometimes *je/jij*. The main aim of this paper is to determine what factors lie behind these different choices of address pronoun in Dutch. The theoretical starting point is the address choice model proposed by Clyne *et al.* (2009)² and more specifically their concept of pragmatic principles. The full model is discussed in detail in Vismans (2013a),³ but the section ‘Background considerations’ (subsection ‘Theoretical framework’) returns to that concept, because a second aim of this paper is to assess this aspect of the model and, if necessary, suggest amendments to it.

The data that form the empirical basis of this paper come from a questionnaire in which respondents were asked (a) to indicate how they addressed twenty different interlocutors and (b) to

reflect on their choices. Vismans (2013a) presents a (quantitative) analysis of the respondents' reported address to those 20 interlocutors, whereas what is presented here is the qualitative analysis of their reflections.

By way of background I will summarise the main points of Vismans (2013a) below and add a few more reflections before briefly discussing the address choice model proposed by Clyne *et al.* (2009). I then outline in more detail the aims and methodology of this paper, before presenting the results of the research in two stages: the section on 'Results: principles for address choice in Dutch' will identify the most common themes in the reflective comments from the questionnaires; the following section ('Pragmatic principles in Dutch address choice') then maps these onto the pragmatic principles from Clyne *et al.*'s (2009) model.

Finally, it should be noted that the research for this article and Vismans (2013a) concerns standard Dutch spoken in the Netherlands (cf. the comments on Dutch as a pluricentric language in Vismans 2013a⁴).

Background considerations

Address in Dutch

The most recent and most widely cited survey of Dutch pronominal address is still Vermaas (2002).⁵ In the early 1990s she surveyed c. 1,500 people in the Netherlands over three generations and in various regions. By doing this she could point to changes in Dutch address choice over the previous half century or so. In her questionnaire she distinguished questions about three different factors in

address choice: relations, situations and 'general relational factors'.⁶ The first factor concerned specific relations: parent, teachers, helping strangers (represented by a joiner) and acquaintances. '[I]n the questions about situations (...) the people were of secondary importance because the emphasis was on how formal the situation was.'⁷ With general relational factors she referred to social characteristics of the addressee (age, gender, social status) as well as characteristics of the relationship between speaker and addressee (respect, familiarity and formality). She concluded that the changes in address choice had been 'not the same for all cases and all groups'⁸ and that in terms of relations there had been 'a greater shift from *u* to *je/jij* towards *parents* than towards *teachers*, *a helping stranger* or *acquaintances*'.⁹

One aim of Vismans (2013a) was to make a broad comparison between Vermaas' findings and those of a similar, albeit much more modest, survey conducted some 20 years later. The difference is that Vismans (2013a) is phrased in terms of social domains and considers several relations within the domains family (which includes Vermaas' parents), education (incl. teachers), acquaintances and service encounters (incl. plumbers which aligns to Vermaas' choice of a joiner as 'a helping stranger'). The data presented in Vismans (2013a) were based on a questionnaire which asked respondents for their pronoun use in conversations with twenty specific interlocutors (see table 1), giving them a choice between 'always *u*', 'always *je/jij*', 'sometimes *u*/sometimes *je/jij*', and 'does not apply'. The 20 interlocutors represent the four different domains as follows:

- Family: aunt or uncle, grandparent, parent:
- Education: headteacher, school teacher, university lecturer, university professor;

- Acquaintances: parent of a friend, parent's business relation, parent's neighbour, partner's parent;
- service encounters, further divided into three sub-domains:
 - medical: dentist, doctor;
 - leisure: hairdresser, pub landlord, trainer;
 - other service encounters: baker, landlord, plumber, cashier.

In comparison with Vermaas (2002), Vismans (2013a)¹⁰ concluded 'that there has been a gradual shift in favour of the use of T¹¹ in the family and towards closer acquaintances, but a greater shift towards T-address appears to have occurred in certain service encounters'. On the other hand 'there has been remarkably little change in (secondary and higher) education and in more business-like settings.'¹²

Table 1 relations in questionnaire

1. aunt or uncle	11. parent's business relation
2. baker	12. parent's neighbour
3. dentist	13. partner's parent
4. doctor	14. plumber
5. grandparent	15. pub landlord
6. hairdresser	16. school teacher

7. headteacher	17. supermarket cashier
8. landlord	18. trainer
9. parent	19. university lecturer (non-professorial rank)
10. parent of a friend	20. university professor

In terms of the current situation Vismans (2013a)¹³ concludes that for ten of the twenty relations '[t]here are significant differences in address choice between the young and middle age group':¹⁴ in the entire family domain (so parents, grandparents, and aunts and uncles); in the domain acquaintances towards a friend's parents and the partner's parents; in the medical sub-domain (doctor and dentist); in the leisure sub-domain towards trainers; and the the domain 'other service encounters' towards bakers, and plumbers. Except for baker and plumber, whom the middles-aged generation addresses more often with T, it is the young generation that uses more T than V. For the other ten relations (including the entire educational domain)¹⁵ there are no significant differences between the generations. However, there is an important rider to this in that Vismans (2013a) also shows that 'the picture is much more diverse, but also more colourful than some commentators make out',¹⁶ because towards most interlocutors there is a great deal of ambivalence in address choice. The present paper tries to find out what factors lie behind that choice.

*Theoretical framework*¹⁷

As indicated in the introduction, this article's theoretical starting point is the address choice model of Clyne *et al.* (2009), and more specifically their concept of pragmatic principles. The full model is discussed in detail in Vismans (2013a),¹⁸ but we briefly return to it here. Key points for the model are *social distance* and *common ground*. Social distance 'is about gradations, the location on a scale where conversational partners place their relationship in terms of affect (intimate – hostile), solidarity (similar – different) and familiarity (good friends – total strangers). Where there is little social distance, [Clyne *et al.*] talk of *common ground*'.¹⁹ Social distance and common ground are dynamic categories that are constantly (re)negotiated in view of politeness strategies²⁰, the (perceived) identity of speaker and addressee, and the 'conventionalised social meaning'²¹ of address pronouns (i.e. speakers of Dutch know what *u* and *jij/je* stand for).

In their concluding chapter Clyne *et al.*²² presents a complete model of address consisting of three interacting components: a language-specific element, general pragmatic principles and contextual factors. The first component concerns the 'grammar and pragmatics' of a language. The final component is discussed in greater detail in Vismans (2013a),²³ which focuses on social domains.

Given their cross-linguistic nature, the second component, 'general pragmatic principles', would appear to be the most fundamental element of this model, although Clyne *et al.* say nothing explicit about a possible hierarchy of the model's components. They are illustrated with the following six questions:²⁴

1. Do I know this person? (*Familiarity Principle*)

2. Do I perceive this person as an adult? (*Maturity Principle*)
3. Do I perceive this person to be considerably older than me? Or younger? (*Relative Age Principle*)
4. Is this person a regular and accepted member within a group I belong to? (*Network Membership Principle*)
5. Do I perceive this person to be similar to or different from me? (*Social Identification Principle*)
6. If this person uses T (or V), or a T-like (or V-like) address with me, will I do the same?
(*Address Mode Accommodation Principle*)

Clyne *et al.* suggest²⁵ that Familiarity, Maturity and Network Membership ‘concern the absolute assessment of the interlocutor’, whereas Relative Age and Social Identification ‘consider the other in relation to oneself’.²⁶ However, the dynamic nature of social distance implies that, first, even ‘absolute’ criteria like familiarity and network membership are relative and, secondly, that the pragmatic principles rarely work in isolation. The better you know someone (familiarity), the better you are able to assess your similarity/difference (social identification) and the more likely you are to recognise or reject him/her as a member of your group (network membership). Therefore, as a relationship develops, interlocutors will apply the principles in different ways, which will result in different address strategies. Similarly, maturity is a relative concept, witness the transition from T to V in French, German, English and Swedish, which occurs at different ages in each of these languages.²⁷ Interaction between principles can be observed when speakers of Dutch belonging to

the same professional group meet for the first time, for example at academic conferences. There is often a brief period of subtle negotiation, characterised by the avoidance or mixing of address forms (or the more neutral plural familiar form *jullie*) before the participants switch to *je*. Here network membership, social identification and address mode accommodation work hand in hand.

Clyne *et al.*²⁸ argue that principles 1, 3, 4 and 5 (Familiarity, Relative Age, Network Membership and Social Identification) form 'a basis for inclusion or exclusion'. However, as has already been noted, an initially exclusive relationship can over time change to an inclusive one as the degree of social distance lessens, even when certain aspects of a relationship are unchangeable. For example, the age difference between two interlocutors is a constant, but relative age may be overridden as a determinant of address mode by increased familiarity and/or greater social identification.

Of principle 2 (Maturity) Clyne *et al.*²⁹ say that it 'can promote a mode of address based on negative politeness, avoiding T or T-like modes which might encroach on the interlocutor's autonomy'. However, we will see later in this paper that this is not necessarily the case.

Finally, principle 6 (Address Mode Accommodation) is about the address mode itself and 'concerns ... the extent to which [speakers] converge to, or diverge from, the interlocutor's address choices'.³⁰ It is unsurprising that the application of this principle, too, can be affected by the dynamic nature of social distance and that V often changes to T under the influence of greater familiarity or the acceptance into a network.

Methodology³¹

The aims of this paper are to determine the principles behind the choice of address forms in Dutch, and to assess Clyne *et al.*'s (2009) general pragmatic principles by testing them against Dutch data.

The data are based on a questionnaire which asked respondents for their pronoun use in conversations with twenty specific interlocutors (see table 1), giving them a choice between 'always *u*', 'always *je/jij*', 'sometimes *u*/sometimes *je/jij*', and 'does not apply'. The 20 interlocutors represent four different domains: family (aunt or uncle, grandparent, parent), education (headteacher, school teacher, university lecturer, university professor), acquaintances (parent of a friend, parent's business relation, parent's neighbour, partner's parent) and service encounters. The latter can be further divided into a medical sub-domain (dentist, doctor), leisure (hairdresser, pub landlord, trainer) and other service encounters (baker, landlord, plumber, cashier). In addition, respondents were asked specifically to reflect on factors influencing their use of *je/jij* and *u*, especially with the response 'sometimes *u*/sometimes *je/jij*'. It is these reflections that are the focus of the present paper. The various domains play a subsidiary role in this analysis, but they are the focus of analysis in Vismans (2013a).

The questionnaire was distributed among first-year students of Dutch during a lecture at the Radboud University Nijmegen. Afterwards colleagues from Nijmegen also distributed it among other students of Dutch and their parents, as well as students of English. In total 235 questionnaires were returned between January and March 2011, of which twelve were eliminated where the respondent was not a native speaker of Dutch (10) or where there was incomplete personal information (2). The

returned questionnaires fell into three age groups: young (17-33), middle (40-66) and old (71-86). The old age group was also eliminated because, given the small number of returns (seven in total), it was deemed impossible to draw any firm conclusions from such a small sample. Therefore, 216 completed questionnaires (235 – 12 – 7) were eventually analysed.

Personal information requested of the respondents concerned their age, sex, mother tongue(s) and longest place of residence. Information about age and sex fed into the analysis of generation and gender differences of pronoun use on which Vismans (2013a) reports. The 216 completed questionnaires were divided into two age groups as shown in table 2.

Table 2 age groups of respondents

	age interval	mean	median	women	men	total	%-age
young	17-33	20.4	20	112	41	153	70.83%
middle	40-66	53.3	53	35	28	63	29.17%
total				147	69	216	

Information about mother tongue helped to eliminate non-native speakers of Dutch, but also to identify any respondents who regarded themselves as multilingual. It can be argued that these factors are irrelevant for this research, because of the relative nature of nativeness and multilingualism, and given the multilingual nature of Dutch society. On the other hand, no information

was available about respondents' confidence in Dutch or the length of time they had lived in the Netherlands. It was therefore decided to eliminate the ten respondents who named another language than Dutch as mother tongue (viz. Bosnian, English, German, Papiamentu and Polish), but to retain the multilinguals, as naming Dutch as one of their native languages was seen as an indication of a high level of confidence in Dutch. Three respondents also spoke English next to Dutch, and one named Dutch, English and Papiamentu. In addition, two respondents mentioned Frisian and eleven a regional dialect: Achterhoeks, Limburgs and Twents. 204 respondents only gave Dutch as their native language.

The questionnaire's last question was included to allow for the identification of any regional patterns. The majority of respondents are from three south-eastern provinces (Gelderland, North-Brabant and Limburg), because the questionnaire was completed by students at a regional university. The respondents' regional background has little bearing on the present analysis, but their educational background does play a role. As the majority are language students, we can expect a relatively high level of linguistic sophistication, which is apparent in some of the comments.

This paper is about the respondents' reflections on their own address choice. Just under half the respondents (107) provided such reflections, varying from brief one-liners to longer exposés. Some respondents made one blanket comment, others reflected on their use towards individual relations. 32 respondents gave a second comment, 16 a third, eight a fourth and two gave a fifth comment. The total number of comments ($107 + 32 + 16 + 8 + 2$) was 165.

Of the 107 participants providing comments, 77 (71.96%) belonged to the young generation and 30 (28.04%) to the middle generation. These percentages are very much in line with those for the total number of respondents (cf. table 2). However, there are some differences in the numbers of comments per age group, with the young generation contributing proportionately more references (76%) than the middle generation (24%; see table 3, below) and a different make-up of each generation's contribution.

The analysis of these comments made use of NVivo 9, a software package designed for qualitative data analysis. It allows a researcher to code information and manipulate its presentation. Numerical data can be exported to a spreadsheet and then, if necessary, be subjected to statistical analysis. The comments were entered in a spreadsheet with the other data from the questionnaire and imported into NVivo as a dataset. Each comment was then coded for key words, which allowed for the identification of recurring themes that can be regarded as clues to the principles on which speakers of Dutch base their address choice. On that basis they can also be related to the general pragmatic principles proposed by Clyne *et al.* (2009). Related key words, e.g. on various aspects of the relationship between respondent and interlocutor, were grouped together, leading to the overall themes presented in the next section.³² These are then mapped onto the pragmatic principles from Clyne *et al.*'s (2009) model in the subsequent section, which will allow us to assess this aspect of their model critically.

Results: principles for address choice in Dutch

As we have seen, 107 of the 216 participants contributed 165 comments. Because one comment can contain references to several themes, the total number of references (240) is higher still. The themes identified from the comments are given in table 3, together with the frequency with which they are mentioned by each generation. Most are further divided into sub-themes. They will be discussed in the order in which they appear in table 3. It would be technically possible to test the figures in table 3 for statistical significance, but the numbers are often small, especially where sub-themes have been identified. Moreover, where a single comment contains multiple references to different themes, it is impossible to determine the relative weight attached to each theme. Under those circumstances, statements about statistical significances would be misleading.

Table 3 themes (in bold) and sub-themes and their frequencies

theme	young			middle			total	% total references
	no	% theme	% age group	no	% theme	% age group		
age	49	73%	27%	18	27%	31%	67	27.9%
nature of the relationship	53	84%	29%	10	16%	17%	63	26.3%
cognitive quality	28	82%	15%	6	18%	10%	34	54.0%
frequency/duration	16	84%	9%	3	16%	5%	19	30.2%
emotional quality	9	90%	5%	1	10%	2%	10	15.9%
interlocutor behaviour	35	88%	19%	5	13%	9%	40	16.7%
addressee's								
permission/preference	25	89%	14%	3	11%	5%	28	70.0%
addressee's attitude	7	78%	4%	2	22%	3%	9	22.5%
atmosphere of the								
conversation	2	100%	1%	0	0%	0%	2	5.0%
reciprocates form of								
address	1	100%	1%	0	0%	0%	1	2.5%
dynamic relationships	20	77%	11%	6	23%	10%	26	10.8%
first meeting <i>u</i>	12	86%	7%	2	14%	3%	14	53.8%

form of address changes								
over time	6	75%	3%	2	25%	3%	8	30.8%
same person may vary	2	50%	1%	2	50%	3%	4	15.4%
meta-sociolinguistic labels	15	58%	8%	11	42%	19%	26	10.8%
high	3	38%	2%	5	63%	9%	8	30.8%
distance	2	40%	1%	3	60%	5%	5	19.2%
formality	4	80%	2%	1	20%	2%	5	19.2%
politeness	3	75%	2%	1	25%	2%	4	15.4%
respect	3	75%	2%	1	25%	2%	4	15.4%
side of the family	5	83%	3%	1	17%	2%	6	2.5%
use of dialect incl. Frisian	2	40%	1%	3	60%	5%	5	2.1%
colleagues	1	33%	1%	2	67%	3%	3	1.3%
unsure	2	67%	1%	1	33%	2%	3	1.3%
first name	0	0%	0%	1	100%	2%	1	0.4%
	18							
total references	2	76%		58	24%		240	

Columns 2-4 in table 3 concern the young generation, and columns 5-7 the middle generation. Columns 8 and 9 concern totals. Columns 2, 5 and 8 give the raw figures of comments per theme while columns 3 and 6 give the relevant percentages. Columns 4 and 7 concern the percentage that each theme takes up in the total number of references for the two age groups. Column 9 presents the percentage for the relevant theme of the total number of references (240; row 27, column 8). This allows us to make observations about the proportion that each age group contributes to the comments per theme and also about the proportion that each theme represents of the total, i.e. the relevant weighting for each theme. Thus, from the second row we can conclude that there were a total of 67 (column 8) comments on age: 49 from young respondents (column 2) and 18 from middle-aged ones (column 5), i.e. 73% (column 4) and 28% (column 6) respectively (of 67). Nearly 28% of the total number of references is about age (column 9). However, a lower proportion of

the young age group's references is to age (27%, column 4) than the middle-aged group's (31%, column 7).

In discussion the figures in table 3, we need to bear in mind the proportions of the two age groups contributing comments: 72% from the young and 28% from the middle generation.

Age

It is not only striking that age is mentioned most frequently overall, but unlike most of the other themes its frequency is also proportionate to the age groups' sizes. In this sense, age seems to be a neutral theme. On the other hand, the middle-aged generation refers to age slightly more often than the young generation: for the middle-aged this is the most frequently mentioned theme (31% of the generation's references), whereas for the young generation it comes in second place (27%).

Furthermore, for the young generation it comes very close to the most frequent theme (nature of the relationship, 29%), whereas for the middle generation the theme in second place (meta-sociolinguistic labels, 19%) lags far behind.

It needs to be stressed that age is often mentioned alongside other themes, in particular relating to the quality of the relationship (see the subsection 'Nature of the relationship' below; there are eighteen such co-occurrences). Comments tend to be brief and may take variations of one of the following forms:

1. *hangt af van leeftijd* (1, 27, f) ³³

2. *ligt aan de leeftijd* (26, 19, f)

depends on (the) age

Representatives of both age groups frequently add that they address younger people and people of the same age with a familiar pronoun and older people with *u*. There are just three comments indicating an age when a transition from T to V occurs,³⁴ but there is no consensus about this. A young respondent (77, 18,f) draws it between 40 and 50, which is not dissimilar to the middle-aged respondent (180, 50, f) who sets it at around 50, but considerably later than another young one:

3. *Mensen tot een jaar of 30: jij; ouder: u* (182, 22, f)

People up to around 30: *jij*; older: *u*

The only firm conclusion we can draw from this is that the boundary appears to lie somewhere in middle age.

To sum up, age is the most frequent theme overall and for the middle generation, it is often mentioned in conjunction with another theme. How it influences address choice concretely, is left vague. A precise boundary marking the transition from T to V is difficult to draw.

Nature of the relationship

The comments for this theme fall into three different sub-categories, relating to the frequency and/or duration of the relationship, and to its cognitive and emotional quality. Although this is the second most frequent theme overall, it takes top frequency position for the young generation, whereas for the middle generation it only comes in third place. Not all three sub-categories are mentioned equally often, but they rank the same way for each generation with cognitive quality most and emotional quality least frequent.

The first sub-theme (frequency and/or duration of the relationship) is illustrated by examples 4 and 5 about the frequency of encounters with grandparents and aunts or uncles. The level of frequency is difficult to establish: in 4 the respondent qualifies the adverb *vaak* ('often') with *heel* ('very') and *niet zo* ('not that [often]'), but 5 indicates that for this respondent a meeting once a year is not enough grounds for familiarity:

4. *de ene grootouder spreek ik aan met je/jij omdat ik hem heel vaak zie, terwijl ik mijn andere grootouder met u aanspreek, omdat ik haar niet zo vaak zie. (77, 18, f)*

I address one grandparent with *je/jij* because I see him very often, whereas I address my other grandparent with *u*, because I do not see her that often.

5. *De ooms en tantes die ik regelmatig zie met je/jij. Degene die ik ong. 1x per jaar zie met u. (220, 19, f)*

Uncles and aunts I see regularly with *je/jij*. Those I see c. once a year with *u*.

Cognitive quality of the relationship here refers to whether an addressee is well known to the speaker, in other words it refers to the level of their acquaintance, which is not necessarily the same as the frequency or duration of contact, witness the use of a qualifying adverb like *goed* ('well') in 6 rather than 'long' or 'often':

6. *ligt eraan hoe goed ik diegene ken.* (114, 20, f)

depends on how well I know that person.

The emotional quality of the relationship, on the other hand, has to do with how well the respondent feels they relate to the interlocutor and vice versa. In most of the ten instances of this sub-theme, this is indicated by means of expressions like *een persoonlijke band* in 7, or *een goede relatie* ('a good relationship'):

7. *als je er een persoonlijke band mee hebt* (6, 24, m)

if you have a personal bond with them

In short, the nature of the relationship may concern its frequency or its cognitive or emotional quality. Although it is not always easy to differentiate between these sub-themes, the cognitive quality of the relationship is clearly mentioned most often when referring to the nature of the relationship. As

we have pointed out, this theme is raised more frequently by members of the young generation than by the middle (cf. table 3), although in comparison with the theme age, the nature of the relationship is only slightly more important for the young generation (29% vs. 27%). It appears, then, that for younger people a positive and/or enduring relationship is more important to establish the existence of common ground than for middle-aged people.

Interlocutor behaviour

Here, the label 'interlocutor behaviour' usually refers to the addressee's behaviour as perceived by the respondents to the questionnaire. However, in a small number of cases it concerns the behaviour of the respondents themselves, i.e. their own speaker behaviour. Thus, one respondent indicates that he reciprocates the behaviour of the plumber:

8. *als ik aangesproken word met je, antwoord ik met je, met u, zeg ik ook u* (61, 19, m)

when I am addressed with *je*, I reply with *je*, with *u*, then I also say *u*

It is not clear what he would do to initiate a conversation with the plumber, but in all other service encounters he indicates that he uses *je/jij*. Another respondent mentions her own mood (as well as the quality of the relationship) as a general factor and then specifically refers to conversations with teachers:

9. *ligt eraan hoe goed ik ze ken en in welke stemming ikzelf ben. Bij een nieuwe leraar (die ik nog niet kende) of als ik nerveus ben zal het 'u' zijn maar als ik jolig ben of de leraar ken is het 'je'. (98, 17, f)*

depends on how well I know them and what mood I myself am in. With a new teacher (that I did not know yet) or when I am nervous it will be *u* but when I am jolly or know the teacher it is *je*.

Alternatively, it may be not so much own mood as the mood of the whole conversation that plays a role:

10. *hangt af van sfeer, gezelliger: vaker 'je' (75, 19, m)*

depends on atmosphere, more pleasant: more often *'je'*

Indeed, it may also be the nature of the relationship with the interlocutor that this respondent refers to, as the comment relates specifically to conversations with aunts or uncles. This comment implicitly reveals that the general attitude of the interlocutor also plays a role in the choice of address. There are nine references to addressee's attitude, although it must be said that in some cases other factors are again mentioned in the same breath, such as familiarity or age:

11. *hangt af van vriendelijkheid en leeftijd. Ouder → vaker 'u' (75, 19, m)*

depends on friendliness and age. Older → more often 'u

12. *Ouders goede vriend(in): hangt af van hoe ze zich opstellen tegenover mij, amicaal of hooghartig.* (39, 18, f)

Parents good friend: depends on how they behave towards me, amicably or haughty.

These examples also indicate what may be meant with respondents' use of words like 'behaviour' or 'attitude' (i.e. 'friendliness', 'haughtiness').

Very significant is the fact that the majority of comments on interlocutor behaviour refer explicitly to the fact that the addressee has expressed a preference for a particular address form or has given permission for being addressed with *je/jij*. One respondent simply indicates that she says *je* when she has been

13. *uitgenodigt jij te zeggen* (97, 22, f)

invited to say *jij*

In 14 the invitation is described in deontic terms, as if the respondent has experienced it as an obligation. Clyne *et al.* (2009) comment in a number of places that not all their informants appreciate such invitations and the same may be implied here.

14. *ouders partner: moeder zei dat ik 'je' moest zeggen ... (44, 20, f)*

parents partner: mother said I had to say 'je' ...

A number of respondents refer to some expression of preference by the addressee rather than permission for *tutoyement*. Whereas permission is always for using the familiar forms, an expression of preference may also concern the formal form, for example in 15 where it is prohibitive.

15. *vaak 'u' tijdens 1e ontmoeting. Nadat je hem wat vaker hebt gesproken vaak 'je', tenzij hij duidelijk heeft gezegd dit niet te willen. (74, 18, f)*

often 'u' during 1st meeting. After you have talked to him a bit more often 'je', unless he has clearly said not to want this.

Interlocutor behaviour, then, frequently concerns the addressee's attitude but most often an expression by the addressee of permission to use *je/jij* or of preference for either *u* or *je/jij*. However, this theme is mentioned much less frequently than age or nature of the relationship. Table 3 also tells us that it is again younger people who comment proportionately more on addressee behaviour than older ones. This is to be expected as age must be a major factor in invitations for *tutoyement*. Moreover, for the young generation interlocutor behaviour is the third most important theme, whereas for the middle-aged it ranks fifth.

Dynamic relationships

Some comments indicate awareness of the dynamic nature of address use. Most of these refer explicitly to what happens during the first meeting and then sketch the further development. *U* features in the first meeting 'always', 'often' or 'usually'. The subsequent transition from *u* to *je/jij* may simply happen over time or be triggered by an invitation to do so. Sometimes one of the interlocutors simply (perhaps boldly) gives *je/jij* a go:

16. *Begin meestal met u. Het ligt eraan hoe het gesprek loopt en hoe de reactie terug is* (212, 56, f)

Usually begin with *u*. It depends on how the conversation goes and what the reaction is like

Another aspect of this dynamism is the influence of domain and medium on address choice.

This is raised explicitly in three comments, two of which relate to behaviour towards school teachers:

17. *in de klas: 'u'; gesprekken buiten de klas: 'je' (als ik er een betere band mee had, anders nog steeds 'u')* (223, 19, f)

in class: '*u*'; conversations outside class: '*je*' (if I had a better relationship with them, otherwise still '*u*')

In other words, the address form can vary towards the same person: in a formal domain (such as school or when people are encountered in a particular office) *u* is seen as the appropriate address form, whereas outside such domains and in personal exchanges it is acceptable to use *je/jij*. Age is not necessarily a factor here.

One comment refers in a similar vein to the role of medium in contact with the home landlord:

18. *telefonisch en in brieven/mails 'u' maar als ik met hem praat je/jij omdat het wat minder afstandelijk voelt (193, 18, f)*

by telephone and in letters/emails '*u*' but when I talk to him *je/jij* because it feels a bit less distant

What is presumably meant here is that face-to-face contact is seen as less formal and therefore permitting/requiring *je/jij*, whereas in written contact and even telephone conversations *u* may be more appropriate because there is greater distance. Note also that this respondent does not differentiate between the different written media.

Clearly, respondents are aware of the fact that a relationship may be dynamic, both in temporal terms and also in terms of domain and medium. Nevertheless, the proportion of such comments is markedly smaller than that of the three themes discussed earlier. Overall the two generations' contributions to this theme (young 77%, middle 23%) are proportionate to the total number of references (young 76%, middle 24%), but the young generation refer a lot more to the use of *u*

during the first meeting. This is not surprising, because they are more dependent on an addressee's permission to move to *je/jij* and this plays an important role in transitions. Indeed, eight out of fourteen references to the use of *u* in the first meeting co-occur with a reference to addressee's permission/preference.

Meta-sociolinguistic labels

'Meta-sociolinguistic labels' here refers to the use of explanatory rather than descriptive terms for address behaviour, i.e. labels like 'distance', 'solidarity' and others that we have also used in the discussion of the theoretical framework. Occasionally such meta-sociolinguistic labels also surface in the comments and what is striking about them is that they are almost exclusively concerned with distance and negative politeness, but not with common ground or positive politeness. In other words, respondents tend to comment on when and why they use *u*, rather than *je/jij*. This suggests that *u* is seen as the marked and *je/jij* as the default form of address.

The labels that are used are: high (referring to addressee's power, social position, function or level of education; 8 references, cf. 19), distance (5 references), formality (5 references), politeness (4 references) and respect (4 references, cf. 20). Sometimes more than one of these labels is used in the same comment.

19. *tegen personen die ouder zijn altijd u; tegen personen van mijn generatie jij behalve bij een hoge positie, dan u* (160, 45, f)

towards persons who are older always *u*, towards persons of my generation *jij* except with a higher position, then *u*

20. *net opgevoed, respect te hebben voor autoriteitsfiguren e.d.* (62, 20, m)

properly brought up, to have respect for authority figures etc.

In a few cases the actual label is not used but the context makes clear which one is meant. Notably in 21, which has echoes of the old power semantic,³⁵ although it is not clear whether the respondent (who claims to use *je/jij* to all interlocutors, except some university staff) expects to receive *u* in return.

There is no doubt, however, that he sees himself as more powerful than his addressees and thus implicitly refers to his own (superior) position.

21. *ouders/grootouders → opvoeding met je/jij. Overige: ik betaal hun salaris en niet zij mijn salaris.* (166, 52, m)

Parents/grandparents → brought up with *je/jij*. Others: I pay their salary and they not my salary.

Comments with these meta-sociolinguistic labels are similar to those about the dynamic nature of relationships discussed above in that they show a certain awareness of the mechanisms for expressing politeness. Coincidentally, they occupy exactly the same proportion of the comments.

However, unlike the comments in the subsection 'Dynamic relationships', the number of references from the young generation is proportionately smaller than the middle-aged generation for whom this is the second most frequent theme (as opposed to the fifth for the young one). This may indicate a greater meta-sociolinguistic awareness among the middle generation and/or be the result of the professional expertise of the individuals concerned.

Minor themes

So far we have discussed the five most frequently occurring themes. In addition, five minor themes were also identified, but on closer inspection two of these, 'side of the family' and 'colleagues', are primarily references to domains. Moreover, in the family domain, six comments about different address use for different sides of the family also always mention one of the subthemes of 'nature of the relationship'. The form of address for colleagues is raised a few times by teachers, but it is perhaps more concerned with the workplace than education as a domain. However, the workplace domain was not among the 20 relations in the questionnaire.

Given the amount of variation and the dynamic nature of address in Dutch, we could have expected more evidence of uncertainty among the respondents. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that only three mention this explicitly. In a similar way, we could have expected more references to the use of first names, which in Dutch is very strongly associated with the familiar form, but it is mentioned only once and no conclusions can be drawn from it. Neither 'uncertainty' nor 'first name' can therefore be seen as significant factors underlying address choice.

On the other hand, address choice is influenced by the use of dialect. It occurs in the family, with some local acquaintances and in some service encounters, especially in shops (but also once with doctor and dentist), but it is not reported at all in the educational domain. Two of the six comments about dialect use refer to Frisian and one to colloquial Flemish. The three others simply state that they use *ge/gj*, the second-person pronoun in most dialects in the provinces of Brabant and Limburg. Although the numbers are too small for any significant conclusions, it is telling that references to dialect are more frequent for the middle-aged generation than for the young.

Interim conclusion

Before trying to link the themes identified in the respondents' comments to Clyne *et al.*'s pragmatic principles we briefly reflect on the findings so far. We initially identified ten themes in the comments, but four of the five 'minor themes' were ruled out either because they referred to another category (domain) or because they were insignificant. The remaining minor theme is 'use of dialect'. Overall, three themes account for more than 70% of the references: 'age', 'nature of the relationship' and 'interlocutor behaviour'. However, this preponderance of themes is clearly led by the young generation for whom these themes constitute 75% of the references as opposed to 57% for the middle generation. The themes' rankings therefore differ between the generations too, cf. tables 4 and 5.

Table 4 ranking of themes young generation

Table 5 ranking of themes middle generation

theme	%
nature of the relationship	29
age	27
interlocutor behaviour	19
dynamic relationships	11
meta-sociolinguistic labels	8
side of the family	3
use of dialect	1
colleagues	1
unsure	1
first name	0

theme	%
age	31
meta-sociolinguistic labels	19
nature of the relationship	17
dynamic relationships	10
interlocutor behaviour	9
use of dialect	5
colleagues	3
side of the family	2
unsure	2
first name	2

The two remaining themes, 'dynamic relationships' and 'meta-sociolinguistic labels', are not only of a different order to the other three in overall numerical terms, but also in qualitative terms. 'Age', 'nature of the relationship' and 'interlocutor behaviour' (as well as dialect use) describe interactional factors that influence address choice that could be described as fairly concrete. 'Dynamic relationships' and 'meta-sociolinguistic labels', on the other hand, are about the respondents' awareness of the more abstract mechanisms of address choice. This has an effect on the mapping of the themes onto the six pragmatic principles of Clyne *et al.* in the next section where under the heading of the various principles we will try to determine see to what extent they are reflected in the comments. We will return to the differences between the generations in the final section, 'Discussion and conclusion'.

Pragmatic principles in Dutch address choice

Familiarity

As we have seen in the discussion of the theoretical framework, Clyne *et al.* illustrate the Familiarity Principle with the question 'Do I know this person'. They characterise it as 'absolute' rather than relative to self and relate it to inclusion or exclusion. There is an obvious parallel between this principle and the theme 'nature of the relationship'. In the subsection on that theme it was argued that there are several aspects to a relationship that have to do with its duration and frequency, or with its cognitive and emotional quality. Clyne *et al.*'s illustrative question could easily be rephrased in terms of these aspects of a relationship: 'have I known this person long'; 'do I interact often with this person'; 'do I know this person well'; 'do I get on well with this person'. However, it would be simplistic to argue that there is a one-to-one relationship between the Familiarity Principle and the theme 'nature of the relationship'. Frequency of interaction is also relevant to the Network Membership Principle, and the quality of a relationship, especially emotional quality, is relevant to the Social Identification Principle. Like the Familiarity Principle, Clyne *et al.* link both these principles to inclusion and exclusion: if you can answer questions like the ones above in a strong affirmative, you are more likely to use *je/fjj*. If, on the other hand, the response is negative or only moderately affirmative, you are more likely to use *u* or bring another factor into play, like age. In three of the minor themes Familiarity can also be seen at work.

Maturity and Relative Age

Both Relative Age and Maturity are relevant to the theme 'age' and they are therefore discussed together. They are illustrated by Clyne *et al.* with the questions 'Do I perceive this person as an adult' and 'Do I perceive this person as considerably older or younger than me'. Clyne *et al.*³⁶ rightly observe that despite the apparent transparency of these questions the principles are far from 'clear-cut', because they 'can lead to face threats when the mode of address implies membership of a different age group to the one people imagine themselves to belong to.' That this can also happen in Dutch is illustrated by Van Zalk and Jansen (2004)³⁷ who found that older people appreciated the same advertisement with *je* more than its counterpart with *u*. When we inspect the comments in more detail, we notice that they are often about Relative Age and only rarely about Maturity. At least, there is no explicit reference in the comments to the concept of maturity. However, Maturity (but also Network Membership) may also be a factor in the explicit invitations for *tutoyement* that were discussed in the section 'Results: principles for address choice in Dutch' (subsection 'Interlocutor behaviour'): if I invite you to address me with a familiar form, I judge you to be mature enough to enter my circle. In a similar way, Maturity may also be a factor in example 22, where a young teacher addresses his (older) colleagues with *je/jij*. Their acceptance of this marks their perception of this younger person as an adult. In that reading, the Maturity Principle is not as strongly associated with negative politeness as suggested by Clyne *et al.*³⁸

22. *ik noem ze nu jij/je omdat ze mijn collega's zijn, anders zou ik ze u noemen.* (183, 21, m)

now I call them *jij/je* because they are my colleagues, otherwise I would call them *u*.

Vismans (2013b)³⁹ makes a similar observation about maturity. In advertisements for certain products (esp. in the financial sector) the appeal to a person's maturity is not based on (middle) age, but on behaviour, such as making certain investments or taking out a particular insurance policy. Such appeals to mature behaviour do not necessarily require the use of *u*, as in the advertisement that urges the addressee to

23. ... *geef je vrienden wijze raad.*

Give your friends wise counsel.

Nevertheless, the use of *u* in advertisements for the (financial) services sector is significantly higher than for other sectors, especially in the popular press. Vismans (2013b)⁴⁰ links this with a corporate culture that is aimed at giving an impression of maturity.

The subsection on age, above, demonstrated that Relative Age is often acted upon by addressing someone younger or of the same age with *je* and someone older with *u*. Only a very small number of comments reflected on the age boundary beyond which an interlocutor would be addressed with *u* rather than *je*, but we very tentatively concluded that it is somewhere in middle age (between 30 and 50). For Clyne *et al.*⁴¹ this boundary is a function of the Maturity Principle. In French and German they set it in a wide age range (10-40 for French and 13-30 for German) and link it to 'either rites of passage, legal adulthood or the end of young adulthood, that is, the end of the age

where young people would automatically exchange reciprocal T.' In Swedish 'the median age for V address is 67.5 years' and in English the boundary appears to be somewhere between 'late 50s and 60s'.⁴² There are clearly interesting contrasts between European languages here that require further investigation.

Network Membership

Clyne *et al.*⁴³ illustrate the Network Membership Principle with the question 'Is this person a regular and accepted member within a group I belong to'. Like Familiarity it is characterised as 'absolute' rather than relative to self and related to inclusion or exclusion. In the subsection 'Maturity and Relative Age' we linked invitations for *tutoyement* to Maturity, but they are also linked to Network Membership. An interesting example that also illustrates the dynamic nature of address, is the relationship between a doctoral student and her supervisor:

24. *[u] behalve in laatste jaar Master op verzoek van de hoogleraar zelf* (1, 27, f)

[u] except in last year of MA at the professor's own request

As an undergraduate she addressed her university teachers with *u*, which continued into her (two-year) MA. Not until the second year of the MA was she invited to use *je/jij*. This is the Network Membership Principle at work on the part of the professor: someone in their final year of an MA who is

gearing up for their doctorate is seen as a (new) member of the research network. The use of *je/jij* among colleagues can be viewed in a similar vein.

The use of dialect may also be a strong marker of Network Membership but equally of Social Identification. This explains the presence of dialect forms in the family, with some local acquaintances and in some service encounters, especially in shops, because they are strong networks in which people identify with each other. It also explains the absence of dialect forms from the educational domain, because within that domain pupils/students and teachers form different networks and have different identities.

Social Identification

From this observation it appears that there is some overlap between Network Membership and Social Identification, which is not surprising as group membership is often used to define identity. Clyne *et al.*'s⁴⁴ illustrative question for the latter is 'Do I perceive this person to be similar or different to me' and the question for Network Membership can be rephrased in similar terms: 'Is this person a member of the same or a different group than the one I belong to'. The difference lies in the fact that Social Identification is characterised as 'consider[ing] the other as relative to oneself' rather than as an 'absolute assessment of the interlocutor'⁴⁵ (you are either in the group or out).

This may be illustrated by an investigation of a particular aspect of addressee behaviour. We argued in the subsection 'Network membership' that invitations for *tutoyement*, i.e. expressions of permission to use *je/jij*, are manifestations of the Network Membership Principle, but this is not

necessarily true for expressions of preference for a particular form of address. The former are an admission that someone (usually a younger person) is (now) a member of your group. An expressions of a particular preference, on the other hand, is a statement of how the speaker sees themselves in relation to the other. The expression of a preference for *u*, in particular, is a statement of difference. As such, however, it can also be seen as a manifestation of Address Mode Accommodation (see below). Of course, our interpretation depends on the form that the actual expression of permission/preference takes, which is not very clear from the comments discussed above.

The Social Identification Principle is also apparent in other interlocutor behaviour, especially when it refers to the addressee's attitude and the atmosphere of the conversation (cf. the section 'Results: principles for address choice in Dutch' (subsection 'Interlocutor behaviour') above). You are likely to see someone who is interested or who behaves pleasantly as similar and as willing to share common ground. Conversely, an uninterested or haughty person is seen as different and distant.

Address Mode Accommodation

Address Mode Accommodation is illustrated by Clyne *et al.* with the question 'If this person uses T (or V), or a T-like (or V-like) address with me, will I do the same'. It 'concerns ... the extent to which [speakers] converge to, or diverge from, the interlocutor's address choices'.⁴⁶ Example 8 (repeated here as 25) is the most obvious illustration of this principle in the comments:

25. *als ik aangesproken word met je, antwoord ik met je, met u, zeg ik ook u* (61, 19, m)

when I am addressed with *je*, I reply with *je*, with *u*, then I also say *u*

In the previous subsection we also argued that expressions of preference and permission of a certain address form can be interpreted as manifestations of Address Mode Accommodation. However, it seems that Address Mode Accommodation can also be the result of more implicit addressee behaviour, such as the tone of an exchange, or the presence or absence of interest in the other.

Revisiting dynamic relationships and meta-sociolinguistic labels

The three most important themes from the respondents' comments (age, nature of the relationship and interlocutor behaviour) figure strongly in subsections above and we have also been able to link the minor themes from the section 'Results: principles for address choice in Dutch' (subsection 'Minor themes') to the six pragmatic principles of Clyne *et al.* However, it has been impossible to see links between the principles and the comments about dynamic relationships and meta-sociolinguistic labels. In the subsection 'Interim conclusion' we concluded that these two themes are of a different order than the three major themes in that they show an awareness of the abstract mechanisms behind address choice rather than providing more concrete motivations for a particular choice. It is these motivations that the pragmatic principles in Clyne *et al.* (2009) try to capture, not speakers' awareness of sociolinguistic mechanisms. That does not mean that they are not significant for the model, however. As the section 'Background considerations' (subsection 'Theoretical framework') as well as Vismans (2013a)⁴⁷ make clear, the starting point of Clyne *et al.*'s model are social distance

and common ground, dynamic categories that are constantly (re)negotiated in light of speakers' interpretation and evaluation of politeness and identity, in which their interpretation of the 'conventionalised social meaning' play an important role.⁴⁸ It is this, perhaps even more fundamental, foundation of the model that the themes 'dynamic relationships' and 'meta-sociolinguistic labels' capture.

Discussion and conclusion

The aim of this paper was to determine the factors behind the different choices of address pronoun in Dutch and to assess the six general pragmatic principles proposed by Clyne *et al.* (2009) in their model of address choice. We have done so by means of a qualitative analysis of 165 comments on address choice from participants to a questionnaire and subsequently mapping the common themes in these comments onto the six pragmatic principles. The analysis in the previous two sections suggests that all six principles can be said to be relevant for Dutch, but not in equal measure. With the exception of Relative Age, most principles manifest themselves in more than one theme, in particular Familiarity, Network Membership and Social Identification. That said, manifestations of Relative Age are often accompanied by references to other themes. Address Mode Accommodation is also visible in a number of themes, but it is difficult to determine from the data whether it is of primary importance or whether it plays a secondary role next to Social Identification and Network Membership. Maturity does not figure very strongly and always works alongside another, more dominant principle.

Conversely, many comments on the nature of the relationship and on interlocutor behaviour demonstrate the complexity of some of the principles. For example, Familiarity can be based on frequency or duration, or on cognitive or emotional factors, Social Identification on the atmosphere of an exchange and/or the attitudes of its participants. Address Mode Accommodation can be triggered implicitly by the behaviour of an interlocutor or by explicit statements.

Clyne *et al.*⁴⁹ argue that 'languages differ in terms of which ... principles apply' and claim on that basis that Maturity 'will have no effect on address choice' in Swedish. Our analysis suggests that in Dutch Maturity has only a moderate effect. In numerical terms, more than half the comments (54%) referred to age and the nature of the relationship between interlocutors. Given the strong link between the theme 'age' and the principle Relative Age, and between 'nature of the relationship' and Familiarity, this suggests that these are the two most important principles for Dutch address choice, followed by Network Membership and Social Identification. However, this study also suggest that the importance of the principles varies with age. The data for this research come from two age groups, defined as young (17-33) and middle-aged (40-66). Although the analysis has been largely qualitative, it is noteworthy that younger respondents commented more frequently on most aspects than older ones and that, as tables 4 and 5 show, the themes varied in importance between the two age groups. Nevertheless, the high frequency of the theme 'age' in both age groups may serve as an indication that in Dutch there exists a hierarchy of the pragmatic principles, with Relative Age at the top and Maturity at the bottom. However, this statement needs to be made with great circumspection, as address choice is influenced by many other factors than pragmatic principles, such as domain,⁵⁰

medium⁵¹ and regional background.⁵² Moreover, some possible influences on address choice have hardly been investigated. It is not unimaginable, for example, that certain personality traits can also have an impact on address choice.

We have also seen that age plays an important role in a different sense, namely in the importance that different generations attach to different aspect of the model. Tables 4 and 5 make that very clear. For the middle generation the most important pragmatic principle is Relative Age, with the others principles lagging behind. The middle generation also comments more than the young generation on what Clyne *et al.*⁵³ call 'the conventionalised social meaning of the [address] forms'. The underlying factors for these differences are less clear and require further research. Are familiarity, network membership and social identification less important for the middle-aged and are they more sensitive to the mechanism of the underlying system? Longitudinal studies would be needed to determine whether such differences are characteristic of young and middle-aged people in general (i.e. so-called 'age-grading' is at work), or whether they are characteristic of these specific generation.

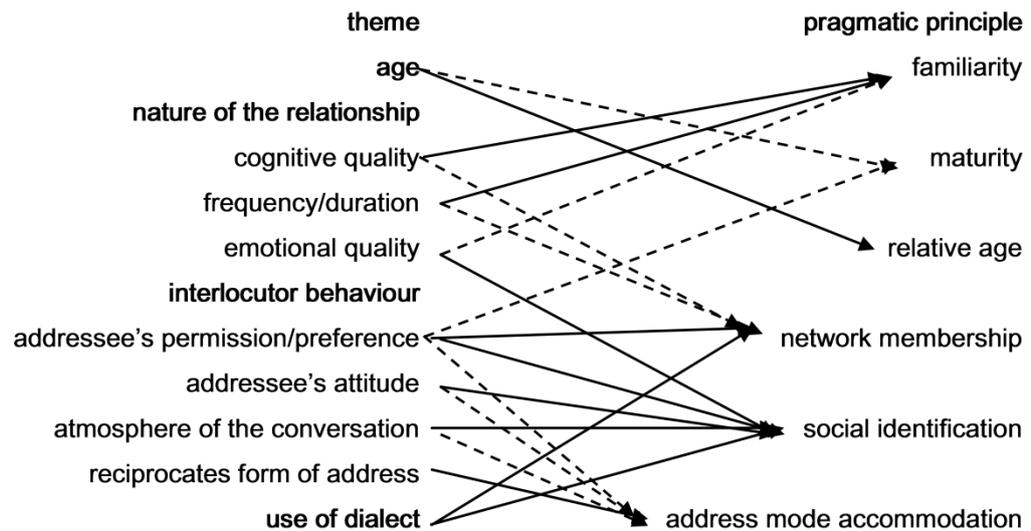


Figure 1: mapping of themes onto pragmatic principles; solid lines represent stronger links, dotted lines weaker links

Figure 1 gives a tentative diagrammatic representation of the mapping of the themes identified in this study onto Clyne *et al.*'s pragmatic principles. Care must of course be taken with such mappings, given the dynamic nature of address that this paper has also illustrated, and also because of the methodology for this project whose data are based on native speakers' reflections about conversational interactions. Such self-reporting may, for example, not reflect all factors playing a role in address choice or overemphasise factors in the respondents' consciousness to the detriment of factors of which respondents are not conscious. Moreover, conversations are a specific medium, but as Vismans (2013b) shows, different principles dominate address choice in Dutch (online) advertisements, where Social Identification plays a dominant role, than in conversations, where Relative Age and Familiarity appear to be the most relevant principles.

It is of course not only the motivation for address choice that varies between age groups, the actual address choice itself varies as well. This is confirmed by studies like Vermaas (2002) and Vismans (2013a) that study language change with the so-called apparent-time method, i.e. by investigating the linguistic behaviour of different generations. Longitudinal studies of address change, where the same speakers are studied over time, are rare (if not non-existent) but they might throw light on the interaction between changes in address choice and motivation.

Our data have also shown that there is a general awareness of the dynamic nature of address and of mechanisms for address choice, 'a certain degree of shared consensus about the meaning of [forms of address]'.⁵⁴ However, it is unclear to what extent such explicit meta-sociolinguistic awareness influences address choice, even though Clyne *et al.* argue that '[t]hese social meanings can be taken up and renegotiated by speakers in an interaction.'⁵⁵ If a speaker knows that in a certain type of relationship the address form is likely to change, does this mean that they anticipate such transitions? And if so, how? For example, it is not uncommon that email exchanges between unacquainted academics begin with *u* (and title plus last name) out of politeness but swiftly move to first name and *je*. With explicit knowledge of the mechanisms involved this can be manipulated by one or both correspondents. This is also a possible avenue for future research.

As their work is based on a comparative study, Clyne *et al.* (2009) is a good starting point for a comparison of contemporary address in Dutch with that in the surrounding languages. We have already mentioned some examples of that in the course of this paper, but another interesting topic for a comparative study would be the default address pronoun. In our discussion of 'Meta-sociolinguistic

labels' we observed that such labels were only used to explain the use of *u* and suggested that therefore *u* is the marked form of address in Dutch and *je* the default. We need to establish more firmly whether this is indeed the case but then we can compare Dutch with French and German, where according to Clyne *et al.* ⁵⁶ V is the default, and with Swedish where it is T (although Clyne *et al.* also illustrate elsewhere in their study that the default can vary between domains and media). Other aspects of their model, especially its language-specific component, are also good candidates for further comparative work involving Dutch. Such comparative work is particularly relevant for the language learner who often comes to Dutch through one of these surrounding languages, especially German.

The model of Clyne *et al.* (2009) has certainly provided a useful basis for analysing our Dutch data, but it can be refined, so that its pragmatic principles take account of the different aspects of Familiarity, Network Membership and Social Identification that we have identified here, and the difference between Network Membership and Social Identification is further clarified. Finally, bearing in mind the dynamic nature of address and the negotiating process that takes place to facilitate transitions from V to T, the model may need to give a more prominent place to the role of meta-sociolinguistic awareness in address choice.

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Notes

¹ Roel Vismans, Address Choice in Dutch 1: Variation and the Role of Domain. *Dutch Crossing. A Journal of Low Countries Studies* 37.2 (2013), 163-187.

² Michael Clyne, Catrin Norrby, and Jane Warren, *Language and Human Relations. Styles of Address in Contemporary Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

³ Vismans (2013a), pp. 165-167.

⁴ Vismans (2013a), p. 164.

⁵ Hanny J. A. M. Vermaas, *Veranderingen in de Nederlandse Aanspreekvormen van de Dertiende t/m de Twintigste Eeuw* (Utrecht: LOT, 2002).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 228 (original italics).

¹⁰ Vismans (2013a), p. 184.

¹¹ T and V refer to the familiar and formal pronouns respectively, as abbreviations for Latin *tu* and *vos*. See Vismans (2013a: 164) for a more detailed explanation.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ In this article and Vismans (2013a) the young generation comprises people aged 17-33, and the middle generation people aged 40-66. Cf. the section on methodology for more details.

¹⁵ An interesting detail is that there is one significant gender difference in all the data for Vismans (2013a): younger women have a tendency to address university teachers and professors with *u*, whereas younger men are more ambivalent in their use of address in these relations. Cf. Vismans (2013a: 176).

¹⁶ Vismans (2013a), p. 184.

¹⁷ As the theoretical for this article is the same questionnaire as that for Vismans (2013a), there is in this section considerable overlap with the theoretical framework section in that paper (Vismans 2013a: 164-167). We also refer the reader to Roel Vismans, Aanspreekvormen in Nederlandstalige banneradvertenties. *Tijdschrift voor Taalbeheersing* 35.3 (2013), 254-276 for a discussion of these principles in Dutch.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 165-167.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 165.

²⁰ For more on linguistic politeness see, for example, Penelope Brown & Stephen Levinson, *Politeness. Some universals in language usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) or Richard Watts, *Politeness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²¹ Clyne *et al.*, p. 36.

²² Ibid., pp. 158ff.

²³ Vismans (2013a), p. 167.

²⁴ Clyne *et al.*, p. 158. Despite their claim that these principles apply 'across languages', Clyne *et al.* do not test them against non-European ones. Broader typological work will have to determine whether they are indeed universal.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 61.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 158.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ As the data for this article were collected in the same questionnaire as those for Vismans (2013a), there is in this section considerable overlap with the methodology section in that paper (Vismans 2013a: 170-172).

³² In addition, I also coded for references to any of the specific relations in table 1 in order to determine what interaction there is between themes and specific interlocutors, if any. However, these references are not presented here.

³³ In the examples taken from the comments, the first number refers to the participant's id number in the dataset, the second number to their age; f = female, m = male. The comments have been copied without editing. Any (spelling) errors have not been marked. For unknown reasons a few students responded in English and not in Dutch.

³⁴ Cf. Clyne *et al.* p. 61.

³⁵ Cf. Vismans (2013a), p. 164, and references there to Roger Brown & Albert Gilman, The pronouns of power and solidarity. In P.O. Giglioli (Red.), *Language and social context* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960 [1972]), pp. 252-282.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 158.

³⁷ Francina van Zalk & Frank Jansen, *Ze zeggen nog je tegen me*. *Tijdschrift voor Taalbeheersing* 26 (2004), pp. 265-277.

³⁸ Clyne *et al.*, p. 158.

³⁹ Roel Vismans, Aanspreekvormen in Nederlandstalige banneradvertenties. *Tijdschrift voor Taalbeheersing* 35.3 (2013), p. 268.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 271,

⁴¹ Clyne *et al.*, p. 61.

⁴² In English this does not relate to address pronouns, of course, but to other forms of address such as titles and honorifics.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 158.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Vismans (2013a), p. 165.

⁴⁸ Clyne *et al.*, p. 36.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 158-159.

⁵⁰ Cf. Clyne *et al.*, pp. 81-114; Vismans (2013a).

⁵¹ Cf. Clyne *et al.*, pp. 114-124; Vismans (2013b).

⁵² Cf. Clyne *et al.*, pp. 127-153; Roel Vismans, Aanspreekvormen in Nederlandse en Vlaamse personeelsadvertenties voor hoogopgeleiden. *Tijdschrift voor Taalbeheersing* 29(4) (2007), pp. 289-313.

⁵³ Clyne *et al.*, p. 36.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 38.