

Organising committee

The Fourth Prescriptivism Conference 2013 is organised at the University of Leiden by

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Fourth Conference on Prescriptivism

Following three highly successful earlier conferences – Sheffield (2003), Ragusa (2006) and Toronto (2009) – the next Conference on Prescriptivism is hosted in The Netherlands by the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics in collaboration with the Leiden Institute for Area Studies, from 12 to 14 June 2013.

The Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) engages in teaching as well as research in a wide variety of languages of the world, ranging from so-called Western languages to the languages of Africa, Eurasia and indigenous America. The Leiden Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) represents multidisciplinary approaches to the study of Asia and the Middle East.

Theme

It is from the various research perspectives embodied in these institutes that we proposed the theme of the conference: *Prescription and Tradition in Language*.

Different languages have undergone different standardisation processes in the course of their histories. For some, such as English and Dutch, standard languages developed from the Renaissance onwards, while for other languages, e.g. Basque or Indonesian, standardisation was initiated only relatively recently.

Whatever their duration and distribution, all these developments reflect a perceived need for prescription, which itself derives from linguistic, cultural, religious, ideological, political, educational and other sources. These factors often occur in complex combinations; modern examples are the official status of English in Cameroon and of Mandarin in Taiwan.

Context

This Fourth Conference on Prescriptivism is preceded by a pre-conference workshop “Attitudes to prescriptivism” on 11 June. Following the conference, a public symposium entitled “Wie is de baas over de taal?” (Who makes the rules in a language?) will be held on 15 June. The latter event will be mostly in Dutch.

The organisation of this conference has been sponsored by Leiden University Fund (LUF), by the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics and the NWO project Bridging the Unbridgeable.

Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade
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Leiden, June 2013

Pre-Conference Workshop

“Attitudes to prescriptivism”

On Tuesday 11 June 2013, LUCL will organise a pre-conference workshop. This workshop is free for all conference delegates.

Pre-Conference Workshop theme

This workshop features papers that investigate language users' attitudes towards prescriptivism and other normative actions, primarily from the point of view of the recipients of such actions, such as the general public, institutions and specific professional groups (linguists, journalists, educators, bloggers, etc.). The focus is mainly on English, but proposals on other languages are also welcome.

Drafts of the papers circulate among the participants of the workshop beforehand. This way there is time for all participants to read them all and prepare constructive feedback for the benefit of the papers' authors.

The format is follows: there are 30-minute slots, each with 10 minutes for a short presentation of the paper, followed by 20 minutes for discussion and feedback.

Pre-Conference Workshop organisers

Robin Straaijer
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PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

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| Tuesday 11 June | |
| Pre-conference Workshop: “Attitudes to Prescriptivism” Venue: Lipsius, Room 148 | |
| Conference: “Prescription and Tradition in Language” | |
| 14.00-17.00 | Registration, room: Lipsius 001 |
| Wednesday 12 June | |
| 8.30-10.00 | Registration, room: Lipsius 001 |
| 10.00-10.15 | Conference opening by Prof. C.J.M. Stolker, rector magnificus and president of the University of Leiden room: Lipsius 005 |
| Plenary 10.15-11.15 | Carol Percy , <i>Aristocratic influence and the English prescriptive tradition: Lord Chesterfield and his afterlives</i> Chair: Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade; room: Lipsius 005 |
| 11.15-11.45 | COFFEE/TEA |
| Sessions A & B | MORNING SESSION A, LIPSIVS 005, CAROL PERCY |
| 11.45-12.15 | Henri Le Priault , What did <i>custom</i> mean for the first English grammarians: a friend or a foe? |
| 12.15-12.45 | Tim Green , Religious Rhetoric and the Rise of “Proto-prescriptivism” in Early Modern England |
| 12.45-14.00 | LUNCH |
| | MORNING SESSION B, LIPSIVS 148, RIKKA LÄNSISALMI |
| | Natalia Guermanova , The Principle of Iconicity in English Prescriptive Grammar |
| | Kyoko Takashi Wilkerson and Douglas Wilkerson , Democracy of Signs: Prescription and Liberty in Japanese Names |

(Wed 12 June – continued)

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| Sessions A & B | 1 ST AFTERNOON SESSION A, LIPSIUS 005, MASSIMO STURIALE | 1 ST AFTERNOON SESSION B, LIPSIUS 148, GIJSBERT RUTTEN |
| 14.00-14.30 | Don Chapman , Prescriptive rules as a tradition in the United States | Ahmed Kabel , Language planning through other means: the prescriptive authentication and purification of Standard Amazigh |
| 14.30-15.00 | Matthijs Smits , ‘Garnering’ Respect?: The Emergence of Authority in the American Usage Tradition | Heimir Freyr Viðarsson , The rise of standard Icelandic syntax in the 19th century: rewriting history |
| 15.00-15.30 | COFFEE/TEA | |
| Sessions A & B | 2 ND AFTERNOON SESSION A, LIPSIUS 005, ROBIN STRAAIJER | |
| 15.30-16.00 | Gijsbert Rutten and Rik Vosters , Negation and prescription in the history of Dutch | |
| 16.00-16.30 | Lars Hinrichs , Benedikt Szmrecsanyi and Axel Bohmann , Unusually strong impact of prescriptive rules on language use: The case of object-function restrictive relativizers in written standard English | |
| 17.00-19.00 | DRINKS, VENUE: SCHELTEMA LEIDEN, MARTSTEEG 1 | |
| Thursday 13 June | | |
| Plenary | Henning Klöter , “ <i>What is correct Chinese?</i> ” revisited | |
| 9.00-10.00 | Chair: Jeroen Wiedenhof; room: Lipsius 028 | |
| 10.00-10.30 | COFFEE/TEA | |

(Thu 13 June – continued)

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| Sessions A & B | MORNING SESSION A, LIPSIVS 028, DICK SMAKMAN | MORNING SESSION B, LIPSIVS 148, WENDY AYRES-BENNETT |
| 10.30-11.00 | Andrea Nava and Luciana Pedrazzini , Exploring non-native EFL trainee teachers' attitudes towards linguistic prescriptivism in their L1 and L2 | Spiros A. Moschonas , Non-uniform standards: The case of Standard Modern Greek |
| 11.00-11.30 | Massimo Sturiale , Pedagogical Prescriptivism in Early 20th-century Correspondence Language Courses. A Case Study: <i>Il Poliglotta Moderno</i> (1905-1907) | Arto Mustajoki , Challenges in the standardization of contemporary Russian |
| 11.30-12.00 | Katja Lochtmann , Prescriptivism and sociolinguistic competence in German as a Foreign Language at University | Nadia Petrova , A comparative analysis of Russian and English usage guides from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries |
| 12.00-12.30 | Dominik Banhold , German School Grammars as Norm Setting Language Authorities in Nationalistic Germany of the 19th Century | |
| 12.30-14.00 | LUNCH | |
| Sessions A & B | 1 ST AFTERNOON SESSION A, LIPSIVS 003, DON CHAPMAN | 1 ST AFTERNOON SESSION B, LIPSIVS 148, RIK VOSTERS |
| 14.00-14.30 | Gabriela E. Dima , Prescription and Tradition in the Romanian Literary Language | Hanna Rutkowska , Etymological spelling in thirteen editions of <i>The Kalender of Shepherdes</i> |
| 14.30-15.00 | Charlotte Brewer , Poets, grammars and dictionaries | Danielle Candell , Prescription and tradition, from the French <i>Dictionnaire de l'Académie</i> (1635-) to the official French language enrichment process (-2013) |
| 15.00-15.30 | Rita Queiroz de Barros , "A higher standard of correctness than is quite desirable": Linguistic prescription in Dickens's journals | Wendy Ayres-Bennett and Ingrid Tiekens-Boon van Ostade , The battle of prescriptivism: France vs England |

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| (Thu 13 June – continued) | |
| 15.30-16.00 | COFFEE/TEA |
| Sessions A & B | 2 ND AFTERNOON SESSION A, LIPSIVS 003, FELIX AMEKA |
| 16.00-16.30 | Kazuhiko Nakae , From Prescriptivism to Purism in Multiglossic Arabic |
| 16.30-17.00 | Loreta Vaicekauskienė , Joining scholarship and state standardization ideology: prescription as Soviet inheritance in post-soviet Lithuania |
| 19.00-23.00 | CONFERENCE DINNER (registration required) |
| Friday 14 June | |
| Plenary | Felix Ameka , <i>The uselessness of the useful: between prescriptivism and practice</i> |
| 9.00-10.00 | Chair: Florian Coulmas; room: Lipsius 005 |
| 10.00-10.30 | COFFEE/TEA |
| Sessions A & B | MORNING SESSION B, LIPSIVS 148, DANIELLE CANDEL |
| 10.30-11.00 | Mark Kaunisto , Guidebooks on English usage in light of corpus evidence: are the entries truly warranted? |
| 11.00-11.30 | Robin Straaijer , Perspectives on Prescriptivism: The reception of English usage guides |
| 11.30-12.00 | Viktorija Kostadinova , The Cyberstate of Language: Popular Attitudes to English Language Use on the Internet |

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| 12.00-13.30 | LUNCH | |
| (Fri 14 June – cont.) | | |
| Sessions A & B | AFTERNOON SESSION A, LIPSIVS 005, NATALIA GUERMANOVA | AFTERNOON SESSION B, LIPSIVS 148, HENNING KLÖTER |
| 13.30-14.00 | Dick Smakman , International definitions of the standard language | |
| 14.00-14.30 | Giedrius Tamaševičius , The ideological contexts of language standardization in the media | Martin Gill , The discomfort of strangers: nostalgia, ideology and defence of the English speech community |
| 14.30-15.00 | Kanavillil Rajagopalan , The descriptive linguist's dilemmas when confronted with the challenge of language planning | Dace Strelēvica-Ošiņa , Human-oriented prescriptivism, language-oriented prescriptivism, error-oriented prescriptivism: some cross-cultural differences |
| 15.00-15.30 | COFFEE/TEA | |
| Plenary | Florian Coulmas , <i>Prescriptivism and writing systems</i> | |
| 15.30-16.30 | Chair: Ton van Haaften; room: Lipsius 005 | |
| 16.30-17.00 | Conference closes: Prof. T. van Haaften, director Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, room: Lipsius 005 | |

Saturday 15 June

Public symposium (primarily in Dutch): “Wie is de baas over de taal?” (Who makes the rules in a language?)
 Venue: Klein Auditorium, Academiegebouw

Plenaries

in chronological order

Carol Percy, University of Toronto

*Aristocratic influence and the English prescriptive tradition:
Lord Chesterfield and his afterlives*

In this plenary, I use the figure of Philip Dormer Stanhope, the fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), to explore the significance of aristocrats to eighteenth-century English prescriptivism.

Lord Chesterfield appears in several accounts about some early developments of the tradition. In some of them, he has clear prestige for some soon-to-be influential codifiers. It is well known, for instance, that Samuel Johnson dedicated the *Plan* (1747) for what was to be his famous *Dictionary* (1755) to Chesterfield. Moreover, although the elocutionist and future orthoepist, the Irishman Thomas Sheridan deliberately did not dedicate his plan for *British Education* (1756) to Chesterfield, Lacking his permission, Sheridan nevertheless began his plan with an “Address” to Chesterfield, in his capacity as the former Secretary of State for Ireland (1745–46).

Yet other accounts feature Chesterfield as a symbol of aristocrats’ declining cultural-linguistic influence. As Sheridan was seeking the lord’s support for his plan to standardize spoken English, Johnson had become famously estranged from his prospective patron: indeed, the *Dictionary*’s support by such booksellers as Robert Dodsley rather than by patrons or institutions is regarded as a representative development in the progress of print culture, the shift to “market-driving book-making”. Johnson’s rejection of Chesterfield was in part a reaction to some essays in Dodsley’s periodical *The World*, in which Chesterfield had expressed mock anxiety about the influence on the forthcoming *Dictionary* of women and of oral language. In fact, when it was published the dictionary was innovatively illustrated with literary quotations.

In one of these essays for *The World*, Lord Chesterfield had also contrasted what he described as pedantic and polite spellings. This exaggerated opposition between elite men and women was reflected several decades later, when some female readers criticized the masculine aristocratic values expressed in Chesterfield’s personal letters upon the letters’ posthumous publication in 1774. In these letters, written during the 1740s and early 1750s to his illegitimate son, Chesterfield emphasized the fact that language constructs rather than reflects one’s image and status. Renaissance conduct books would have made similar points, but in this paper I am keen to contextualize Chesterfield deeply and broadly in the 1740s, a period predating the proliferation of prescriptive grammars and thus seemingly key to the development of the tradition. I shall also draw on and further publicize recent research on such topics as prestige in language and history and on the relation of high social class to corpus-based accounts of language variation and change.

Henning Klöter, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen

“What is correct Chinese?” revisited

Yuen Ren Chao (1892–1982) was one of the most eminent Chinese linguists and language planners of the 20th century. In his early career, he played an important role in the development and documentation of a standard Mandarin pronunciation. His landmark *Grammar of Spoken Chinese*, published in 1968, is among the most-frequently cited grammatical overviews of Mandarin. One of Chao’s lesser known contributions is a brief article entitled “What Is Correct Chinese?,” published in 1961 in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. In this article, Chao reflects upon correct pronunciation, correct translations of foreign words and proper names, and correctness in grammar. His analysis centers on the early 20th century when, for the first time in Chinese history, a national pronunciation standard was codified. In the first part of my presentation, I will give a brief introduction to Chao’s work in the context of language planning in this period. In the second part, I will apply Chao’s hypotheses concerning “correct Chinese” to current language trends in the Chinese-speaking world. I will argue that language planning in China after 1949 has provided much clearer guidelines against which correctness in various areas of language use can be measured. At the same time, however, prescriptive guidelines and their implementation are subject to various renegotiations and challenges. These are discussed in the context of the marginalization of southern varieties, the internationalization of Chinese language teaching and a growing dependence of young speakers on new media.

Friday 14 June, 9.00-10.00

Felix Ameka, Leiden University

The uselessness of the useful: between prescriptivism and practice

Having a norm may be a useful idea and having an ideology about appropriate and correct language use may be a useful ideal but when it comes to linguistic practice, this is useless. I will discuss cases of various ideologies centering on prescription in grammar to linguistic purism regarding issues of code switching, borrowed items and generational differences in language use, where older people perceive younger ones as not speaking well. These issues will be discussed in the context of experiences in language documentation in multilingual settings in West Africa.

Florian Coulmas, German Institute for Japanese Studies, Tokyo

Prescriptivism and writing systems

In this paper I examine the role of writing systems in prescribing rules of language. Linguistic prescriptivism cannot be sensibly analysed without a proper understanding of the relationship between writing and language because writing is both the principal instrument and the object of language cultivation. Setting norms and stipulating usage for written language is more common and more effective than for speech, and where a correct pronunciation (orthoepy) is prescribed it is more often laid down in writing rather than entrusted to oral tradition. However, the relationship between writing and speech is a simple mapping relation between graphical and phonetic units in exceptional cases only. Because of the historicity of language and the asynchronous change of speech and writing this relationship is typically more or less complex. This raises several questions:

1. how different writing systems can be utilized for purposes of prescribing usage;
2. what it is that can be prescribed;
3. how writing systems are subjected to prescribed norms; and
4. how prescriptive norms that refer to the graphic makeup of the system interact with those concerning relations between graphic signs and units of language.

These questions will be discussed from a comparative perspective taking various writing systems into consideration in order to elucidate how prescriptive linguistic norms are affected by writing – and vice versa.

Abstracts

in alphabetical order

The battle of prescriptivism: France vs England

The literature on prescriptivism frequently asserts the same apparent truisms about prescriptivism in France and England. At the beginning of the 20th century, the great historian of the French language, Ferdinand Brunot (1966: III, 4) claimed that ‘The reign of grammar [...] has been longer and more tyrannical in France than in any other country’, and this idea was repeated by Rodney Sampson in 1993, who claimed ‘Few languages have been exposed in such a sustained way to prescriptive influences as French. For the past four centuries, official and unofficial bodies and individuals have sought to direct the language, and many of these have commanded, and continue to command, very considerable attention and favour amongst the French.’

Discussion of prescriptivism in France then often centres on the work of the 17th-century grammarians and *remarqueurs*, the role of the *Académie Française* and other bodies concerned with the French language, and the impact of twentieth-century linguistic legislation (Ayres- Bennett 2010). As for England, the French Academy is usually held up as an example of what would be needed to regulate the English language: this was the case in the early 18th century, but a similar attitude can still be found among the general public today.

In a recent publication, Henry Hitchings wrote that ‘English-speakers are touchy about questions of usage’ (2011: 4). It is interesting to note that he goes on to claim: ‘Touchiness [...] is not uncommon among speakers of other languages, but English is the most contested language’. Are the English now becoming more prescriptive about *le bon usage* than the French in spite of the lack of an Academy? And is the enormous popularity of usage guides in the UK today (Busse and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2011) symptomatic of this rise in prescriptivism?

In this paper we would like to compare the different historical and sociocultural contexts in which prescriptivism arose in France and Britain, leading to different approaches to the subject (e.g. the relative importance of official bodies and private initiatives), and then examine whether this results in prescriptivism being manifested in different ways today.

References:

- Ayres-Bennett, Wendy (2010). “Speaking Correctly: Purism and Prescriptivism in France”. Festival of Ideas Lecture, Cambridge October 2010.
- Busse, Ulrich and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2011). “Towards a Corpus of Prescriptivism”. Paper presented at the Helsinki Corpus Festival, Helsinki (Finland), September/October 2011.
- Brunot, Ferdinand (1966) *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 3. Paris: A. Colin.
- Hitchings, Henry (2011). *The Language Wars. A History of Proper English*. London: John Murray.
- Sampson, Rodney (ed.) (1993). *Authority and the French Language*. Münster: Nodus.

German School Grammars as Norm Setting Language Authorities in Nationalistic Germany of the 19th Century

In the 19th century Germany developed from a loosely post-Napoleonic federation of up to 39 members into one nation lead by an emperor. During the century there was a constant rise in nationalism which was not restricted to political ideals like liberalism and constitutionalism but had a huge impact on the development of the German language that cannot be overestimated. As it always has been (e.g. modern Europe), the longing for one nation brought up the problem of ‘one’ language spoken by the whole nation. The need for prescription became obvious (s. Polenz 1999: 232). Norm books like grammars and language guides became very productive in that time (s. Klein 2003). In research, a special interest was paid to the influence of such norm books on the evolving of a German “leading variety” (s. Reichmann 1990: 141) and to the history of the stigmatization of specific grammatical forms (s. Davies/Langer 2006).

In my presentation I will focus on a special kind of norm books, namely school grammars. What position were 19th century school grammars supposed to take in the standardisation process of the German language? There is no empirical study that would be able to illuminate the role of grammatical variants in school grammars. Based on my doctoral dissertation project I will discuss three questions:

- a) What (quantitative) role do morphological variants play in German school grammars of the 19th century?
- b) How are these variants presented? What information is given?
- c) How are the variants evaluated? What prescriptive strategies are used?

Giving answers to these questions is a crucial part of figuring out the importance of school grammars not only for the standardisation process of the German language but for the passing on of certain morphological variants, for the formation of evaluation traditions and the influence that political and cultural developments have on the impartment of language (norm) knowledge. The linking of the results to current language teaching is finally open to discussion.

References:

- Davies, Winifred / Nils Langer (2006): *The Making of Bad Language. Lay Linguistic Stigmatisations in German: Past and Present*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Klein, Wolf Peter (2003): *Sprachliche Zweifelsfälle als linguistischer Gegenstand. Zur Einführung in ein vergessenes Thema der Sprachwissenschaft*. Linguistik online 16.
- Polenz, Peter von (1999): *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Vol. 3). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Reichmann, Oskar (1990): *Sprache ohne Leitvarietät vs. Sprache mit Leitvarietät*. In: Werner Besch (ed.): *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte. Grundlagen, Methoden, Perspektiven*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

**“A higher standard of correctness than is quite desirable”:
Linguistic prescription in Dickens’s journals**

Though generally associated with the grammatical tradition of the 18th century, the belief that some forms of language are more correct than others, which J. and L. Milroy have termed the ideology of standardization (1999), was pervasive in 19th century Britain (Beal, 2009).

Charles Dickens worked in this prescriptive setting. It was against this background that he masterly exploited dia-, socio- and idiolectal variation. Together with his ability to “deploy every available linguistic resource” (Ingham, 2008), this trait of his style has earned him the epithets of linguist (Quirk, 1974) and sociolinguist (Poussa, 1999).

But novels are not the single testimony of Dickens’s metalinguistic interest. His activity as a journalist provides evidence of the same sort, as hinted by Bolton and Crystal (1969: 1) and confirmed in a preliminary analysis of the writings on the English language published in *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* (Barros, 2012), two weekly magazines directed by Dickens and recently made available in *Dickens Journals Online* (Drew, 2012).

This paper will revisit the above mentioned periodicals, with the particular aims of evaluating the relevance of prescriptivists and prescriptivism in articles devoted to the English language, and of discussing their expectedly complex approach(es) to such issue. This analysis will bear in mind (i) Percy’s conclusions on the ties between the publishing of review periodicals and the rise of prescriptivism (2009) and (ii) Dickens’s sophisticated sense of linguistic appropriateness and subscription of the possibility of “a higher standard of correctness than is quite desirable” (Payn, 1857).

References:

- Barros, R. Q. de (2012) “Dickens on English: Some non-fictional evidence.” Paper presented in the conference *Charles Dickens and his Time* – Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 18-20 June.
- Beal, J. (2009) “Three Hundred Years of Prescriptivism (and Counting)”. In *Current Issues in Late Modern English*, ed. I. Tieken-Boon van Ostade and W. van der Wurff. Bern: Peter Lang, 35-55.
- Bolton, W. F. & D. Crystal (1969) *Essays by Linguists and Men of Letters*. Vol 2. Cambridge: CUP
- Drew, J. (dir.) (2012) *Dickens Journals Online*. (www.djo.org.uk)
- Ingham, P. (2008) “The Language of Dickens”. In *A Companion to Charles Dickens*, ed. David Paroissien. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, doi: 10.1002/9780470691908.ch8.
- Milroy, J. & L. Milroy (1999) *Authority in Language. Investigating Standard English* (3rd ed). London & New York: Routledge.
- Payn, J. (1857) Our P’s and Q’s. *Household Words*, XVI: 388, 204-207.
- Percy, C. (2009) “Periodical Reviews and the Rise of Prescriptivism: the *Monthly* (1749–1844) and *Critical Review* (1756–1817) in the Eighteenth Century.” In *Current Issues in Late Modern English*. 117-150.
- Poussa, P. (1999) “Dickens as a Sociolinguist: Dialect in David Copperfield”. In *Writing in Nonstandard English*, ed. I. Taavitsainen, et al. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 27-44.
- Quirk, R. (1974) “Charles Dickens, Linguist”, in *The Linguist and the English Language*. London: Edward Arnold, 1-36.

Poets, grammars and dictionaries

The relationship between great (or 'great') literature and language has often been problematic, and has not infrequently raised questions relating to prescriptivism and correctness. Sometimes it has seemed that canonical authors have had a determining effect on the English language, one which other users would do well to follow. Thus Hoccleve claimed in his *Regement of Princes* (c. 1412) that Chaucer was the 'firste fyndere [i.e. inventor] of our faire langage', and Lydgate (*Life of Our Lady*, c.1416) explained that the nature of this contribution lay in the specifically literary characteristics of Chaucer's language:

And eke my maister Chaucer is ygrave
The noble Rethor, poete of Brytayne
That worthy was the laurer to haue
Of poetrye, and the palme atteyne
That made firste, to distille and to rayne
The golde dewe, dropes, of speche and eloquence
Into our tunge, thurgh his excellence

And fonde the floures, firste of Rhetoryke
Our Rude speche, only to enlumyne
That in our tunge, was nevre noon hym like...

Hundreds of years later, J. H. Newman also observed that great writers crucially influenced the language of everyone else, describing how the 'sayings' of 'a great author...pass into proverbs among his people, and his phrases become household words and idioms of their daily speech, which is tessellated with the rich fragments of his language' (*Idea of a University*, 1873).

At the same time, however, those concerned with making grammars and dictionaries have often criticized the language of such writers. Johnson quoted Pope, Dryden and Addison hundreds of times in his dictionary, but censored them for what he called 'Barbarous, or impure, words and expressions'; Lowth repeatedly cited Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Addison, Prior, and Dryden (among others) in his *Grammar* as examples of poor usage (as discussed in studies by Percy and Tiekens-Boon van Ostade); and the *OED*, although its editor J. A. H. Murray specified 'all the great English writers of all ages' as the main sources for that great dictionary's stock of over five million quotations, occasionally marked examples of their usage as 'catachrestic or erroneous', proscribing them with a special symbol (the paragraph mark ¶). This paper examines some features of the way that recorders of language have responded prescriptively or proscriptively to the works of creative writers, looking both at what they have said about such writers and at how they have registered the language of poets, novelists etc in their own works.

The native speaker is dead vs. The native speaker is alive: Whose norms do ELF's need?

The global spread of English has led to the conception of a number of models accounting for the many forms and functions of English in the world (see McArthur 1998: Ch. 4). Even though it is a bit outdated, the Kachruvian model with its so-called three concentric circles can serve as a starting point. Traditionally, in terms of norms the mother tongue countries, where English is spoken as a native language [ENL] are regarded as norm-providing, the countries and areas, where English has the status of a second language [ESL] as norm-developing, and the countries of the expanding circle, in which English is taught as a foreign language [EFL], as norm-dependant.

Gnutzmann (2012: 315) observes that while the concept of Standard English has been criticized by linguists and educationalists in the UK, "its usefulness as a model for the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) was not affected by such considerations, and was very much taken for granted until a few years ago."

However, over the past ten to fifteen years, academic interest in the use of English as a *lingua franca* [ELF] has grown. The development of a special corpus, called VOICE [= Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English], by Barbara Seidlhofer, and a recently established academic journal [= *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* with a first issue in March 2012] testify to the liveliness of this new research area. In the framework of this research, doubts have been raised as to whether Standard English and hence native speaker norms are still valid models for EFL (and ESL).

In a recent article, Barbara Seidlhofer (2012: 79) discusses as one very prominent example the use of the preposition *about* following the verb *discuss*, finding that such a construction is used widely in ELF interactions, but that dictionaries and grammars purporting to address advanced learners of English and their needs, "including those based on 'international corpora', emphasize how erroneous this usage is. The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* offers a 'Help' note under the entry *discuss* and drives home the message graphically with strike-out font: You cannot say 'discuss about something': ~~'I discussed about my problem with my parents'.~~"

The point of departure of the paper at hand is to investigate a selection of recent learner's dictionaries and grammars and to scrutinize how they handle similar cases to discover their practice (and the underlying norms) and then ask (and possibly answer) the following questions:

- Could and should they implement other (i.e. non-native) norms?
- Can these be abstracted as a statistical norm from a corpus such as VOICE?
- How should a dictionary entry reflecting ELF-norms look like?

References:

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Prescription and tradition, from the French *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1635-) to the official French language enrichment process (-2013)

Linguistic diversity and linguistic enrichment have been problematic for grammarians and linguists involved in lexicography or terminology, and for governments as well. France is a good example, as the French Academy (“Académie française”) was officially established in 1635 with the task of acting as an official authority with regard to language. An important issue in communication being, at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries, the development of scientific and technical language, official recommendations dealing with usage of scientific and technical words are regularly being published by the French State. These recommendations or prescriptions originate from the “French language enrichment process” (“processus d’enrichissement de la langue française”, 1996 -), in which specialists of different fields and linguists act together, mostly in order to propose and recommend French words instead of Anglo- american loan-words, in an official manner. It is noteworthy that some actors of the “French language enrichment process” team are also part of the team helping constructing the French Academy Dictionary (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie*) in its 9th edition. It is also worth underlining that the Academy only recently began to give explicit prescriptions, in its 9th ongoing edition; the Academy even publishes these prescriptions separately. In pointing out the evolution of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* in its prescriptive tradition, we plan to discuss a few resemblances between the French Academic tradition (1635-) and the French language enrichment process (1996-) and analyse the respective prescription activities of both institutions, as well as their results. We will also show how the old French prescriptive tradition is continuously improving.

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Prescriptive Rules as a Tradition in the United States

Prescriptive rules, as they have been codified in usage handbooks and taught in schools in the United States, have come to constitute their own tradition. Some prescriptive rules, like *less vs. fewer* or *imply vs. infer* have been passed on from handbook to handbook and from teacher to student to the point that their belonging to a canon of usage rules may well have become as important as any original reason for promoting these rules. Knowing them carries much value in itself. In Bourdieu's terms, they constitute symbolic capital that can be converted into cultural and economic capital (1991). In effect, the tradition of prescriptive rules has become an important source of authority for individual prescriptive rules. How that tradition works as a tradition will be the subject of this presentation.

The traditional nature of prescriptive rules has been frequently remarked (Peters and Young 1997; Meyers 1995; Algeo 1992). What deserves more attention is the way that the workings of a tradition confer value to the knowledge transmitted in that tradition. An important role of tradition, as suggested by the word's etymology, is to pass on items of importance, in this case, the prescribed and proscribed variants of several constructions. In this action, a tradition must be at once stable and flexible. It must appear to be stable enough for recipients to trust the validity of the transmitted items, yet flexible enough to accommodate new information and needs. Some ways that traditions manage these contradictory impulses are to reify the transmitted information and to present new information within the established genres and formulations. New information is not presented as new information, but instead as an elaboration of what has already been accepted.

In the rhetoric of the prescriptive rules, these strategies are evident. With some notable exceptions (Merriam-Webster 1994, Peters 2004), the prescriptive rules in most usage handbooks are presented as if their judgments were already established and not subject to scrutiny. Yet the tradition itself is more dynamic than this rhetoric would suggest, as new rules are adopted and some old ones discarded, with little explicit notice. By perpetuating information as if it were already and always accepted, the prescriptive tradition acquires strong staying power. This paper will draw upon specific prescriptive rules from various usage handbooks to illustrate the workings of this tradition in the United States.

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Prescription and Tradition in the Romanian Literary Language

This paper intends to present some peculiarities of the linguistic system of Romanian in its historical development, with particular regard to the 18th century.

Old Romanian reached a relatively unitary character by 1750. Laic translations carried out during the following period, which represent the only form of laic literature in Romanian, were influenced by Western Enlightenment and allowed the penetration of several elements from the popular language while extending the number of innovations. According to Eugenio Coseriu (*Introducere in lingvistica*, Cluj, 1975), at a particular moment, some infrequent phenomena are seen as "errors" by the old system considered to represent the "prescription", but they become innovations, ending to be accepted as regular elements of the new system.

We will therefore present a significant number of examples, extracted from the Romanian Cyrillic manuscripts that have been little investigated so far, to illustrate the linguistic changes, the reasons behind these changes and their final acceptance as prescriptive elements. Among the numerous situations encountered, we shall provide examples at phonetic, morphological and lexical level. For instance, in phonetics, the old language used the verbal form *a deșchide*, while in the 18th century a "mistaken form", *a deschide*, appeared, generalized and became compulsory in the modern literary language. As far as morphology is concerned, articulated forms of the relative pronoun *care*, specific to the old language (*careia, carele, carii*), were abandoned in favour of the uninflected form. Lexical wavering between tradition and innovation is particularly spectacular. The change in the fields of interest during Enlightenment determined the development of functional styles and imposed an increase in the number of neologisms, necessary for an adequate communication. Thus, there took place significant changes of vocabulary within an evolution including two phases. The first neologisms had a phonetic adaptation and a morphological determination according to the traditional neo-Greek influence. As a result, together with Greek words such as *diadoh, ipocrisis, itichi, a metahirisi, perierghie, tropos*, Latin-romance loans were adapted in the same way: *a publicarisi, a recomandarisi, a tradisi, teoreticos*. The second phase meant a departure from the previous traditions that could not, however, be substituted by a different norm. The consequence was that the phonetic aspect of the loan was preserved, making thus possible an immediate identification of the source language: *academisian, metafizisian, pansion, senser* (from French), *arhivum, consilium, presidens, universitas* (from Latin), *calită, neutralită, prigionier, stravanță* (from Italian), etc.

The language evolution, the common efforts of the Romanian intellectuals, the establishment of a prescriptive grammar and dictionary, the substitution of the Cyrillic alphabet with the Latin one conditioned the formation of the modern Romanian Literary language.

Towards a modern Frisian Standard

Frisian, the Germanic language spoken in the northern Dutch province of Friesland, has for centuries been mainly a spoken language. Since about 1900 the written use of Frisian has increased, for a large part due to the so-called Frisian Movement. This, consisting of individuals, groups and institutions, has since the nineteenth century been endeavouring to strengthen the position of the minority language in the Netherlands. (About 55 % of the inhabitants of the province of Friesland has Frisian as their mother tongue; almost all Frisians speaks and writes Dutch perfectly). In the last decade of the twentieth century Frisian got the status of the second official language of the Netherlands. While since the Renaissance in Western Europe Language builders have been making efforts to standardise languages, standard languages became accepted generally. The standardisation process of Frisian was different and it still is (Feitsma (1989); Breuker (2001)). The standard for Frisian has not crystallized out yet (Duijff et al 2008). In practice, this means that several variant forms and pronunciations are accepted. This in spite of the hundred years old history of Frisian dictionaries. Also in the nineteenth century the first more or less official Frisian orthography rules were published. But like the Frisian standard these rules are not fully prescriptive. Frisians don't have a spelling guide like the Dutch *Groene Boekje*. However, since the beginning of 2012 the linguistic department of the Fryske Akademy is working on the compiling of a standard word list of the Frisian language. A word list with standard orthography rules. The choice for a standard word list, implies that the compilers have to make a lot of choices more. Which dialect form has to receive a place in the dictionary and which not? Or is it necessary or desirable to give two or even more variants a place in the guide?

In my contribution I want to describe what work has to be done on a standard for Frisian. I want to do this on the basis of differences between the variety of Frisian dialects. Of course, since the writing tradition of Frisian a lot of standardization choices have been made, and I want to describe why just these were made. Is this tradition always leading for the compilers of the new standard word list, or do they have to make their own choices?

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The discomfort of strangers: nostalgia, ideology and defence of the English speech community

Speaking to Conservative party members in 2011, British Prime Minister David Cameron highlighted the “discomfort and disjointedness” experienced by inhabitants of “real communities” faced with an influx of “new people” unable to speak their language and “not really wanting or even willing to integrate”.

His message was also clearly aimed at a wider and now increasingly vocal British audience, hostile to multiculturalism, scathing about perceived ‘political correctness’ – who would concur with the motion proposed in a *Spectator* debate at the Royal Geographical Society in March 2012 that, regarding immigration, “Enough is enough” (carried by 178 votes to 85).

Under pressure from popular discourses dominated by such views, many countries are witnessing the resurgence of monocultural ideologies, including (re)enforcement of regulated language norms and an increased determination to regard the national polity as stable, homogeneous and monolingual.

Cameron’s comments reflect a policy world shaped by and responsive to such assumptions, where the integrity of the English speech community is now seen to be in urgent need of defence. At the same time, his image of homely, plain spoken, monoglot Britain overrun by dangerously incomprehensible outsiders belongs to a familiar tradition of national rhetorical self-imagining. Drawing on an analysis of examples from recent British political and media discourse, this paper will examine current manifestations of this tradition, in particular its use in discursive boundary maintenance, norm enforcement, and the resulting positioning of ‘others’ in relation to ‘Britishness’ / ‘Englishness’.

It will suggest that speaking English plays a key role: at once a simple requirement and an impossible ideal, a closed category that “new people” are not automatically free to join, even if they are under relentless pressure to do so, and even if their not joining is interpreted as an active choice on their part, hence proof of unsuitability.

That such views can be maintained in the face of an everyday reality in which multi-lingual and multiethnic identities are increasingly the norm suggests that what is needed is a critically informed challenge to the basis of these exclusive discourses themselves.

Prescription and Language Management in Macedonia

The study of language management in Macedonia is related to the contemporary social changes that occurred in the process of establishing Republic of Macedonia as an independent state. The wider context in which these processes are viewed is defined by two important factors: 1. The status of Macedonian in Republic of Macedonia (starting from 1991), 3. The conflict in 2001 and the language issues that emerged from the conflict.

The main objective of this article is to review the contemporary changes in Macedonian from a sociolinguistic perspective, regarding the following issues: 1. Macedonian language in the Constitution and in the laws, 2. The status of Macedonian and other languages spoken in Macedonia, 3. Prescription and language policy in Macedonia today. With the formation of an independent Republic of Macedonia, the Macedonian language became the only official language until the Ohrid Framework Agreement was signed in 2001. Its signing came as a result of peace talks undertaken by the President of Macedonia, representatives of Macedonian and Albanian parties and representatives of the international community, after the armed conflict in which ethnic Albanian militant group NLA (National liberation army) was fighting against security forces of the Republic of Macedonia for greater rights and autonomy to the country's Albanian minority. The Ohrid Agreement represented the basis for the Constitution changes made in 2002 when the language of the largest ethnic minority- the Albanian language- gains the status of an official language. The issue of interest of this article is whether the Macedonian language has changed its status in terms of legislation and in reality and to what extent. The prescription regarding the issues of language status is also to be considered as a factor in creating the language policy in Macedonia today.

The aim is to view the prescription in the legislative process as well as the implementation process of the laws regulating the usage and status of language(s) in practice.

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Religious Rhetoric and the Rise of “Proto-prescriptivism” in Early Modern England

Scholars who study the history of prescriptivism often note the conflation of language and morality as a common feature of prescriptivist thinking about language (Cameron 1996, Finegan 2001, Milroy 2000, Milroy and Milroy 1991, and Watts 2000, among others). As Deborah Cameron has shown in *Verbal Hygiene*, the conflation of prescriptivist censure of language with larger societal moral concerns has continued well into our present day. The current scholarly consensus, however, typically locates the historical origins of the language-morality connection to the ascendancy of the eighteenth-century prescriptivists and their highly specified and often arbitrary rules for English grammar and usage (Crystal 2003). In addition, scholars have previously attributed the underlying causes of the prescriptivist moral censure of language use to multiple issues such as the philosophical conception of language as the “mirror of nature,” or the preservation of class or urban vs. rural power distinctions, or the promotion of a class-based ideology of “politeness” and prestige (Fitzmaurice 1998, Mitchell 2001, Williams 1992).

As this paper will show, however, the close examination of a series of writers, rhetoricians, and language scholars from post-Reformation England suggests additional avenues for exploration of this phenomenon, specifically by considering both the earlier, pre-eighteenth-century roots of the language-morality conflation, and by re-emphasizing a somewhat neglected topic in the discussion: religion.

This paper reports from ongoing research into the “pre-history” of prescriptivism by examining the post-Reformation (16th- and 17th-century) language attitudes in England which served as precursors to the rise of “prescriptivism proper” in the 18th century. This research thus allows for an expanded historical and cultural understanding of the rise and of prescriptivism in the history of English, by asserting two main points: (1) to extend historical understanding of the rise of linguistic prescriptivism backwards into the Early Modern era, when a type of “proto-prescriptivist” language ideology first began to take shape, and (2) to assert the importance of religious disputation – specifically English Protestant rhetoric – as a primary motivating factor in the development of the morally-infused language attitudes of the era, which later influenced prescriptivist connections of moral censure with the censure of usage.

By drawing upon language ideology theory as an interpretive lens (Woolard 1998), this study enhances and complicates our understanding of how prescriptivist attitudes historically became tied to moral concern, through analysis of 16th- and 17th- century English language-learning texts, with special attention to the ways in which the texts create a language ideology by both implicitly and explicitly drawing upon the Protestant religious rhetoric of the Reformation.

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The Principle of Iconicity in English Prescriptive Grammar

Critics of prescriptive tradition often claim that one of its main fallacies was, together with the excessive focus on social prestige and a subjective approach to standardization, the lack of a theoretical basis. However, a close look at prescriptive rules shows that the 18th century prescriptive grammar and the philosophical tradition of the time have many more points of intersection than it is often believed.

The underlying principle of prescriptivism, based on Locke's concept of linguistic sign, was the isomorphism of language and thought. It was believed that if language was used imprecisely, it distorted the meaning the speaker was trying to convey, which resulted in "the cheat of words". Consequently, many prescriptive strictures made use of the distinctions between grammar forms to enable speakers to express as many subtle semantic nuances as possible. The well-known examples are rules concerning agreement between subject and predicate, word order, the use of articles, differentiating parts of speech and forms of irregular verbs, the prohibition to use *that* in relative clauses to distinguish them from object clauses etc.

Viewed in a semiotic perspective, these rules led to the increase in diagrammatic iconicity in Standard English. Thus, many (perhaps most) grammar rules were based on fundamental principles of iconicity, which claim that different concepts are expressed by different forms (differentiation principle), similar concepts are expressed by similar forms (analogy principle), word order indicates real or conceptual distance between referents or their pragmatic value (proximity principle) etc. According to Naturalness hypothesis (T. Givon, J. Haiman, W. Dressler and others) iconic signs are seen as more natural than arbitrary ones. If this is really so, the accent on iconicity in prescriptive grammar could be seen as not so artificial as it is often stated.

The growing critical attitude to prescriptive grammar in the 19th century can be explained, among other factors, by the shift in the philosophical context, as, beginning with the epoch of Romanticism, Locke's concept of linguistic sign gave way to Humboldtian views on language. Humboldt understood language as a powerful creative force, shaping the genius of the nation. He developed a new conception of perspicuity, which was no more seen as an objective property of text, but rather as a shifting psychological factor. Thus the discrepancy between language and thought emerged as an integral antinomy of human communication which was not to be corrected by man. Neither could Schleicher's organic concept of language as a natural phenomenon independent of man's will serve as a theoretical basis for standardization. When prescriptive rules lost their theoretical grounding, they began to be regarded as purely formal and superfluous, which explains, if partially, the critical attitude to prescriptive tradition in modern linguistics.

Unusually strong impact of prescriptive rules on language use: The case of object-function restrictive relativizers in written standard English

While the influence of grammatical prescriptivism on actual language use is generally considered to be weak, the case of relativizer selection in Standard English restrictive relative clauses provides a strong counter-example. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, variation between the three possible forms is no longer free from prescriptive influence. Most writers now have a stylistic preference between *which*, *that*, and zero in a sentence like *This is the house ___ Jack built*. In the prescriptive usage literature (e.g. Fowler, 1965; Strunk & White, 1999), the option *that* has been strongly propagated since the early 20th century. Our paper takes a corpus-based, statistical approach to this case of variation.

In order to better understand why this particular prescription has gained so much ground in written Standard English while others have not, we tap the part-of-speech-tagged Brown family of corpora (Hinrichs, Smith, & Waibel, 2010) in a multivariate approach. Using semi-automated procedures of data-extraction and coding, we compiled a dataset of $N = 6,061$ object relative clauses from British and American English, published in equal amounts in the 1960s and the 1990s. We approached the choice between *which*, *that* and zero as the response variable (cases of *who(m)(se)-*, *where-* and *why* as relativizers were excluded) and coded each occurrence for more than forty independent factors. These include not only the usual factors related to linguistic context such as the part of speech of the antecedent, or the most recent selection of relativizer made by the same writer (to test for morphosyntactic persistence), but also the frequency of other features that are the subject of prescriptivist discourse. For example, we quantified for each corpus file the proportion of verbs in passive voice vs. active, stranded prepositions as proportion of all prepositions used, the frequency of split infinitives and the use of *shall* versus *will* as modal.

We analyzed the data using univariate analysis, multilevel linear modeling, multilevel logistic regression, and random forest modeling. Our findings are: (1) Change in usage between the 1960s and 90s is manifested as a dramatic drop in the frequency of *which*-selection, mostly in favor of *that* but also of zero. In other words, the prescriptivist rule has effectively amounted to *which*-proscription. (2) Other areas of grammar that prescriptivism has tried to influence (e.g. passive voice proscription) have also changed, sometimes along a similar trajectory. However, analysis at the level of different textual genres fails to show correlation. We propose that these findings point toward the strong idiosyncrasy of individual prescriptive rules.

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Language planning through other means: the prescriptive authentication and purification of Standard Amazigh

Language academies are an important structural mechanism and institution for language planning and standardization. Language planners utilize those academies as a platform for vehicling their ideologies and promoting their agendas. The establishment of the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh in Morocco¹ (IRCAM henceforth) as the official Amazigh language academy charged with standardizing Amazigh and the politics surrounding its policies clearly illustrate this point. The present paper will examine the tight connections between politics, standardization, purification and traditionalization in Amazigh language planning. It will first attempt to outline the cultural politics of IRCAM and the host of political and ideological motivations that informed its language standardization and prescription activities. More specifically, I will examine the political strategies deployed by the IRCAM Amazigh language planners for the construction of a special brand of linguistic and cultural authenticity. The strategies concern the engineering of an 'authentic' script and language purification. Equally importantly, another significant instrument for prescriptive 'authentication' involved the discursive construction of a traditionalized, pristine variety of Amazigh unsullied by the parasitic linguistic and cultural encroachments of urban life and 'modernity'. The paper will with a brief discussion of the implications of this for the future of Amazigh.

1 The Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture: <http://www.ircam.ma>

Guidebooks on English usage in light of corpus evidence: are the entries truly warranted?

This paper looks into English guidebooks on language use, with special attention given to the question of the selection of items as their entries. Such reference books have in general shown varying degrees of prescriptiveness; for example, as remarked by Crystal (2009), some of the commentaries in Fowler's classic *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, originally published in 1926, may be characterised as prescriptive, whereas others are more descriptive and accepting of perceived changes in the language. It is only fairly recently that reference books on language use have been consciously put together by making use of large databases of authentic texts, notable examples being the works by Garner (1998) and Peters (2001). The analysis of authentic corpus data provides a more objective viewpoint into the issues concerning language variation and change.

Considering guidebooks in general, we may still ask what kinds of factors have led to the selection of entries in them: although the descriptions made in the entries may nowadays be based on studies of authentic data, why have the authors chosen to cover those particular questions about language use? As Chapman (2009) has observed, tradition probably plays an important part in the setup of the entries. On the other hand, it is evident that at some point certain issues lose their relevance, resulting from either clear language change (e.g., undesired forms or expressions are no longer used) or more widespread acceptance of the uses earlier regarded as substandard. A good example of the effect of tradition is the coverage of split infinitives: although they are nowadays commonly accepted, the issue is still often discussed in usage manuals.

My paper examines the entries involving rival words which share the same root but have different suffixes. Such items are frequently commented on in guidebooks on language use. The study focuses on two suffix pairs – words ending in *-ic/-ical* and *-ive/-ory* – and observes the occurrences of entries in ten guidebooks (published in the last 20 years) in light of the frequencies of corresponding rival word pairs in large electronic corpora, the 100-million-word British National Corpus and the 450-million word Corpus of Contemporary American English. Although mere frequency data does not fully explain why different expressions are discussed in guidebooks, the study asks whether certain patterns (such as rival suffix pairs) or individual word pairs tend to draw more attention, relatively speaking, than they would appear to deserve based on corpus evidence.

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The Cyberstate of Language: Popular Attitudes to English Language Use on the Internet

In a much cited book on linguistic cleanliness, Deborah Cameron notes that the 'state of the language' is a 'discursive construct' rather than 'an objective description of certain linguistic phenomena' (Cameron, 1995: 213). In light of this observation, the prescriptivist-descriptivist debate is a conflict of discourses that inevitably correlate with other social, political and cultural factors. The motivations behind the production and maintenance of a certain discourse of proper usage, or a perceived 'state' of the English language, vary according to the context in which they are produced. As Beal has shown in the case of correct pronunciation in English, the discourses accompanying certain attitudes towards incorrect pronunciation reflect contemporary social conditions (2008). In 18th- and 19th-century England, correct pronunciation facilitated social advancement and signaled a cultivated background. Incorrect pronunciation was generally considered vulgar and embarrassing, and for women it entailed less likelihood of a good marriage (Beal, 2008). The modern discourse on non-standard pronunciation generally evokes the shame and poor self-representation that is associated with non-standard pronunciation.

The goal of the present study is to provide evidence for and insight into the changes which such popular discourses on language correctness have undergone with the advent of computer-mediated communication (CMC). The last decade has seen a massive expansion of electronic communication through social network sites (SNSs). This has brought about a proliferation of informal communication among people from all over the world. In turn, these new social communities have created new contexts for linguistic production in which the question of correct usage is regularly raised. This paper will present results from an online survey investigating the current situation with popular attitudes towards usage on Facebook. The working conclusions from the survey suggest that new levels of problematic usage have emerged, such as the interchangeable use of *their*, *there*, and *they're*, and that language use is associated more strongly with self-representation and personal or group identities. At the same time, the expressed attitudes display great variation which calls for a new research model. This paper will lastly provide a detailed overview of the current spectrum of popular attitudes to this particular type of 'electronic' language usage in the context of their social context and trace the changes that have occurred in this arena.

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What did *custom* mean for the first English grammarians: a friend or a foe?

This paper aims at analysing the references to the concept of ‘custom’ in the first grammars of English (late 16th and 17th c.).

The standardisation of English, as well as of most European languages, may be dated back to the time when the first grammars of the vernacular were written, either in English or Latin, from the end of the 16th century onward. At that time, the authority of the Greco Latin descriptive and prescriptive framework, devised and transmitted from the Classical Ages, would be generally acknowledged, although sometimes challenged, by the first grammarians of the English language.

When considering these first attempts at describing and standardising English, one frequently encounters very diverse definitions of some of the central concepts to any definition of norms and standards: ‘norms’, ‘usage’, ‘rules’, ‘authority’, ‘anomaly’, ‘correctness’, etc. At times, usage is promoted, to the point of paving the way for the acceptance of various possible standards. But it is rarely clear as to who, in fact, decides what is acceptable: Reason, Nature, any speech community, or a learned minority? Consequently, one might enquire what is in fact understood by the concept of ‘custom’. Is it merely a “barbarous and gothic” practice (Lane 1700), the symptom of a general lack of “public authority” and an altogether “unadvised” temptation (Cooper 1687)? Can the grammarian fight against it or is it just “invincible” (Wilkins 1668)? Conversely, can’t it be gladly welcomed as a “friend” rather than as a “foe”, the “companion of reason” (Mulcaster 1582), endowed with “the force of Nature itself” (Lewis 1670), even accepted as “a mending force” (Johnson 1640)?

With repeated and regular references to ‘custom’ during the first decades of the founding of the grammar of English, it seemed relevant to carry out a survey of the various semantic features associated with this central concept in order to understand their relation to the representation of usage at that time.

This paper will attempt to provide a detailed view of ‘custom’ as defined and used by the first grammarians of English in order to reach a better understanding of the legacy these works provided to the descriptive/prescriptive tradition.

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Prescriptivism and sociolinguistic competence in German as a Foreign Language at University

To Belgian students who study German language and literature at university, German is a foreign language (GFL). Hence, language errors are often defined in relation to learning the standard language as the norm. From an academic point of view, a distinction can be made between a linguistic and a sociolinguistic norm. While the linguistic norm refers to the language system in terms of grammar rules and the standard lexicon, sociolinguistics is concerned with language behavior and language varieties in formal and informal settings. From the latter perspective language errors are defined in terms of inappropriate language behavior. The question is how a sociolinguistic norm is dealt with by university students in a GFL-context. In order to investigate this question, 31 bachelor and 14 master students majoring in German from both the Université Libre de Bruxelles and the Vrije Universiteit Brussel were asked in 2009 to write down their point of view in narratives. According to Swain et al. (2011: Xi) "narrative inquiry and narrative analysis have vigorous roles in education generally. Storying the experience of teaching [...], and of learning has become an accepted method of research". The starting point of their discussions is the column on popular language use in SPIEGEL ONLINE (www.spiegel.de/thema/zwiebelfisch/) by the language critic and stand-up comedian Bastian Sick. The results indicate that foreign language students still have a rather prescriptive view on grammar and language learning. It is suggested that language errors are no longer solely understood as a function of grammatical accuracy but also from a sociolinguistic point of view as appropriateness (Lochtman 2012).

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Non-uniform standards: The case of Standard Modern Greek

The aim of this paper is to provide a counterexample to a widely held conception of standardization as “the imposition of uniformity” upon a certain linguistic variety (Milroy 2001:531). I examine the standardization of Modern Greek by Manolis Triantaphyllidis (1883-1959), a linguist considered to be the “founding father” of Standard Modern Greek (official Standard since 1976).

The presentation concentrates on Triantaphyllidis’ *Modern Greek Grammar* (1941) and shows the types of linguistic variety documented in it. Although Triantaphyllidis’ aim was to “put an end” to the lasting Greek diglossia, his Grammar was quite tolerant towards the high (archaistic) variants of the Greek language and it also recorded a great deal of dialectal variation.

My presentation also looks at the re-standardization practices that have become prominent after the officialization of Triantaphyllidis’ norm in 1976; I will show that current “corrective practices” (Moschonas & Spitzmüller 2009) have adopted a phraseological trend, which does not distinguish between high and low variants and is thus consistent with Triantaphyllidis’ non-uniform standard. It is also interesting that Triantaphyllidis’ prescriptive formula (‘Standard Modern Greek = Low variety + high variants, as necessary’) has now assumed the status of a descriptive principle in all reference Grammars of Modern Greek published after Triantaphyllidis’.

If time allows, the Greek case will be contrasted to the cases of other pluri-centric Standards, such as Norwegian, which is assumed to be currently undergoing a de-standardization process (Sandøy 2012).

I argue that *the conception of a standard as a “uniform variety” is an ideological, pre-theoretical construct, and thus it cannot form part of any serious theorization of the standardization processes*. Linguists belong to the same army of authorities with “founding fathers”, followers, advocates and writing practitioners of all kinds (e.g., editors, educators, craft professionals); their role is to propagate the norms of a standard through rationalizing and spreading the illusion of uniformity.

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Challenges in the standardization of contemporary Russian

The Russian language has faced two radical changes during the last twenty years. One of these is the same as in many other market-based societies: colloquial speech and features of entertainment have penetrated public language use. This is especially true of media texts, both oral (TV, radio) and written (newspapers and journals). In Russia this process was much faster than in other countries, as there was an immediate change from a strongly regulated public language use to a rather chaotic media landscape. This meant a democratization of public language practices, which had previously been in the hands of a small number of speakers of literary Russian. Suddenly almost everyone could have his or her own voice heard in public arenas. Having the freedom to speak as they wanted to, people actively introduced colloquial expressions and loanwords from English into official speech. This provided a fruitful ground for debate on the “spoiling” of the Russian language (cf. Vanhala-Aniszewski 2010, Wingender & al. 2010). One of the actions aimed at “saving” the language was the adoption of a new Language Act in 2005, which followed the French tradition of purism and granted the authorities the right to confirm the linguistic norm. It was surprising that the first regulative action on 1 September 2009 was to accept some variants of spelling and pronunciation which had previously been in popular use, but non-standard according to authoritative dictionaries.

Another substantial change directly caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union was the decline of the status of Russian in the former Soviet republics. At the same time large numbers of Russians emigrated to Western countries. The new situation raised the question of the existence of varieties of Russian. According to the traditional view, there is only one standard variety of the Russian language. However, it is obvious that the Russian used in official documents in, say, Kazakhstan, or as a lingua franca in Dagestan, gradually diverges from “Moscow Russian” (cf. Mustajoki in press). Researchers argue over the status of these differences: are they merely local colourings of the standard language, or are there grounds for speaking of different varieties of Russian?

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From Prescriptivism to Purism in Multiglossic Arabic

From the historical perspective of Arabic language its grammar was codified and frozen to fix in the first and second century of Islamic era (from the end of seventh century to eighth century CE). This language has been called Classical Arabic in the western scholarly tradition. And this is the beginning of standardization process in Arabic. From this era on standardization process means to maintain the codified grammar as a prescriptive and prestigious norm and to endeavour to avoid colloquial influences, because any colloquial flavoured Arabic is assumed to be vulgar and stigmatized.

The Arabic grammar which was prescribed by *Sībawayhi* (d.793) in *al-kitāb* is the most important core grammar that cannot be avoided for the research of Arabic language. And this grammar has been preciously preserved in Islamic tradition because *al-Qur'ān* was written in this prescriptive Arabic. Actually this prescriptive Arabic might be one of varieties in the Classical period. However the grammar prescribed by *Sībawayhi* has continued to be the frozen norm people stick to. Although it is nobody's mother tongue, it has been so pervasive to the extent that ordinary native speakers recognize only this prescriptive Arabic as pure and authentic. That's why they call this Arabic *fuṣḥā* (pure).

This is the way prescriptivism and purism has disturbed the precise linguistic description and analysis of Arabic and the precise understanding of the actual dynamic situation of Arabic, which as a result 'is rarely embedded in academic curricula' (Den Heijer 2012) in the Arabic education. Linguists may tend to resort to prescriptivism in language description. Mitchell (1975) warns about this tendency, mentioning 'an unconfessed purism'. We should not stick to this kind of normative bind and puristic view in linguistic description ; otherwise we may overlook the dynamic interaction of various varieties and styles actually used in the speech community. I will show some floating constructions triggered by speakers' prescriptive and puristic assumption in Arabic and then search for linguistic problems in general caused by prescriptivism.

I am working in the framework 'multiglossia' suggested by Hary (1992) over the classical framework Ferguson (1959) depicted as 'diglossia'. This multi-lect interaction on the continuum between the two extremes is an important viewpoint for the analysis to comprehend the actual dynamic situation of Arabic. I think that this multiglossic framework holds true also in some other languages. I will search for some tendencies which prescriptivism may bring about in multiglossic settings in general.

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Exploring non-native EFL trainee teachers' attitudes towards linguistic prescriptivism in their L1 and L2

There is a long tradition of studies investigating teachers' attitudes towards linguistic prescriptivism (e.g. Taylor 1974, Schmidt and McCreary 1977, Odlin 1994, Blundell 1997, Erlam et al. 2009). Some of these studies compared attitudes held by native speaker teachers and non-native speaker teachers of English as a foreign language. However, very little is known about non-native EFL teachers' attitudes towards prescriptive issues both in their L1 and in English, whether they differ and how they affect their EFL teaching.

The presentation reports on an exploratory study with a group of trainees attending a new ELT teacher education programme run by the University of Milan. The kinds of issues targeted in the study concern both the more traditional 'rules' of 'linguistic prescriptivism' (the use of stranded prepositions, the split infinitive etc.) but also the canon of prescriptive rules which are featured in grammars and textbooks aimed at foreign language learners and their teachers ('pedagogic prescriptivism').

The study attempts to answer the following research questions:

- a. What are Italian EFL trainee teachers' attitudes towards prescriptive issues in their L1?
- b. What are Italian EFL trainee teachers' attitudes towards prescriptive issues in English?
- c. Is there any significant difference between Italian EFL trainee teachers' attitudes towards prescriptive issues in their L1 and in English?
- d. What are the implications of Italian EFL trainee teachers' language attitudes for the teaching of English as a foreign language?

The participants were asked to complete an untimed grammaticality and acceptability judgment test to measure their awareness of and attitudes towards prescriptive issues. A questionnaire was also used to tap into their beliefs about error correction, the role of explicit vs. implicit instruction and language models.

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Basque pronunciation: dialectal richness vs. strength of the Standard in a minority language

The standardisation of written Basque was initiated in the late 60's. The first steps towards the standardisation of its pronunciation were taken by the Academy of the Basque Language (main prescriptivist official authority, widely recognized by speakers of both French and Spanish areas) thirty years later. The norms for the Formal Pronunciation of Standard Basque (*EBAZ*), mainly required by and addressed to the media professionals, were published at the end of 1998.

The main problem that prompted those norms still remains, as speakers tend to devoid Standard Basque of phonological characteristics that they identify with dialectal varieties. The result of that identification is, more often than not, the adoption of Spanish or French phonological characteristics for the pronunciation of Standard Basque. Speakers who learn Basque as L2 tend to show this behaviour. On the other hand, speakers who, due to their sociological and/or dialectal background, feel too distant from the Standard variety, tend to reject it altogether even in situations that would normally require a formal register.

The challenge for the linguist is now to find a way to make Standard Basque compatible with the dialects. It will be argued that, for that to be feasible, (a) oral Standard cannot be as unified as the written one, and (b) the main dialectal characteristics to be incorporated onto those oral standards must be very carefully chosen, so that the inevitable dialectal "loss" is acceptable to the speakers. For that endeavour to be successful, the paper will also propose that a great didactic effort should be made in the teaching of how different sociophonological and phonostylistic levels should go together with different degrees of dialect presence. Specific examples of sociological and linguistic (phonological) issues will be given.

We think that much of the variation that could develop freely in a language, must be consciously watched in a minority-language, and more so in a language like Basque, spoken in two different bilingual settings (the French Basque area and the Spanish Basque area). As linguists, however, we must acknowledge that this perspective is not an easy one, and that we must be extremely careful not trying to control too tight what must be the spontaneous evolution of the language.

It is the aim of this presentation to discuss our case with colleagues from different but comparable linguistic settings.

A Comparative Analysis of Russian and English Usage Guides from the Twentieth and the Twenty-First Centuries

The purpose of this study was to carry out a comparative analysis of Russian and English usage guides of the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries in the context of prescriptivism and descriptivism. The research question of the paper was which usage guides are more prescriptive or descriptive the Russian or the English ones. To analyse this four Russian and four English books were selected. The Russian usage guides are:

- 1) "Correctness and purity of Russian discourse" by V.I. Černyšev (1914 [1970]);
- 2) *Modern Russian Usage* by D.Ė. Rozental' (1959 [1963]);
- 3) "Let's Speak Russian Correctly" by M.A. Korolëva (2007);
- 4) "Speak and Write Russian Correctly" by D.Ė. Rozental' (2009).

The English usage guides are:

- 1) *The King's English* by F. Fowler and H. Fowler (1906);
- 2) *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* by H. Fowler (1926);
- 3) *Usage and Abusage: A Guide to Good English* by E. Partridge (1947);
- 4) *The New Fowler's Modern English usage* by R. Burchfield (1996).

In order to offer a focused analysis, three usage problems were singled out:

- 1) the agreement between the subject and the predicate with collective nouns (*a/the majority is /are, a/the number is/are*);
- 2) the gerundival construction (Russian)/the dangling participle (English) ("Roughly speaking, all men are liars" Fowlers 1906: 119);
- 3) the degrees of comparison of the adjective (*more equal, in the brutalest manner*).

Two approaches were followed in order to estimate the degree of prescriptivism and descriptivism in the usage guides. The first one is a traditional approach which takes into account explicit evaluative metalanguage applied by the authors. A second approach consists in singling out deontic and epistemic modals used in the entries.

The results of the investigation showed that the English authors are more than twice as prescriptive as their Russian counterparts.

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The descriptive linguist's dilemmas when confronted with the challenge of language planning

Language policy and language planning inevitably involve a deliberate intervention into the affairs— or for that matter, even the *destiny*— of a language or a group of languages. It is prescriptive *par excellence*. It has more to do with politics than linguistics, conceived of as a scientific enterprise aimed at coming to grips with a progressively more accurate understanding of language. It is precisely here that the two— linguistics and language planning— diverge. For, in upholding and pursuing its claims of much-cherished scientific objectivity and value-neutrality, linguistics prides itself on its being a purely descriptive enterprise, setting aside all temptation to recommend, prescribe, how language *should be* used and instead prefers to focus on how it is *actually* used. This is just what language planners and policy makers cannot afford to do, on pain of straying away from their objectives.

In my presentation, however, I shall claim that even descriptively oriented linguists have all along been, often unbeknownst to themselves, covertly engaged in promoting specific agendas. It is also the case that many linguists have frequently weighed in on policy-related matters and language debates while failing to appreciate that these discussions have to be conducted in ways where the rules of engagement are a far cry from those observed in scientific controversies. I shall hone in on the celebrated 'Ebonics controversy' in the US to illustrate my point.

What really matters in public debates over language issues is how the person in the street views their language and what it symbolizes to them. Anyone interested in making sense of such head-on confrontations involving, on the one hand, decisions taken at the highest rungs of administrative authority and, on the other, public opinion at large must set aside what years of wisdom accumulated by the advance of theoretical linguistics have taught us and instead try to understand the workings of 'folk linguistics'. In Brazil, a famous controversy broke out more than a decade ago on the state of Portuguese, the country's national language and the mother-tongue of the vast majority of its people. The country's linguists also joined the fray somewhere along the line. But their attempts to intervene in the debate actually produced more heat than light. (Rajagopalan, 2002, 2005a,b, 2008). The implications as well as the fallout from this episode will be the central concern of my presentation.

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Etymological spelling in thirteen editions of *The Kalender of Shepherdes*

This paper summarises the findings of a corpus-based, qualitative and quantitative comparative study which traces the process of introducing etymological spelling in thirteen editions of *The Kalender of Shepherdes*, a comprehensive compendium of prose and verse texts, published between 1506 and 1656. The corpus contains over 0.9 million words, and constitutes a database of transcriptions prepared by the present author, and based on the facsimiles available at *Early English Books Online*. The analysed editions include STC 22408, STC 22410, STC 22411, STC 22412, STC 22415, STC 22416, STC 22416.5, STC 22419, STC 22420, STC 22421; STC 22422, STC 22423, and Wing B713.

Etymological spelling is considered one of the most important variables to be taken into consideration in the analysis of orthographic regularisation and standardisation in Early Modern English (Salmon 1999). According to Brengelman (1980: 351) “the Latinization of English was a project of the seventeenth century”. He based his opinion on Mulcaster’s (1582) usage. However, my findings prove that Mulcaster’s reluctance to etymological spelling does not reflect either the opinions of other contemporary spelling reformers, orthoepists and lexicographers, or the usage recorded in the relevant KS editions. In fact, most classicising spelling changes in English seem to have been complete by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The printers’ practice recorded in the corpus has been confronted with the recommendations of several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century lexicographers and spelling reformers. This confrontation has revealed that the views of these scholars could not have triggered the adoption of etymological spelling among the printers, because this trend had started before their writings were published. However, their publications could have supported the already advanced process of spelling modification and regularisation.

The present study makes part of a post-doctoral project analysing the orthographic systems of early printers of books published in English. It has been funded by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (project no. N N104 055438).

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Negation and prescription in the history of Dutch

The history of clause negation in Dutch is often considered a classic example of Jespersen's cycle: from Old Dutch preverbal single negation (*ne*) to Middle Dutch bipartite negation (*en ... niet*) and finally Modern Dutch postverbal single negation (*niet*). Bipartite negation is said to have disappeared over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the standard language culture in the province of Holland reached its peak (Van der Horst & Van der Wal 1979, Burridge 1993). While this view describes the linguistic situation in the Northern Netherlands fairly well (Rutten et al. 2012), both language norms and usage in the Southern Netherlands were quite different (Vosters & Vandenbussche 2012). In this paper, we discuss the normative tradition in the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, discuss differences and resemblances with Northern prescriptions, and zoom in on language use in the South in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

We will show that Southern grammarians still frequently use and prescribe bipartite negation until the 1750s. After that, the issue moves off the linguistic radar, thus bridging the normative divide between North and South. In language use, however, bipartite negation lived on, as we will show through an analysis of eighteenth and nineteenth-century soldiers' correspondence (Van Bakel 1977), and of early-nineteenth-century crime reports, witness depositions and courtroom indictments (Vosters 2011).

Our analysis brings together the final stage of Jespersen's cycle in actual language use, and metalinguistic comments triggered by the variation of the old and the new type of negation. This combined perspective allows us to evaluate the effectiveness of prescriptions on language use.

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International definitions of the standard language

The definition of the standard language seems more elusive than that of the dialect. Dictionary definitions of “standard (language)” are limited while linguists apply wildly different approaches when describing this language variety. Lay views seem highly relevant in this definition, but these in particular have not been researched enough. To find agreement on the lay definition of “standard”, an international survey was performed in which 1,014 non-linguists from seven countries (England, Flanders, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, and the United States) were asked to define the standard language in their own country.

The only quality that arose across participants from all countries was “lingua francaness”. And while newsreaders were widely associated with standard speech, this association has turned out not to be universal. The strong association of standard languages with a specific city or region may also be less widespread than is often assumed. The common association of standard languages with non-regionality may only be true for old standard languages.

Two parallel standard languages appear: the socially distinctive one (the “exclusive” standard language) and the socially cohesive one (the “inclusive” standard language). Some countries only have the latter. These two views of the standard language are argued to be complementary rather than mutually exclusive.

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‘Garnering’ Respect?: The Emergence of Authority in the American Usage Tradition

Prescriptivism and descriptivism have been at the heart of English language discussions for at least the past 300 years – with far-reaching consequences for the way in which the language has been recorded, taught, and spread throughout the world. The past 100 hundred years or so, in particular, have brought these discussions closer to the public domain, coupled with technological improvements that have facilitated linguistic research and debate considerably. However, despite improvements in the quality and quantity of linguistic information available, debates about language become fractious and redundant because of the (supposed) ideological incompatibility between prescriptivism and descriptivism (Baron 1982, Finegan 2001, Drake 1977).

This paper deals with the historical development of the normative language debate in the United States, with a particular emphasis on the American usage guide writer Bryan Garner. It discusses in detail Garner’s qualifications, as well as the evolution of Garner’s well-known usage guide, *Garner’s Modern American Usage*.

The first part of the paper deals with the descriptive-prescriptive debate which has permeated many of the discussions on normative linguistics. These chapters deal with the most important contributions by British and American grammarians and developments in the American linguistic landscape, including the foundation of a language academy, the writings of Lindley Murray and Richard Grant White, the development of (usage) dictionaries, usage surveys and descriptive linguistics, and the importance of H.W. Fowler in the usage guide genre.

The second part of the paper is a case study of Bryan Garner’s contributions to and position within the usage guide genre. To do so, I compare the structure of his usage guide to that of previous usage guide writers and ascertain his qualifications and motivation for writing. In this part I also undertake a small survey of common usage items and determine by what methods Garner arrives at his judgments. I employ the *Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)* and *Corpus of Historical American English (COHA)* in order to assess the validity and trustworthiness of these judgments.

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Perspectives on Prescriptivism: The reception of English usage guides

Despite the fact that the codification of the English language took place two over centuries ago, the need for prescription has not abated; rather, the opposite is true. In the Anglo-American tradition, usage guides are possibly the main source of prescription for native speakers, and public debates on usage and prescriptivism seem often take place in the media.

The question I wish to address is: How do cultural and political ideologies drive the continued need for prescription? To start to answer this, I want to investigate the reception of 20th- and 21st-century English usage guides as an instance of a contemporary discourse on prescriptivism. I will compare the language used in reviews of usage guides in the popular press with those in academic journals to see how laypersons and linguists discuss prescriptivist efforts. The premise is that discursive differences point towards ideological views of prescription and standardisation.

My approach to this topic is a corpus-driven comparative discourse analysis (Cotter 2003). I have compiled a corpus of reviews of usage guides that have appeared in the popular and the academic presses. I will use the newspapers & periodicals-section of the BNC-Baby as a reference corpus in order to do a keyword analysis using WordSmith Tools. I will identify textual keywords and discuss their function in the discourses (Baker 2004) with reference to their cultural significance (Williams 1985).

My presentation aims to make linguists more aware of and responsive to the need for prescription that exists with the general public. In this sense, the study is not merely a descriptive but a critical discourse analysis and therefore normative: I wish to address and if possible correct a social problem in its discursive context (Fairclough 2010).

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Human-oriented prescriptivism, language-oriented prescriptivism, error-oriented prescriptivism: some cross-cultural differences

The three types of prescriptivism listed in the title offer a theoretical framework attempting to account for the different, often contrasting manifestations of prescriptivism and purism and the public reactions to them in different cultures.

Why is it so that in the anglophone society (as observed by Deborah Cameron and other authors) the linguists are often held responsible for a supposed decline of language because they have allegedly “*proclaimed to the world that Language Does Not Matter and may therefore be used with impunity*” (D. Cameron 1995, p.x), while the Latvian society sometimes blames the linguists for allegedly wanting to control the language and to put it in a straightjacket?... No matter how exaggerated these public stereotypes are today, they are rather illustrative of the way the respective societies have felt about the linguistic theory and practice traditionally offered to them through education and other media. Why did the English-speaking linguistic literature so painstakingly criticize prescriptivism for numerous decades during the 20th century, while in the Latvian culture, the term ‘prescriptivism’ itself did not really come into use until the late 1990s (although the phenomenon itself has long been present)? And why, after all, British prescriptivism in the past was mostly concerned with class-related linguistic differences, but Latvian prescriptivism – with influences from other languages?

Even though prescriptivism and the concern about language correctness is, undoubtedly, a fairly universal phenomenon, it is the cultural, social, political, etc. differences that seem to matter most when we try to probe its depths. As the result of several years’ experience (both practical and academic), I have recently offered and publicised the classification of the said three types – human-oriented, language-oriented, and error-oriented prescriptivism. The first term may be applied to the traditional British (as well as, e.g., Ancient Roman) prescriptivism where the grammatical features of the language used by a person would signal about their social “correctness”. The second type, language-oriented prescriptivism, describes the situation of Latvia (and other similar communities, e.g. the Quebecois) where a nation has long had to strive for its independence, and manifests its patriotism by protecting its language from foreign influences (and where, most importantly, the xenophobic purism seems to mollify and civilize the interethnic controversies, rather than to ignite them). The third type, error-oriented prescriptivism, is a rather universal manifestation of prescriptivism which can coexist with either of the first two types (thus, every culture seems to have its “favourite” language errors, real or imagined, that get most public attention throughout ages).

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Pedagogical Prescriptivism in Early 20th-century Correspondence Language Courses A Case Study: *Il Poliglotta Moderno* (1905-1907)

Your English letter might be better written, but is not bad. We shall see about the weekly paper. [Letter to A.B. –Milan. *Il Poliglotta Moderno* (1907, issue n. 138, p. 426)]

Il Poliglotta Moderno was a weekly magazine (“giornale settimanale”) dedicated to the teaching and learning of the English language, published in Milan from 14th May 1905 until 29th December 1907. It was edited and directed by Ernesto Da Nova. In typical 18th-century style the subtitle has “per imparare senza maestro la lingua inglese” or in William Perry’s words “without the aid of a master” (Perry 1795: title page). As pointed out by Maroger (2001: 223), in her study dedicated to the French version of the magazine, “the method is traditional concerning the exercises and the global approach to the language, but it introduces innovations in communication with its users through mail correspondence”.

The new system devised, defined as “facile e piano” or easy and plain, was based on “pochi vocaboli, pochissime regole, molta pratica” (*Il Poliglotta Moderno*: 1905: 1), that is, few words, very few rules and a lot of practice. Each lesson contains sections on grammar (with explanation, examples and practice), translation (from and into English), reading exercises and examples of ‘real conversations’, pronunciation tips and correspondence where readers’ (i.e. students’) feedbacks are commented on and further instructions given. However, the course is perfectly in line with 19th-century grammar-translation course books with, to use Howatt’s and Widdowson’s words (2004: 153), its “stress on accuracy [...], obsession with ‘completeness’, and the neglect of spoken language”. They also suggest that “the high priority attached to meticulous standards of accuracy [...] was a prerequisite for passing the increasing number of formal written examinations that grew up during the century” (Howatt & Widdowson 2004: 152) in Europe and the USA, as well (see Battistella 2009).

In this paper, I shall discuss the prescriptivist value(s) of *Il Poliglotta* as an example of early 20th-century Italian correspondence education courses for the teaching of the English language, through an in-depth analysis of each grammar and ‘mail’ section and the evaluation of the metalanguage used by the instructor.

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The ideological contexts of language standardization in the media

This paper looks into the development of Lithuanian standard language ideology intended for the broadcast media from the launch of the public radio service in 1926 to the present time. Three periods can be distinguished in this development: 1) building of the independent Lithuanian state in the 1920s and 1930s; 2) Sovietization of the mass media during the Soviet occupation (1940–41 and 1944–1990); 3) current period after the re-establishment of Lithuania's independence (since 1990).

The research encompasses three fields of enquiry shaped by the SL ideology in the process of standardization:

1. Legislative basis (laws and rules that prescribe the use of language in the media; directives for language control etc.)
2. Control apparatus (reports from the State Language Inspectorate and other controlling institutions)
3. Public discourse on the role of media language (articles, interviews and other materials published in linguistic journals and press by the linguists, journalists and lay people)

The aim of the study is to follow the formation and implementation of the SL ideology in the broadcast media by examining how it was influenced by social transformations and changes.

The results of the study have revealed that prescriptive requirements for the language of the broadcast media have not changed much since the launch of the radio service in Lithuania. Manifestations of non-standard forms have always received very strict criticism: use of the language that did not comply with the ideal standard was considered reprehensible and intolerable. Following this tradition, recent transformations in the society and changes in the broadcast media are now seen as a threat to the standard language and, consequently, as a reason to further tighten the requirements.

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Joining scholarship and state standardization ideology: prescription as Soviet inheritance in post-soviet Lithuania

The presentation discusses the presumable impact of Soviet language standardization policies on language regulation practices in the re-established Lithuania. Research of archive documents and publications on standardization issues from the Soviet period shows that the Soviet authorities developed an idea that all public language has to be controlled by the State in terms of correctness. The norm codification criteria established by the Prague school were readapted gradually changing their content and the logic of scholarship. The difference between scholars and the ideologists gradually diminished.

I present an overview of prescriptive legislations and language control institutions in present Lithuania and compare it with the findings from the historical research. Particular attention is given to the Prague codification criterion 'appropriateness'. I argue that the nature and scope of regulations of language variation and development together with the involvement of the scholarship in the ideological language preservation work in the post-modern Lithuania can be best explained by the inheritance from Soviet period.

Several other factors that could have influenced Lithuanian prescriptivism are also discussed (such as the late standardization, marginalization of language, romantic nationalistic beliefs etc., known from the other (small ethnolinguistic) speech communities) and the specifics of Lithuanian situation are highlighted.

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The rise of standard Icelandic syntax in the 19th century: rewriting history

An emerging standard variety of Icelandic was a major focus of attention in the 19th century, although it counted by no means as a first attempt. Written norms had formed already in the 12th century, perhaps best seen as a ‘natural’ linguistic process of selection (cp. Hope 2000). These norms continued to be adopted and adapted, according to social and demographic changes (Kusters 2003). Nationalistic movements in the 19th century regarded this flux in the standard as deterioration. As a result, the medieval variety was ‘legitimised’ as proper Icelandic, facilitated by the codification of Old Norse grammar by Rask in the 19th century, where it was equated with (an idealised variety of) 19th century Icelandic, down-playing the differences between the two (Ottósson 1990, Árnason 2003).

In this talk, I will report on an ongoing study of the effects of standardisation on 19th century Icelandic syntax, which aims to investigate the erasure of syntactic variants and the extent to which this contributed to its (alleged) uniformity. I will focus on variation in the relative order of negation/adverbs (ADV) and the finite verb (Vf.). ADV-Vf. orders, as opposed to Vf.-ADV, were singled out in the 1840s and associated with Danish:

- (1) a. ... er vér ekki áttum von á (ADV-Vf., “Danish”)
b. ... er vér áttum ekki von á ‘which we did not expect.’ (Vf.-ADV, “Old Norse”)

The linguistic status of the variants in (1) is a matter of debate, as I will address in the talk. By comparing different registers before and after ADV-Vf. became stigmatised, I wish to assess the effects of 19th century prescriptivism. In general, it seems that Icelandic standardisation focussed more on (stylistic) details, as Van der Sijs (2004) also concludes for Dutch, than major grammatical changes taking place, e.g. Verb-Object placement; Icelandic underwent a typological shift from flexible OV to rigid VO orders in the 19th century (Hróarsdóttir 2000). It is telling from an ideological point of view that the change from OV to VO, a proper subset of the Old Norse system, occurred below the level of consciousness, in contrast to (1). Yet, despite the fact that both changes resulted in an increasing convergence with Danish, the VO orders were never perceived as such.

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Democracy of Signs: Prescription and Liberty in Japanese Names

The Japanese Ministry of Justice limits the symbols which may be used in writing new personal names to a list of 2,857 (with an additional 230 variant forms), the vast majority of which are Chinese characters.

The Ministry of Education (Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) promotes a more limited list, and prescribes a restricted number of traditional readings (pronunciations) for these non-alphabetic symbols, but the Ministry of Justice permits the registration of virtually any reading for these signs which conforms to traditional Japanese phonology, including fanciful, idiosyncratic, and foreign-influenced readings.

This paper examines the development of these paradoxical policies from the late 1940s to the latest revisions to the list promulgated in 2010.

While it appears that the original insistence of the Ministry of Education on limiting the number of permissible symbols and readings in favor of “democracy” has been gradually modified by the Ministry of Justice in favor of greater personal liberty, it will also be shown that both bureaucracies acted to conserve elements of traditional Japanese culture, and to strengthen their own bureaucratic independence.

The resulting regulations exhibit a combination of prescriptive public conformity with private individual liberty characteristic of many other Japanese institutions.

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Public Symposium

“Wie is de baas over de taal?” (Who makes the rules in a language?)

On Saturday 15 June 2013, LUCL is organising a public symposium. This event will be mostly in Dutch.

Public Symposium Theme

Als taal normen en regels heeft, wie bepaalt die dan? En wie handhaaft de orde? En op welke manier? Wie is er, kortom, de baas over de taal? Is dat bijvoorbeeld de overheid, zijn het deskundigen, of wordt de norm helemaal democratisch bepaald.

Voor het Nederlands blijken de meeste regels (“zeg niet ‘hun hebben’ maar “zij hebben’ ”, “ ‘groter als’ is fout, ‘groter dan’ is goed”) in geen enkel officieel document te zijn vastgelegd. De Nederlandse Taalunie, het overheidsorgaan voor taalbeleid, heeft wel de spelling bij wet vastgelegd, maar niet de grammatica. Zou dat moeten veranderen?

Zou iemand naar die regels willen luisteren? En hoe is dat in andere culturen georganiseerd?

Public Symposium organisers

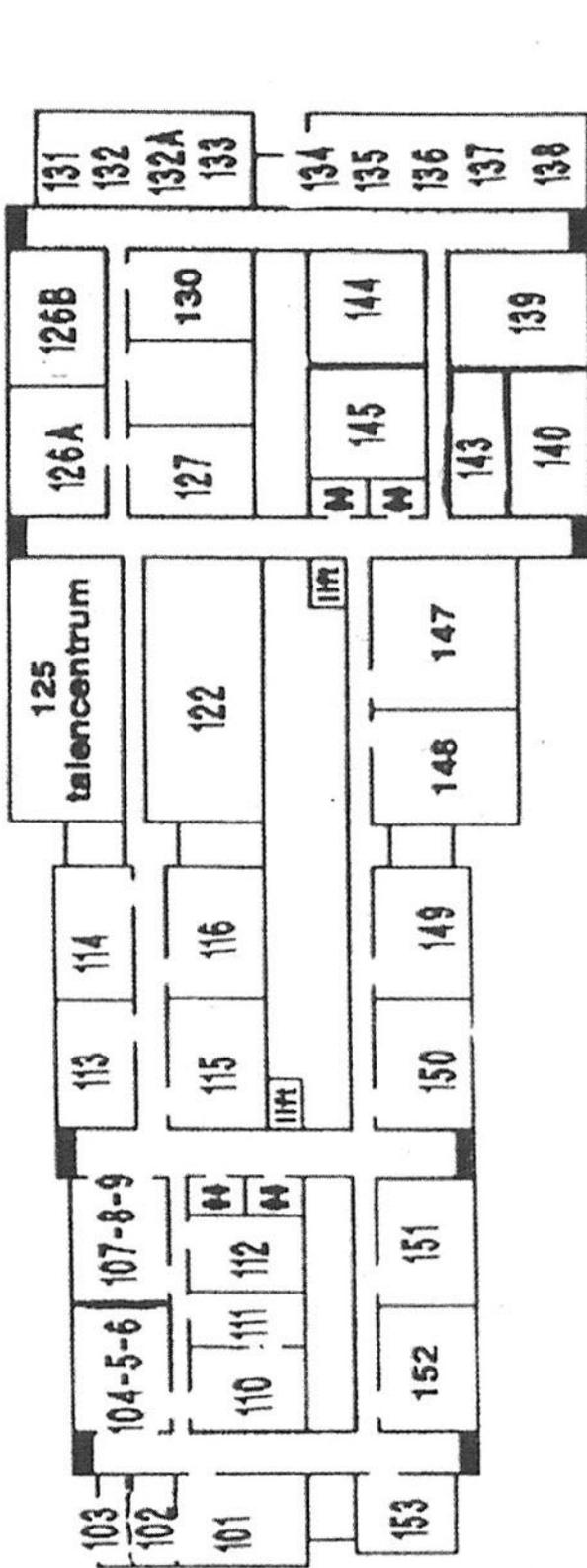
Jaap de Jong
Marc van Oostendorp

Public Symposium contact details

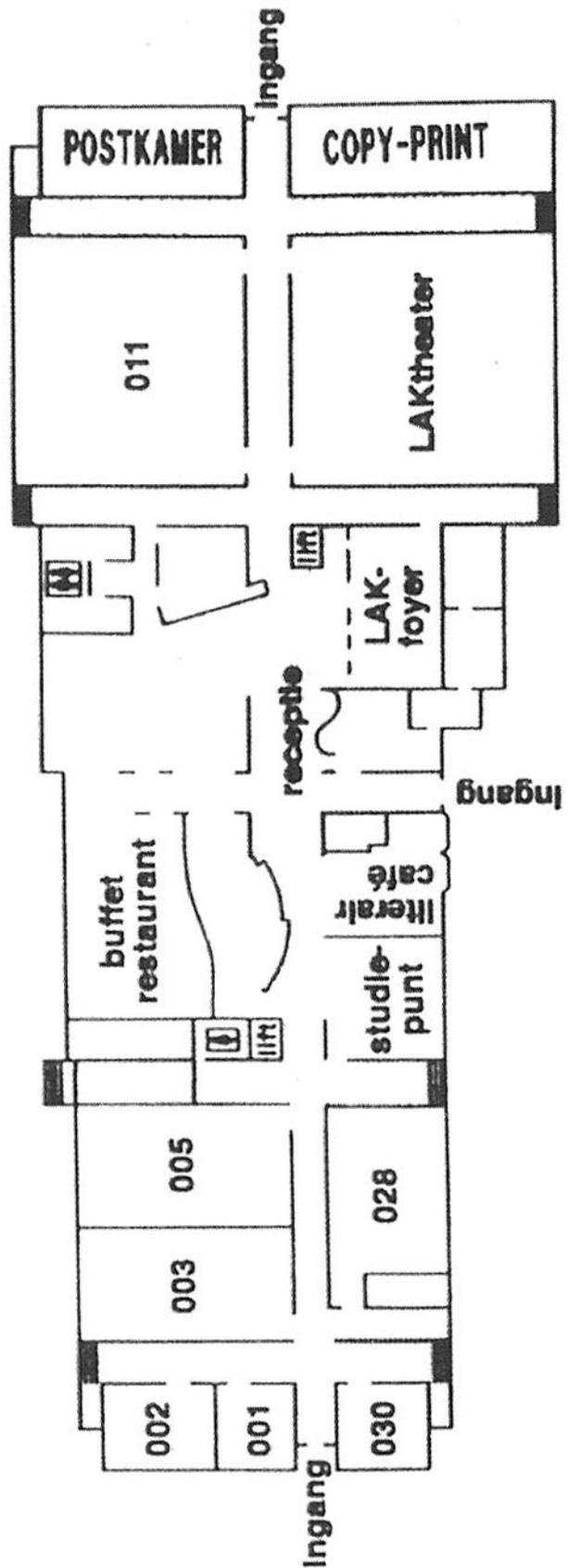
Website <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/lucl/prescriptivism-conference/news/taal-symposium-2013.html>

Email lucl-symposium@hum.leidenuniv.nl

MAP OF THE LIPSIIUS BUILDING



first floor



ground floor