

# Book of Abstracts

## Languages, Nations, Cultures: Pluricentric Languages in Context(s)

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## Table of contents

<b>Plenary speakers.....</b>	<b>6</b>
● Peter Auer <i>Some (critical) notes on the notion of pluricentricity (particularly with regard to German) .....</i>	<i>6</i>
● Anne Barron <i>Contrastivity and the pragmatic variable: Responses to thanks across English as a pluricentric language .....</i>	<i>6</i>
● Camilla Lindholm <i>Swedish as a pluricentric language – Examples from health care contexts ....</i>	<i>7</i>
● Leigh Oakes <i>Pluricentric linguistic justice in Quebec: A normative approach to linguistic authority and legitimacy in French.....</i>	<i>7</i>
<b>Individual papers.....</b>	<b>9</b>
Anna Jon-And and Laura Álvarez López <i>Variable number agreement in Cabinda Portuguese; effects of acquisition and use .....</i>	<i>9</i>
Juanito Avelar, Anna Jon-And and Laura Álvarez López <i>Contact, variation and change in Portuguese: The case of existential constructions in Cabinda, Angola.....</i>	<i>9</i>
Laura Baranzini and Maria Chiara Janner <i>Norm authorities for a weakly pluricentric language: The case of Italian in Switzerland.....</i>	<i>10</i>
Marie-Eve Bouchard <i>“We speak this language from Portugal, but we speak it differently”: Ideologies surrounding the languages of São Tomé Island.....</i>	<i>11</i>
Claudia Bucheli Berger <i>Swiss Standard German: The variational practise of the Swiss boulevard press.....</i>	<i>11</i>
Jelena Calic <i>The politics of teaching pluricentric languages as foreign languages: The case of Serbo-Croatian .....</i>	<i>12</i>
Young-mee Yu Cho, Hee Chung Chun and Yuseon Yun <i>Tongmu and Oppa: Terms of Address in Pluricentric Korean .....</i>	<i>12</i>
Rita Eloranta, Anton Granvik and Diego Marquez Arnao <i>Linguistic ideologies and attitudes among Finland Swedish and Peruvian Business students.....</i>	<i>13</i>
James Fong <i>Chinese as a pluricentric language in post-handover Hong Kong: Legitimacy of traditional and simplified Chinese character.....</i>	<i>14</i>
Thomas Johnen <i>The polycentricity of Portuguese in Textbooks for Portuguese as a Foreign Language .....</i>	<i>14</i>
Kristina Juergensmeyer <i>Performing “Polishness”: The Polish-Brazilian Community of Paraná .....</i>	<i>15</i>

Sheena Kalayil	
<i>The local and the global: Heritage Languages in the diaspora</i> .....	15
Eleni Karantzola and Konstantinos Sampanis	
<i>Cypriot Standard Modern Greek: Challenging the monocentricity of Greek</i> .....	16
István Kozmács and Ildikó Vančo	
<i>Differences in the forms of address between standard Hungarian in Hungary and the Slovakian Hungarian</i> .....	17
Mara Maya Victoria Leonardi and Silvia Hofer	
<i>Standard language variation in German at educational institutions in South Tyrol (Italy)</i> .....	17
Esbjörn Nyström	
<i>Plurinational Languages in Literary Histories: Dutch, German and Swedish</i> .....	18
Jutta Ransmayr and Rudolf de Cillia	
<i>Language attitudes towards the national varieties of German – glimpses through a multifocal lens</i> .....	18
Jeanne Renaudin	
<i>Waiting for a Revolution that doesn't happen. Cultural skills in French as a foreign language classes in Spanish primary schools: The paradox of pluricultural programmes and Eurocentric realities</i> .....	19
Danko Sipka	
<i>The Surface Lexical Layer of Cultural Identity: Parameters for Pluricentric Languages</i> .....	20
Valentyna Skybina	
<i>Modeling English as a Pluricentric Language</i> .....	20
Valentyna Skybina and Nataliya Bytko	
<i>New Englishes through the lens of lexicography</i> .....	21
Vander Tavares & Inês Cardoso	
<i>Challenging Lusophone Cultural Stereotypes in the Pluricentric Portuguese Language Classroom</i> .....	21
Katharina Tyran	
<i>Pluricentricity and script: The usage of Latin and Cyrillic in Croatia in regard to discussions on national belonging and cultural affiliation</i> .....	22
Vanessa Tölke and Rolf Kailuweit	
<i>Principles of Pluricentric Communication: Linguistic Accommodation of Spanish Speakers</i> .....	23
<b>Thematic workshops</b> .....	<b>24</b>
● <i>Address in pluricentric languages</i>	
Organisers: Leo Kretzenbacher, John Hajek and Doris Schüpbach.....	24
Workshop papers.....	24
Tanja Ackermann and Horst Simon	
<i>On the idea of borders in pluricentric languages. The case of address in Germany and German-speaking Switzerland</i> .....	24

Aline Bazenga	
<i>Forms of address used in an insular variety of European Portuguese (Funchal, Madeira Island): A Labovian analysis</i> .....	25
Isabel Margarida Duarte and Maria Aldina Marques	
<i>The address pronoun vós: Differences between Brazilian and European Portuguese</i> .....	25
Bettina Kluge	
<i>Meet and greet in Spanish – address and introductions at international conferences in the Spanish-speaking world</i> .....	25
Leo Kretzenbacher, Doris Schüpbach, Catrin Norrby and John Hajek	
<i>Address in pluricentric German: The case of introductions at international academic conferences</i> .....	26
Tatiana Larina and Neelakshi Suryanarayan	
<i>Address forms in Indian English Academic discourse</i> .....	26
Godelieve Laureys	
<i>Finding your way in the jungle of power and solidarity. On the usage of pronouns of address in Dutch</i> .....	27
Elizabeth Marsden and Jim O’Driscoll	
<i>The deployment of address forms in email openings across Kachru’s concentric circles of English</i> .....	28
Neus Nogué and Marta Busquets	
<i>The three-degree address system of Catalan: From traditional to present uses</i> .....	28
Vladimir Ozyumenko	
<i>Forms of address in legal discourse in Englishes of the “inner circle”</i> .....	29
Pekka Posio	
<i>Variation in verbal and pronominal address in Cabinda Portuguese</i> .....	29
● <i>Interactional Perspectives on Pluricentric Languages</i>	
Organisers: Jenny Nilsson and Elisabeth Reber .....	31
Workshops papers .....	31
Anne Barron	
<i>“Sorry Miss I completely forgot it”: A variational pragmatic perspective on apologies in Irish English and English English</i> .....	31
Inga-Lill Grahn	
<i>The art of thanking – communicative patterns in Swedish-spoken service encounters in Sweden and Finland</i> .....	32
Martina Huhtamäki and Inga-Lill Grahn	
<i>Prosodic features of assessments in Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish personal training sessions</i> .....	32
Marie Nelson and Sofie Henricson	
<i>Positive feedback in Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish university interactions</i> .....	33
Jenny Nilsson, Catrin Norrby, Camilla Wide and Jan Lindström	
<i>What can interactional perspectives do for theories of pluricentric languages?</i> .....	33
Elisabeth Reber	
<i>On telegraphic constructions in two English varieties</i> .....	34

● <i>The Theory and Description of Pluricentric Languages – Beyond Concepts of Dominance and Non-Dominance</i>	
Organisers: Rudolf Muhr, Carla Amoros Negre and Nils Langer .....	35
Workshop papers .....	35
Talia Bugel and Marina Cárcamo-García	
<i>Beyond idealizations of prestigious vs. stigmatized varieties: Attitudes toward Spanish variation regarding forms of address</i> .....	35
Reglindis De Ridder	
<i>The changing status of natiolects. A diachronic study of the labels and the distribution of Dutch natiolectisms</i> .....	36
Jasmine Dum-Tragut	
<i>Talking Western among Easterners or the abrupt increase of Western Armenian speaking population in Armenia: Challenges for language and education policy in a new Armenia?</i> .....	36
Gerhard Edelmann	
<i>Karelian: A pluricentric language?</i> .....	37
Sandra Kaltenegger	
<i>The Chinese Language under Scrutiny – How to Apply the Notion of Pluricentricity</i> .....	38
Nils Langer	
<i>Friesian as a pluricentric language?</i> .....	38
Rudolf Muhr	
<i>Outlines of a General Theory for the Description of Pluricentric Languages</i> .....	39
Paulo Feytor Pinto and Ana Raquel Matias	
<i>Linguistic and social inclusion in higher education: The case of international students fluent in stigmatized language norms</i> .....	39
Jutta Ransmayr and Rudolf de Cillia	
<i>Conceptualisation of German-internal variation among linguistic norm authorities and linguistic lay persons in Austria</i> .....	40
Eva Staudinger	
<i>Pluricentricity in language practices: Implications for language planning and policy</i> .....	41
Juan A. Thomas	
<i>Contact-induced pluricentricity? The role of Anglicisms in forging a new variety of Spanish</i> .....	41
Vančo Ildikó	
<i>The “we” vs. “they” distinction in Slovakia Hungarians’ discourse</i> .....	42

# Plenary speakers



## **Peter Auer**

Freiburg University

### *Some (critical) notes on the notion of pluricentricity (particularly with regard to German)*

It can hardly be disputed that some standard varieties of languages (such as the German, Swedish or Dutch standard varieties, to give just a few examples) appear in different shapes in the states in which they have the status of a standard language. It is not always trivial to capture precisely this variation between the standard varieties of a language, even more so as it sometimes is of a statistical, non-categorical nature. In addition, what the speakers consider to be salient features of their own national variety (and that of the others) can vary, and the most frequent 'objective' differences may not be identical to the most salient ones. I have therefore argued in a previous paper that it might be more interesting to analyse the processes of enregisterment through which certain features (whether they may constitute 'objective' structural differences between these varieties or not) are combined and become symbols of national unity and difference.

In this presentation I would like to go one step further and suggest that the notion of pluricentricity is based on ideological premises which could be taken for granted in the 1970s (when Heinz Kloss included the term in his second edition of "Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800") from where it made its way into international sociolinguistics), but cannot be taken for granted in the same way today, after some decades of intensive sociolinguistic research on what a standard language is. It needs to be asked why pluricentricity as a notion that tends to essentialize (standard) languages and their relationship with nation states is becoming increasingly popular in an era in which nation state ideologies have otherwise been 'deconstructed' by academics as well as lay people.



## **Anne Barron**

Leuphana University, Lüneburg

### *Contrastivity and the pragmatic variable: Responses to thanks across English as a pluricentric language*

Contrastivity and comparability are two of the central tenets of variational pragmatic research, a field focused on the comparison of pragmatic choices across intra-lingual varieties. In recent years, discussions on a *tertium comparationis* in cross-varietal pragmatic studies have considered the applicability of the sociolinguistic concept of the variable (defined via semantic sameness) and the accompanying principle of accountability. The present paper takes up this debate on the actional level and considers the potential of a pragmatic variable for a cross-varietal analysis of the speech act of responses to thanks in the Lueneburg Direction-Giving (LuDiG) corpus, a corpus of naturally-occurring direction-giving exchanges with informants in Canada, England and Ireland. In addition, it also examines the pragmatic choices in responding to thanks across these regional varieties.

The analysis shows how the concept of the pragmatic variable can be applied to the speech act of responses to thanks. It highlights, however, the need for a multi-faceted definition of the variable and one which pays attention to the linguistic context. Unlike previous cross-varietal studies of responses to thanks in English, the study rejects a definition focused on position as a second pair part alone for the study at hand and instead defines the variable using the criteria of sequential position as sealing thanks, position as a second pair part and function. The findings from the cross-varietal study highlight variation on the pragmalinguistic level in preferred verbal realisations of the head and on the sociopragmatic level in uses of a zero head.



**Camilla Lindholm**

University of Helsinki

*Swedish as a pluricentric language – Examples from health care contexts*

The study of pluricentric languages, languages that have several national centres and are spoken in several countries, is a well-established area in the field of linguistics. However, previous research has shed only little light on how varieties of pluricentric languages differ in terms of their interactional patterns because of their connection with different societies. One aim of the research program *Interaction and variation in pluricentric languages*, with which this presentation is associated, is to provide new knowledge about how the Swedish language is used and developed in two different societies. Communicative patterns in Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish are documented by the use of naturally occurring conversations in the domains of service, education, and health care. My presentation addresses interactional patterns in the two varieties of Swedish with special regard to the domain of health care.

Through analysis of videotaped interaction from preventive health care as well as primary care in Sweden and Finland, communication patterns associated with the two different varieties of Swedish are considered and explored. It is demonstrated that the study of certain linguistic practices, such as address forms, can reveal differences between the two varieties of Swedish, whereas the investigation of other features, such as the language of pain, is challenging from the perspective of investigating differences between two varieties.



**Leigh Oakes**

Queen Mary University of London

*Pluricentric linguistic justice in Quebec: A normative approach to linguistic authority and legitimacy in French*

Of the many debates on language in Quebec, one of the most enduring concerns the question of linguistic authority and legitimacy in French. Should Quebecers be guided by a standard defined externally, in France (exonorm)? Or are there good reasons to promote a local standard reflecting socially acceptable usage as determined by Quebecers themselves (endonorm)? Of relevance for speakers of all pluricentric languages, such questions take on particular significance for speakers of French, owing to the strong monocentric ideology that continues to associate the language with France and especially Paris.

After a brief history of the ‘question of the norm’ in Quebec as evidenced in public debates and language attitude research, the paper demonstrates the contribution that can be made by a normative perspective grounded in political philosophy/theory. Extending the notion of linguistic justice to the case of pluricentric languages specifically, it proposes the distinct notion of ‘pluricentric linguistic justice’ as a framework for evaluating the ethics of local norm setting and enforcement in such languages. The paper provides a reflection on pluricentric linguistic justice in the Quebec context by weighing up a series of arguments related to the instrumental and identity functions of language. It concludes by briefly considering how the notion of pluricentric linguistic justice might be measured empirically, namely through a reconceptualisation of language attitudes as expressions of how speakers of a pluricentric language position themselves ethically in questions of norm production and enforcement.



# Individual papers

**Anna Jon-And and Laura Álvarez López**

Dalarna University, Stockholm University

## *Variable number agreement in Cabinda Portuguese; effects of acquisition and use*

Portuguese is a pluricentric language with “two standard varieties; those of Brazil and Portugal” (Baxter 1992). In the African countries where Portuguese is the official language, the idealized norm is European standard Portuguese (Álvarez López & Avelar 2018). This study deals with contact-related variable plural marking in Portuguese spoken in Cabinda, Angola. The focus is on the influence from acquisition and use of Portuguese and Bantu languages on language change in a multilingual setting. Previous studies on African and Afro-Brazilian varieties of Portuguese indicate that reduced plural marking is triggered by general processes related to language contact and second language acquisition (Baxter 2004, 2009, Figueiredo 2009, Lipski 2010, Jon-And 2011, Brandão & Vieira 2012, Guy 2017). Cross-linguistic studies also point to the existence of a relationship between second language acquisition and morphological reduction (McWhorter 2007, Bentz & Winter 2013). The participants in this study differ in ages and contexts of acquisition of Portuguese as well as in levels of use of Portuguese and Bantu languages in diverse communicative situations. This allows for a detailed analysis of the role played by acquisition and use of Portuguese in a language shift setting. Applying multiple regression, we performed a preliminary analysis of 1277 elements in noun phrases, of which 85% exposed explicit plural marking. The general tendency of plural marking on pre-nominal elements rather than nouns or post-nominal elements in contact varieties of Portuguese, was confirmed in the Cabinda material. Furthermore, we found that a higher level of use of Bantu languages favoured the non-standard zero plural marking. Acquisition of Portuguese at an early age unexpectedly disfavoured plural marking, possibly related to higher use of Portuguese in school than at home. Although the factor ‘use’ has not been much discussed in the literature, our results indicate that it plays an important role.

**Juanito Avelar, Anna Jon-And and Laura Álvarez López**

Stockholm University, Dalarna University, Stockholm University

## *Contact, variation and change in Portuguese: The case of existential constructions in Cabinda, Angola*

Portuguese is a pluricentric language with “two standard varieties; those of Brazil and Portugal” (Baxter 1992). In the African countries where Portuguese is the official language, the idealized norm is European Standard Portuguese (Álvarez López & Avelar 2018). The present paper deals with contact-induced change in existential constructions in the variety of Portuguese spoken in Cabinda, Angola. The focus of the analysis is on the use of the possessive verb TER ‘to have’ in existential constructions, rather than the existential HAVER ‘to exist’, which is the standard form in Portugal. The analysis is based on data from 40 interviews with 20 male and 20

female high school Cabinda students between 18 and 30 years of age. The aim is to investigate the role of language contact in the emergence of existential sentences with TER as well as to verify if the use of *ter* in existential constructions in Cabinda has the same linguistic constraints as in Brazilian Portuguese. The paper also analyzes social factors related to multilingualism in order to discuss how social and linguistic constraints interact in shaping new varieties, such as Cabinda Portuguese. The conclusion is that the use of TER sentences as existentials in Cabinda Portuguese may be an effect resulting from the confluence of two linguistic factors: (i) changes linked with the pro-drop parameter in Portuguese emerging in Angola, and (ii) the transference of a grammatical property from Bantu languages to Portuguese, specifically, the morphological identity of possessive and existential verbs. Moreover, the only registered social influence over the presence of existential TER constructions is the level of use of Bantu languages, a finding that does not rule out that these constructions may initially have been triggered by more general acquisition effects.

**Laura Baranzini and Maria Chiara Janner**

Osservatorio linguistico della Svizzera italiana (OLSI), Bellinzona

*Norm authorities for a weakly pluricentric language: The case of Italian in Switzerland*

Recent studies propose to identify Italian as a weakly pluricentric language with two centres of codification, Italy and Switzerland (Pandolfi 2017 and earlier; Hajek 2012). Italian has the status of official language in quadrilingual Switzerland. In spite of its minority position (8.2% of the Swiss population declares Italian as their main language, 2016 data), it is used in administrative and political contexts on a federal level and official documents are systematically translated into this language. Due to this fact, the Swiss variety of Italian can be seen as a partially autonomous standard with respect to Italy – at least at a rudimentary stage (Ammon 1989) – which undergoes important influences of German, French and regional dialects.

Our talk focuses on how standardization processes occur, in particular on the channels of diffusion of the “model texts” and on linguistic normativization trends in comparison with Italian of Italy. We will provide an overview of the different public and social bodies that are possible candidates as standard authorities, taking into account two major authorities that codify, legitimate or diffuse a national standard: the Federal chancellery, with its language services office granting consistent terminology, and public education. The survey focuses on a list of lexical and morphosyntactic items which are identified in the literature as typical features of Swiss Italian and tracks their presence or metalinguistic discussion in documents with high codifying value (“model authors”, see Ammon 2017), e.g. law texts and provisions, newspapers and media reports, schoolbooks and instructions for teachers. The analysis of occurrences will provide information about the degree of presence of these items, their distribution and their function in the examined contexts, and will allow to propose some hypotheses on the role and influence of specific model authors on this variety of Italian.

**Marie-Eve Bouchard**  
Stockholm University

*“We speak this language from Portugal, but we speak it differently”:  
Ideologies surrounding the languages of São Tomé Island*

This presentation will focus on the variety of Portuguese spoken on São Tomé Island (São Tomé and Príncipe). From the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, Forro, Angolar, and Lung’ie (three native creoles) were the most widely spoken languages on the islands. However, the massive arrivals of contract laborers starting at the end of the nineteenth century, and the use of Portuguese as a lingua franca completely changed the sociolinguistic setting. As a consequence, a process of linguistic shift (from creoles to Portuguese) started to take place. This shift was intensified from the 1960s, with the rise of the nationalist movement, the independence of the country (in 1975), and the generalized access to education. Since then, children have been growing up with the local variety of Portuguese as their first (and often only) language.

The objective of this presentation is to discuss the social and ideological phenomena that explain the linguistic choices, linguistic change, and language shift in São Tomé and Príncipe. The study is based on 15 months of ethnographic fieldwork and sociolinguistic interviews with fifty-six native speakers of Santomean Portuguese, aged between 12 and 73 years old, who were born and raised in the capital of São Tomé and its surroundings.

The results show a complex reality in which Santomeans consider creole (mainly Forro) to be their mother and cultural tongue although many do not speak it natively and do not transfer it to their children, and in which many consider their variety of Portuguese to be errado “wrong” and European Portuguese to be certo “right”. However, ideologies surrounding the local variety of Portuguese are changing, with the younger speakers starting to value more their distinctive pronunciations.

**Claudia Bucheli Berger**  
University of Geneva

*Swiss Standard German: The variational practise of the Swiss  
boulevard press*

In Switzerland, it is the national variety of Standard German which is applied for non-private writing, the Swiss Standard German (SSG). This variety shares much of its lexicon, grammar and pragmatics with written FRG-Standard German, except for some lexemes, forms and constructions, the so-called helvetisms (Duden Schweizerhochdeutsch 2012). However, SSG competes with another variety of German, the so-called ‘dialect’. This ‘dialect’-language is used for nearby all oral communication and also for written informal personal communication (in the past: letters; today: sms, email, etc). Apart from the question if this situation is best termed by ‘diglossia’ (Fergusson 1959) or ‘asymmetric bilingualism’ (Werlen 1998), choosing dialect for writing or inserting dialect or dialectally influenced elements into SSG texts remains highly marked in Switzerland, especially in written mass communication. Mixing the varieties in written texts is avoided and sanctioned in schools, administration and ambitious publishing houses.

However, Luginbühl (2012) gives an overview that parts of the Swiss press and television functionalize the insertion of dialectal elements or sentences into SSG redactional texts not only to express local attachment but also to express authenticity and spontaneity. My paper will provide evidence that a part of the yellow press' products even expand the functions of the 'Swissness'-elements. For this purpose, I will examine the daily newspaper *Blick am Abend* and the weekly magazines *Schweizer Illustrierte* and *Schweizer Familie*.

My thesis is that some editing houses brand their printed products *inter alia* by the mixed style. I will show that, in such products, even the absence of 'Swissness'-terms for example in an article about a Swiss celebrity has a stylistic effect. I will also take into consideration the impact that the transcendence of the SSG-norms in the direction of the dialect probably has on the subsistent or personal norms of the boulevard readers.

**Jelena Calic**

University College London

*The politics of teaching pluricentric languages as foreign languages:  
The case of Serbo-Croatian*

The process of dramatic sociopolitical changes and redrawing of state boundaries during the collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s involved comprehensive changes in language policy in the Serbo-Croatian speaking area. Necessitated by the identification of language with ethnicity/nation, at the time, language was perceived as a symbol of national identity and a powerful tool in the nation building process. Hence, over the years, language and education policy makers in Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro put exceptional effort in presenting shared cultural and linguistic practices as fragmented and imbued with insurmountable differences, changing the speakers' attitudes to language from (common) language-as-a mean of communication to (separate, national) language-as-identity marker.

The proposed paper presents the effects that the above outlined language policy changes in the post Yugoslav space have had on teaching a 'language which is simultaneously one and more than one' as a foreign language. The paper explores how language ideologies and conflicting attitudes towards national standard languages, recorded both within nation states and across nation states' borders, are understood by teachers and students in the context of teaching Serbo-Croatian as a foreign language, and how they come to be presented in the classroom setting. In particular, the proposed paper seeks to examine the extent to which these understandings reflect current discussions of pluricentric languages and methods adopted for teaching pluricentric languages as foreign languages. The data I collected through my fieldwork shed more light on the interconnectedness of institutional stances and teaching practices on one hand, and different geographical and socio-political contexts they are embedded in on the other.

**Young-mee Yu Cho, Hee Chung Chun and Yuseon Yun**

Rutgers University, Rutgers University, Princeton University

*Tongmu and Oppa: Terms of Address in Pluricentric Korean*

The abrupt division of the Korean peninsula into two opposing cold-war political systems in 1945 has brought about dramatic linguistic divergences unprecedented

in the millennia-old Korean history. North Korean address terms reflect the socialist practice of employing language as a weapon for the revolution (King 1996), most notably in the appropriation of the common native word, *tongmu* ‘friend’ in the sense of “comrade” from communist countries, thereby promoting maximal solidarity against “feudal” power hierarchies (Brown and Gilman 1960). The contemporary usage, however, reveals that Confucian values of the past are impossible to wipe out, shown by the introduction of the Sino-Korean *tongji* to encode [+Power] (Armstrong 2003) and the use of various pseudo-family and rank terms to mark respect and intimacy (*abai-tongji* ‘parents+respected-comrade’, *pise-tongmu* ‘secretary-comrade’) (Yang 2015).

In contrast, the implementation of its linguistic-ideological counterpart in the South has been less systematic, but changes have been more dramatic, following the urbanization and industrialization of the past 70 years. Most notably, the traditional power and solidarity semantics has diverged enough to include the third factor of “intimacy” (Lee and Cho 2013). Over the past three decades, Full+Name+*ssi*, once considered THE default neutral title, has further lost ground to pseudo-kinship terms (*oppa* ‘older brother’, *imo* ‘maternal aunt’), in addition to ever-multiplying professional titles, some of which have been coined to meet the capitalistic needs (*sonnim* ‘guest’, *kogaeknim* ‘customer’). Analogous to “the euphemism treadmill”, Name+*ssi* now carries the meaning of ‘distance’ and ‘not-being-properly-polite’, constantly replaced by newer terms.

This comparative study of address demonstrates diverging and converging practices in these two societies that have had minimal contact since the Korean War (1950–1953). It will also show what kind of linguistic creativity and freedom individuals exercise despite the prescriptive forces imposed by state ideologies on the one hand and commercial pressures on the other.

**Rita Eloranta, Anton Granvik and Diego Marquez Arnao**

Hanken School of Economics-Helsinki, Hanken School of Economics-Helsinki,  
Pontifical Catholic University of Peru-Lima

*Linguistic ideologies and attitudes among Finland Swedish and Peruvian Business students*

It is well known that speakers of minority languages and substandard varieties of pluricentric languages tend to have negative attitudes towards their own language variety in comparison with the more prestigious standard. In this paper we address the linguistic attitudes towards (the relationship between) standard and substandard varieties of Spanish and Swedish from the perspective of university students in Business. In addition, in the specific context of Economics and Business, one must also consider the fundamental role played by English as role model for international business.

The aim of our paper is to describe and compare the attitudes towards standard Spanish and Swedish from the perspectives of speakers of substandard varieties of these languages –Peruvian Spanish and Finland Swedish, respectively.

We aim to answer the following specific questions:

- i) How do the speakers of Peruvian Spanish and Finland Swedish feel about their own language in comparison to the international and national standard?



ii) How do these personal linguistic ideologies reflect the official language policies of Peru and Finland, on the one hand, and the specific needs of international business, on the other?

In order to answer these questions, we have conducted an online survey among business students from the metropolitan areas of Lima and Helsinki and the cities of Cuzco and Vaasa. The survey is complemented by personal interviews both closed and open questions, and the results are analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

**James Fong**

Tung Wah College, Hong Kong

*Chinese as a pluricentric language in post-handover Hong Kong: Legitimacy of traditional and simplified Chinese character*

This paper analyses the current power relations in Hong Kong, as reflected in debates concerning the use of traditional and simplified Chinese characters in society. As a consequence of the continuing high influx of immigrants from mainland China to Hong Kong, the language environment of the city, where traditional characters are the de facto dominant Chinese script, is being transformed. Since the society has seen an emerging presence of simplified characters, which are the standard form of Chinese writing in mainland China, the future of traditional characters in Hong Kong may be compromised. Surprisingly, there is a dearth of academic literature on the study of the increasing popularity of simplified characters in Hong Kong. To investigate this certainly contributes to a more thorough understanding of whether or not Chinese writing will become increasingly pluricentric in the city. The use of the two written norms of Chinese relates to the issue of diversity management of the language in society, as immigrants from mainland China who have settled in Hong Kong since its change of sovereignty in 1997 account for 20% of the city's population. Mainland newcomers will account for an even larger share of the population in years to come, as a range of measures to encourage emigration from mainland China to Hong Kong are in place. This study presents an empirical investigation of language policy and practices in today's Hong Kong. This offers insights into the sociolinguistic implications for the city's demographic profiles in the future. Lastly, this paper proposes solutions to the problems that challenge the legitimacy of traditional Chinese characters at a time of shifting political and socio-economic realities in Hong Kong.

**Thomas Johnen**

Westfälische Hochschule Zwickau

*The polycentricity of Portuguese in Textbooks for Portuguese as a Foreign Language*

Portuguese may be considered as a prototypical example of a polycentric language (cf. Baxter, 1992; Pöll, 2005) which (like Dutch, English, French, and Spanish), due to its colonial history, has different national varieties in several continents. However the degree of codification of these national varieties differs. There is a higher codification for the Brazilian and European variety, and an emergent codification for African varieties like Angolan Portuguese and Mozambican Portuguese as well as for Timorese Portuguese.

From the perspective of Portuguese as a Foreign Language (especially in contexts out of the lusophone countries) it matters to include in the didactical concept the teaching of at least receptive knowledge in several of these varieties (cf. Döll, 2003).

Thus, the aim of this contribution is to present the results of an analysis of a corpus of 25 textbooks for Portuguese as a Foreign Language produced in Brazil (cf. Diniz, 2010), Portugal and some other (non-lusophone) countries like France, Germany and the USA, responding to the following research questions: How the textbooks deal with the polycentricity of Portuguese? Do they present different varieties and what image of these varieties is constructed (cf. for the oral language Johnen 2012)? Are there differences between textbooks produced in Brazil and Portugal or in non-lusophone countries?

**Kristina Juergensmeyer**

University of Texas at Austin

### *Performing “Polishness”: The Polish-Brazilian Community of Paraná*

Following almost 200 years of emigration, today an estimated 2 million Polish-Brazilians live within the state of Brazil, largely concentrated in the southern state of Paraná. Through interviews with current leaders of the Polish-Brazilian community in, this paper argues that the Polish migrant community in Curitiba has changed the meaning of “what it is to be Polish.” It shows that while the Polish-Brazilian community of Paraná experienced a sharp decline in Polish language maintenance that accelerated near the end of the 1930s, it also experienced an aberrant increase in public heritage performance beginning in the 1980s. This paper finds that three intertwined phenomena explain this anomaly. First, following the visit of Pope John Paul II to Curitiba in 1980 and the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, widespread discrimination against Polish migrants rooted in the oppressive nationalistic policies of the 1930s Vargas regime stopped, allowing Polish culture to become a respected and celebrated part of Brazilian society. Second, within Brazilian society more generally, an insistence upon a singular national identity gave way to the creation of “hybrid-identities” and the acceptance of migrant communities. Third, advances in technology and increasing travel opportunities changed the Polish-Brazilian community’s ability to communicate with and to form more formal and permanent relationships with Poland and Polish society. This paper shows how the performance of “Polishness” within the Polish-Brazilian community has emerged from decades of oppression, and in the process shifted from a focus on language to a focus on performing heritage traditions and holidays.

**Sheena Kalayil**

University Language Centre, University of Manchester

### *The local and the global: Heritage Languages in the diaspora*

Using narratives of second-generation South Asian Britons, elicited through interviews, I offer reflections on how global languages (particularly Punjabi and Gujarati) fare when placed in the diaspora. These languages are official languages in the states of Punjab and Gujarat in India, regional languages in Pakistan, but are also spoken by significant communities spread over India and Pakistan, as well as Kenya, the UK, Canada, the USA and Australia.

My paper draws on research I have conducted on high-professional, second-generation South Asian Britons, who have married out of the ethnic and linguistic community; a target group that I argue has been largely ignored in academic studies on multilingualism. The narratives of my participants show how these Heritage Language users self-report on their proficiency in the language, and the type of interactions that they take part in. My participants show how they regard their proficiency in the local domain very differently from when they are placed in the global domain. Vertovec's (1997) triad – the homeland, place of settlement, other diasporic communities – becomes rather reductive when the stories my participants tell relate their language use to different cities within the place of settlement or even different parts of the same city. I analyse the narratives of three participants – two Punjabi-speakers and one Gujarati-speaker – using an emic perspective on the functional use of discourse, and aspects of conversation analysis. I also regard these narratives as literary texts, using Bakhtin's (1981) polyphony and chronotopes to reflect on the construction of the narratives; and I show what the participants point to using Bourdieu's theories of cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). The narratives give insights into how these British professionals negotiate their biculturalism and bilingualism within the prevailing discourses of multicultural Britain.

### **Eleni Karantzola and Konstantinos Sampanis**

University of the Aegean

#### *Cypriot Standard Modern Greek: Challenging the monocentricity of Greek*

Nowadays, Greek is an official language of the Republics of Greece and Cyprus. As a recognized minority language, it is found in Albania and Turkey while dialects of the language are still spoken in a region ranging from Italy to Ukraine and Caucasus. As remnants of the Byzantine and Ottoman era, ecclesiastical institutions (mainly the Patriarchates in Jerusalem and Alexandria) around the South-Eastern Mediterranean basin lead small but culturally significant communities which still preserve their own linguistic practices. The picture is completed if we consider the Greek diaspora all over the world, especially in the United States and in Australia.

While this description of the current linguistic status of Greek suggests that this constitutes a case of a pluralistic language, we should take into account that Modern Greek is mostly manifested in its standardized version that is in turn strongly regulated by the institutions of the State of Greece. Thus, the pluricentricity of the Greek varieties is overshadowed by the monocentricity of Standard Modern Greek (SMG).

So, it is not surprising that the teaching of Standard Modern Greek is promoted for the empowerment of Greek-speaking dialectical communities as it is the case in Southern Italy or in Marioupolis (Azov region) dialect enclaves (Christidis 1999).

The paper will also focus on the significant case of Cypriot Greek, and its struggle for legitimacy and power against Standard Modern Greek during the last decade in Cyprus (Hadjoannou, Tsiplakou & Kappler 2011). More precisely, the official introduction of Cypriot Greek in the new curricula of the Republic of Cyprus, as an essential component of critical literacy, will be discussed, with emphasis on the reactions provoked in the Cypriot academia and society concerning identity issues. The main position we will support is that the case of Cypriot Greek constitutes the



contemporary diglossic situation par excellence concerning Greek as a pluricentric language.

**István Kozmács and Ildikó Vančo**

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra

*Differences in the forms of address between standard Hungarian in Hungary and the Slovakian Hungarian*

Based on the social constructivist approach, address forms contribute to shaping social relations, and their use can be interpreted in a multidimensional model (see Clyne et al. 2009). It is still highly debated among linguists today if the Hungarian language is a pluricentric one; however, it is a documented fact that the Hungarian varieties of the regions outside of Hungary deviate from the standard in Hungary at all levels of the language system (Szabó Mihály–Lanstyák 2011). Research on today's Hungarian forms of address has largely been confined to the standard in Hungary (Domonkosi 2016), thus, there is few data on how address forms have changed in the regions outside of Hungary. The central questions of my research are how language users create contexts and how they create and display their identities and social structures in language use (Bucholtz–Hall 2005) through address forms. Data on the differences in address forms were collected through the analysis of guided interviews and questionnaires, with the involvement of three age groups of Hungary Hungarian and Slovakia Hungarian language users. The first results suggest significant differences in the use of the V and T forms, as well as in the variability of the V form structures. The results clearly show that the use of the various address forms vary according to the age groups as well as the language varieties.

**Mara Maya Victoria Leonardi and Silvia Hofer**

Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, University of Vienna

*Standard language variation in German at educational institutions in South Tyrol (Italy)*

In South Tyrol, northern Italy, German is an interesting object of investigation for various reasons. Firstly, German, along with Italian and Ladin have equal status within the region. Secondly, South Tyrol is one of the four “Halbzentren” (semi-centers) mentioned in Ammon (1995), meaning that the German language spoken in the area has a number of peculiarities, regarding for instance the lexicon and phonology (e.g., Abfalterer 2007; Ammon et al. 2016; Lanthaler & Scheutz 2016). Lastly, the German-speaking community in South Tyrol is characterized by external (German and Italian) and internal (Standard German and Bavarian) multilingualism. Within this context, Bavarian is used as everyday language, while Standard German is used in official situations and at school (Saxalber & Lanthaler 1994; Lanthaler 2012; ASTAT 2015). The school system strongly influences what belongs to the standard language and what does not. Hofer (2017) recently investigated German teachers' corrective behaviour. Her results suggest that standard language variants in pupils' texts are handled very strictly and that the Federal German variety is regarded as the correct variety for orientation.

The aim of the current presentation is to examine (i) young adults' perception of Standard German in South Tyrol, and (ii) their attitudes towards language use in

school, using both quantitative and qualitative data. Focusing on educational institutions – in which Standard German is officially the language of instruction – in the first empirical study the pluricentric German language is considered from the perspective of University students. The study investigates what Standard German is (or is not) acceptable for South Tyroleans by assessing Bavarian-speaking teaching training students attending their first year at University. The results obtained are then compared to the findings of Hofer (2017) who examined schoolteachers' corrective behaviour. Along with the qualitative data obtained from the KOMMA project (Glück & Leonardi, accepted), the second empirical study investigates the attitudes of high school graduates towards the use of Standard German (and/or Bavarian) at German-medium schools.

### **Esbjörn Nyström**

University of Gothenburg

#### *Plurinational Languages in Literary Histories: Dutch, German and Swedish*

The fact that one language is spoken and written in more than one national state, albeit not uncommon at all, still tends to be a rather difficult matter for writers of so-called “national” – or rather: specialized – literary histories, as well as for some university teachers in foreign languages, literatures and “cultures” around the globe.

This paper will focus on three plurinational languages: Dutch, German and Swedish, and how specialized literary histories somehow dealing with these languages handle their plurinationality. The three cases are compared since they are similar in some ways but at the same time show clearly different degrees of (un-)awareness about this feature. A major confusion between territorial, linguistic and ethnic criteria within the works is displayed through a number of examples. The lack of awareness concerning the incompatibility of these criteria is reflected in a number of dubious practices, i.e. when “German” literary histories describe the context of a certain literary epoch in terms of the national history of Germany, while at the same time including German-language authors from other countries in this “national” narration, without regarding the situation in their homecountries (i.e. Switzerland, Austria, Romania). While an often heard critique against “national” literary histories acting in this way is based upon the assumptions that each national state instead should have its “own” literary history, this paper rather discusses whether a pure linguistic criterion freed from any “national” narrative would be fruitful. A very relevant question is also if literary history should be seen as the history of authors or the history of texts. The balance between linguistic and territorial/national criteria is especially interesting within the framework of foreign language and literature teaching and research, which will be discussed at the end of the paper.

### **Jutta Ransmayr and Rudolf de Cillia**

University of Vienna

#### *Language attitudes towards the national varieties of German – glimpses through a multifocal lens*

German is considered to be one of the richest languages concerning language-internal variation in Europe. Concerning the description of this variation, the majority of

scientific publications have adopted the concept of pluricentricity as an adequate means of theoretical modelling German on the level of the standard language.

As for the attitudes of speakers towards the national standard varieties of German, studies have shown that the perceptions towards Austrian Standard German, German Standard German and Swiss Standard German in terms of f.ex. standardness, correctness and overall pleasantness vary to a remarkable degree among teachers of German in German-speaking countries, but also among teachers of German as a foreign language abroad.

Not only in the context of teaching German as a foreign language in non-German-speaking countries, but also in the normative context of school and education in the German-speaking countries themselves, language attitudes of speakers influence their use of the language. Until recently, there have been no extensive data on the language attitudes among Austrian teachers and students towards German and in particular on the national varieties of German. The large-scale research project “Austrian German as a language of instruction and education” investigated for the first time – among other aspects – which language attitudes are found among Austrian teachers of German and school students towards the varieties of German.

In this contribution, in order to provide a multi-layered picture, we are going to compare and contrast results from studies on attitudes towards the national varieties among German teachers and students in non-German-speaking countries with results from studies on attitudes and perceptions among native speakers of German. For the latter, we are going to focus mostly, but not only, on results derived from the project mentioned above.

### **Jeanne Renaudin**

Universidad de Salamanca

#### *Waiting for a Revolution that doesn't happen. Cultural skills in French as a foreign language classes in Spanish primary schools: The paradox of pluricultural programmes and Eurocentric realities*

In Spain, the Education Act (Ley Orgánica 8/2013, de 9 de diciembre, para la mejora de la calidad educativa) requires that foreign languages be taught according to the recommendations of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, from the earliest age, so that a student entering the compulsory secondary education system must master at least one level A2 in at least one foreign language. It is therefore implied that, from the point of view of macro-context and language policies, the educational proposals follow the guidelines drawn up since 2001 by the Council of Europe, respecting in particular the interest shown in the cultural and linguistic varieties of the various pluricentric languages such as French, which are specifically described in Castellotti and Coste's study, *Social Representations of Languages and Teaching : Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education* (2002). The objective of this paper is to first study the different materials with which teachers work in primary school, and the initiation (up to level B1 according to the law) to the French language and its cultural components, by analysing the different linguistic and cultural varieties in contact with learners of younger ages. The next step will be to compare these pedagogical approaches with the official recommendations that teachers are supposed to follow and to understand what underlying phenomena are driving these proposals, which are the majority in Spanish elementary schools, by

asking ourselves at greater length about the motivations and expectations of foreign language teachers regarding the cultural dimensions related to the learning of French.

**Danko Šipka**

Arizona State University

*The Surface Lexical Layer of Cultural Identity: Parameters for Pluricentric Languages*

The present analysis is based upon the three-layer model of lexical markers of cultural identity advanced in Šipka (2019). The model represents an epistemological construct in which lexical markers of cultural identity are divided into the deep layer (words and their features that shape the speakers' cognitive environment and that are generally not easily changeable), the exchange layer (which situates the speakers into cultural circles based on the sources of lexical borrowing), and the surface layer (which shapes the speakers' cultural identity in constant negotiations between lexical planers and the general body of speakers).

In the present paper the author elaborates on the parameters of the surface layer as they pertain to pluricentric languages. Lexical planning that takes place in this layer is seen as through a series of major narratives, called macro maneuvers (e.g., the establishment of linguistic authority, national unity, etc.) which are then translated into a series of micro maneuvers (e.g., dictionary labels, interventions of school teachers, language editors, etc.). These measures are then confronted with the attitudes of the general body of speakers to be accepted or rejected.

Along with a number of measures for macro and micro maneuvers (their prominence, lexical volume, acceptance), the author proposes the measure of fragmentation, which is of particular importance in pluricentric languages). Lexical fragmentation index is a measure of distinguishable subcomponents a standard language has (e.g., ethnic, geographical variants, etc.). It is proposed here that this measure be calculated using Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (see Taagepera and Grofman, 1981). The use of this parameter is exemplified on the material of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian.

**Valentyna Skybina**

Canadian Academy of Independent Scholars

*Modeling English as a Pluricentric Language*

A number of theories aimed at describing and explaining variation of English have been developed (see, for example, Allerton, Skandera, Tschichold 2002; Clyne 1991; Hoffman & Siebers 2009; Kachru 1986; Loiter 1992; Skybina 2000; Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009), however, there is still no consensus as to the mechanisms of the English language transformation from a monocentric into a pluricentric entity. The purpose of this study is to advance understanding of the dynamics of the English language evolution under the conditions of dissemination and to characterize some mechanisms of its transformation into a pluricentric language. The study consists of two parts. In the first part, a theoretical model of the English language transformation into a pluricentric entity is developed. Theoretical positions are based on the results of the investigation of the conceptual and lexical systems transformations in native and non-native varieties of English. In the second part, some socio-political

aspects of “pluricentrization” are discussed. The methods used are those of the Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) (Beckner et al. 2009; Ellis & Larsen–Freeman 2009; Yin Shan & Ang Yang 2008), primarily the Method of System Potential (MSP) (Pushnoi & Bosner, 2008), of semantic analysis of lexemes’ meaning, and of the pertaining literature review. The model developed suggests that “pluricentrization” is the result of mutual adaptation and co-evolution of at least three complex adaptive systems – language, language-speaking community, and habitat. The study implies that the adaptation mechanisms operate mostly in accordance with the internalized patterns, that is why new natural and cultural conditions cannot violate the language homeostasis but promote alteration of the variation type. Changes in the attitude towards the varieties of English from purism to the codification of regional standard characterize the socio-political aspect of “pluricentrization”.

**Valentyna Skybina and Nataliya Bytko**

Canadian Academy of Independent Scholars, Zaporizhzhya National University

*New Englishes through the lens of lexicography*

Literature in theoretical lexicography (Béjoint 2010; Green 1997; Jackson 2017; Kachru & Kahane 2013; Laugesen 2013; Murray 2001; Ramson 2002; Winchester 2003, to name but a few) proves that the process of dictionary compilation and publication is dependable on social, political, economic, and cultural parameters of the linguistic situation of the time the dictionary project is worked out. For a language variety, those are specificities of the language transportation to a certain environment, both natural and cultural, as well as the dynamics of the variety genesis that play a key role (Bytko 2013; Skybina 2011, 2015). This paper aims at evincing particularities of the correlation between the genesis of two varieties of English, Australian (AuE) and Indian (IndE), and the dictionaries portraying them. We chose these varieties because of the fundamental differences in their evolution and its outcome – development of a native variety in Australia and a non-native institutionalized variety in India. To this end, we analyze 9 dictionaries of IndE published in the period from 1800 to 1991 and 26 dictionaries of AuE published in the period from 1898 to 2017. The method applied consists in juxtaposition of the dictionaries of IndE with those of AuE and in comparison of the history of their compilation in a broad socio-cultural context. The study shows that particularities of the linguistic situations in Australia and India led to the development of different types of dictionaries as well as to the dictionaries peculiar characteristics on micro-level. Semantic analysis of the articles demonstrates that in AuE dictionaries the main bulk of the entries pertains to the settlers’ way of life in general, and to gold rushes and wars in particular as well as to the features of the environment. In IndE dictionaries, terms pertaining to material culture, taxes, legislative system, and measurement were in the centre of the lexicographers’ attention.

**Vander Tavares & Inês Cardoso**

York University, Toronto

*Challenging Lusophone Cultural Stereotypes in the Pluricentric Portuguese Language Classroom*

Canada has seen a recent increase in the number of immigrant languages, with 22 of these being reportedly spoken by more than 100,000 people (Statistics Canada,



2016). Many of these languages may be seen more adequately from a pluricentric language perspective, in which more than one variety may be found. Inevitably, as language varieties come into contact, so do their cultural representations/stereotypes toward one another (Kretzenbacher, 2011; Lybaert & Delarue 2017; Norrby & Kretzenbacher, 2014). In this presentation, we focus on Portuguese as a pluricentric language, spoken as a mother tongue by approximately 221,540 people in Canada by Lusophone immigrants from different countries, such as Portugal, Brazil, and Angola. We conceptualise the language classroom as an extension of this socio-linguistic space where varieties can not only co-exist, but their cultural stereotypes/images also be discussed, so that a more informed and engaged relationship with the language and its many cultural expressions may be developed (Cardoso, 2016; Cardoso & Pereira, 2015; Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2012; Melo-Pfeifer & Simões, 2017). We draw on an advanced Portuguese language course at an English-medium university in Toronto to exemplify this practice, where 15 students from multilingual and multicultural backgrounds learning Portuguese as a heritage or foreign language are presented with stereotypes associated with particular groups of Portuguese speakers and Lusophone identities through aural and visual material in a pedagogical activity. More specifically, we explore students' critical engagement with the information presented, both individually and collaboratively through dialogue with their peers. Through a discourse analytic approach, we demonstrate the ways in which the students support or challenge stereotypes associated with the variety they identify themselves with as heritage language speakers or foreign language learners. Finally, we argue for the essential role the language classroom plays in fostering pluricentric and cross-cultural learning through activities designed to promote critical dialogue around cultural and linguistic images.

### **Katharina Tyran**

University of Vienna

#### *Pluricentricity and script: The usage of Latin and Cyrillic in Croatia in regard to discussions on national belonging and cultural affiliation*

Since the collapse of Yugoslavia and the formation of new nation states during the 1990s, South Slavic Studies preferentially deal with the question of the disintegration of Serbo-Croatian and the autonomous standard languages emerging, their legitimisation, planning and development. Regarding this question, discussions on language status for Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian (B/C/M/S) last until today and preoccupy research within South Slavic linguistics, both in the countries concerned and slavistic academic circles elsewhere. Especially the question, whether B/C/M/S is one pluricentric or four autonomous languages repetitiously generates controversies and often heated as well as politically loaded discussions.

But besides these issues of language, recently another line of demarcation comes to the fore: script and writing systems. In my paper, I will focus on the usage of Latin and Cyrillic scripts and related discourses against the background of above mentioned discussions regarding the pluricentric or autonomous language status of Croatian in regard to Serbian, especially as the Latin-Cyrillic digraphia was one major argument for Serbo-Croatian pluricentricity.

Though, as the succession languages of Serbo-Croatian persist to be quite similar, the use and interpretation of writing systems today gain new importance and

function as a clear breaking point especially within the distinction of Croatian and Serbian. In a contemporary as well as historic context, the obvious dichotomy of Latin and Cyrillic, symbolizes at first sight a border in different ways: first, it determines national belonging, with Croats using the former and Serbs the latter. Subsequently, it assigns religion, as it separates the Catholic and the Orthodox, as well as cultural spheres – especially in Croatia, the Latin script is supposed to indicate belonging to the Western European tradition, not to the “Balkans”. Cyrillic on the other hand, is interpreted as alien and menacing.

**Vanessa Tölke and Rolf Kailuweit**

Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

*Principles of Pluricentric Communication: Linguistic Accommodation of Spanish Speakers*

The recent discussion on Spanish as a pluricentric language (Amorós Negre / Prieto de los Mozos 2017) has solely focused on normative national centres (RAE 2009). Studies concerning the linguistic attitudes of speakers of different varieties of Spanish (Chiquito/Quesada Pacheco 2014) rarely investigate pluricentric communication (PC), namely the speakers’ perspective and their linguistic practices (Kailuweit 2015). Speakers orient themselves towards different centres which vary according to the situation and the communicative context (Staudinger/Kailuweit forthcoming).

We assume that the awareness of the interlocutor’s variety and of salient features of their own variety form the basis for communication on an equal footing in which linguistic differences are not used for purposes of distinction at the expense of the other. Based on the Communication Accommodation Theory (Gallois et al. 2005) we believe that successful PC ranges between negotiating a converging norm and tolerating the norm of the interlocutor. We present the results of a pilot study composed of semi-structured interviews with speakers from Argentina and Spain. Based on qualitative data we hope to gain an insight into the short-term bidirectional accommodation processes of speakers of different standard varieties of Spanish.

# Thematic workshops



## *Address in pluricentric languages*

**Organisers: Leo Kretzenbacher, John Hajek and Doris Schüpbach**

How we address each other is a crucial element to building and maintaining interpersonal relationships in conversation. Through choice of address terms – for example pronouns, first names, last names, and titles – interlocutors regulate the level of social distance between each other. Address and naming practices show variation not only across contexts but also within and across cultures and languages. Speakers of the same pluricentric language may share the linguistic resources for address, but the actual practice may vary across different (national) varieties of the same language.

Examples of variation in pronominal address across pluricentric languages would be the *voseo* in several American varieties of Spanish compared to Peninsular Spanish and the different use of *você* in Brazilian vs. European Portuguese. Examples for respective variation in nominal address are the different roles vocatives such as sir/madam or courtesy titles such as *Ms* (vs *Miss/Mrs*) play across different national varieties of English.

## Workshop papers

**Tanja Ackermann and Horst Simon**

Freie Universität Berlin

### *On the idea of borders in pluricentric languages. The case of address in Germany and German-speaking Switzerland*

While there is an ever-growing amount of literature comparing address in various English or Spanish speaking countries across the globe, research on German and its national varieties has hitherto almost exclusively focussed on lexical and grammatical features (cf. Ammon, Bickel & Lenz 2016 or Dürscheid & Elspaß 2015). However, findings from the Melbourne Address Project (e.g. Norrby & Kretzenbacher 2013 and Schüpbach 2015) suggest that there may also be subtle differences in addressing practices.

In our paper we present the results from a large-scale questionnaire study, in which we investigate issues of pragmatic variation between various regions within Germany and German-speaking Switzerland. We focus on the distribution of pronominal T/V-forms and nominal forms of address, with a special emphasis on the frequency of the use of names.

The particular sociocultural and linguistic setting of the German-Swiss border region, i.e. its shared Alemannic culture, enables us to assess the relative importance of national versus cultural commonalities. We can thus question certain basic assumptions of research on linguistic pluricentricity such ‘national centre’ and ‘border’.



**Aline Bazenga**

Universidade da Madeira

*Forms of address used in an insular variety of European Portuguese (Funchal, Madeira Island): A Labovian analysis*

Studies on different linguistic phenomena in varieties of Portuguese (Brazilian and European Varieties, among other social and geographical varieties), has shown a significant range of variation. This variation may be related to the structural complexity of a linguistic system, among others. In this paper, we intend to study how speakers of the variety of European Portuguese spoken in Funchal (Madeira island) use, in their social interactions, the complex system of Forms of Address. This research, which deals with both qualitative and quantitative analysis, is based on a database comprising 300 questionnaires applied to stratified random participants organized by genre, age and level of education. In this analysis we adopt the Labovian sociolinguistics as a theoretical and methodological framework. The overall results indicate a specific behavior of Madeiran speakers in their address practices, with regard to explicit forms of address – pronominal forms (*tu, você*) and nominal items (*home, apaz, (a)migo, senhor(a), dona*) – and zero pronouns (2SG, 3SG) as zero degree of deference strategy, spreading into various types of symmetric and asymmetric social relationships.

**Isabel Margarida Duarte and Maria Aldina Marques**

University of Porto, University of Minho

*The address pronoun vós: Differences between Brazilian and European Portuguese*

We will study Portuguese as a pluricentric language and, specifically, the representations of pronominal address variation in Portuguese and Brazilian varieties. First, we will briefly present some differences in pronominal address in Brazilian and European Portuguese, namely the *tu / vós / você / vocês* main characteristics. Then, we will focus on the usage of «*vós*» in European Portuguese contrasting with its absence in Brazilian Portuguese. Our data is the Facebook page of the group *Ensinar Português como língua Segunda*, where a big discussion about this topic took place. By analysing the different statements, we will focus on the speakers' representations about the use of «*vós*».

Within a socio-pragmatic perspective, we will present and discuss (i) the speakers' opinions and beliefs about pronominal address in those two varieties; (ii) the areas of total disagreement among them about the usage of *você*s and *vós*, (iii) the main differences within the same variety: the use of *você / tu* as a diatopic variation in Brazilian Portuguese; the use of *você, você*s, *vós* as diatopic and diaphasic variations in European Portuguese.

**Bettina Kluge**

Universität Hildesheim

*Meet and greet in Spanish – address and introductions at international conferences in the Spanish-speaking world*

This contribution aims to add Spanish as a language whose pluricentricity is well-recognized to research done by Kretzenbacher et al. (2014) and Norrby et al. (in

press) on address and introductions at international English-speaking conferences. For American English, British English and Australian English, the team found different orientations of formality, depending on various factors such as seniority of position, but also age.

Address practices in Spanish are particularly well-researched (cf. Hummel et al. 2010, Moyna/Rivera-Mills 2016, to name but a few recent volumes), with important differences in forms and routines of address across the Spanish-speaking countries on the pronominal and nominal level. To date there is no study, however, on introducing oneself and others at international conferences that bring into contact speakers of different varieties of Spanish. This study will use the same methodology as the Australian team and also a similar questionnaire, placing more emphasis on pronominal address, however.

**Leo Kretzenbacher, Doris Schüpbach, Catrin Norrby and John Hajek**

The University of Melbourne, The University of Melbourne, Stockholm University,  
The University of Melbourne

*Address in pluricentric German: The case of introductions at international academic conferences*

German is one of the defining examples used in Clyne (1992) to introduce the concept of pluricentric languages. While address in its main national varieties has been studied (see e.g. Clyne, Norrby & Warren 2009, Kretzenbacher 2011, Norrby & Kretzenbacher 2013, Schüpbach 2015), the primary focus of these studies was pronominal address, i.e. the T/V distinction.

In this paper, we concentrate on nominal address (first name, last name and academic titles) in first encounters at academic conferences. Academics from Germany, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland were surveyed about their address routines in three situations: how they introduce themselves, how they introduce others and how they expect to be introduced. In addition, the survey also solicited qualitative data in the form of comments and anecdotes, so that a qualitative perspective complements the quantitative analysis of the data.

Preliminary results indicate that introduction by first name and last name tends to be the default choice, but that some national variation is present, particularly in the use of academic titles.

**Tatiana Larina and Neelakshi Suryanarayan**

RUDN University, Moscow, University of Delhi

*Address forms in Indian English Academic discourse*

Indian English is one of the oldest varieties of English which coexists with Hindi and the other regional languages of India. The university environment vividly exemplifies this multilingualism and multiculturalism. While secondary education in India is offered in Hindi, English and a regional language, higher education is mostly accessible only in English. As a result, students of Indian universities coming from different cultural and educational backgrounds speak at least two or three languages. This situation makes the study of academic discourse particularly interesting and rewarding for bilingual and sociolinguistic research.

Forms of address are a crucial element of communication and interpersonal relationships and most sensitive to social and cultural contexts. The present paper

is a study of the unique use of address forms by Indian bilinguals (speakers of Indian English and Hindi) in a university setting in different contexts. We analyze forms of address in and between three social groups – teachers, administrative staff and students. Our results show the strong influence of cultural background of the speakers on their communicative and strategic behaviour and demonstrate how Indian speakers of English manipulate the adopted language and adapt it to the norms and values prescribed by their native culture. We attempt to explain the identified peculiarities of Indian English address forms through an interdisciplinary approach, drawing from various studies on Indian English (Larina & Suryanarayan 2013, Mehrotra 1985, Sedlatschek 2009), bilingualism (De Groot 2001, Pavlenko 2014), cultural studies (Hofstede 1984, 1991, Triandis 1994), intercultural pragmatics (Kecskes 2014, Wierzbicka, 2003), post-colonial pragmatics (Anchimbe & Janney, 2011), Politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987, Leech 2014, Leech & Larina 2014) and Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles et al 1977).

### **Godelieve Laureys**

Ghent University

#### *Finding your way in the jungle of power and solidarity. On the usage of pronouns of address in Dutch*

My contribution aims at unravelling the conditions for shifting between the different paradigms of address in the dominant and the non-dominant area of the Dutch language, viz. the Netherlands and Flanders. I will consider the variation patterns on a systemic level and illustrate the actual usage with empirical examples from taped talk shows.

The usage of address pronouns in the Dutch language area is intricate, since there is not only the traditional distinction between informal and formal pronominal paradigms. There are even several morphological paradigms available for informal addressing. The distribution of these parallel paradigms (je/jij/jou/jouw vs. ge/gij/u/uw) is considered as an iconic feature of the national variation in the Dutch language area.

In my paper I will discuss the alternation between informal and formal pronouns related to situational and pragmatic factors: are there differences between Flanders and the Netherlands in defining the degree of formality of a given communicative situation (e.g. talk show)? Is there a different interpretation of the role and the status of the participants in the communication in the two parts of the language area?

The choice of a given form is not only related to sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors, but is also strongly dependent on intra-linguistic parameters. As such pronouns of address in Dutch are not only markers of belonging to a specific part of the language community, but they can deliberately be used to signal one's ideological position to normative language rules and to express one's stance to convergence/divergence tendencies in the language area.

Finally, I will draw some parallels to the Swedish language area, where similar patterns with regard to address pronouns can be detected in Swedish spoken in Sweden vs. in Finland.

**Elizabeth Marsden and Jim O’Driscoll**

University of Huddersfield

*The deployment of address forms in email openings across Kachru’s concentric circles of English*

This paper uses vocative address forms as evidence for the constituting of relationships, and the nature of those relationships, in the milieu of a British university. The data consist of two small corpora of the openings of email messages written in the English language. Email openings are a particularly valuable site for the examination of address for two reasons: (1) there appear to be no widely-accepted, context-spanning norms for filling this slot, so that how it gets filled carries more interpersonal significance than it otherwise would; (2) they allow us to take a ‘functional’ approach to address in which, before examining which address forms are used, we can examine whether any form of address is used at all.

Like all studies of address, we are interested in how it can position the user, the addressee and (therefore) their relationship. And, like many interpersonal pragmatic studies, we are chiefly interested in two dimensions of relationship: the horizontal (relative social distance) and the vertical (relative power, rank, status or authority). However, we also consider the relationship implied by forms which instantiate Goffman’s (1967) very general definition of deference, and the use of address forms as cues to signal a particular situational involvement.

Our two datasets diverge in relational context. One comprises messages sent by undergraduate students to a member of academic staff; the other comprises messages sent by researchers to a commercial proofreader. All the authors in this latter set come from outside Britain, half from countries where English has an established role in everyday life (ESL), half from those where it does not (EFL). As a result, we are able to make a stab at comparing the vocatives (not) used in this particular slot by people from each of Kachru’s (1982, 2009) three concentric circles of English.

**Neus Nogué and Marta Busquets**

Universitat de Barcelona

*The three-degree address system of Catalan: From traditional to present uses*

Like other romance languages, as Italian, Catalan has a three-degree address system (*tu-vós- vostè*). In the last century, several changes have taken place that have made the traditional distribution of address forms quite unsteady. Some of the changes have to do with the “fight” between *vós* and *vostè* to convey ‘respect’ and ‘formality’. Other changes can be explained taking into account the different languages Catalan is in close contact to: French, Spanish and Italian (it is in that sense that we can speak of *pluricentrism*) (Robinson 1978 and Lacreu 1991). Finally, other changes have to do with the constant movement towards informality undergone in Western societies and languages nowadays.

This contribution will consist of the following parts: 1. the analysis of the main features of the traditional uses of the Catalan three-degree address system (defined by Coromines 1971 and the current Catalan normative grammar, GIEC); 2. a comparative description of the present uses of this system in the main Catalan-speaking

areas; and 3. an overview of the present tendencies observed in different communication contexts: family, institutional communication, Parliamentary debate (Nogués-Serrano and Payrató (under revision)) and advertising.

### **Vladimir Ozyumenko**

RUDN University, Moscow

#### *Forms of address in legal discourse in Englishes of the “inner circle”*

Being a pluricentric language English exists in different varieties (Crystal 2003) that have their culture specific features at all levels of language and its functioning (Barron 2017, Kachru 2005, Kachru et al. 2006, Sedlatschek 2009 and others). This study is focused on legal English of the “inner circle” (Kachru 1988: 5) where, despite the fact that legal discourse is designed to be concise, unambiguous and clear, there are apparent markers of cultural variability. It is limited to the analyses of the main legal professions (*judge, lawyer, prosecutor*) and their positions in different jurisdictions and related address forms. The study focuses on forms of address in a few contexts, namely, correspondence and oral communication in court and out of court. The data taken from dictionaries, legal documents, newspapers, BNC, COCA and some secondary sources (Hickey 2008, McPeake 2016 and others) were studied within the framework of comparative semantic, definitional, discourse and cultural analysis. The results of the study show that besides the core terms every variety has culture-bound terms specific to its legal system, e.g. *attorney* (AmE.), *barrister* or *solicitor* (Br.A), *advocate* (Scot.E). However, British English, because of its long history of the legal system, is characterized by the most sophisticated vocabulary of professional nominations and offers many specific forms of address for judges, depending on the court they serve at. A comparative analysis of these forms reveals their cultural specificity, e.g. addressing a judge: *My Lord /Lady, your honour, your worships* (BrE), *The Honorable+full name* (AmE), *Justice, Mr Justice, Madam Justice* (CanE), etc. The results of this study can be useful for lexicography, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and intercultural communication. They can also be applied in teaching professional English to law students.

### **Pekka Posio**

University of Helsinki

#### *Variation in verbal and pronominal address in Cabinda Portuguese*

In Angolan Portuguese, both singular address pronouns *tu* and *você* can be combined with 2SG and 3SG verb forms, unlike in European Portuguese where *tu* combines exclusively with 2SG and *você* with 3SG, or Brazilian Portuguese, where both pronouns combine with 3SG (see Inverno 2011, Manuel 2015). As pronominal subjects can be null in this variety, reference to interlocutor can be expressed by six different subject-verb combinations.

We analysed 8 interviews of speakers aged 20–29 from Cabinda, Angola, attending the 12<sup>th</sup> year of school in 2014, in order to verify what pronoun-verb combinations are found in speech and whether the variation is due to sociolinguistic factors, contact with Bantu languages (Mingas 2000), or functional distinctions.

The analysis of 155 occurrences of verbal forms reveals that 3SG is the most frequent form and that implicit subjects are preferred with 2SG and explicit with 3SG verbs. We observed a distributional difference between specific and generic uses.

When the address form has a generic/impersonal reading (as in ‘You only live once’; Posio 2017), the preferred reference form is 3SG with an explicit subject, whereas specific reference to the interlocutor is expressed with 2SG verbs with no explicit subjects. We discuss these results in relation to the contexts of acquisition and use of Portuguese and Bantu languages.





## *Interactional Perspectives on Pluricentric Languages*

**Organisers: Jenny Nilsson and Elisabeth Reber**

Most previous research on pluricentric languages has focused on formal differences (such as pronunciation, vocabulary, morphology and syntax, see e.g. Clyne 1992) between national varieties of pluricentric languages. In recent years, the importance of studying pluricentric languages from a pragmatic perspective has been foregrounded (Schneider & Barron 2008), and a growing number of studies have also taken an interactional perspective. This body of research has found both similarities and differences between varieties of a pluricentric language. For example, the prosodic and lexicosyntactic organization of practices and action formation, e.g. terms of address, greeting and thanking, next-turn repetition, using high grade assessments as well as giving and receiving advice have been investigated (e.g. Bergen et al 2017, Couper-Kuhlen forthcoming, Henricsson & Nelson 2017, Nilsson et al 2018, Norrby et al. 2015, Reber 2017). By analyzing communicative patterns in varieties of the same language in separate cultural settings, we gain new insights into differences and commonalities in the construction of social interaction and how this is mediated through linguistic and bodily means.

In this workshop, we intend to explore structures of social interaction – both universal and culture specific – in and between pluricentric languages, by comparing the use of (embodied) linguistic structures, practices, actions and courses of actions between pluricentric linguistic communities and cultures.

### Workshops papers

**Anne Barron**

Leuphana University of Lüneburg

*“Sorry Miss I completely forgot it”: A variational pragmatic perspective on apologies in Irish English and English English*

The study of the pragmatics of Irish English is a recent endeavour (cf. Hickey/Vaughan 2017). Within the study of pragmatic variation, speech act descriptions of Irish English include studies on a limited number of speech acts, such as compliment responses, expressions of gratitude, offers, requests and responses to thanks (cf. Barron/Pandarova 2016). Studies on apologies include only Lynch (2013) on the use of the form ‘sorry’ in ICE-Ireland.

The present paper addresses this research gap in the study of apologies in Irish English. It takes a variational pragmatic approach to the analysis, contrasting varieties empirically using comparable data (cf. Barron 2017, Schneider/Barron 2008). Specifically, production questionnaire data is investigated and norms of appropriate verbal apologetic behaviour contrasted (Schneider 2012). The analysis centres on the apology strategies employed across variety, on the linguistic realisations of these strategies and on the modification used. Findings point to the universality of apology strategies, while also revealing variety-preferential pragmatic differences. Specifically, the Irish data reveals a higher use of vocatives underlining the importance of the relational function in the data. In addition, a higher use of upgrading strategies and speaker-based explanations is recorded revealing a higher threat to speakers’ face.

### **Inga-Lill Grahn**

Institute for Language and Folklore, Gothenburg

#### *The art of thanking – communicative patterns in Swedish-spoken service encounters in Sweden and Finland*

Thanking is an everyday action performed in partly different ways in different countries (Brown & Levinson 1987). Calling it an “art” is to emphasize the considerable interactional work that is done by participants when thanking.

Pluricentric contexts offer a favourable arena for empirical studies of a social action conditioned by local culture. This paper contributes to cross-cultural research by studying a relatively small pluricentric language, Swedish, and by taking an interactional grip on thanking in authentic conversations (Norrby et al. 2012).

A study of thanking in medical encounters has shown a tendency towards slightly differing communicative patterns in Sweden and Finland; the linguistic resources for thanking are the same in the two countries but the response patterns and the length of the thanking sequences might differ (Grahn 2017). The aim of this study is to broaden these findings by studying another institutional context, that is service encounters, and to address issues such as when and how to say thank you, what to respond when being thanked and how to leave a thanking sequence in a socially and culturally accepted way.

We use sequential conversation analysis to explore the micro level of thanking, which does not only give interactional and linguistic insights but also pragmatic ones into how to socialize in a globalized world – that is, into the art of thanking.

### **Martina Huhtamäki and Inga-Lill Grahn**

University of Helsinki, Institute for Language and Folklore, Gothenburg

#### *Prosodic features of assessments in Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish personal training sessions*

The formal differences in prosody of Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish are well-known (e.g. Reuter 1992). However, the pragmatic differences in prosody are not yet systematically studied. In this paper, we compare how prosody is used for action formation in the two varieties. More specifically, we study the prosodic features of assessments in personal training sessions.

According to Goodwin and Goodwin (1992), participants use prosodic features to show their involvement in an assessment. Furthermore, participants can upgrade or downgrade their assessments by using different sets of prosodic features, regardless their lexical form (Ogden 2006). We focus on assessments consisting of *bra* ‘good’ produced after the client has performed a physical exercise in response to an instruction (cf. Mehan 1979). By its lexicon, *bra* is a low-grade assessment (cf. Pomerantz 1984).

The data consist of 7.5 hours of recorded sessions of personal training, evenly distributed between Finland and Sweden. The analysis includes the prosodic features length, loudness, pitch onset and pitch span.

The study shows that the prosodic realization of assessments varies more in Sweden Swedish. In this variety, *bra* can be lengthened, loud, high and wide, or short, silent, low and monotonous. In Finland Swedish, studied assessments are



more similar, rarely being especially long, loud, high or wide. To conclude, participants make use of prosodic features in somewhat different ways in the two varieties of Swedish.

**Marie Nelson and Sofie Henricson**

Stockholm University, Åbo Akademi University, Turku

*Positive feedback in Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish university interactions*

During recent years, interactional approaches to variational pragmatics have given many new insights on pragmatic differences between Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish interaction, e.g. as regards advice-giving and address patterns (e.g. Henricson & Nelson, 2017; Norrby et al., 2018). In this paper, we contribute to this field with a comparative study of how Swedish-speaking university students and university employees in Sweden and Finland give and respond to positive feedback in video-recorded institutional interaction, e.g. during seminars and supervision meetings.

We focus on positive evaluations given in the presence of the one being positively evaluated (c.f. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk's discussion on compliments, 1989). Previous studies show that compliments differ between cultures and languages (e.g. Alfonzetti, 2013), e.g. as regards how common it is to give compliments, how highly compliments are graded, and how compliments are responded to. Working within the framework of variational pragmatics (Schneider & Barron, 2008), we explore how positive feedback is given and responded to in Sweden-Swedish and in Finland-Swedish university interaction.

**Jenny Nilsson, Catrin Norrby, Camilla Wide and Jan Lindström**

Institute for Language and Folklore, Gothenburg, Stockholm University, University of Turku, University of Helsinki

*What can interactional perspectives do for theories of pluricentric languages?*

In the last decade, a growing number of studies have investigated pragmatic routines in pluricentric languages, especially within the framework of variational pragmatics (Schneider & Barron 2008a). This body of research has shown the importance of investigating pragmatic variation across both geographical and social space in order to uncover the relationship between macro-social factors and language use (see Schneider & Barron 2008b; Schneider 2010). Still, only few studies have taken an interactional perspective and researched actual talk-in-interaction.

In this presentation, we compare patterns for greetings, address and assessments in 1300 Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish service interactions. We show both similarities and differences in interactional routines in these two varieties in order to discuss what interactional perspectives can do for theories on pluricentric languages.

**Elisabeth Reber**

University of Würzburg

*On telegraphic constructions in two English varieties*


This paper is concerned with what I call telegraphic constructions, i.e. verbless and subjectless chunks, in British English and American English post-match football interviews (PMIs). Such constructions are specific to certain communicative genres (Günthner 2011), a finding corroborated by Travis/Lindstrom's (2016) study, illustrating that subjectless constructions show a different distribution across discourse types. This excerpt, taken from a British English PMI opening sequence, exemplifies the two major types of telegraphic constructions in my data:

```
PL PMI 03 Feb 2018 (PL1: Aaron Ramsey; Arsenal-Everton 5-1
1 IR:      i gotta crowd a happy crOwd (here) AAaron, (-)
2          → ((smack)) <<l>great [evening]'s WORK,>
3 PL2:      [((SNIFF))]
4 IR:      → COMprehensive win,
5          → HAT trick-
6          → MATCH [ball-] (-)
7 PL3:      [((SNIFF))]
8 IR:      → <<l,p>couldn't got> <<:->couldn't have got very much
          BETter=<<pp>could it;>
```

The interviewer (IR) uses four nominal constructions (lines 2, 4–6) to build the “headline” (Clayman/Heritage 2002), i.e. the thematic summary of the PMI. A subjectless construction (line 8) is deployed to solicit an answer turn by Player 1.

My analysis, based on the opening sequences of 50 PMIs, addresses three questions: 1) What type of dense constructions are deployed? 2) Do their use and distribution vary between the British and American samples? 3) Why?

A first study suggests a greater frequency of nominal constructions in the British sample but a balanced distribution of subjectless constructions between the two varieties.



## *The Theory and Description of Pluricentric Languages – Beyond Concepts of Dominance and Non-Dominance*

**Organisers: Rudolf Muhr, Carla Amoros Negre and Nils Langer**

The description of pluricentric languages and the theoretical reflections on this concept have made considerable progress in the current decade, in no small part due to the deliberations at the meetings of the “International Working Group on Non-dominant Varieties of Pluricentric Languages” (WGNDV) since 2010. In particular, the group applied the criteria of *dominance* and *non-dominance* to distinguish major categories of pluricentric varieties.

With this workshop we seek to encourage scholars to present papers on these well-established criteria, but also to think beyond them – in particular by considering different theoretical concepts of pluricentric languages and the consequences of the standard language ideology in the dominance and non-dominance of pluricentric languages. We also consider it to be particularly fruitful to consider languages whose status as pluricentric languages is far from certain. Examples that spring to mind in this regard are, amongst others, Scots, Saami, Karelian Finnish, Ruthenian and Kashubian, Tadczyk, Frisian as well as diverse American and African languages (Aymara, Bamabara, Fulfulde, Lingala, Malinke, Soninke, Tuareg, Xhosa etc.).

### Workshop papers

**Talia Bugel and Marina Cárcamo-García**

Purdue University Fort Wayne, University of Arizona Tucson

#### *Beyond idealizations of prestigious vs. stigmatized varieties: Attitudes toward Spanish variation regarding forms of address*

Over 25 years have passed since the launch of the linguistic and cultural regional integration of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, and 20 years since the establishment of the Instituto Cervantes in Brazil. Moreover, the Brazilian law that made the offer of Spanish compulsory in public education in 2005 has been overturned by the last education reform. Throughout the beginning stages of Spanish as a foreign language in Brazil, its path was determined by top-down language education policies. Namely, on one hand the aspirations of Lusophone Brazil to be the leader of a majority Hispanophone region and on the other hand, the needs of the Peninsular language industries for new markets.

In the 1990s and 2000s, the dominant scholastic and academic issue was which variety of Spanish should be taught in Brazil. In our 2015–2016 partial replication of a study of language attitudes toward varieties of Spanish in Brazil, we have found that the original idealization of a homogeneous and stable Peninsular variety has given way in face of the actual experience of Brazilian students of Spanish with an array of varieties of the language. This new situation has allowed us to assess attitudes toward some specific dialectal phenomena such as forms of address in the language, thus accessing the current view of Spanish varieties based on the actual use that new speakers of Spanish make of the language. That is, the actual experience of learning Spanish in Brazil has moved instructors and students beyond the generalizations and idealizations that are typical when one is dealing with an unknown language, the result of top-down language policies and of the influence of

extralinguistic factors. The new data we have about the attitudes of users are the result of their actual contact with the Spanish varieties – both in the classroom and through their interactions with its speakers. Thus, we reconsider how we applied the model proposed by Clyne (1992) to understand Spanish as a pluricentric language in our initial studies (Bugel 2013). The last decades of teaching Spanish as a foreign language in Brazil seem to have had an impact in the role and the relative weight of the different varieties along the non-dominant/dominant continuum – particularly the Peninsular, prestigious variety and the South American, neighboring varieties.

**Reglindis De Ridder**

Stockholm University

*The changing status of natiolects. A diachronic study of the labels and the distribution of Dutch natiolectisms*

After decades of “hyperstandardisation” (Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013) efforts in Belgium intending to introduce the Netherlandic variety of Dutch, a Belgian variety of Dutch nonetheless managed to establish itself. Twenty years later, the Dutch language-planning body officially recognised both Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch as equal national varieties (“natiolects”) of standard Dutch (Nederlandse Taalunie 2003). A few years later, more natiolects were recognised: Surinam Dutch and Caribbean Dutch. As is often the case with pluricentric languages, one national variety is viewed as more prestigious and, in the case of Dutch, Netherlandic Dutch has generally held sway. Evidence of this can be found in lexicography, but also in publishing. Although Belgian authors are well-represented in the fiction published in the Dutch language area, Dutch editors have for a long time been hired to remove all Belgian Dutch linguistic features from their books. However, more and more Belgian authors have started to oppose to this practice and are more confident in using their variety of Dutch with its typical “natiolectisms” in their writing. Text corpora can be used to study the distribution of such natiolectisms in text originating from different parts of the language area over time. Dictionaries too have had to change the way they describe the Dutch lexis. This paper discusses recent developments in publishing and lexicography showing how, as languages indeed are in constant flux, by the same token, the status of “non-dominant varieties” (Muhr 2012) can gradually change.

**Jasmine Dum-Tragut**

University of Salzburg

*Talking Western among Easterners or the abrupt increase of Western Armenian speaking population in Armenia: Challenges for language and education policy in a new Armenia?*

Not even 30 years ago, the “Iron Curtain” represented a striking linguistic border between speakers of Eastern Armenian living in the Soviet Armenia and speakers of Western Armenian in the diaspora. Since 1991, Western Armenian, the non-dominant Armenian variety, prototypical minority language, has lost crucial social functions, domains and prestige due to the strengthening of East Armenian as state language of the independent Armenian Republic. As such, Western Armenian

definitely meets theoretical criteria of a non-dominant language. Being early standardized, having its own literary tradition, and even higher prestige in the Armenian culture, Western Armenian does, however, not represent a prototypical non-dominant language. Nowadays, the case of Western Armenian is even a challenge for theoretical approaches to a changing position of a non-dominant variety and its intrusion into domains of the dominant one. Due to travel of Diaspora Armenians to Armenia, to repatriations into the Armenian Republic and not least caused by the immigration of thousands of Armenian refugees from Syria, Armenia has changed demographically – and linguistically. Western Armenian has “entered” the protected linguistic territory of Eastern Armenian. Western Armenian is gradually gaining in importance, particularly in the capital Yerevan. Schools are challenged with a high proportion of West Armenian-speaking children. The public is confronted with an unusual sense of self-awareness among Western Armenian-speaking new citizens and residents of Armenia, who even openly demand a broader recognition and promotion of their West Armenian variety in Armenia – in education, business and many public spheres. The new government of Armenia following the “velvet Revolution” of spring 2018, which is even represented by some naturalized West Armenian speakers, is forced to find political solutions and linguistic strategies for the survival of the “endangered”, non-dominant Western Armenian variety, in general – but especially in a “new” republic of Armenia, predominantly speaking East Armenian. The talk will focus on the effects of the “overturn” of the formerly dominant “mother” variety by the “new” Western Armenian variety and how this can be handled in pluricentric theory.

### **Gerhard Edelmann**

University of Vienna

#### *Karelian: A pluricentric language?*

In my contribution I shall discuss whether the concept of pluricentricity applies to Karelian.

Karelian is, after Finnish and Estonian, the third largest language of the group of Baltic Finnic languages. Today, the historic region of Karelia is divided between Russia and Finland.

The linguistic situation is rather complicated because the Karelian language consists of three varieties (Karelian Proper, Olonets and Ludic), which practically form a continuum between their sister languages Finnish and Veps. There are significant differences between these varieties, which make communication between speakers of different varieties difficult.

In Russia, Karelian is spoken by some 100,000 people, mainly in the Republic of Karelia and in some other Karelian-speaking communities. Estimates of the number of speakers in Finland vary between 5,000 and 30,000; Karelian is not spoken as a local community language, because Karelians live scattered throughout Finland and constitute a heterogeneous and ill-defined group, whose demarcation from the Finnish-speaking population is still often unclear.

Neither in Russia nor in Finland Karelian has the legal status of an official or co-official language. In both countries, it is considered as a minority language, in Finland within the framework of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Both in Russia and Finland Karelian must be considered as an endangered language.

In my contribution I shall try to apply the criteria developed by Muhr and Clyne in order to find out whether Karelian can be considered as a pluricentric language. Karelian fulfils Criterion I (occurrence in at least two nations) and Criterion II (official status) applies to a certain extent. I shall further examine whether Karelian fulfils the other four criteria. After that I shall discuss to which type of pluricentricity Karelian belongs and whether we can talk about the relations of dominance and non dominance in the case of Karelian.

**Sandra Kaltenegger**

University of Vienna

*The Chinese Language under Scrutiny – How to Apply the Notion of Pluricentricity*

This paper examines to what extent the notion of pluricentricity is applicable to the Chinese language. There is little consensus in the literature about how to deal with Chinese pluricentricity. The concept of pluricentricity is either not applied to Chinese as a whole (but only to Mandarin), or entire new categories and conceptualizations are developed that describe only the phenomenon of Chinese pluricentricity, making it difficult to compare Chinese with other pluricentric languages.

Additionally, the definition of Chinese itself is highly controversial, some arguing to perceive of the seven major varieties (方言, Fangyán) as dialects, others advocating for dealing with Fangyán as independent languages. Therefore, this paper is devoted to the definition of language and the concept of standard language, before Chinese is scrutinized through a pluricentric lens.

This paper assumes that Fangyán can cover the whole spectrum between dialect and standard, yet it does not perceive of them as independent languages, since this would not align with the language attitudes of Chinese speakers. On the basis of this assumption, this paper identifies at least three Fangyán that have several standard varieties: Mandarin (with its centers in Mainland China, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong), Cantonese (in Hong Kong and Guangdong), and Hokkien (in Fujian, Taiwan, and Singapore). Furthermore, Mandarin cannot only be classified as pluricentric in regard to the differences it reveals in the different centers, its scripts – simplified (Mainland China) and traditional (Taiwan) – and phonetization systems – Hànyu Pinyin (Mainland China) and Zhùyin Fúhào and Wade-Giles (Taiwan) – can also be perceived as pluricentric.

**Nils Langer**

Europa-Universität Flensburg

*Friesian as a pluricentric language?*

As the closing paper of this workshop, this contribution will aim to summarize the findings of our discussion and offer complementing and contrasting data from a minority language spoken in the Northwest of Germany. North Frisian appears to satisfy our definitions of both pluricentric languages and languages without a centre. This tension results from the different perspectives of the language's use and perception in different domains. This paper will seek to highlight the importance of recognizing that the successful application of clear definitions of, say, pluricentric languages, depend very much on a conscious decision of what one counts as or allows to be admissible data.



**Rudolf Muhr**

Austrian German Research Centre, University of Graz

*Outlines of a General Theory for the Description of Pluricentric Languages*

My talk aims at presenting the framework for a general theory of pluricentricity of languages (PCLs) that is viable for all types of PCLs around the world. The theory is based on the concept of state nations sharing the “same” language that is divided into different national varieties (NV). They are differentiated via the sociolinguistic criteria of dominance and non-dominance that leads to large number of different communicative and linguistic effects. The theory stresses the fact that the description of PCLs cannot be restricted to the so called “standard language” and leave out all other varieties (spoken and written) that are being used in the NVs. Each NV acts as a sphere of communication of its own and must therefore be treated according to its native linguistic norms and its communicative habits. This means that the communicative habits (monoglossic, diglossic, multiglossic etc.) play an essential role by the description of communicative and linguistic “standards”. Looking at varieties from that viewpoint it turns out that there are several “standards” in a given NV and in PLCs as such. The proposed theory will also present a list of different types of PCLs that exist around the world and based on that a list of criteria for the identification of PLCs. This is possible after the work of the members of the WGNDV not only expanded the list of PCLs to presently 43 but also yielded some languages whose status as PCL is not clear or uncertain. The talk will briefly deal with the competing concept of “pluriareality” that is highly popular in German linguistics.

It will be shown that the concept has no empirical basis and is not viable and does not contribute to a general theory of description of PCLs.

**Paulo Feytor Pinto and Ana Raquel Matias**

CELGA/ILTEC-UC, Universidade de Coimbra, ISCTE-IUL, CIES-IUL; CES-UC, University Institute of Lisbon

*Linguistic and social inclusion in higher education: The case of international students fluent in stigmatized language norms*

This paper discusses an action-research project aimed at contributing to the linguistic and social inclusion in Portuguese Higher Education Institutions (HEI) of international African students who are fluent in non-dominant stigmatized norms of the Portuguese language. These fluent speakers of Portuguese face unexpected and/or ignored challenges of (in)comprehension and prejudice when they interact with the broad dominant norm community in Portugal, namely in academic context. Furthermore, not always has the schooling experience in their countries of origin developed all linguistic and communicative skills required by the host Portuguese HEI nor do host institutions acknowledge these different schooling experiences. Evidence shows significant drop off rates of this group of students in Portugal, the main foreign destination of international students from Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome e Principe.

The project *Trovoada de Ideias – brainstorming* in Angolan Portuguese – recalls the relations between language, society and power, and specifically the unequal social status attributed to different norms resulting from both past and present discriminatory processes. In addition, we will discuss the concept of language

racism, and its subsequent impact on the racialization of practices of speakers of pluricentric languages. The project is rooted in three assumptions:

- 1) The need to acknowledge the diversity of Portuguese language norms;
- 2) The need to consider the students' previous school practices and trajectories;
- 3) The need to identify more effective responses in Portuguese HEIs.

*Trovoada de Ideias* has been developed by three partner organizations, two university research centres and a NGO, and is currently funded also by the Portuguese Migration Commissariat. The expected outcomes are: a curricular unit of academic Portuguese; a handbook of learning materials for the unit; a brochure with guidelines for professors of non-linguistic subjects; a collection of students' biographies; and a service of buddy-tutoring.

### **Jutta Ransmayr and Rudolf de Cillia**

University of Vienna

#### *Conceptualisation of German-internal variation among linguistic norm authorities and linguistic lay persons in Austria*

Society usually considers language teachers to be linguistic norm authorities and keepers of “correct” and “adequate” language use. However, not only do teachers teach the language and correct language use when necessary, but they also have considerable impact on influencing the next generation's language attitudes and their “language loyalty”. Therefore, the language attitudes of teachers themselves are anything but trivial in the process of passing on concepts concerning the nature and status of a language or variety of a language.

The project “Austrian German as a language of instruction and education” investigated – among other aspects – language attitudes and the conceptualisations as regards German among teachers of German and school students in Austria.

Results of the study clearly point to an overall implicit pluricentric conceptualisation of German among teachers and students, despite the fact that they also acknowledge language-internal variation within Austria. As a matter of fact, standard variation between the German-speaking countries and standard variation within one individual German-speaking country such as Austria, seem not to contradict each other in terms of the assumption of (national) standard varieties among our probands. Our data suggest furthermore, that Austrian Standard German has become a reasonably well-established notion among Austrian teachers of German, but there are also slight indications that school students' and maybe even the younger generation's conceptions of Austrian Standard German are not as pronounced and clear-cut as the conceptions held by middle-aged or older teachers.

This paper is going to present recent data from our large-scale survey on teachers' and school students' conceptions of the German language and intends to shed light on how they conceptualize variation within German as a whole, and particularly linguistic variation within Austria. Findings in our data supporting the idea of various layers of pluricentricity, will be outlined as well.



**Eva Staudinger**

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

*Pluricentricity in language practices: Implications for language planning and policy*

Taking the case of Spanish as an example, the present talk questions the contribution of concepts of pluricentricity based on standard language ideology to contemporary language planning and policy. The question whether or to what extent Spanish is a pluricentric language has for a long time revolved around two central topics. One is the status of and relationship between the language academies in the different Spanish speaking countries (with a particular emphasis on the Real Academia Española's (RAE) claim to leadership). The other is the discursive topos of the (perceived) linguistic unity of Spanish at the level of the prestige norms (cf. e.g. Paffey 2012). In this context, the notion of pluricentricity is strongly related to the alleged power of language academies and the validity of the (codified) language norms they promote. Adopting a communication-based perspective to pluricentricity as formulated by Blommaert (2011), the present talk looks at the issue from a different angle.

Blommaert (2011: 39) highlights that in complex post-modern societies, communication *per se* is pluricentric. Speakers' communicative behaviour (and their social behaviour in general) is context-dependent and guided by multiple centres. Depending on the circumstances speakers orient towards a centre considered appropriate. In this approach, linguistic authority is not assumed to be restricted to official institutions (such as the RAE). Groups or individuals can also serve as role models and thus function as centres. The present talk briefly illustrates the pluricentric character of Spanish news texts, and discusses the implications of Blommaert's approach for language planning, language policy, and the future of state-appointed language institutions.

**Juan A. Thomas**

Utica College, New York

*Contact-induced pluricentricity? The role of Anglicisms in forging a new variety of Spanish*

Utica is a small city in New York State with a rapidly growing Hispanic population which made up 13.6% of the city in 2015. The two largest groups in its Hispanic community are Puerto Ricans (60%) and Dominicans (11%). Studies done on the Spanish spoken in Utica have shown extensive use of Anglicisms. This study will compare the use of Anglicisms in four varieties of Spanish (Utica, United States, Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish) by a sociolectometrical analysis of onomasiological variation. Some scholars have questioned the existence of US Spanish, saying that it is simply a collection of migrant varieties. The objective of this comparison is to see if contact with English is helping to develop a new variety of Spanish (US Spanish), different from the Spanish spoken by the migrants, or if the words studied herein are simply importations from the home varieties of Puerto Rican and Dominican Uticans. Sociolectometry attempts to discover distances among lects (varieties of speech). Onomasiological variation studies the use of different terms that refer to the same concept. Five Anglicisms, used in Utica and representative of the field of education, were selected: high school, elementary school, university, kindergarten, and scholarship. The sets of denotational synonyms (terms that refer

to the same concept) for each of these five concepts were determined for the four varieties of Spanish. The data for Utica Spanish comes from recordings of 16 Hispanics who lived and worked in Utica. The Corpus del español del siglo XXI (CORPES XXI) data base, elaborated by the Royal Spanish Academy, provides the data for the three national varieties. The featural measure will assess the proportion of English influence in the varieties and uniformity measures will assess internal and external homo or heterogeneity within and among the four varieties. The latter will be used to help to study lexical convergence or divergence among the varieties.

### **Vančo Ildikó**

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra

#### *The “we” vs. “they” distinction in Slovakia Hungarians’ discourse*

Linguistic differentiation is a basic component of sociocultural differentiation: social processes create the social and linguistic meanings of variants, sometimes also contributing to language change, through the processes of discourse. In addition to being continuously constructed, discourse is also in a dialectic relationship with extra-discursive factors and can therefore be studied only embedded in the social and linguistic contexts (cf. Fairclough 2010:3–5, Laihonon 2009b). In this presentation I investigate how the notion of “we” occurs in the metalinguistic discourse of Hungarian Speakers in Slovakia (with reference to Slovakia Hungarians and their Hungarian language use) (cf. Lanstyák and Szabömihály 2005; Kontra 2006) in contrast with the notion of “they” (with reference to Hungary Hungarians and their Hungarian language use) in non-linguist Speakers’ utterances referring to language.

The study reported on in this presentation used directed interviews and employs discourse analysis to provide insight into the use of “we” vs. “they” and their meanings in the Slovakia Hungarian variety. It also seeks to Show how certain expressions become indexical in conceptualizations of identity and how the distinction of “we” vs. “they” is created.

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